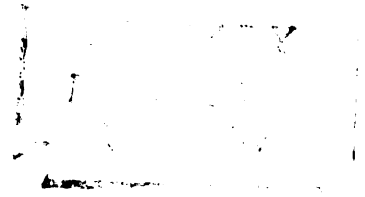


OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF FRENCH AND
ENGLISH-CANADIAN BUSINESS LEADERS IN THE
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
LAURENT BELANGER

1967



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CANADIAN BUSINESS LEADERS IN THE PROVINCE OF
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Laurent Belanger

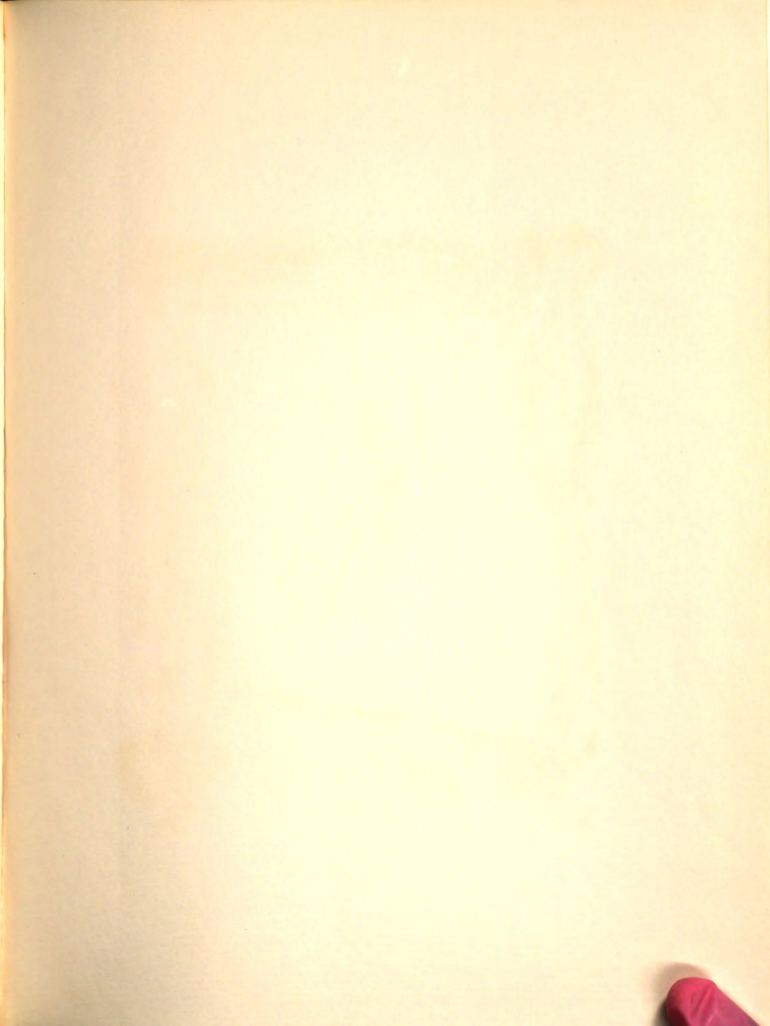
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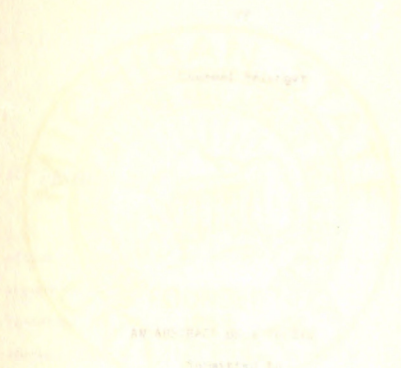
W. Lloyd Warner

Major professor

Date July 27, 1967



UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
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Submitted to
Michigan State University
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Geography

1967

ABSTRACT
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF
FRENCH AND ENGLISH-CANADIAN
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF
BUSINESS LEADERS IN THE PROVINCE
FRENCH AND ENGLISH-CANADIAN
OF QUEBEC

BUSINESS LEADERS OF THE PROVINCE

OF QUEBEC

by

Laurent Bélanger

by Laurent Bélanger

1- Statement of the Problem

From previous studies conducted on the relative position of the French and English in Quebec industrial and occupational structures, one learns that Quebec business

leadership is heavily concentrated in the hands of English-speaking people. French Canadians are to be found in a greater proportion in the lower echelons of the social pyramid. Their participation in the economic development of Quebec is also hindered by this situation. Thus, current belief holds a French Canadian is less likely of reaching a position of eminence in Quebec business hierarchies to be rather meager. The specific purpose of the present research is to re-examine this issue of differential occupational mobility between French and English for one particular socio-professional category: the business elite.

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Management

1967

ABSTRACT

Occupational origins, educational attainment, birth place, family connections, inheritance, ownership of capital, size of business, experience, ethnicity, religion are so many avenues of access to the management position. An effort is made to evaluate the relative importance of each route in the light of the socio-economic and cultural context. Comparisons are also made with American executives.

2- Methodology

by Laurent Bélanger

This study is concerned only with movements from all

1- Statement of the Problem

the business elite. The extent of movement is assessed through comparisons of son's and father's

From previous studies conducted on the relative position of the French and English in Quebec industrial and occupational structures, one learns that Quebec business leadership is heavily concentrated in the hands of English-speaking people. French Canadians are to be found in a

greater proportion in middle or lower echelons of the social pyramid. Their participation in the economic development of Quebec is also believed to be rather weak. Thus, current belief holds a French-Canadian's chances of reaching a position of eminence in Quebec business hierarchies to be rather meager. The specific purpose of the present research is to re-examine this issue of differential occupational mobility between French and English for one particular socio-professional category: the business elite.

the total Occupational origins, educational attainment, birth place, family connections, inheritance, ownership of capital, size of business, experience, ethnicity, religion are so many avenues of access to a top-management position. An effort is made to evaluate the relative importance of each route in the light of the socio-economic and cultural context. Comparisons are also made with American executives.

2- Methodology

This study is concerned only with movements from all other occupational groups into the business elite. The extent of movement is assessed through comparisons of son's and father's occupations at one or two suitable moments of their life career. When the son succeed his father in the same occupational group, e.g. the business elite, there is no occupational mobility; when the son does not succeed his father, there is movement. This is common to French and English-speaking leaders and to american executives as well.

A complementary measure of the amount of mobility can be found in the assessment of the degree of rigidity or fluidity which exists in the occupational structure at a given time or during different periods of time. This is done through the concepts of over-representation and under-representation. The degree of representation is obtained by calculating the ratio between the proportion of each occupational class in

the total male gainfully-employed population and the proportion of business leaders' fathers within that class.

they appear for English Canadians in the province of Quebec.
Collection of data

Turning to the degree of educational attainment, it can be observed that French and English-speaking leaders attained a higher degree of education than the general male management posts in businesses grossing one million and over population. However, French-speaking executives did achieve in 1963. To get information on their family and social background, an eighteen-item questionnaire was mailed to 1200. The professionals provide more than their share of the total male working population. Most of the industrial categories are fairly well represented by the 386 leaders who returned their copy.

3- Major Findings

The largest proportion of the economic elite originated from fathers who were already in business as large, medium and small owners or as major, minor executives and foremen. This recruiting pattern is common to French and English-speaking leaders and to American executives as well.

Breaking down the occupations into twenty categories, it can be noted that the two largest percentages of French-speaking leaders originated from men who were skilled workers (15.2%) and small business owners (12.8%); whereas the two largest proportions of English-speaking businessmen were sons of major (17.3%) and minor executives (12.5%).

Chances of reaching the upper-echelon of business enterprises appear at least as good for French Canadians as they appear for English Canadians in the province of Quebec.

Formal factors such as ethnic origin and religion were considered to be relatively unimportant.

Turning to the degree of educational attainment, it can be observed that French and English-speaking leaders attained a higher degree of education than the general male population. However, French-speaking executives did achieve a lower degree of education than English-speaking leaders. The professions provide more than their share of the total male working population.

French-speaking leaders started out in professional occupations in a slightly greater proportion than their English-speaking counterparts; however, the percentages of English-speaking executives who entered first in middle level occupations are greater than the percentages of French-speaking leaders.

French-Canadian leaders were found to marry more in lower occupational strata than English-speaking executives did.

Organizers, founders, and promoters formed an important fraction of the French business elite. Data on educational achievement also corroborated this finding.

The majority of business leaders agreed that formal criteria such as hard work, demonstration of experience and competence are the most important avenues to the top. Informal factors such as ethnic origin and religion were considered to be relatively unimportant.

Laurent Bélanger

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Management

1967

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A B OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF

FRENCH AND ENGLISH-CANADIAN

It was ~~impossible~~ to conduct the

research reported in this ~~without the assistance~~ OF QUEBEC

of a few individuals. Our first indebtedness goes to Pro-

fessor W. Lloyd Warner, University Professor of Social

Research at Michigan State University. Dr Warner headed

my doctoral thesis on **Laurent Bélanger** provided money from a Ford

grant to help this project to completion.

Other members of the dissertation committee were Dr David C. Moore who left Michigan State University to be Dean of the School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell. Dr Eugene E. Jennings, Professor of Management, replaced Dr Moore on the committee. Dr Dalton E. McFarland, Chairman of the Department of Management was also my advisor and a member of the committee.

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
now the School of Labor and Industrial Relations
Department of Management

I wish to thank the following people who sponsored the project by allowing me to use their space or the introductory letter to the questionnaire

Honorable Jules A. ~~McFarland~~ ~~McFarland~~

646946
12-12-67

A c k n o w l e d g e m e n t s

Mr Roy H. Crabtree, Montréal, Québec.

It would have been impossible to conduct the research reported in this thesis without the assistance of a few individuals. Our first indebtedness goes to Professor W. Lloyd Warner, University Professor of Social Research at Michigan State University. Mr Warner headed my doctoral thesis committee and provided money from a Ford grant to help this project to completion.

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I also received the assistance of Dr Einar Hardin, Research Director at the Labor and Industrial Relation Center, now the School of Labor and Industrial Relations.

I wish to thank the following people who sponsored the project by allowing me to use their names on the introductory letter to the questionnaire:

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Mr Andrew S. Beaubien, Montréal, Québec

Mr Roy H. Crabtree, Montréal, Québec.

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been worked government intervention in education, welfare and economic development, it has rather stimulated than stifled the growth of private enterprise and so encouraged the efficient use of human and material resources as to turn out products and render services for a growing population.

The men who head Quebec businesses are practically invisible to the mass of population; they own or control the means of production, make or influence important decisions which affect the output and purposes of large-scale enterprises. It is they who determine wages for a large fraction of the labor force. In small firms they hold - president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, controller and managing director - are those of prestige and power.

From research projects already conducted on the relative position of the French and English in Quebec industrial and occupational structure, it appears that Quebec business leadership is heavily concentrated in the hands of English-speaking people. French-Canadians are to be found in a greater proportion in middle or lower echelons of the social pyramid.

The first chapter of Introduction devoted to a general review of the sociological literature bearing on this subject.

The last decades have brought important economic and cultural changes to the province of Quebec, and social scientists have found them rich material for analysis. Although there has been marked government intervention in education, welfare and economic development, it has rather stimulated than stymied the growth of private enterprises and so encouraged the efficient use of human and material resources so to turn out products and render services for a growing population.

The men who head Quebec businesses are practically invisible to the general public; yet, they own or control the means of production, make or implement important decisions which affect the character and purposes of large-scale enterprises. It is they who organize work for a large fraction of the labor force. The positions they hold - president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, controller and managing director - are those of prestige and power.

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The first chapter of this research is partly devoted to a general review of the sociological literature bearing on this subject.

The historical distribution of the work force has not occurred without creating a permanent resentment among the Quebec population whose majority is of French-speaking origin. Current belief holds a French-Canadian's chances of reaching a position of eminence in Quebec business hierarchies to be rather meager.

The specific purpose of the present research is to re-examine this question of differential occupational mobility between the French and English for one particular socio-professional category: the business elite. Chapter I explains more fully the task to be achieved and carefully sets out the concepts and techniques used.

Understanding the differences and similarities between the mobility patterns of the French and English elements in Quebec is a means to sharpen the understanding of Quebec business leadership. A detailed assessment of such similarities and differences is presented. What are generally considered the most important avenues of access to a top-management position is inventoried. Occupational origins, ownership of capital, educational attainment, friendship and families are so many avenues as have been studied by social scientists in various countries of the world. An effort is made to evaluate the relative importance of each

avenue in the light of the socio-economic and cultural context described in the second chapter of this report.

The analysis and interpretation of data collected through a questionnaire mailed to 1200 businessmen yields some information answering the kinds of questions that come to mind when one attempts to form an image of men who hold top-management positions.

The present research report will help the reader to draw a profile of French and English-speaking businessmen. It tells where these men come from: whether they are more often from lower-level occupations or upper-level ones. Do they tend to establish dynastic hold on the summit of corporate systems? Are there chances a young man born into the lower-level strata of the population may reach the upper echelons of the management ladder. How do all Quebec business leaders compare to their American counterparts on the same points? These are the questions treated in a third chapter entitled: "Occupational Origins and Mobility rates of French and English-speaking leaders".

Quebec's population considers high-level education one of the important avenues to positions which allow better use and further development of potentials and open onto those sectors of the economy commanding prestige and pay. So "Educational Attainment of Quebec Business Leaders" constitutes the

fourth chapter of this report. Here one can learn whether or not businessmen reach a higher degree of schooling than the general population. Comparisons are made between French and English leaders on this point of differential educational attainment. It is thus possible to see how many aspiring business leaders tried the hard way and reached the top without the boost of education.

In a subsequent chapter, the Quebec businessman is followed on his way to the top of the corporate system by looking into the various positions he held in the course of his life career. This will allow an insight into the career sequence of Quebec business leaders, their place of birth, the number of companies they have been associated with, and the number of years they took to reach a top-level management post.

Occupational origin, educational attainment, first occupation, place of birth, firm association, etc, are only a few of the factors that may direct and determine business career.

Chapter VI is devoted to the study of other ways of obtaining an executive position. Family connections, inheritance, ownership of capital, individual initiative and promotion from within are some of the several other factors that need to be assessed. How many French-speaking as compared to English-speaking leaders work their way up within a single company or

obtain success by moving to another? How many "inherit" management? Are hard work, experience, and competence looked upon as more important than ethnicity and religion in obtaining a position of eminence in business? These are the kinds of questions that are answered in the sixth chapter entitled: "Intra and Extra-Organizational Factors Related to Mobility".

Marrying the boss' daughter is usually thought an important way of getting into an executive post. This myth may have its foundation in reality as do most. Chapter VII closes the inventory of the many avenues to the top by looking into the kind of women Quebec business leaders marry. Do French-Canadian leaders tend to marry women in middle or lower occupational strata more often than their English-speaking counterparts?

In a concluding chapter, the opportunity is taken to summarize the major findings of this research and to point out the major reasons for similarities and differences observed among French and English Quebec business leaders.

1. BARBEAU, Victor, *French-English Relations in Quebec*, Montreal, 1950, 243 pp.

2. ROY, William J., *The French-English Migration of Quebec Business*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1955, 247 pp.

His data showed that 73 Chapter I management positions were held by English-speaking executives.

THEORY, METHODS, AND PURPOSES

Stuart Jamieson OF THE RESEARCH analysis of occupational

data drawn from the 1931 Census of Canada (3). He observed that

1- The Literature and Body of Knowledge of the English were em-

ployed in more than proportionate numbers in industries which

Several studies have been published on the relative importance of French and English-speaking Canadians in the Quebec

industrial structure. Reviewing some of them will help to bring

this research purpose into proper focus. What occurred in a small

town (Cantonville), influenced and disturbed by the emergence of large scale enterprises started and controlled by people of English-

essay on the composition of boards of directors and top-management levels in Quebec businesses. Production and consumption goods

held all positions of great responsibility and perform all functions

industries, banks, air and railway companies were almost completely owned or controlled by English-speaking people (1). Even though

Barbeau did not give any statistics on the matter, his study of

each important industry points rather clearly to the large absence

of French Canadians from boards and top-management posts. proportion

tion of 95 per cent. in the production departments, 92 of the work

In 1936, William J. Roy obtained data on the nationality and position of 15,283 employees in different Montreal concerns (2).

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Stuart, "French and English in the Institutional Structure of Montreal: A Study of Division of Labour",

1. BARBEAU, Victor, Mesure de notre taille, Imprimé au Devoir, Montréal, 1936, 243 pp.

2. ROY, William J., "The French-English Division of Labor in Quebec", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1935, p. 137.

3. Ibidem, pp. cit., p. 55, Table 17.

His data showed that 73.8 percent of all management positions were held by English-speaking executives.

Stuart Jamieson conducted an analysis of occupational data drawn from the 1931 Census of Canada (3). He observed that in the institutional structure of Montreal the English were employed in more than proportionate numbers in industries which require a high degree of skilled manpower.

Everett C. Hughes, a sociologist and a keen observer of the Quebec scene, described the changes that occurred in a small town (Cantonville), enlivened and disturbed by the emergence of large scale enterprises started and controlled by people of English-speaking origin. "In Cantonville's major industries the English hold all positions of great authority and perform all functions requiring advanced technical training" (4).

To support this assertion, he gathered data on the nationality and rank of employees in Mill A (a textile firm). Positions above foremen were filled by English-speaking people in a proportion of 96 percent. In the production department, 94% of the work force was French (5).

-
3. JAMIESON, Stuart, "French and English in the Institutional Structure of Montreal: A Study of Division of Labour", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 2938, p. 69.
 4. HUGHES, Everett C., French Canada in Transition, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1943, p. 46.
 5. Ibidem, op. cit., p. 55, Table 17.

The studies mentioned so far were all made at the awakening of French-Canada as an industrial society. They indicate that as one climbs the social pyramid of corporate hierarchies the proportion of English-speaking people increases in each rank and vice versa.

Recent research results show the same pattern. A Canadian sociologist, John Porter, conducted a study on the degree of representation and career patterns for business directorships in Canada as a whole. He obtained data in 1957, on 760 Canadian resident directors of 170 dominant corporations. As far as ethnic representation is concerned, he concluded that, "Although Canada is an ethnically plural society, economic power is almost exclusively held by the English-speaking group of British origin which makes up less than half of the general population" (6).

A second study by the same author showed that French-Canadians were also under-represented in the Federal Civil Service: "there are only twenty-seven of them (13.4 percent) in the entire elite of 202 persons, although one-third of the country is French-Canadian. It appeared that French-Canadian education did

6. PORTER, John, "The Economic Elite and the Social Structure in Canada" in Canadian Society: Sociological Perspective, Bernard R. Elishien et al., (eds) The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 60th Fifth Avenue, New York, 1961, p. 493.

7. PORTER, John, "The Economic Elite and the Social Structure in Canada" in Canadian Society: Sociological Perspective, Bernard R. Elishien et al., (eds) The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 60th Fifth Avenue, New York, 1961, p. 493.

8. DE JUCAS, Yves and HOOKER, Guy, "The Occupational Mobility in Quebec", in Canadian Journal of Sociology, 1964, 10, 2, 211-221.

not provide a large reservoir of administrators who could eventually be promoted to the higher levels" (7).

Studying inter-generation occupational mobility in Quebec for all occupational levels, Yves de Jocas and Guy Rocher compared the son's occupation at the moment of his marriage with the occupation of his father at the birth of his son. The sample contained 1045 cases, out of which 110 were non-French. General mobility and stability indices proved to be almost the same for both ethnic groups. However, the authors made this observation:

"None the less, it appears clearly that the distribution of cases among the occupational classes is quite different for the urban French and for the English-speaking Canadians"... "As regards both fathers and sons, the English-speaking Canadians are more concentrated in the white collar occupations, while the French are concentrated at the worker's level" (8).

On one hand, those studies covering the period 1930-1960 indicate that in Canada as a whole and in the province of Quebec, in particular, the participation of French-Canadians in the higher economic rank is weak and avenues of mobility are blocked. French-Canadian society is then a "closed society". On the other

7. PORTER, John, "Higher Public Servants and the Bureaucratic Elite in Canada", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 24, Nov. 1958, p. 491.

8. DE JOCAS, Yves and ROCHER, Guy, "Inter-generation Occupational Mobility in Quebec", in Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives, op. cit., p. 444.

hand, De Jocas and Rocher's findings indicate that the amount of mobility is almost the same, as far as the province of Quebec is concerned.

This apparent contradiction was an incitement to re-examine the issue of differential occupational mobility in the province of Quebec, to see whether the controversy might not be dissipated or at least more clearly stated. The present study is not confined to the business elite as defined by Porter, and its coverage is limited to Quebec. Its main purpose is to compare the amount of occupational mobility of French and English-speaking business leaders and to consider some factors responsible for it, such as social origin, educational attainment, financial or family connections, marriage, and other extra or intra-organizational factors.

In a sense, this thesis reconstructs in a different social context various aspects of several different studies: those of Pellegrin and Coates, Newcomer, and Warner.

In 1955, W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen published their research findings on the extent of vertical occupational mobility of American business leaders (9).

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9. WARNER, W.L., and ABEGLLEN, J. C., Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1955, 315 pages.

13. NEWCOMER, Noel. The Big Business Executive. Columbia University Press, New York, 1950, 276 p.

By comparing their results with earlier data obtained by Taussig and Joslyn in 1928 (10), they concluded that "There has been not only an increase in the proportion of the men who come from the lower ranks, but an accompanying decrease in the proportion of sons of highly-placed men, particularly of businessmen" (11). Fillmer and Carter investigated the importance of informal factors in career advancement. "National origins, religion, political activity, and membership in social societies (used to

Similarities and differences between Warner's methodology and ours are presented in Chapter 7. A second study conducted by Warner, Collins, Martin and Van Riper is concerned with federal executives in American Government bureaucracies. Occupational mobility of civilian and military executives is assessed and compared with business leaders (12).

Mabel Newcomer made a study of total experience and training of individuals who reach top-level positions. The principal factors conducive to obtaining an executive position were classified as "(1) work in organizing a corporation, (2) inheritance, (3) investment, (4) success in another company, (5) working up within a company, and (6) all other factors" (13).

10. TAUSSIG, F.W., and JOSLYN, C.S., American Business Leaders, New York, The MacMillan Company, 1932.

11. WARNER, L.C., and ABEGGLEN, J., "The Social Origins and Acquired Characteristics of Business Leaders" in Industrial Men, Warner, L.C. and Martin, N., (eds.) Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959, p. 102.

12. WARNER, W.L., et al., The American Federal Executive, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1963, 405 pp.

13. NEWCOMER, Mabel, The Big Business Executive, Columbia University Press, New York, 1955, p. 99.

Quebec business leaders were questioned on each of these items in order to determine as far as possible their relative importance in the Quebec context.

Pellegrin and Coates investigated the importance of informal factors in career advancement. "National origins, religion, political activity, and membership in secret societies (seem to be less) important in bureaucratic promotion than such factors as family and social standing and connections; membership in social, civic and professional organizations, recreational activities and hobbies, judicious consumption, the influence of wives; the acquisition of the attitudes, values, and behavior patterns of successful superiors; and the establishment of higher-level friendships while retaining lower-level ones" (14).

These factors were also listed on the questionnaire and respondents were asked to rank them according to their relative importance in the selection and promotion of potential top-executives.

2- Some Basic Definitions

So far, previous works have been reviewed in the light of the research purpose. Without going into theoretical and

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14. COATES, H.C., and PELLEGRIN, J.J., "Executive and Supervisors: Informal Factors in Differential Bureaucratic Promotion". Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 2, no. 2, p. 200.

methodological details, it is necessary to present a few definitions which should facilitate the comprehension of the analysis and dissipate possible errors of interpretation.

a) Occupational mobility

First of all what is meant by "occupational mobility"? A simple definition would be the amount of movement from one occupation to another. A more precise and useful definition must distinguish between vertical and horizontal occupational mobility. Vertical occupational mobility means a move from one occupation or occupational group to another occupation or group of occupations which are ranked higher or lower according to socioeconomic criteria... Horizontal occupational mobility means a shift from one occupation or group of occupations to another of equal rank.

Now the problem becomes one of agreeing on a classification and a ranking of occupations. Several studies of mobility in U.S. and Canada, utilize different versions of a socioeconomic classification developed by Alba M. Edwards (15).

For instance, De Jocas and Guy Rocher used Natalie Rogoff's classification and rank-ordering of occupations. The first occupational class of Rogoff's scale encompassed profession-

15. EDWARDS, Alba M. A Socio-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States, Washington D.C. Government Printing Office, 1938.

al men, proprietors, and managers. Skilled and semi-skilled workers are both in the fourth class (16).

Warner and his colleagues have placed professional occupations in a class separate from that of business owners or managers. They also put semi-skilled and skilled jobs into different categories.

In Quebec, there is no agreed-upon ranking of all occupations. Guy Rocher, in an article on the state of research on occupations and social stratification in French-Canada, pointed out the absence of competent studies in this area (17).

However, a socio-economic classification (although it does not cover all occupations) for the province of Quebec can be found in Adélard Tremblay and Gerald Fortin's study of the working family's consumption behavior (18).

Occupations were classified and ranked in the following order:

1. Manager

16. ROGOFF, Natalie, Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility, Glencoe Illinois, the Free Press, 1953, p. 40.

17. ROCHER, Guy, "La recherche sur les occupations et la stratification sociale" in Fernand Dumont et Yves Martin, Situation de la recherche sur le Canada-Français, Presses Universitaires Laval, Québec, 1952, p. 173-188.

18. TREMBLAY, M.A. and FORTIN, G., Les comportements économiques de la famille salariée du Québec, Presses Universitaires Laval, Québec, 1964, p. 50.

- This study
2. Semi-professional
 3. Manager of small business
 4. Clerical worker
 5. Skilled worker and farmer
 6. Semi-skilled worker
 7. Laborer.

Business owners and some professional men were excluded from the study because they were in too high an income bracket or were self-employed. When those two occupations are inserted in the first class, one gets almost the same rank-ordering as Rogoff's.

Since the intent was to make comparisons between Quebec business leaders and American business executives, Warner's occupational classification was used for this purpose. To ascertain the type of occupational mobility with reference to a particular ranking, the following rank-ordering which is most common to North-American occupational class-scales has to be kept in mind.

- Level 1. Professionals, proprietors and managers
- Level 2. Medium and small owners, minor executives and foremen
Clerical and sales workers
- Level 3. Farmers, laborers, skilled and semi-skilled workers.

b) The amount of mobility

It is possible to assess the degree of mobility, i.e. the amount of movement from one occupational group to another.

This study is concerned only with movements from all other occupational groups into the business elite. The extent of movement is assessed through comparisons of sons' and fathers' occupations at one or two suitable moments of their life career.

When the son succeeds his father in the same occupational group, e.g., the business elite, there is no occupational mobility; when the son does not succeed his father, there is movement.

A complementary measure of the amount of mobility can be found in the assessment of the degree of rigidity or fluidity which exists in the occupational structure at a given time or during different periods of time. This is done through the concepts of over-representation and under-representation. The degree of representation of one ethnic group as compared to others can be ascertained in two different ways.

One approach would consist, first, in obtaining data on total gainfully-employed population by ethnic groups at a given time. Second, the proportion of each ethnic group is calculated. Third, a percentage distribution of this population by ethnic groups and occupations or selected occupations is established. Fourth, this percentage is compared to the proportion of the ethnic group in total population. The ratio of percentages will indicate whether the group is fairly represented, under- or over-represented. For instance, if an ethnic group "X" comprises 80% of the gainfully-occupied population and one discovers that only 40% of the foremen are drawn from this ethnic group, he may con-

clude that people of origin "X" are under-represented in the occupation of foremen. This is the approach, or a slight modification of it, which prevails in research conducted on the relative position of French and English in the occupational structure.

Since the issue bears upon the proportion of all other occupations or class of occupations admitted to the business elite, the degree of representation is assessed by using a different kind of measurement.

First, it is convenient to start from the hypothesis that people live in a free society, that everybody regardless of his ethnic affiliation has equal chances of keeping, improving or degrading the social status ascribed at his birth. A man is born to a father in a specific occupational stratum. He may succeed his father; he may climb up the occupational ladder, or withdraw into lower social status.

Then, a second step consists of calculating the percentage distribution of sons according to father's occupational class at the time these sons became self-supporting.

Third, the number and percentage distribution of the male gainfully-employed population by ethnic and occupational groups is computed.

Fourth, the ratio between the proportion of each occupational class in the total population and the proportion of

business leaders' fathers within that class is calculated. A proportional representation for each occupational class will be one. If the ratio is greater or smaller than one, this implies the occupation is over- or under-represented within a given ethnic group's business elite.

For instance, if one discovers that for a given ethnic group 5% of the businessmen are farmer's sons and the proportion of farmers in its gainfully-occupied population origin is 25%, he concludes that farmers are under-represented within this business elite by a factor of five.

4- The Social, Past, Present, Future, and the Use of Census Data

c) Closeness and openness of the occupational structure
Finding the extent of the closeness was the most difficult phase. These terms, closeness and openness of the occupational structure, are not used here to convey a state of collective mindedness, such as authoritarianism or permissiveness. In this study, these concepts are employed to connote differential access to elite positions. An occupational structure is closed when an established elite tends to hold succession to top-level strata so that penetration by people from lower strata is relatively difficult.

owners and managers by size of establishment and stability.

3- Observations on Research Techniques and Methods

The Financial Post's Directory of Directors was the

Many studies conducted on occupational mobility of business, civilian, military, and political leaders have used the questionnaire as an instrument. It is considered the most

suitable tool for this kind of research and so is used here. Since comparisons are looked for between Warner's and Abegglen's findings on American business leaders and the findings on Quebec business executives, an effort was made to use, as far as possible, the same questionnaire content.

However, some important changes have been introduced by dropping and adding a few questions, modifying the figures or the working of some items. A review of these alterations are presented in the second appendix to this report.

4- The Sample, Questionnaire Returns, and the use of Census Data

Finding the names of the respondents was the most difficult phase of the research. From the very start, it was possible to find that 990 establishments in manufacturing industries were producing for a sales value of one million dollars and over in 1960. (See Appendix Table 1). Assuming four executive posts filled by different individuals in each establishment, one could get at least 3960 names in the manufacturing sector of the economy alone. It was the best estimate that could be had in 1962, since there was and there is not yet any source giving distribution of owners and managers by size of establishment and ethnicity.

The Financial Post's Directory of Directors was the main source used in collecting names of business executives.

number, it was also possible to distribute the research enquiries to each industrial division.

The Poor's Registrar of Directors was also used and other well-known biographical sources, such as Who's Who, commercial and financial magazines. Once names and addresses were collected, the size of the establishment with which they were connected was checked. Finally, it was possible to end up with a collection of 2269 acceptable cases: 1539 English-speaking and 730 French-speaking executives. The only available means to differentiate ethnic origins was the names of individual. About 20 cases whose origin could not be detected by this means had to be rejected.

TOTAL

To save time and money and to solicit from French respondents a number of answers which would allow percentage calculations, it has been decided to mail out 1200 questionnaires to each ethnic group. Distribution of mailing and acceptable returned copies are presented in Table 1. The total number of usable responses amounted to 386, i.e. 32.1 percent of all questionnaires mailed out. The percentage of returns when compared to that obtained by Warner in 1952 (48 percent) is quite a bit lower. But if one considers that busy people are usually reluctant to answer questionnaires, it is surprising the return rate was so high.

Data pertaining to the representativeness of returns are provided in Tables 2 and 3. A distribution by industrial division of the total number of names found in bibliographical sources appears in the first column. Through the use of a code number, it was also possible to distribute the returns according to each industrial division.

Table 1: Distribution of Total Mailing and Returns by Ethnic Groups

Ethnic Groups	Number of copies mailed out	Number of acceptable returned copies	Percentages of returns
English-speaking Leaders	600	219	36.5%
French-speaking Leaders	600	167	27.8
TOTAL	1200	386	32.1

Table 2: Number and Percentage Distribution of Total Mails and Returns, (French-speaking Leaders Only)

Industrial Division	Number Mailed	Number Returned	Percentage of Returns
Food and Tobacco	86	23	26.7
Rubber and Leather	21	5	23.8
Textiles, Knitting mills, and clothing	37	8	21.6
Wood and Furniture	33	4	12.1
Pulp and Paper	36	4	11.1
Printing, Publishing, Advertising	34	12	35.3
Primary metal and metal fabricating	43	11	25.6
Machinery and Equipment	30	6	20.0
Electrical products	18	3	16.7
Non-metallic mineral products	71	9	12.7
Petrochemical and allied products	14	2	14.3
Chemicals	14	2	14.3
Transportation	14	2	14.3
Other	14	2	14.3
TOTAL	400	100	25.0

Table 2: Number and Percentage Distribution of Total Names and Returns. (French-speaking Leaders Only).

Industrial Division	Number		Percentage		Percentage Differences
	Names	Returns	Names	Returns	
Food and Tobacco	86	23	12.	13.7	+1.7
Rubber and Leather	21	5	2.9	3.0	+0.1
Textiles, Knitting mills, and clothing	37	8	5.1	4.8	-0.3
Wood and Furniture	23	4	3.1	2.4	-0.7
Pulp and Paper	30	4	4.1	2.4	-1.7
Printing, Publishing, Advertising	31	10	4.2	5.9	+1.7
Primary metal and Metal fabricating	43	11	5.9	6.5	+0.6
Machinery and Equipment	30	6	4.1	3.5	-0.6
Electrical products	18	3	2.4	1.8	-0.6
Non-metallic mineral products	21	5	2.9	3.0	+0.1
Petroleum and coal products	9	3	1.2	1.8	+0.6
Chemical	18	4	2.4	2.4	0.0
Insurance	46	12	6.3	7.1	+0.8
Bank	34	5	4.6	3.0	+0.6
Finance	113	22	15.4	13.2	-2.2
Public Utilities	39	11	5.3	6.5	+0.8
Transportation	11	2	1.5	1.2	-0.3
Mines	25	3	3.4	1.8	-1.6
Construction	31	9	4.2	5.4	+1.2
Wholesale and Retail	56	15	7.7	8.9	+1.2
Other	8	2	1.1	1.2	+0.1
TOTAL	730	167	100.0	100.0	--

Table 3: Number and Percentage Distribution of Total Names and Returns. (English-speaking Leaders Only).

Industrial Division	Number		Percentage	
	Names	Returns	Names	Returns
Food and Tobacco	117	19	7.6	8.6
Rubber and Leather	20	4	1.3	1.8
Textiles, Knitting mills, and clothing	101	13	6.5	6.0
Wood and Furniture	45	6	2.9	2.8
Pulp and Paper	89	12	5.8	5.5
Printing, Publishing, Advertising	96	11	6.2	5.0
Primary metal and metal fabricating	112	13	7.2	6.0
Machinery and Equipment	131	22	8.5	10.0
Electrical products	48	8	3.1	3.6
Non-metallic mineral products	20	3	1.3	1.3
Petroleum and coal products	28	5	1.8	2.3
Chemical	147	21	9.5	9.6
Insurance	51	7	3.3	3.2
Bank	42	4	2.7	1.8
Finance	143	19	9.2	8.6
Public Utilities	63	11	4.1	5.0
Transportation	79	10	5.1	4.7
Mines	57	9	3.7	4.1
Construction	49	6	3.2	2.7
Wholesale and Retail	88	13	5.7	6.0
Other	13	3	0.8	1.3
TOTAL	1539	219	100.0	100.0

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Proportionately fewer French-speaking leaders in financial concerns and proportionately more in food and tobacco establishments answered the questionnaire than were included in total names.

Representativeness of returns appears to be better in the case of English-speaking leaders. If one considers a percentage difference equal or below one percent as a measure of a fair representativeness, it can be observed that one industrial category, machinery and equipment, is over-represented; two are slightly under-represented; printing and advertising, primary and fabricated metal.

The use of Census data

The census was used in two important phases of this research: when an attempt was made to ascertain whether certain occupational categories provided more than their share of the business elite than others; when the degree of leader's educational attainment was compared to the extent of schooling of the general population.

In reorganizing census data to suit the purpose of the research serious difficulties were encountered. Figures were computed for both ethnic groups in the province of Quebec. For the following occupational categories, the figures were drawn right from the census and added up when they were listed by industrial sectors: business owner and manager, professional man,

foreman and supervisor, farm owner and farm laborer. In the category of clerical worker, occupations such as salesman, commercial traveler, credit man, collector, broker, auctioneer, insurance and advertising agent were included. The most touchy point was to separate semi-skilled workers from skilled ones. Data for unskilled workers were given. In the semi-skilled group, occupations which do not require years of experience or schooling were included. Operatives, fitters, assemblers, messengers, drivers, tenders, lumbermen, wrappers, keepers, sextons, waiters and other of the same type were considered as semi-skilled occupations.

Other occupations encompassed public administration, (except police and firemen) and occupations not classified in the census. Table 4 presents a distribution of the gainfully-occupied male population by ethnic groups for the province of Quebec in 1931. The second chapter will explain why that date was selected.

Figures pertaining to the educational achievement of the general population that terminated schooling were relatively difficult to handle. It has not been possible to get data for each ethnic group. The 1920 and 1931 census did not present a series on the highest grade attained by people who were not attending school. The 1951 census did not permit a breakdown of figures for two levels: some high school and high school graduates. It was possible to rearrange 1941 census data to fit the educational levels listed on the questionnaire. Table 5 presents a distribution of

Table 4: Number and Percentage Distribution of Male Gainfully-Occupied, Quebec, 1931.

Occupational Groups	<u>All ethnic groups</u>		<u>French-speaking</u>		<u>English-speaking</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Business owner and Manager	49625	6%	32315	5.2%	10367	7.5%
Professional	34202	4.1	21584	3.5	10486	7.6
Clerical worker, Salesman & Agent	85454	10.4	51568	8.3	27258	19.8
Foreman and Supervisor	10609	1.3	6768	1.1	3302	2.4
Farm owner	112489	13.7	99111	16.0	12357	9.0
Skilled Laborer	195633	23.7	143911	23.1	33227	24.1
Unskilled, semi-skilled Laborer	220609	26.8	165045	26.5	29274	21.2
Farm Laborer	111599	13.5	99675	16.0	10597	7.7
Others occupations	3077	0.8	2101	0.3	890	.6
All occupations	823297	100.	621979	75.5	137858	16.8

Source: Census of Population, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Table 49, p. 480.

Table 5: Number and Percentage Distribution of the Male Population
55 years of age and over by Highest Grade Attended, Que-
bec, 1941.

Highest Grade Attended	Number	Percentage
Less than High School (1-8 years)	149,616	78.3
Some High School (9-10)	21,771	11.4
High School Graduate (11-12)	9,917	5.2
Some University (13-16)	6,406	3.4
University Graduate (17+)	3,379	1.7
All Grades	191,089	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, Vol. III, p. 667.

Table 6: Number and Percentage Distribution of the Male Population,
25 years of age and over, by Highest Grade Attended, Que-
bec, 1961.

Highest Grade Attended	Number	Percentage
Less than High School (1-8 years)	936,331	74.6
Some High School (9-10)	63,856	5.1
High School Graduate (11-12)	149,016	12.0
Some University (13-16)	41,710	3.3
University Graduate (17+)	62,610	5.0
All Grades	1,253,523	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, Schooling by age Groups, Vol. I, part 3,
Catalogue 92557.

the schooling of the general male population, 55 years of age and over. The number of high school graduates is over-estimated, since grades eleven and twelve are combined together as they appear in the census. Grade eleven should have been placed at the level of "some high school" to fit our categories.

The same difficulty was encountered with the 1961 census. Again, the number of high school graduates is over-estimated. A number and percentage distribution of the male population by the highest grade attained is given in Table 6.

Census data have been carefully used in order to establish comparisons between French and English leaders and the general male population of the province of Quebec. But we know that the kinds of rearrangements made are subject to errors, so that findings bearing on these points should be interpreted with caution.

C h a p t e r I I

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SETTING

There can be no question of attempting here an exhaustive treatment of the socio-economic and cultural evolution of Quebec Province. There is even danger of over-simplification in presenting, as it is intended, a panoramic view of the major changes characterizing this evolution. But some knowledge of these events are essential to understanding the possible differential mobility rates of French and English-speaking business leaders. The presentation shall be confined to the bare essentials.

Since the average age of the business elite was about 50 at the time of the study and the leaders were about 22 years old when they entered business (See Appendix Tables 2 and 3), the period under review will center around and between the years 1931 and 1961 for which census data or research findings are available.

1- The Socio-Economic Setting

To a certain extent, the number of executive positions depends on long-term growth of the economy, the availability and ownership of capital, the number and size of establishments producing goods and services for an ever-increasing population. Moreover, production and distribution processes are constantly modified by a changing technology, demanding new manpower qualifications and specializations.

a) Rate of industrial growth

The province of Quebec is seen from the outside as an under-developed part of Canada and North America. Very much has been written about her "backwardness" or economic inferiority. This is not exactly true, because the writers do not make a clear distinction between the economic development of Quebec and the economic participation of French-Canadians in that development. As a matter of fact, the long-term growth rate of Quebec as compared to Ontario has been almost identical since 1870: 5.53% in Quebec, 5.48% in Ontario (1).

For the period 1935-1955, rates of growth of industrial production are 10.53% in Quebec, 9.75% in Ontario, and 10.06% in Canada as a whole (2).

However, the absolute level of Quebec manufacturing production amounts to two thirds of the observed level in Ontario, so that average personal income since 1926 is lower in Quebec than in Ontario, taking into account the difference in population increases.

1. RAYNAULD, André, Croissance et structure économiques de la province de Québec, Ministère de l'Industrie et du Commerce, Québec, 1961, p. 43.

2. Ibidem, p. 71.

3. Ibidem, pp. 56-57.

Changes in the relative importance of industries are another cue to the development of an economy. At the turn of the century, Quebec's industrial structure was predominantly agricultural. According to Faucher and Lamontagne, "total production (was) estimated at \$150,000,000.; agriculture contributed to 65 percent, forestry 25 percent, manufacturing 4 percent, fishing and mining about 2 percent respectively" (4).

At that time, English-owned textiles industries were firmly established and French-owned shoe industries on the decline.

Both Church and State heavily stressed farming occupations, considering land-holding consistent with the traditional French-Canadian way of life and value system.

Leaving aside this cultural factor, the concentration of the work force in farming may be attributed to lack of employment opportunities outside the agricultural sector at that time, following a shift from "a regime of mercantilism to a system of industrialism based upon coal, steel and steam" (5). It may also be attributed to regional manpower surpluses which usually accompany a rapid rate of growth at a time when population is increasing and technology is substituted for labor. The reasons why French-

4. LAMONTAGNE, M. and FAUCHER, Albert, "History of Industrial Development", in Essays on Contemporary Quebec, edited by J.C. Falardeau, Presses Universitaires Laval, Québec, 1953, p. 28.

5. LAMONTAGNE, M., and FAUCHER, A., op. cit., p. 27.

Canadians resorted to farming deserve further intensive investigation.

Quebec economy can no longer be portrayed as an agricultural one. From data compiled by André Raynauld for the 1935-55 period, it can be observed that the contribution of agriculture to total Quebec production decreases from 12.4% to 6.3%; from 25.3% to 16.5% for Canada as a whole. Meanwhile, the contribution of Quebec manufacturing increases from 57.5% to 62.5%; from 45.8% to 51.9% for Canada (6). These figures enable one to conclude that farming is at present much less important in Quebec than in Canada as a whole.

b) Availability and ownership of capital

If the province of Quebec has developed at a rate comparable to that of Ontario and Canada as a whole, economic participation of French-speaking Canadians in this development appears relatively weak. This is not, however, a phenomenon peculiar to Quebec. It is known that, in many countries or parts of them, industrial development has been initiated by outsiders.

As far as avenues to the top of business hierarchies were (or are still) connected with controlling interests in or ownership of large-scale enterprises, so far would have the si-

6. RAYNAULD, André, op. cit., p. 71.

tuations of French and English-Canadians differed when trying to climb the pyramids of emerging large-scale businesses.

Historians and economists agree that Quebec's economic expansion after the surrender of French-Canadians in 1759 has been initiated and supported in great part by English-speaking people and British or American-owned capital. However, historical evidence is relatively weak on the potent factors that could explain the English economic hegemony. Long-term data on the ethnicity of ownership are almost non-existent. Legal arrangements preclude the public disclosure of foreign investments in the province of Quebec. Lamontagne and Faucher sustained that: "The erection of American subsidiaries in Quebec can be traced to the early years of Macdonald's national policy. Up to 1900, 25 American firms established branches in the Quebec territory... It is reported that in 1934, a third of the capital invested in Quebec was American" (7).

Michel Brunet, an historian, tends to hold that the French-Canadian's "economic inferiority" goes back to the conquest: "As early as 1780, fur trading, imports, exports, and a good fraction of domestic trade already belonged to Quebec, Three-Rivers, and Montreal English traders" (8).

7. LAMONTAGNE, M., and FAUCHER, A., op. cit., p. 36.

8. BRUNET, Michel, La présence anglaise et les Canadiens, Beauchemin, Montreal, 1958, p. 221 (translation is ours).

In an outstanding article on the lagging growth of French-Canadian enterprises, Jacques Mélançon points out that, in 1952, the total assets of French-Canadian savings institutions amounted to 2 billion dollars, whereas industrial enterprises reached 250 to 300 millions in assets (9).

Capital seems to be available to support economic expansion, but French Canada's industrial concerns are essentially family owned and directed. Capital equity or controlling interest are in the hands of a family or close friends, so that the public at large is not invited to subscribe for shares and are not actually traded on stock exchanges. Savings institutions are exceptions, since their equity base is largely diffused throughout the population. This already leads us to assume the existence of a close relation between capital ownership and the avenues to the top in the French-Canadian business world.

Another way to assess the degree of French-Canadian participation in the economic development of Quebec is to look into long-term relative position of French-Canadians in the occupational structure. Fragmentary research findings already reported showed the way French and English associate with one another in a joint effort to turn out products and render services.

9. MELANCON, Jacques, "Retard de croissance de l'entreprise canadienne-française", L'Actualité économique, Vol. 31, Janvier-mars 1956, pp. 503-522.

Nathan Keyfitz collected data on the proportion of French in selected occupations for Canada and Quebec, census years 1931, 1941 and 1951 (10). He found that, in general, French-Canadians are under-represented in upper-income occupations such as owners, managers, and professional men. (See Table 7). In low-income positions, such as farmers, farm laborers, truck drivers, chauffeurs, lumbermen, laborers, they are over-represented in proportion to their numbers. However, the number of French-Canadians is increasing in some of these occupations and decreasing in others, such as farmers and lumbermen. In medium-income occupations, like clerical, commercial and financial ones, their numbers and representation are both increasing.

Since the propensity to save is usually higher in upper-income brackets than in lower-income ones, it can be tentatively assumed that French-Canadians have, in the past, been at a disadvantage (when compare to total gainfully-occupied population) as far as capital accumulation is concerned. Obviously, saving and investment behavior as it is related to economic expansion and relative positions of ethnic groups in the occupational structure of Quebec deserves further investigation. Eventhough the trend in business financing is now towards the use of retain-

10. KEYFITZ, Nathan, "Some Demographic Aspects of French-English Relations in Canada", in J.C. Falardeau and Mason Wade, Canadian Dualism: Studies of French-English Relations, Laval and Toronto University Presses, 1962, pp. 129-149.

Table 7: Percent of French to Total Male Gainfully-Occupied Population, for Selected Occupations, Québec, 1931-1951 (*).

Occupations	1931	1941	1951
All Occupations	75.6%	79.1%	79.7%
Owners and Managers	65.1	66.2	65.5
in Manufacturing	58.3	50.4	48.1
Retail Trade	70.6	74.0	78.0
Wholesale	43.5	45.6	47.8
Professional	63.1	66.2	63.4
Engineers	36.1	36.	35.5
Lawyers	79.6	78.8	75.7
Physicians	70.1	69.6	69.7
Clerical	53.3	57.4	66.9
Commercial	66.9	72.5	73.6
Financial	59.8	64.9	67.5
Agricultural	88.6	90.9	91.6
Farmers	88.0	90.1	91.1
Laborers	89.3	91.9	92.2
Logging	91.3	93.2	94.9
Foremen	87.	88.3	92.7
Lumbermen	92.1	93.6	95.3
Manufacturing	70.4	73.9	79.0
Foremen	64.6	64.3	70.0
Stationary Engineers	57.5	69.9	76.8
Power Station Operators			
Construction	78.4	82.6	86.6
Foremen	69.2	77.2	80.4
Carpenters	84.8	87.8	90.6
Plumbers	76.8	81.8	86.5
Fishing	57.7	60.1	59.9
Mining	66.	63.3	73.7
Transportation, Communication	77.6	82.6	84.2
Chauffeurs	79.	84.5	85.8
Messengers	59.6	75.5	79.5
Truck drivers	82.5	87.4	90.0

Table 7: Cont'd

Occupations	1931	1941	1951
Service	64.3	71.	73.4
Laborers (Not in Agricultural, fishing, logging or mining)	76.	83.5	86.0

* Those Figures are drawn from Keytfitz's Table IV.

KEYTFITZ, Nathan, "Some Demographic Aspects of French-English Relations in Canada"; in J.C. Falardeau and Mason Wade, La dualité canadienne: Essais sur les relations entre Canadiens-français et Canadiens-anglais, Toronto and Laval University Presses, 1960, p. 141-142.

ed earnings, pension plans, or means other than private money; although the separation of management and control from ownership grows constantly, this field of research presents an historical and economic interest.

c) Number and size of manufacturing concerns

The number of available executive posts is tied to the number and size of corporate hierarchies. To get an approximative view of the emergence of Quebec large-scale enterprises, it has been possible to compute some percentages on different sizes of manufacturing concerns and their contribution to the gross value of production. In 1932, 1.3 percent of all establishments accounted for 50.4 percent of total industrial production. In 1960, the percentage of establishments with shipments worth in excess of a million dollars was 8.2 percent but they accounted for 79 percent of total sales value of products (See Table 8). Over the same period, the percentage of small establishments (under \$50,000.) decreased almost by half and their contribution to gross production shifted from 9 to 1.4 percent. Medium concerns (\$100,000. to \$999,000.) showed a proportionate increase, but their relative contribution to total value of factory shipments declined. For the two decades 1931-1951, figures tend to indicate a certain degree of concentration in businesses with shipment values of a million and over. Their proportion showed an increase of 2 percent, but their relative contribution shifted from 50 to 76 percent. Unhappily, it was

Table 8: Percentage Distribution of Manufacturing Establishments According to Gross Value of Products, Quebec, 1932, 1951, 1960.

Groups of Gross Value	1932		1951		1960	
	Establish-ments	Gross Value	Establish-ments	Gross Value	Establish-ments	Gross Value
Under 50,000	83.3%	9.0%	54.4%	2.2%	44.6%	1.4%
50,000 to 99,000	5.6	5.0	14.2	2.4	14.4	1.7
100,000 to 199,000	4.5	8.0	11.5	3.9	13.1	3.0
200,000 to 499,000	3.6	14.0	10.1	7.6	13.2	7.0
500,000 to 999,000	1.5	13.6	4.3	7.2	6.5	7.6
1 million and over	1.3	50.4	5.4	76.4	8.2	79.0
Number	7718	623,000,000	11861	4,916,000,000	11961	7,206,000,000

Sources: a) Types of Ownership and Size of Establishments Engaged in Manufacturing in Canada, Ottawa.

b) Appendix Table 1.

impossible to get census data on the size of establishments classified according to groups of gross value for the year 1941. Moreover, the data presented are not exactly comparable from one decade to another, since they do not take into account changes in price level and capital investment per worker.

However, these data enabled one to conclude that French and English-speaking business leaders were facing social pyramids of emerging or already established concerns, at least, in the manufacturing sector of the Quebec economy.

d) Population and income per capita

Population growth provides a good back-drop against which to set a brief analysis of changes in work force composition and income per capita. Over the period 1901-1961, Quebec population increases from 1,648, 898 to 5, 259,211. Interdecade percentage increases oscillated between 10 and 27% for Quebec; between 10 and 34% for Canada as a whole (11).

The population shift from rural areas to urban centers portrays the degree of urbanization. In 1901, 60 percent of the population was living in rural communities; in 1961, only 25 percent of Quebec population can be found in rural localities (12).

One of the most important changes occurred in the in-

11. Source: Quebec Yearbook, 1962, p. 36.

12. Source: Ibidem, p. 41.

dustrial structure of occupations. The active male population shifted from the primary sector (exploitation of natural resources: farming and mining) to the secondary (refining and manufacturing) and tertiary (services) sectors of the economy (12-14). From 1900 to 1961, occupations in the primary sector were filled by 47 percent of the gainfully-occupied male population; in 1961, by only 14 percent. The proportion of the labor force employed in the secondary sector increases from 23 to 37 percent. The work force is more and more concentrated in the service industries: transportation, commerce, finance, personal and public services. Data for the province of Ontario and for Canada as a whole reveal almost the same pattern of work force composition. In this sense, Quebec economic development shows a high degree of similarity to the pattern observed in other highly-developed countries.

Quebec's rapid economic growth is also characterized by increase in personal income. Income per capita in Quebec quadrupled during the period 1938 to 1961, growing from \$325. to \$1444. dollars; while it increased from \$365. to \$1660. for Canada as a whole over the same years (15).

13. Source: ALLEN, Patrick, Tendances récentes des emplois au Canada, Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, Documentation économique, Etude No 11, Montréal 1957.

14. FORTIN, Gérard, "Structure des occupations. Evolution et état actuel", in J.P. Montminy, L'Etude de la société, Presses Universitaires Laval, Québec, 1965, pp. 210-221.

15. RAYNAUD, André, op. cit., p. 200.

2- The Socio-Cultural Milieu

These highlights of economic development yield only a partial picture of Quebec's overall evolution as it concerns us here. The ideological context in which people live may also have a certain influence on the emergence and survival of large-scale enterprises. Cultural anthropologists, like Benedict, Kardiner and others, have revealed the existence of a relationship between social character formation and the cultural values embodied in family or educational institutions. Max Weber, the well-known sociologist, perceived a certain coincidence between the Protestant ethic and the emergence of a capitalistic society (16). Those protestant values e.g. hard work, thrift, perseverance, and foresight -celebrated by early English entrepreneurs were also the main ingredients conducive to occupational achievement and success in an impersonal market. To what extent have the French-Canadian's past ideologies and national character deterred or encouraged the blooming of entrepreneurial or managerial mindedness? Some sort of answer can be found in the countless, controversial essays written on this issue.

Ideologies are said to be collective representations by which a society attempts to define itself and protect its image

16. WEBER, Max, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, New York, Scribner, 1948, 292 pages.

against outside threat. In French Canada, ideologies have been formulated by religious and political leaders, and historians. The main ingredients of the French-Canadian's self-image are French culture and language, and Roman Catholicism.

It was the early teachings and social thinking of the clergy that shaped one of French Canada's earliest ideological sets. Religious leaders, it is generally accepted, had a predilection for equating the rural way of life with a Christian and French Canadian way of life. They believed that French-Canadians had a "peasant vocation" (the phrase itself conveying a sacred meaning).

As a matter of fact, countless were the admonitions to be faithful to the land. Even after the depression years, the land was still looked upon as "a point of return". An extract from Father Ares' book provides an illustration: "By tradition, vocation, as well as by necessity, we are a people of peasants. Everything that takes us away from the land diminishes and weakens us as a people and encourages cross-breeding, duplicity and treason" (17).

This mode of thought was in radical opposition to urban living and its business activities, looked upon as a cold, depersonalized, and materialistic way of life. In the minds of

17. ARES, Richard, S.J., Notre question nationale, Montréal, Editions de l'Action nationale, 1943, p. 225.

these leaders (mainly clergy), a "natural milieu", as defined by George Friedman, was the ideal context for the blossoming of moral virtues, and the reconstruction of a Christendom which had existed in France during the Middle Ages. Here indeed was little incitement for the French Canadian to get hold of industry and, by doing so, reduce his economic dependance. Paradoxical as it may seem, the official thinking of the Church in Rome on social matters was not, at that time, in opposition to capitalism, industrialization, or urbanization.

Since, from the conquest on, the clergy had to take responsibility for a large share of the French community's social organization, it is not surprising that educational institutions came to serve and embody this Renaissance of medieval Christendom. This meant, among other things, that higher education paid little attention to anything except the liberal arts and those practical arts necessary to the service of a rural community. The classical college offered a curriculum centered on humanities, religion, and philosophy. These disciplines opened the door to university education. Priesthood, medicine and law became highly-valued and attractive professions as they were useful in the rural context. "As to the businessmen", in the words of Maurice Tremblay, "whatever the success of his enterprises may be, he is far from having attained the social status equal to the one achieved by liberal

professions" (18). There was a complementary ideological current which may be called "nationalism". This feeling of nationalism is difficult to define due to the many facets of its manifestation. French Canada's nationalism was a normal reaction against obstacles which seemed to threaten its ethnic entity. Expressions of nationalism reached a high degree of crystallization at the turn of the century with Bourrassa and Canon Groulx. They coalesced particularly around the defense of certain rights guaranteed by the constitution and the desire for economic independence. Even today this nationalism survives, for French origin, language and Catholicism are still the important components of French-Canadian identity and those by which he is represented.

From this cursory analysis of ideologies, it can be concluded that French-Canadians have evolved in a tradition-directed context. Tradition-directedness as a social character is likely to produce individuals who are most comfortable and efficient within a "natural milieu", where each person owns his own tools of production, is in daily contact with the raw material as well as the finished product; where family and community are basic social units. This may explain the French-Canadian's difficulties in coping with a changing technical milieu characterized by manpower, territorial mobility, rational calculations, profitability, efficiency and growth.

18. TREMELAY, Maurice, "Orientations de la pensée sociale" in J.C. Falardeau (ed.), Essays on Contemporary Quebec, Presses Universitaires Laval, Québec 1953, p. 201.

Conclusions on this point seem to find support in the results of research conducted by Norman Taylor in 1957 on French-Canadian industrial entrepreneurs. He finds that their manufacturing undertakings tend to be family-oriented. This orientation is expressed by a resistance to growth beyond the circle of family relationships. Growth is also handicapped by "a resistance to the acceptance of equity capital from outside sources, by a reluctance to surrender any degree of administrative as well as financial, control of businesses". Taylor concluded that "comparisons between (the) attitudes of (the French-Canadian industrial entrepreneur) and those of his English-speaking counterpart have emphasized the fact that, by tradition, temperament, and training he clings to a different world of business from that which predominates in North America" (19).

The foregoing outline of the main characteristics of the socio-economic and cultural evolution of Quebec brings into focus two points highly pertinent to the present study. The first is that Quebec has enjoyed a rate and pattern of economic growth consonant with the rest of North America due mostly to the initiative and direction of an Anglo-Canadian minority which by language and cultural context, was closer to its American and English partners than to its French-Canadian neighbors. The

19. TAYLOR, N.W., "The French-Canadian Industrial Entrepreneur and his Social Environment", in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds), French-Canadian Society, McClelland and Stewart Ltd, Toronto 1964, pp. 271-295.

second point centers on the fact that Quebec's French-Canadian majority did not get in on the ground-work of the province's economic structure but continued to live and evolve in a cultural context out of contact with and even hostile to the burgeoning of a new industrial economy. As the effects of cultural formation do not vanish like Cheshire-smiles, the French-Canadian still finds himself in a peculiar situation regarding his participation in the economic development of his province - although the situation now seems to be changing. Considering these things, the French-speaking business leader's mobility rate can be expected to be dissimilar from that of his English-speaking counterpart. The avenues of upward mobility may also be different for the two groups.

C h a p t e r I I I

OCCUPATIONAL ORIGINS AND MOBILITY RATES OF QUEBEC BUSINESS LEADERS

In all advanced societies, the father's occupation is an essential component of the barometer for measuring degree of occupational mobility. Intergenerational comparisons of occupational background enable one to ascertain whether or not the sons are mobile or whether they tend to succeed their fathers into elite positions. What is looked for is what similarities and differences exist on this point between: all Quebec business leaders and American ones; between French and English-speaking leaders. Differences and similarities pertain to occupational origins, mobility rates, and the degree of representation of various occupational categories within the economic elite. The analysis will also suggest to what extent occupational structures are closed or opened.

1- Occupational Origins

The sample of present-day Quebec business leaders was asked to state the occupation of their fathers at the time they themselves became self-supporting. One hundred sixty four out of 167 French-speaking and 208 out of 219 English-speaking businessmen responded. The percentage distribution of answers is recorded in Tables 9 and 10. To facilitate comparisons between

**Table 9: Occupations of the Fathers of 1963 Quebec Business Leaders and of 1952 U.S. Business Leaders.
(7 categories)**

Occupation of Father	U.S. Leaders (1952)	All Quebec Business Leaders	French Canadians	English Canadians
Business Executive	26.0%	26.6%	20.0%	31.7%
Business Owner	26.0	21.7	27.4	17.3
Professional man	14.0	14.5	10.8	17.2
Clerical worker	8.0	13.0	11.0	14.4
Farmer	9.0	5.1	5.5	4.8
Laborer	15.0	14.4	20.1	10.1
Other	2.0	4.4	4.9	4.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.6

Number of French-speaking respondents 164
Number of English-speaking respondents 208.

Table 10: Occupations of the Fathers of 1963 Quebec Business Leaders and 1952 U.S. Business Leaders.
(20 occupations).

Occupation of Father	Americans (Warner's)	All Quebec Business Leaders	French Canadians	English Canadians
Business Executive: Major executive	14.6	12.4	6.1	17.3
Minor executive	7.4	11.8	10.9	12.5
Foreman	3.1	2.4	3.0	1.9
Business owner: Owner of large business	2.4	4.3	6.1	2.9
Owner of medium business	6.4	7.2	8.5	6.2
Owner of small business	17.7	10.2	12.8	8.2
Professional man: Doctors	2.2	2.9	2.4	3.4
Engineer	2.2	1.6	1.2	1.9
Lawyer	3.2	3.5	2.4	4.3
Accountant	-	2.1	3.0	1.4
Minister	2.3	-	-	-
Other	4.2	4.3	1.8	6.2
Clerical Worker: Salesman	5.9	6.0	8.0	4.3
Clerk or retail	2.5	7.0	3.0	10.1
Farmer: Farm owner	7.9	4.3	3.7	4.8
Farm worker	0.7	0.8	1.8	0.0
Laborer: Skilled worker	10.3	9.6	15.2	5.3
Unskilled or semi-skilled	4.5	4.8	4.9	4.8
Other occupations: Military career	0.3	1.3	0.6	1.9
Government service	1.8	2.1	3.1	1.4
Other occupations	0.4	1.0	1.2	0.9
TOTAL	100.	100.	100.	100.

Quebec and U.S. leaders, the data collected by Lloyd Warner are also reported in these tables.

a) American and all Quebec business leaders

The distribution of percentages show that business executives and owners are the major sources of the business elite in both Quebec and the U.S. About half of each category of leaders are sons of fathers who were in business as large, medium, and small owners or as major, minor executives and foremen. Percentage differences between American and all Quebec business leaders for these occupations do not go beyond 4 percent.

Turning to the clerical and farming occupations, there are slight but noticeable differences. Thirteen per cent of the American fathers and 8 percent of the Quebec fathers are clerical workers, while 5.1 percent of American and 9.0 percent of Quebec businessmen are sons of farmers. An equal proportion of American and Quebec business leaders start from two occupational groups: professional men and laborers.

Using Table 10 where data are recorded for 20 occupations, it can be observed that the most marked differences reside in only three occupations: minor executives, clerk or retail workers, and farm owners. The remaining occupations show a fairly similar distribution of fathers' origins for American business leaders and all Quebec businessmen.

In light of the socio-economic setting described in chapter II, this striking similarity of occupational origins between American and all Quebec business leaders becomes understandable. It has been carefully pointed out that the socio-economic evolution of Quebec followed the development pattern which is common to most industrializing societies, as far as rate of economic growth and sectorial shifts in the composition of the work force are concerned. However, it was underlined that there are important differences in the participation of the French and English-speaking elements in the socio-economic life of Quebec. For this reason, it is to be expected that French and English-speaking leaders will show marked differences of occupational origins.

b) French and English-speaking leaders

The percentage distribution of leaders according to their father's occupations are recorded in Table 9 and Table 10. Again, it can be seen that about 50 percent of the leaders from each ethnic group are sons of fathers who were in business as executives or owners. However, when a separate analysis of this percentage is made for the two ethnic groups and for each of the two occupational categories, marked differences show up. Twenty-seven percent of French-speaking but only 17.3 percent of English-speaking leaders are born to fathers' who were in business as owners - a comparison which is almost reversible for the business executive occupational category. (See Table 9). Nearly, thirteen percent of French-speaking leaders are sons of small business

owners, where as 17.3 percent of English-speaking leaders are sons of major business executives. (See Table 10).

The professions account for 10.8 percent of the French-Canadian business elite and 17.2 of the English-speaking one.

The proportion of French-speaking businessmen originating from the laboring class is twice as great as the proportion for English-speaking leaders; 20 percent and 10 percent respectively.

Fathers of French-speaking leaders appear to be concentrated in the skilled-worker occupations; 15.2 percent as compared to 5.3 percent for their English-speaking counterparts. (See Table 10).

The clerical worker category gives the following breakdown: 14.4 percent English-speaking, 11 percent French-speaking. Here English-speaking leaders originate largely from clerical or retail occupations, whereas French-speaking leaders are more often sons of fathers who were salesmen. (See Table 10).

The remaining part of the elite are sons of men from other occupations; particularly, from government service in the case of French-Canadian executives.

This analysis of the occupational origins of Quebec business leaders may at first lead us to conclude that, in as much as the largest part of its economic elite is recruited within the business owner and executive occupational categories,

Quebec does not deviate from the pattern which tends to prevail in advanced industrialized societies. However, the conclusion would be only partially true, for the French-speaking leaders do not follow the pattern. The two largest proportions of the French elite are not sons of major or minor executives (as is true for the English) but come rather from skilled worker and small-owner categories.

A tentative explanation of these differences between French and English may be found in the studies pertaining to the relative composition of the work force mentioned in both chapters I and II. These studies reveal that English Canadians traditionally held positions of great authority in emerging large-scale Quebec business. They are more heavily concentrated in upper-white collar occupations while French Canadians tend to be over-represented in blue-collar ones.

2- Amount of Mobility

A- Over-all mobility rates

Occupational mobility, be it vertical or horizontal, may be ascertained by finding the percentage of business leaders who are born to fathers outside major-executive and large-business owner occupations. The important question here is: Do businessmen tend to succeed their fathers in top-executive positions? The answer will be given, first, for American and all Quebec leaders; then, for French and English-speaking leaders.

a) American and all Quebec leaders

By adding percentages of fathers in major-executive and large-business owner categories (Table 10), it can be observed that an almost equal proportion of American and Quebec leaders tend to succeed their fathers into elite position; 17 percent and 16.7 percent respectively. The remaining 83 percent of leaders are sons of men who were in 18 other different occupations. Thus, the over-all mobility rate is about the same for American to all Quebec business executives.

b) French and English-speaking leaders

Considering both ethnic groups separately, it can be found that only 12 percent of French-speaking and 20 percent of English-speaking executives tend to succeed their fathers in top-level business positions. The remaining 88 percent of French and 80 percent of English leaders originate from the 18 other occupations. The over-all mobility rate of French-speaking business executives is of 8 percent greater than that of English-speaking business leaders.

E- Vertical mobility rates

A rough estimate of the degree of vertical mobility may be had by using the following occupational class scale which was established in the first chapter of this report.

Level 1. Proprietors, managers and professional men.

Level 2. Medium, small owners; minor executives, foremen; clerical workers and salesmen.

Level 3. Farmers, laborers, skilled and semi-skilled workers.

a) American and all Quebec business leaders

Do American leaders tend to come in greater numbers from middle and lower-level occupations than all Quebec business leaders? This question can be answered by adding up percentages recorded in Table 10 for those occupations which comprise what were called levels 2 and 3. About an equal proportion of American (43%) and Quebec leaders (44.6%) are born to fathers in occupations listed at level 2. Twenty four percent of American businessmen and 19.5 percent of Quebec leaders originated from occupations enumerated at level 3. On this count alone, it can be concluded that American leaders tend to originate from middle and lower-level strata in a slightly greater proportion (3%) than all Quebec business leaders.

b) French and English-speaking leaders

Turning to the analysis of percentage distributions for French and English, it can be observed that 46.2 percent of French-speaking and 43.2 percent of English-speaking executives are sons of men in middle-level occupations: a differential of 3 percent. Twenty-five percent of the French-speaking leaders and 15 percent of the English-speaking ones are born to fathers in lower-level strata: a differential of 10 percent.

So it can be found that the proportion of French-speaking leaders originating from middle and lower strata is 13 percent higher as compared with their English-speaking counterparts. However, this over-all differential is an unweighted rate, since calculations overlook the differences between a shift from level 3 to level 1 and a shift from level 2 to level 1.

These observations lead to conclude that American leaders show a slightly greater degree of vertical mobility than all Quebec business leaders. French-Canadian leaders were more mobile than their English-Canadian counterparts. A detailed examination of differential mobility patterns will appear in a subsequent chapter.

3- Degree of Representation and Fluidity in Occupational Structures

It is possible to assess the degree of closeness or openness of occupational structures by finding out whether or not some occupational categories supply a greater share of the economic elite than their proportion in the general population. The definition and measure of the degree of representation have been given in the first chapter of this report.

Table 11 provides data for evaluating the degree of over-representation and under-representation for nine different categories. Data are given for all Quebec business leaders and for each ethnic group separately. The percentage distributions by

Table 11. Occupational Distribution of the Fathers of 1963 Business Leaders and Quebec Male Adult Population, by Ethnic Groups for 1931.

OCCUPATION	All Quebec		French-Canadians		English-Canadians	
	<u>Business Leaders</u> % of Fathers of 1963 Business Leaders	% of total Quebec Po- pulation (1931)	% of Fathers of 1963 Busi- ness Leaders	% of total Male Adult Population in 1931	% of Fathers of 1963 Busi- ness Leaders	% of total Quebec Male Adult Popu- lation
Business Executives and Owners	45.9	5.6	44.4	5.2	47.1	7.5
Professional Men	14.4	4.2	10.8	3.5	17.2	7.6
Clerical Salesmen, and Agents	13.0	10.3	11.0	8.3	14.4	19.8
Foremen Supervisors	2.4	1.3	3.0	1.1	1.9	2.4
Farm Owners	4.3	14.6	3.7	16.0	4.8	9.0
Skilled Laborers	9.6	23.3	15.2	23.1	5.3	24.1
Unskilled, Semi-skilled Laborers	4.8	25.5	4.9	26.5	4.5	21.2
Farm Laborers	0.8	14.5	1.8	16.0	0.7	7.7
Other Occupation	4.4	0.4	4.9	0.3	4.2	0.6

ethnic groups of the total male gainfully-occupied population were obtained from a reorganization of 1931 census data. Numerical distribution and methods of obtaining it are given in the chapter dealing with research methods and techniques. (Chapter I).

The year 1931 was chosen as this seemed the closest census date relevant to the research on the occupational categories of the respondents' fathers. The average age of the respondent at the time data were collected (1963) was about 50. It was thought that, as they probably became self-supporting at the age of 20, the answers they gave on father's occupation were for census year 1931.

Unfortunately, it was impossible to get data on the number of business owners by size of establishments. Consequently, business executives (foremen excepted) and owners have been placed in one occupational category, and percentages have been computed accordingly.

A rapid reading of the figures in Table 11 reveals that two occupational categories - professional men, business executives and owners - provide a greater share of leaders than their proportion in the entire population. Farm owners, skilled, semi-skilled workers, and laborers are under-represented in the business elite. These observations apply to all Quebec business leaders and to French and English-speaking leaders taken separately.

A more precise assessment of the degree of representation can be obtained by calculating the ratio between the proportion of the total 1931 population and the proportion of the fathers of Quebec business leaders contained in each occupational category.

These various ratios are recorded in Table 12 for American, all Quebec business leaders, for French and English-speaking leaders. Ratios are also ranked according to the importance of each occupational category. Ratios and rankings will enable one to ascertain which occupations provide more or less than their share of the total population.

One important pattern emerging from data recorded in Table 12 is the high degree of similarity among the rankings. American, all Quebec, and French-speaking leaders show exactly the same ranking. The only break in the pattern concerns the reverse ranking of farm-owner and skilled-laborer occupations in the case of English-speaking leaders.

The business-executive and owner category is over-represented in the business elite. This occupational category feeds into top-executive posts more than 5 to 8 times its proportionate share of the total male-adult population. The professions are the second best suppliers of business elite. Farm-owners, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, and farm laborers are occupations which provide less than their share of the business elite. These occupations are all under-represented both in the Quebec and U.S. economic elite.

Table 12: Sources of Quebec 1963 and U.S. 1952 Business Leaders.

OCCUPATION	Americans (Warner 1952)*		All Quebec Business Leaders		French- Canadians		English- Canadians	
	Ratio	Rank Order	Ratio	Rank Order	Ratio	Rank Order	Ratio	Rank Order
Business executives and owners	5.44*	1	8.20	1	8.53	1	6.28	1
Professional men	3.50	2	3.42	2	3.08	2	2.26	2
Clerical, Salesmen and agents	0.80	4	1.26	4	1.32	4	0.73	4
Foremen	1.33	3	1.84	3	2.72	3	0.79	3
Farm owners	0.45	6	0.30	6	0.23	6	0.53	5
Skilled Laborers	0.63	5	0.41	5	0.66	5	0.45	6
Unskilled, semi- skilled laborers	0.16	7	0.18	7	0.18	7	0.21	7
Farm Laborers	0.00	8	0.05	8	0.11	8	0.09	8

* Since we do not have the number small business owners, we rearranged Warner's Table 3, p. 41, by adding small business owners percentage to the one of minor executive, major executive, owner of large business and we computed the ratios accordingly.

* Proportional representation = 1.00

Sharp differences show up for the two middle-level occupations, clerical workers and foremen, among the four groups of business leaders. In the American economic elite, clerical workers are under-represented (0.80), while this is not so for all Québec business elite (1.26). Clerical workers and foreman are represented in excess of their proportion (1.32 and 2.72) in the case of French-speaking leaders. These same occupations are under-represented (0.73 and .79) in the English-speaking elite.

As far as the ranking of occupations is concerned, these observations lead us to conclude that access to the business elite is relatively difficult for sons who are born to fathers in occupational categories other than those of professional men, business executives and owners. This pattern of access to the elite appears fairly similar among the four different groups of leaders. The French-Canadian structure, however, shows less rigidity than the English-Canadian, since two categories in the middle of the occupational class scale provide more than their share of the French-Canadian economic elite.

4- The Professions as Source of Business Leaders

Let us now focus on a detailed examination of one important occupational category as a source of business leaders: the professions. Comparisons between U.S. and all Québec business leaders can be made for three professions: engineering, law, and medicine. Figures recorded in Table 13 show that law is the best supplier of the economic elite: eleven times its share of the

Table 13: The Professions as Sources of Quebec and U.S. Business Leaders

Profession	Percentage of 1931 male Adult Population		Percentage of fathers of Business Leaders		Ratios of Percentages	
	Quebec	U.S.	Quebec (1963)	U.S. (1952)	Quebec	U.S.
Minister						
Accountant	--	0.41				
Auditor	0.597	--	2.15	--	3.60	--
Engineer	0.663	0.52	1.61	2.2	2.42	4.80
Lawyer	0.302	0.46	3.50	3.2	11.58	8.00
Doctor	0.333	0.51	2.95	2.2	8.95	4.78
Professor	0.251	--	1.07	--	4.26	--
Other professions	2.072	2.47	3.22	4.2	1.55	--
All professional men	4.221	4.34	14.50	14.0	3.43	3.50

Warner, W.L., op. cit., p. 43.

total male working population in Quebec and eight times its share in the United States. Engineers are over-represented to a greater extent in U.S. (4.80 times) than in Quebec (2.42 times) while doctors are over-represented to a greater extent in Quebec (8.85 times) than in the U.S. (4.78 times). When ratios are computed for all professions, it can be observed that they provide an almost equal share of the economic elite (3.4 and 3.5 in the province of Quebec and as in the United States.

Turning to comparisons between French and English within the province of Quebec, more marked differences can be expected. It has already been mentioned that the French-Canadian educational system was largely geared to the production of attractive occupations such as doctors, lawyers, and priests. Consequently they have been traditionally considered poor providers of the business elite.

According to Table 14, 10.8 percent of French-speaking business leaders are sons of professional men, whereas 17.2 percent of the English-speaking group are sons of men in this category. Taking the percentages on face value, one would conclude that professions are a more important source of business executives for English-Canadians than they are for French-Canadians.

However, as soon as the proportion of professional men in the working population is taken into account, the situation looks different. Professional men are in fact over-repre-

Table 14: The Professions as Sources of Quebec Business Leaders

Profession	Percentage of 1931 Male Adult Population		Percentage of fathers of 1963 Business Leaders		Ratios of percentages	
	French- Canadians	English- Canadians	French- Canadians	English- Canadians	French- Canadians	English- Canadians
Accountant Auditor	0.36	1.68	3.0	1.4	8.33	0.83
Engineer	0.33	2.16	1.2	1.9	3.63	0.87
Lawyer	0.31	0.26	2.4	4.3	7.74	16.53
Doctor	0.31	0.45	2.4	3.4	7.74	7.55
Professor	0.27	0.14	0.0	1.9	0.00	13.57
Other Professions	1.89	2.90	1.8	4.3*	0.95	0.32

* 4.3% instead of 6.2 as indicated in Table 4 because the occupation "Professor" has been separated from the category "other professions".

mented in the French business elite by a factor of three in the English-speaking group. (See Table 14).

When the professional group is broken down into its components: accountant, engineer, lawyer, doctor, professor, and other professions, important differences between French and English can be pointed out.

Of all professions accounting is the most important provider of the French-speaking business elite. Law and medicine are the second most important suppliers. Accountants provide 8 times and lawyers and doctors 7 times more than their respective shares of the French-Canadian working population.

Accountants and engineers are under-represented in the English-Canadian business elite. They provide less than their share of the working population: 0.83 and 0.87 respectively. Law is the most important supplier of business executives. After lawyers, in order of decreasing proportions, come professors (13.57) and doctors (7.55).

Finally, professions other than the ones studied above are under-represented in the business elite.

5- Summary of Findings and Possible Limitations

A certain number of major findings sift through the foregoing analyses of occupational origins, amount of mobility

and degree of representation for American and Quebec business leaders. It is now possible to summarize and relate them to the economic and cultural context described in chapter II.

1. A large proportion of the men who hold positions of power and prestige in both the United States and Quebec business hierarchies have fathers who were already in business as owners or executives. Recruiting of the business elite shows a fairly similar pattern that can be best explained by referring to a shared context of major changes which have occurred over the last decades in the entire North-American economy. The decline of the agricultural sector; the emergence of large-scale service industries in the fields of communications, transportation, finance, and retail; the growth of gross national product; the increase in the standard of living; the movement toward industrial concentration, and the shifts in the composition of the labor force are some of the important changes that took place first in the U.S. economy and soon after in the province of Quebec.

2. French and English-speaking leaders show important differences as to occupational origins. The two largest proportions of French leaders originate from men who were skilled workers and small business owners, whereas the two largest percentages of English-speaking leaders are sons of major and minor executives. This particular finding can be also explained by looking into the socio-economic and cultural context. English-speaking executives

have long been looked upon as the initiators of Quebec economic development. It is a matter of fact, (the studies about the relative composition of Quebec labor force corroborate it), that English-speaking have customarily held a larger share of the top positions in emerging corporations than their numbers in the total Quebec population would warrant. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the two largest proportions of English-speaking leaders are sons of fathers who had already established a firm hold in the management of Quebec business enterprises. These same studies (see Chapter I) show French-speaking people more concentrated in small business and in lower-level occupations. To find that French-speaking leaders are more likely to be sons of fathers who started their own business, who tried the hard way, or who were skilled workers is not then a surprise.

3. The section dealing with the amount of mobility shows than an equal proportion of American and Quebec business leaders tend to succeed their fathers into elite positions. However, French-speaking leaders are more often likely to come from lower-level strata than English-speaking businessmen. This is not surprising for, as summary 2 points out, the former have less opportunity to follow their fathers in elite positions than do the latter. Consequently, French-Canadians, heavily concentrated in lower-level occupations, have to be more mobile in order to reach the summit of business hierarchies.

4. Another important finding bears upon access to the

business elite. The analysis of the degree of representation of various occupations in the business elite reveals that difficulties of access to the economic elite are about the same for the four groups of leaders studied.

It was observed that sons of men in lower occupational strata are under-represented in the American business elite as well as in the French and English-speaking business elite of the province of Quebec. However, French-Canadian occupational structure appears more open than the English-speaking one, since in the case of the former clerical workers and foremen supply more than their share of business executives.

Concerning ethnicity vs occupational origin as an avenue to top-level business positions, it is concluded that occupational origin plays a more important role than ethnicity in opening the road to the summit of business enterprises.

5. The data pertaining to professions do not give strong support to the persistent belief that the Quebec educational system oriented toward the liberal arts has been a deterrent to business careers. As a matter of fact, the professions provide more businessmen than their share of the total male working population. Accounting and engineering are better suppliers of the business elite in the case of French-Canadians than in the case of their English-speaking counterparts.

Table 15: Occupational Origins of the Fathers of 1963 Quebec Business Leaders when they were the Same Age as the Sons were at the Time of the Study.

Occupation of Father (7 groups)	French- Canadians %	English- Canadians %	Occupation of your father (20 groups)	French- Canadians %	English- Canadians %
Business Executive	20	30.1	Major executive	9.1	15.3
			Minor executive	6.7	12.9
			Foreman	4.2	1.9
Business Owner	22.4	17.7	Large owner	3.0	3.8
			Medium owner	7.9	7.2
			Small owner	11.5	6.7
Professional Man	12.6	17.1	Doctor	2.4	3.3
			Engineer	1.8	1.9
			Lawyer	3.0	3.3
			Accountant	3.0	1.9
			Other	2.4	6.7
White-Collar Worker	12.8	13.9	Salesman	7.9	4.8
			Clerk	4.9	9.1
Farmer	5.5	4.8	Farm owner	4.9	4.8
			Farm worker	0.6	0.0
Laborer	18.9	9.6	Skilled worker	12.8	6.7
			Unskilled-Semi-skilled	6.1	2.9
Other Occupations	4.2	5.2	Military Career	0.6	2.4
			Government Service	2.4	1.4
			Other occupations	1.2	1.4
No answer	3.0	1.0		3.0	1.0

* Percentages have been calculated on the basis of 164 French-speaking and 208 English-speaking respondents that is the number of respondent to the question: "Occupation of your father at the start of your career?"

Table 16: Occupational Origins of the Fathers at two Different Periods of Time in the Life of their Sons: at the Start of their Career and at their Present Age. Differences expressed in Percentages.

Occupation of Father	<u>PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES</u>	
	French-Canadians	English-Canadians
Business Executive	0.0	-1.6
Business Owner	-5.0	+0.4
Professional Man	+1.8	-0.1
White-Collar Worker	+1.8	-0.5
Farmer	0.0	0.0
Laborer	-1.2	-0.5
Other Occupation	0.7	+1.0
Unknown	+3.0	1.0

6- Possible Limitations of the Research on Occupational Origins

One may argue that the father's position may have changed after the son began his work career. So it could happen that a father reported as a small owner at the time his son became self-supporting may have shifted from one position to another or even from one level to another in the course of his son's career. If this were so, the findings of this research involve severe limitations. Foreseeing this problem of possible position shifts, the respondents were asked to give the position of their father when he was their age. It was then possible to compare occupations of fathers at two different periods of time.

Occupations of the fathers of business leaders when they were the same age as their sons at the time of the study are recorded in Table 15. Differences in fathers' occupations at the two periods of time are calculated in Table 16. They are derived from comparisons between Table 8 and Table 15. For seven occupational groups we detect only one major change. Twenty-seven percent of French-Canadian leaders were sons of business owners when they became self-supporting and only 22 percent were sons of business owners when their fathers were their age. No important changes occurred in the case of English-speaking executives fathers.

Therefore, the data collected on occupational origins of business leaders at the time they became self-supporting appear reliable for percentage calculations and comparisons.

C h a p t e r I V

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF QUEBEC

BUSINESS LEADERS

In a world of technological changes, the emphasis on increasing educational facilities and a greater access to education for all citizens can be easily understood. It seems, in fact, that economic advancement and status improvement can be more easily secured with the acquisition of new knowledge and qualifications. However, it is still possible to maintain a high-level status or climb up the social pyramid of corporate systems without formal high school and university education or without the kind of education which is directly connected with a career in business administration.

The purpose of this chapter is to find out the extent of educational attainment of Quebec business leaders. More precisely, an attempt will be made to answer the following questions:

1. What proportion of French-speaking leaders in comparison with their English-speaking counterparts have a university education? How many of them chose to make a career in business and succeeded without a formal university education? In other words, how many tried the hard way to reach the top?

2. Did Quebec business leaders attain a higher degree of education than the general population?
3. To what degree educated men come from higher occupational backgrounds than from lower ones?
4. Are there any relationships between nativity, size of business and educational attainment?
5. What are the similarities or differences between the educational levels of leaders' fathers and the educational attainment of the leaders themselves?
6. How many of them kept on improving their knowledge through additional business courses or formal training within the company for which they worked?

1. Educational Attainment of Present-day Business Leaders

Similarities and differences between French and English-speaking leaders are revealed in Table 17. About 80 percent of English-speaking executives got a university* education as compared with 68 percent in the case of French-speaking leaders. Thirteen percent of each ethnic origin entered university but did not obtain a degree. About one fifth of the French-speaking leaders tried the hard way. They entered business with some years of high

* In the case of French-Canadian leaders, Philosophy I and II have been placed at the university level. (See Chapter 2 and Appendix II for more details).

Table 17: Education of Quebec Business Leaders and the General Population in 1961.

Education	Quebec Male Population (25 years and over) in 1961	1963 Business Leaders	
		French- Canadians	English- Canadians
Less than High School	74.6	8.4	1.4
Some High School	5.1	11.4	3.2
High School Graduate	12.0	12.6	16.0
Some University	3.3	13.2	13.7
University Graduate and Post-graduate	5.0	54.5	65.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.1	100.0

school or without any high school education at all. Only 4.6 percent of English-speaking leaders terminated their formal schooling without obtaining a high school or a university degree.

Studying the education of the American business elite, Warner and Abegglen discovered that 76 percent of business leaders went to college and 57 percent graduated (1). At this level of education, Quebec English-speaking leaders surpass American executives. French-Canadian leaders lag a bit. However, self-made men, those who chose the hard way, are found in a greater proportion among French-speaking executives than among English-Canadian or American ones. There are thus marked differences in the educational attainments of French and English leaders.

2. Education of the General Population and the Business Leaders

Data on the educational level of the adult male population, by highest grade attained, are reported in Table 17. Census data have been rearranged to fit the categories of educational levels listed on the questionnaire*. Unhappily, it was impossible to get figures for people of different ethnic origins. Percentage calculations show that three quarters (74.6 percent) of the general population in 1961 terminated its formal schooling

1. WARNER, W.L., and ABEGLLEN, J.C., op. cit. p. 96.

* See Chapter I for additional details.

after completion of the eight grade or less, compared with 8.4 percent of French-speaking and 1.4 percent of English-speaking leaders. Had the figure corresponding to the average age of the business leaders (about 50 years) been taken, greater differences between the general population and the business leaders would probably have been found. The proportions of university graduates and post-graduates among business leaders are respectively eleven and thirteen times more than those for the adult male population of the province of Quebec; the proportion of business leaders who spent a few years at the university without graduating is four times higher. However, a similarity appears between leaders and general population in the case of French-Canadians at high school graduation level; here the proportions are almost identical. In general, data lead to conclude that mobile men have attained a higher degree of education than the general population. It may seem paradoxical that as it was mentioned in a previous chapter French-speaking leaders are slightly more mobile, now that their educational attainment is discovered to be lower than that observed in the case of English-speaking leaders. Educational attainment seems to play a less important role as an avenue to the top for French-speaking leaders. However, data should be interpreted with caution since graduation and post-graduation involve more years of schooling in French educational institutions than in English ones. To shed more light on this issue and to get possible explanations, the investigation has to be pushed further.

3. Occupational Origins and Educational Attainment

One possible explanation for the lower degree of educational attainment among French as compared to English-speaking leaders may be found in the relationship between the leaders' occupational backgrounds and their educational achievement. It has already been said that French-speaking leaders come from lower occupational levels in a greater proportion than their English-speaking counterparts. Moreover, it is reasonable to think that parents in low-level occupations could not afford, in the past the degree of education they wished for their offspring.

The data recorded in Table 18 tend to support this assertion. Forty-four percent of French-speaking laborers' and farmers' sons attended university as compared to 77 percent of those of English-speaking executives. Within the former occupational class 22 percent of French and 3 percent of English-speaking leaders did not advance beyond the eight grade; however, 34 percent attended high school as compared with 20 percent of English-speaking leaders.

When one looks at the upper end of the occupational-class scale, he can find that over 81 percent of the sons of large owners, major executives and professional men got a university education. Differences are more impressive in the case of

Table 18: Occupational Mobility and the Education of 1963 Quebec Business Leaders

Occupation of Father (Groups)	Less than High School		High School		University	
	French- Canadians	English- Canadians	French- Canadians	English- Canadians	French- Canadians	English- Canadians
Major Executive and large Owner	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	19%	100%	81%
Professional Man	5	-	5	11	90	89
Minor Executive foreman medium and small owner	5	2	28	17	67	81
Sales and Clerical White-Collar Worker	-	3	28	24	72	73
Farmer and Laborer	22	3	34	20	44	77
All Occupations	8.4	1.4	24.0	19.2	67.6	79.4

Occupation of father unknown: 3 French and 11 English speaking Canadians -

Other occupations: 9 in each case -

French-Canadians, since sons of large owners and major executives all attended university.

The proportions of sons of minor executives, foremen, medium and small owners who spent some years at university whether they graduated or not, are 67 percent for French and 81 percent for English-speaking leaders. The proportions are almost identical for both ethnic groups in the case of salesmen's and clerical workers' sons.

4. Nativity, Size of Business and Education

In the second chapter, the most important differences characterizing the socio-cultural context within which Quebec leaders live were pointed out. One of those differences pertained to educational institutions and suggests another possible explanation for the lower degree of educational attainment among French-speaking leaders, that of the relationship between place of birth, ethnic origin and the degree of education attained. Data bearing on this point are reported in Table 19.

More than 90 percent of French-speaking leaders were born in Quebec, as compared to about 80 percent of English-speaking executives who were born outside the province of Quebec. The proportion of leaders who got a university education outside Quebec is greater than the proportion of French speaking leaders who attained the same educational level in the province of

Table 19: Nativity and Education of Quebec Business Leaders

Education	P l a c e o f B i r t h									
	Quebec		Ontario		Other Provinces		Outside Canada		All Leaders	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Less than High School	9.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.4%	1.4%
High School	24.5	23.4	25.0	17.0	0.0	21.0	0.0	17.4	24.0	19.2
University	66.4	72.6	75.0	78.4	100.0	79.0	-	82.6	67.6	79.4
Percentage of respondents	93.0	21.5	3.0	30.0	1.3	20.0	2.7	29.0	100.0	100.0

Quebec. Differences range between 82.6 percent and 66.7 percent when one disregards the percentages of French-speaking businessmen who were born outside the province of Quebec.

At the high school level, the trend appears reversed. Twenty-four percent of Quebec-born French leaders attended high school, the proportion being smaller for the English-speaking born outside Quebec. Thus the pattern revealed by the data tend to support the tentative explanation of a lower degree of educational attainment for French-Canadian leaders. However, all comparisons are based on the implicit assumption that leaders received education in their place of birth. Data are reliable to the extent that this assumption holds true.

Studying the relationship between the size of business and the educational attainment of executives, Taussig and Joslyn came to the conclusion that the larger the business the greater the number of college-educated men (2). Data recorded in Table 20 check with the findings of Taussig and Joslyn.

University-educated leaders are found in greater proportion in large scale businesses than in relatively small ones, (10 millions of dollars in gross revenue or less). When French are compared to English at this level, it can be noticed that French university-educated executives are in smaller proportions.

2. TAUSSIG, F.W., and JOSLYN, C.S., American Business Leaders, New York, 1932, pp. 181-182.

Table 20: Education and Actual Size of Business (Millions of dollars in gross revenue in 1963.)

Education	S i z e o f B u s i n e s s					
	1 to 10		10 to 50		50 and more	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Less than High School	10.4%	1.5%	52%	0.0%	10.0%	1.1%
High School	25.5	27.0	24.5	18.0	15.0	16.9
University	64.0	71.5	70.2	81.7	75.0	82.0
All Grades	52.3	28.4	35.4	26.6	12.2	45.0

Another important difference lies in the fact that 52 percent of French-speaking leaders are concentrated in business with gross sales of one to ten millions. So the paradox mentioned earlier may have its explanation. French-speaking leaders may be slightly more mobile while, at the same time, having a lower degree of educational achievement, since more than half of them are engaged in corporations relatively smaller than those for which English-speaking leaders work.

5. Fathers' and Sons' Educational Achievement

Most studies of mobility reveal that sons advance beyond the educational level attained by their parents. This is understandable when one realizes that educational facilities and access to them improve from one generation to another. In this section the differences between fathers' and sons' educational attainment, between fathers' educational level and extent of schooling in the 1941 Quebec male population, 55 years old and over will be uncovered. It has been impossible to use 1931 census data because we could not rearrange them to fit our grade categories. The year 1931 would have been appropriate, since the average age of leaders' fathers was around 55 at that time.

Data on educational achievement are presented in Table 21. The percentage of graduates and post-graduates among leaders' fathers is smaller than the percentage for their sons. Differences are more marked in the case of French-Canadians. Only 10.8

Table 21: The Education of Fathers of Quebec Business Leaders Compared with their Sons and Quebec Male Population, 55 years and over in 1941.

EDUCATION	Quebec Male Population (55 years & over) in 1941	Fathers of 1963		1963 Quebec	
		French-Canadians	English-Canadians	French-Canadians	English-Canadians
Less than High School	78.3	52.4	24.3	8.4	1.4
Some High School	11.4	19.3	18.2	11.4	3.2
High School Graduate	5.2	13.2	25.2	12.6	16.0
Some University	3.4	4.2	9.3	13.2	13.7
University Graduate and Post-graduate	1.7	10.8	17.2	54.5	65.7

percent of French fathers got a university degree, compared to 17.2 percent of English-speaking leaders' fathers; but this gives them respectively 6 and 10 times more university education than the rest of the population of their approximate age. Fifty-two percent of French fathers did not reach the high school level; the proportion for their sons being 8.4 percent. Seventy-eight percent of the general population did not go beyond the eighth grade. Data lead to conclude that the educational level of the father is lower than the son's and greater than that observed for the population we considered. Moreover, French fathers who attended high school or university are in smaller proportions than their English counterparts.

To bring into sharper focus differential educational achievements of fathers and sons, data were computed and reported in Table 22. Generally speaking, the sons of men with a high school or less than high school education attained a greater degree of education than their fathers did. Sons of university-educated men followed their fathers in a proportion of 96 and 90 percent for French-speaking and English-speaking leaders respectively. The most marked differences between French and English appear at the first level of schooling. Fifteen percent of the sons of French fathers, as compared to 4 percent of the sons from the other ethnic origin, did not enter high school. The sons of these same men attended university in a smaller proportion (53 percent) than the sons of the English-speaking, 77 percent of

Table 22: Education of 1963 Quebec Business Leaders and the Education of their Fathers.

Education of Business Leaders	Education of Father							
	Less than High School		High School		University		All Business Leaders	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Less than High School	75%	4%	2%	1%	-	-	8.4%	1.4%
High School	32	19	20	25	4	10	24	19.2
University	53	77	78	74	96	90	67.6	79.4
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

whom got a university education. So it seems that French-speaking leaders did not have the same opportunities for educational advancement as the English-speaking leaders. This remark, however, applies only to sons of men with less than a high school education. Fathers at this educational level account for 52 percent of the total in the case of French leaders and 24 percent in the case of English ones. This observation may provide another possible explanation for the fact that French-speaking leaders showed a lower degree of formal education.

6. Formal Business Training and Education

Did these men, after completion of their formal education, close their books once and for all? Data recorded in Table 23 help to answer this question. About 17 percent of French and English-speaking leaders respectively did not take any training in business administration while working. French-speaking leaders tend to take fewer correspondence courses than English leaders. They also seem to prefer commercial training in college or university more than English-speaking leaders. The percentages are about the same for both ethnic origins as far as formal training within business and a combination of all types are concerned.

Among those who kept their books open, one would expect to find especially those leaders who seek some sort of training to compensate for a low degree of formal education,

Table 23: Formal Business Training of 1963 Quebec Business Leaders

Type of training	<u>French-Canadians</u>		<u>English-Canadians</u>	
	N	%	N	%
None	27	17.1	36	16.8
Correspondance course	16	10.1	43	20.0
Commercial training in College or University	61	38.6	54	25.2
Formal training within business	19	12.0	30	14.0
A combinaison of two or three previous types	35	22.2	51	23.8
TOTAL	158	100.0	214	100.0

No answer was given by 9 French-Canadian and 5 English-Canadian leaders.

at least among French-Canadian leaders. A look at Table 24 will tell whether this assumption is sound or not.

When the percentage of leaders who embarked on some sort of training program is added the results are compared with the percentage of those who did not, it can be discovered that 64 percent of French leaders with less than a high school education engaged in some sort of training; 66 percent with some high school; 72 percent with a high school degree; 95 percent with some years of university or post-graduate studies. The pattern appears to be the following, at least for French-speaking leaders: the higher the degree of education, the greater the proportion of those who take some kind of training. However, leaders with a university degree do not fit the pattern, their proportion being smaller than those who spent some years at the university without obtaining the degree (87 percent). Thus, data in the case of French Canadians do not bear out the assumption.

Among English-speaking leaders, an equal proportion of men with some high school and some university education engaged in some sort of training: 79 percent at the level of high school graduation; 89 and 81 percent at the levels of university graduation and post-graduation respectively. It would be too long to go into differences between each group of leaders for the various types of training. A simple inspection of the data on Table 24 will help to pin point these differences.

Table 24: Education and Formal Business Training of Quebec Business Leaders

Education	F o r m a l B u s i n e s s T r a i n i n g									
	None		Correspondence course		Commercial training		Training with- in & all types		TOTAL	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Less than High School	36%	-	36%	66%	7%	-	21%	34%	100%	100%
Some High School	34	28	5	28	5	-	56	44	100	100
High School Graduation	28	21	24	32	14	6	34	41	100	100
Some University	5	27	10	20	33	23	52	30	100	100
University Graduation	13	11	2	19	55	29	30	41	100	100
Post-graduation	5	19	10	7	65	40	20	34	100	100
All groups	17.1	16.8	10.1	20	38.6	25.2	34.2	37.8	100	100

Percentages based 3 respondents -

It is also possible to find out whether or not leaders from middle and lower occupational levels tend to equip themselves with additional knowledge in a greater proportion than those who are the sons of business owners, business executives and professional men. Data pertaining to the relationship between fathers' occupations and business training taken by their sons are presented in Table 25. When the percentages of the three right hand columns are added for each ethnic group and compared to the percentages of those who did not take any special training, another marked difference appears between French and English leaders. Sons of French-speaking farmers and laborers took less training (73%) than the sons of any other occupational group. About an equal proportion of French-speaking sons of business executives or owners (85%), professional men (88%) and white-collar workers (87%) took some sort of training. English-speaking executives show a singular pattern. Seventy percent of the sons of white-collar workers, eighty percent of sons of professional men, and eighty-seven percent of sons of business owners and executives decided to acquire additional knowledge about the functioning of businesses. Since it is reasonable to think that sons of businessmen need less training than sons of other occupational categories, this pattern would have been expected, but almost a reverse one in the case of English-speaking leaders obtained. Sons of English-speaking farmers and laborers are exceptions. Ninety three percent of them made an effort to

Table 25: Occupational Background and Formal Business Training of Quebec Leaders

Occupation of father	None		Correspondence course		Commercial Training		Training within and all types	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Business executive and owner	15%	13%	9%	17%	45.1	32%	31%	38%
Professional	12	20	6	23	24	20	58	37
White Collar	13	30	6	20	31	13	50	37
Farmer Laborer	27	7	15	29	36	19	22	45
Other	-	22	12	22	38	22	50	44
All occupation in sample	17.1	16.8	10.1	20	38.6	25.2	34.2	37.8

acquire additional training beyond formal education received at school or at the university.

Interpretation of the data presented in this chapter leads to conclude that formal education and additional business training appear to be the high road toward the achievement of business elite position. Leaders from both ethnic origins reached a degree of education which surpassed that observed for their fathers and the general population. However, French-speaking leaders did not achieve the same degree of education as English-speaking executives, either because their fathers were also less educated than English-speaking fathers or because they lived in a socio-cultural context which provided different educational facilities.

C h a p t e r V

MOBILITY AND CAREER PATTERNS

The two preceding chapters have been devoted to the study of occupational mobility in terms of the various occupational backgrounds of Quebec business leaders and their different degrees of educational attainment. In this connection, it was observed that French-speaking leaders were slightly more mobile and achieved a lower degree of formal education than their English-speaking counterparts. A look into numerous relationships between education, fathers' occupations, place of birth, size of business and others enabled to bring forth some possible explanations of these differences.

In this present chapter the leaders are followed on their way to the top of corporate systems. More precisely, it is a study of the various occupations they engaged in before reaching the summit. Occupational mobility is investigated in a time and space dimension built on several different comparisons. The spatial comparisons bear on the first occupations of leaders and their fathers' occupation, their educational attainment, the number of companies associated with during their career. The temporal factor is concerned with the average number of years it takes to achieve a top-level position in business hierarchies.

1. Career Sequence of Eusiness Leaders

Respondents were asked to indicate what occupation they engaged in at the beginning of their career, then five years, ten years, and fifteen years after. Again returns show numerous similarities and differences between leaders from the two ethnic origins (See Table 26).

More than half of the leaders achieved success in business fifteen years after they started their careers. They were first engaged in occupations other than farming, top administration and large business ownership. At the time of their first employment about half of them were included in middle level occupations. French leaders seem to have started out at this level in a smaller proportion than English-speaking ones; the percentage difference being 5 percent. About the same difference can be observed in the case of men who began their career in laboring occupations. The professions were the starting point for 32 percent of French and 28 percent of English-speaking businessmen. Judging from the responses received (43 of French respondents did not indicate first occupation), French-speaking leaders launched their careers as professional men more frequently than did their English-speaking fellows.

The general pattern goes in the expected direction. As time goes by, businessmen leave lower level and clerical occupations to engage in minor executive, foreman, small and

Table 26: Career Pattern of Quebec Business Leaders

Occupation of Business Leaders	First occupation		Five years later		Ten years later		Fifteen years later	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Major executive and Large business owner	0.0%	0.0%	10.1%	5.0%	31.1%	30.1%	58.0%	55.7%
Professional man	32.3	27.8	24.5	23.3	15.5	13.7	14.3	8.6
Minor executive, foreman Small and Medium owner	15.5	11.0	13.7	34.2	39.0	40.1	12.0	21.0
Salesman and clerical worker	34.1	43.8	33.0	24.2	4.2	6.8	0.0	1.8
Farmer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.9
Laborer	10.7	14.1	5.3	2.7	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.4
Other	3.0	2.3	4.2	7.3	3.0	5.0	3.0	1.8
No answer (percentage of 167 and 219)	4.2	0.4	10.6	4.1	7.1	3.2	12.5	10.5

medium owner occupations. About 40 percent of leaders studied are comprised in these categories ten years after they entered the world of work. The professions constantly lose percentage points as their members move on to administrative posts. Fifteen years after starting their career, more than half of all leaders occupied positions of prestige and power.

2. Father's Occupation and Son's First Occupation

Does the father's occupation have a certain influence on the first employment of his son? It is already known that a larger proportion of French-speaking leaders are sons of men in lower occupational levels. But, do the sons in each case necessarily start out at the same level as their fathers? Data in Tables 27 and 28 will help to answer these questions.

The majority of the sons of major executives and large owners entered the world of work at occupational levels lower than their fathers'. It has already been mentioned that no one started out as major executive or large owner. What is more, only 35.2 and 26.1 percent of the French and English-speaking leaders in this category even began their career in liberal professions. Fifty-eight percent of French-speaking and 71.2 percent of English-speaking sons of major executives and large owners began their working career in middle level and laborer occupations. This leaves 5.8 and 2.3 percent engaged in other occupations.

Table 27: Career Pattern and Father's Occupation: First Occupation of French-Speaking Business Leaders

First occupation of Leader	All Leaders	O c c u p a t i o n o f F a t h e r					
		Major Ex. large owner	Profession- al man	Minor Ex. medium small owner	Foreman	Sales Clerical	Farmer Laborer
Professional man	32.3%	35.2%	44.4%	30.0%	50.0%	29.4%	43%
Minor Executive, Foreman, medium & small owner	15.5	23.5	5.5	22.0	0.0	11.6	43.0
Salesman and Clerical worker	34.1	29.4	44.4	36.0	50.0	53.0	14.0
Laborer	10.7	5.8	0.0	12.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	3.0	5.8	5.5	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.0
TOTAL	95.6	99.7	99.8	100.0	100.0	99.8	100.0

No information and father's other occupations: 21 individuals

Foreman: 4 individuals

Table 28: Career Pattern and Father's Occupation: First Occupation of English-Speaking Leaders.

First occupation of Leader	All Leaders	O c c u p a t i o n o f F a t h e r					
		Major Ex. large owner	Professional- al man	Minor Ex. medium small owner	Foreman	Clerical	Sales Farmer Laborer
Professional man	27.8%	26.1%	33.3%	27.2%	0.0%	30.0%	33.3%
Minor Executive, Foreman, medium & small owner	11.0	16.6	11.1	11.0	0.0	20.0	4.7
Salesman and Clerical worker	43.8	38.0	27.7	47.2	25.0	56.6	52.3
Laborer	14.1	16.6	22.2	11.0	75.0	10.0	9.4
Other occupations	2.3	2.3	5.5	3.6	0.0	3.4	0.0
TOTAL	99.0	99.6	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.7

100

No information and father's other occupations: 21 individuals

Foreman: 3 individuals

The sons of professional men present about the same pattern as the one given above. Forty-four percent of French and 33 percent of English-speaking leaders were first employed in the same occupational category as their fathers. Forty-four and 27 percent began in the sales and clerical worker category. Twenty-two percent of the English-speaking persons in this group began their career in laboring occupations but not one of their French-speaking peers.

The first right-hand column of Tables 27 and 28 gives a percentage distribution of French and English-speaking businessmen whose fathers were laborers at the time leaders entered the world of work. Of these men, 28 percent French and 9 percent English started in the same laboring occupations; 37 and 52 percent engaged in sales and clerical occupations; 25 and 33 percent in professions and about an equal proportion in minor executive, medium and small owner occupations.

Sons of farmers show marked differences between French and English. Ten percent of English-speaking farmers' sons engaged in laboring occupations, whereas not one French-speaking farmers' son did. Fourteen percent of the latter started out as sales and clerical workers; 40 percent in the case of English-speaking leaders.

The distribution of sons of sales and clerical workers present about the same pattern as that of farmers' sons. Again

ten percent of English-speaking leaders whose fathers were in the clerical category were first employed as laborers but not one French-speaking son first worked as laborer.

Sons of foremen are too few to warrant any comparisons. Sons of minor executives, medium and small owners launched their work career as foremen in a proportion of 36 percent and 47 percent for French and English respectively. About an equal proportion spent some time in the laboring class during the course of their first employment.

From these comparisons between the father's occupation and the son's first employment, one marked pattern emerges. The proportion of French-speaking businessmen who took their first job in occupational levels lower than that of their fathers at the time is smaller than those of English-speaking leaders. The difference is especially noticeable in the executive, large owner and professional categories. Similarly, the proportion of French-speaking leaders who were first employed in occupational levels higher than that of their fathers is greater than that of the English-speaking.

3. First Occupation and Education

The degree of educational attainment also has an impact on the career pattern of business leaders. It is currently believed that highly-educated men have a better chance of getting their first employment in upper-level positions than

men with a high school education or less. The relationships between educational achievement and the first occupations of leaders can be established with the help of data recorded in Table 29. Levels of education have been combined. The distribution of leaders who dropped out before entering high school is presented in the first column. The percentages of leaders who attended some years of high school or graduated at this level are given in the second column. Leaders who spent some years at the university, graduated, or engaged in post-graduate studies are distributed percentage-wise in the last column.

French-speaking, university-educated leaders tend to conform to, and thus confirm the belief mentioned above. Forty-five percent began their work career in the professions; four percent in laboring occupations. English-speaking leaders behaved quite differently. An equal proportion of their university-educated men started out in professional and clerical occupations; fifteen percent in laboring ones. Leaders from both origins show a similar pattern here in that numbers of them begin their careers in occupations other than professional ones.

Among high school educated men, 61 percent French and 81 percent English were in sales and clerical occupations as their first employment. Only 12 and about 5 percent respectively were in the professions. Among the French Canadians there were fewer high school educated men first employed in lower white-collar and labor positions; only 7 percent started off

Table 29: First Occupation and Education of Business Leaders

First occupation of Leader	E d u c a t i o n o f L e a d e r s					
	Less than High School		High School		University	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Professional man	0.0%	0.0%	12.8%	4.7%	45.8%	34.1%
Minor executive, medium & small owner	7.1	0.0	5.1	4.7	18.6	11.0
Sales, Clerical worker	50.0	66.6	61.5	81.0	24.2	34.6
Foreman	0.0	-	2.6	0.0	1.8	1.7
Laborer	42.9	33.4*	17.9	9.4	4.6	15.0
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.6	3.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.8	99.6	99.8

No information: 7 French and 1 English-speaking leaders

* Percentage of 3 individuals

with minor executive status and not one in the professions. So few English-speaking individuals discontinued before termination of high school that comparisons in this category hardly seem worthwhile.

Generally speaking, the data support the belief that highly trained men are more likely to obtain upper-level positions at the start of their working career. In this connection, educational attainment appears to have an impact on the first occupation of business leaders.

4. Interfirm Mobility and Career Pattern

The purpose of this section is to uncover another aspect of leaders' business careers. Movements from one firm to another may increase chances to reach the summit of corporate hierarchies. Usually a man does spend his career life with a single firm. A move will be appropriate if he sees opportunities to better utilize his acquired training and skills and to enhance his socio-economic status.

This line of reasoning would lead to expect a greater amount of interfirm mobility prior to achievement of executive position in some particular firm. Tables 30 and 31 allow to compare the extent of interfirm movement during a leader's whole life career and at one particular period of his career, i.e. the post-major-executive period.

Table 30: Number of Companies Business Leaders have been Associated with During their Career

Number of Companies	P e r c e n t a g e o f R e s p o n d e n t s	
	French-Canadians	English-Canadians
1	24.1%	17.4%
2	24.7	20.1
3	21.1	22.4
4	16.3	11.9
5	4.8	8.2
6 and more	8.4	19.7
TOTAL	99.4	99.7

No information: 1 French and 1 English-speaking leaders

Table 31: Number of Companies Business Leaders have been Associated with as Major Executives.

Number of Companies	Percentage of Respondents	
	French-Canadians	English-Canadians
0	9.0%	3.7%
1	55.4	41.5
2	20.3	29.4
3	8.3	7.9
4	2.5	3.7
5	1.3	3.7
6 and more	3.2	9.8

No information: 10 French and 5 English-speaking leaders

An overwhelming majority of leaders shifted from one firm to another in the course of their employment. French-Canadians appear to be less mobile: twenty-four percent associated with only one firm compared with 17 percent for English-speaking leaders. The proportion of French-speaking leaders who worked for four firms or more is smaller than that of English leaders; about 30 and 40 percent respectively.

Turning to the question of firm association after the achievement of a top executive position, it is observed that after this point leaders tend to cling to a particular firm in a proportion of 55 percent for French and 41 percent for English-speaking leaders.

Relationships between first occupation, education and firm association reveal another aspect of interfirm mobility. Researches on geographical mobility in the general working population purport that mobile people are found in greater proportion within the highly qualified and educated part of the work force. Table 32 presents data on the relationship between first occupation of leaders and the number of companies they worked for during their life time. On one hand, leaders who were first employed in professional occupations show a tendency to be associated with four firms in larger proportions than leaders who began their career as laborers. On the other hand, among those who remained with the same business firm, the proportion of leaders first employed in profession is also greater

Table 32: First Occupation and Number of Companies Associated with

First occupation of leader	Number of Companies							
	1		2		3		4 and more	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Professional man	29.2%	18.4%	32.5%	21.0%	36.3%	34.6%	37.0%	32.0%
Minor executive, medium and small owner	22.0	10.5	12.5	18.0	12.1	6.0	11.0	7.0
Foreman	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Salesman and Clerical worker	31.7	60.5	42.5	41.0	36.3	43.0	33.0	39.0
Laborer	9.7	8.0	7.5	18.0	15.1	14.3	13.0	15.0
Other	2.4	2.6	5.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	5.0
All occupations	24.1	17.4	24.7	20.1	21.1	22.4	29.5	40.0

than the percentage of leaders first employed in laboring occupations. These comparisons prevail regardless of ethnicity.

An equal proportion (36.3%) of French-speaking leaders starting at the professional and clerical levels worked for three firms. About an equal proportion (29.2 and 31.7%) at the status levels remained in the same firm in the course of their business career. These observations lead to conclude that the relationship established in the case of geographical mobility and skill cannot be generalized in the case of interfirm mobility.

Turning to the question of educational achievement and interfirm mobility, percentages recorded in Table 33 give some tentative answer.

When one takes the case of French-speaking leaders he finds, on one hand, that 68% of those who worked for four firms are university graduated or post-graduate while 6 percent discontinued their education before reaching high school; 10 percent before entering university, 10 percent before graduating. On the other hand, one finds that 47% of those remaining in the same firm, are university graduated while 11 percent did not advance beyond the eighth grade. Differences between four-firm and one-firm association are 62 and 36 percent respectively. English-speaking leaders present about the same pattern with differences more marked in the case of four-firm associa-

Table 33: Interfirm Mobility and Education

Education of Leader	Number of Companies Business Leaders have been Associated with							
	1		2		3		4 and more	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Less than High School	11%	0%	5%	2%	14%	2%	6%	1%
Some High School	18	8	14	4	8	2	6	1
High School Graduate	11	23	21	18	8	12	10	13
Some Univer- sity	13	10	17	18	14	12	10	14
University Gra- duate & post- graduate	47	59	43	58	56	72	68	71
All grades	24	18	25	20	21	22	30	40

tion and less marked in the case of one-firm association. However, leaders from this ethnic origin with a university degree are equally distributed among those who remained in one firm or worked for two, they are also equally distributed among those who offered their services for three and four firms during their career life.

Thus the relationship between the degree of educational attainment and interfirm mobility is not so clear-cut as it was expected to be. Further research must be conducted in this area, taking into account other variables, such as age of leaders, community relationships, salary differentials, etc.

5. Time Factor and Career Pattern

Another dimension of the leaders' career pattern can be portrayed in terms of the number of years it takes to achieve a position of power and prestige in the higher ranks of corporate hierarchies. The respondents were asked to indicate the age at which they entered business and that at which they assumed their present top-level business position. The differences between ages at these two moments yield the number of years spent in achieving a leadership position. Age differences for both ethnic origins also provide a means to further examine the impact of occupational background, and nativity on mobility.

To put data recorded in Table 34 in a broader context, it should be recalled that the average age was 49 years for French and 51 years for English-speaking leaders (See Appendix Table 2). French-Canadians were younger on the average and entered business at a later age than English-speaking leaders (See Table 34 and Appendix Table 3). However, French Canadians assumed their present business position at an earlier age. They took 16 years to achieve this position, while English-Canadian leaders reached the summit 22 years after they entered business. On this basis alone, it can be concluded that French-speaking leaders were more mobile in terms of time spent in the various stages of their career.

Since it has already been mentioned that French leaders were more often born into lower occupational strata, it would be interesting to know whether sons of laborers or farmers take more time to reach the top than sons of major executives, professional men and the other occupational classes.

Table 34 helps to shed some light on this issue. As a matter of fact, the greatest time differences lie at the laborer level. Sons of French-speaking laborers took 16 years to achieve their present position, while English-speaking sons took 25 years; a differential of 9 years on the average. Sons of farmers entered business later and the differential is 7 years between leaders from the two ethnic origins. About the same differential is observed in the case of major executives and large owners' sons.

Table 34: Occupational Mobility and Speed of Career

Occupation of Father	Mean age leader entered business		Mean age leader assumed present business position		Mean years to achieve present business position		Differences between French & English leaders
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	
Major executive and large owner	24.5	21.5	27.4	41.8	12.9	20.3	- 7.4
Professional man	25.6	22.8	45.0	44.2	19.4	21.4	- 2.0
Medium and small owner	23.2	20.8	39.2	45.0	16.0	24.2	- 8.2
Minor executive and Foreman	22.0	20.6	37.8	44.5	15.8	23.9	- 8.1
Salesman and Clerical worker	23.1	20.8	39.5	43.3	16.4	22.5	- 6.1
Farmer	27.0	22.5	44.5	47.0	17.5	24.5	- 7.0
Laborer	23.6	20.5	39.6	46.2	16.0	25.7	- 9.7
All leaders	23.5	21.3	40.0	44.0	16.5	22.7	- 6.2

No information and father's other occupations: 20 English and 11 French-speaking leaders.

Generally speaking, French-speaking leaders took less time to achieve their position than the English-speaking ones in spite of their father's various occupations at the time they became self-supporting.

When each group is dealt with separately, it can be noticed that sons of French-speaking major executives and large owners took less time and sons of professional men more time to achieve their position than sons from all other occupational origins. English-speaking leaders present a different kind of behavior. Sons of laborers spent 26 years of their career life achieving their present position (more than the sons from any other occupational category) while major executives and large owners' sons spent the shortest time: 20 years, on the average. Studying American business leaders, Warner and Abegglen observed the same pattern (1).

The same pattern would have been expected in the case of French-speaking leaders but it did not obtain. One is thus led to conclude that occupational origins have a certain influence on achievement time for English-speaking leaders, but do not throw much light on differential achievement time between French and English.

Adding a space dimension to the time factor will permit to push forward the investigation. Data on the relation

1. WARNER, W.L. and AEGGLEN, J.C., op. cit., p. 130.

between the place of birth and speed of career are given in Table 35. As it is already known, about 80 percent of English-speaking leaders were born outside the province of Quebec and 93 percent of French businessmen in Quebec.

The difference in numbers of years to achieve present business position between French and English businessmen born in Quebec is about the same as the difference between all French and English leaders. However, the length of the business career prior to reaching a top-level position is the longest for English born in other Canadian provinces (24.3 years) and the shortest for English born in Ontario (20.2 years). The smallest difference (3.6 years) obtains between French leaders born in Quebec and English ones born in Ontario.

Nativity has thus a certain influence on career achievement time either by shrinking or widening differences between French and English. A further examination of the impact of nativity on leaders' business careers can be achieved through the study of the relationship between the first occupation of leaders' fathers and their place of birth, between nativity of fathers and the number of years leaders took to achieve their present position.

Since the greatest difference in length of time (9.7 years) to achieve an upper-level business position exists between sons of laborers from the two ethnic origins, it can be asked

Table 35: Nativity and Speed of Career

Place of birth	Age leaders entered business		Age they assumed present position		Years to achieve present position		Differences between French born in Quebec & English leaders
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	
Quebec	23.6	21.7	40.2	44.7	16.6	23	- 6.4
Ontario	--	21.1	--	21.4	--	20.2	- 3.6
Other provinces	--	22.0	--	46.3	--	24.3	- 7.7
Outside Canada	--	21.0	--	43.5	--	22.5	- 5.9
All business leaders	23.5	21.3	40.0	44.0	16.5	22.7	- 6.2

Number of respondents is not large enough to warrant comparisons -

if laborer-fathers were also more likely to have been born outside of Ontario or Quebec. Percentages were computed only for the English leaders' fathers, since more than 90 percent of French-speaking fathers and sons were born in Quebec.

Data are presented in Table 36. Thirteen and 9 percent of English-speaking fathers who were laborers were born in other Canadian provinces and outside Canada respectively, while only 5.9 percent were born in Ontario. It has been said that the smallest difference (3.6 years) in length of time to achieve career goal exists between French leaders born in Quebec and English leaders born in Ontario (See Table 35) and the greatest difference between French leaders born in Quebec and English leaders born in other Canadian provinces.

Thus, relationships between the father's occupation and nativity, the leader's place of birth and achievement time seem to hold true in the case of sons of laborers and of all other leaders born in Ontario versus other provinces and outside Canada. However, the same relationships do not obtain in the case of English-speaking leaders' fathers born in the province of Quebec. About an equal proportion (13 percent) of the sons of laborers were born in Quebec and other Canadian provinces. The time factor also provides a tool to assess the impact of the father's place of birth on the son's business career. The relationship between these two variables appears

Table 36: Occupation of the Father and his Place of Birth (English-Speaking Leaders Only)

Father's occupation	P l a c e o f B i r t h		
	Quebec	Ontario	Other Provinces Outside Canada
Major executive and large owner	27.2	29.4	0.0 16.2
Professional man	13.6	14.7	21.7 17.1
Minor executive medium and small owner	18.1	17.6	30.4 31.5
Foreman	0.0	3.0	0.0 2.7
Salesman & Clerical worker	16.0	20.5	21.7 7.1
Farmer	11.3	5.9	4.3 1.8
Laborer	13.6	5.9	13.0 9.0
Other	-	3.0	8.6 5.4
All fathers	21.5	15.9	10.7 51.8

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in the case of English-speaking fathers born in the province of Ontario. The length of time prior to achieving present business position is the shortest (20.9) in the case of sons born to fathers from Ontario (See Table 37).

Generally speaking it can be concluded that the place of birth of fathers and sons provide only a partial explanation to the differential achievement time between French and English-speaking leaders. Fathers and sons, in particular sons of laborers, born in the province of Ontario tend to reduce the differential.

The quest for an explanation of differential achievement time led to scrutinize the relationships between the number of firms leaders worked for and the time they took to reach top-level business positions. It could be anticipated that leaders associated with several firms would take more time to move into their present position than leaders who worked for only one or two firms. Data bearing on this point are presented in Table 38. French leaders who were associated with four firms or more took more time (19.5) to reach the top of corporate structures than the ones who offered their services to one or two firms (16.1). English-speaking leaders took the same average number of years regardless of the number of firms. It is already known that French leaders are associated with one firm in a greater proportion than English-speaking ones. Interfirm mobility appears

Table 37: Nativity of Fathers and Time Taken to Achieve Present Business Position. (English-speaking Leaders Only)

Place of birth	Age they entered business	Age they assumed present position	Years to achieve position
Quebec	22.1	44.7	22.6
Ontario	21.8	42.7	20.9
Other provinces	21.5	44.6	23.1
Outside Canada	21.0	44.3	23.3
All English-speaking leaders	21.3	44.0	22.7

Table 38: Interfirm Mobility and Years to Achieve Present Business Position

Number of Firms	Years to Achieve Present Position		
	French-Canadians	English-Canadians	Differences
1 or 2	16.1	22.5	- 6.4
3	15.0	22.5	- 7.5
4 and more	19.5	22.8	- 4.3
All leaders	16.5	22.7	- 6.6

Table 39: Actual Size of Business and Years to Achieve Present Business Position

Size of business	Years to Achieve Position		
	French-Canadians	English-Canadians	Differences
1 to 10 millions	15.2	20.1	- 4.9
10 to 50	16.5	20.8	- 4.3
50 and more	19.5	25.5	- 6.0
All leaders	16.5	22.7	- 6.2

to have an effect on differential achievement time between French and English.

A further explanation of differential achievement time could be found in the relationship between actual size of business and the average number of years prior to achieving a top-level business position. Percentages in Table 39 show a clear relationship between these two variables.

Both French and English leaders took more time to reach the top in large scale businesses than in relatively small ones. However, differences appear again between leaders of the two ethnic origins. The length of time required to reach the summit of the management hierarchy is the longest for English-speaking leaders in large firms and the shortest for French leaders in relatively small businesses. Since 52 percent of French and only 29 percent of English-speaking leaders were heading firms producing for 10 millions or less, (See Appendix Table 5), the actual size of firm appears to play an important role in differential career achievement time of leaders.

C h a p t e r VI

INTRA AND EXTRA ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS RELATED TO MOBILITY

An attempt to trace out the kind of men who reached the top and the various avenues that led them to a president's, vice-president's or secretary's chair led to examine many factors, such as birth, education, career lines, and to make comparisons between French and English for each. No pretension is made is to have detected all the multiplicity of routes which lead to the summit of management's ladder. The types of avenues range from pure luck, specific personality make up to the various management attitudes about the kind of aspirants who have potential for top-level executive performance.

Impossible as it may be to make an inventory of all avenues to the top it is still interesting to pursue the investigation within the limits set by the present study. This chapter is directed to the assessment of other routes, and important ones, such as family connections, financial control, individual initiative and interpersonal relationships. These diverse ways of achieving a top-level business position are included under the heading "Intra and Extra-Organizational Factors Related to Occupational mobility".

1. Influential Connections

It has already been mentioned in the third chapter that the present-day elite originated in the majority of cases from a business occupational background. Following this line of thought, it would be interesting to learn whether influential relatives, friends or business acquaintances may shorten the time necessary to achieve a position of eminence. The respondents were queried on this issue. Various connections were classified in the following way:

- Type I: No connection in first and present firm.
- Type II: Connections in first and present firm.
- Type III: Connections in first but no connection in present firm.
- Type IV: No connection in first but connection in present firm.
- Type V: Father was a business owner or executive and son was connected with the same firm.
- Type VI: Father was a business owner or executive but son was not connected with the same firm.

The average number of years to achieve present business position corresponding to each type of connections are recorded in Table 40. French and English businessmen present a striking similarity. Leaders from both ethnic origins who had influential relatives, friends, or acquaintances in the first and present firm when they entered took less time (12.7 years and 18.4 years) to reach the summit of business

Table 40: Years to Achieve Present Business Position and Enghuential Connections

Type of Connections	Percentages of respon- dents	F.C.	E.C.	French-Canadians			English-Canadians			Differences be- tween French & English
				Age they entered business	Age they assumed present position	Years to achieve position	Age they entered business	Age they assumed present position	Years to achieve position	
I	71%	81%		23.6%	41.0%	17.4%	21.1%	44.2%	23.1%	- 5.7
II	14	6		24.3	37.0	12.7	24.0	42.4	18.4	- 5.7
III	3	5		19.5	38.0	18.5	23.0	42.4	19.4	- 0.9
IV	12	8		23.5	42.0	18.5	21.3	43.5	22.2	- 3.7
V	14	6		22.2	34.9	12.8	23.3	43.3	20.0	- 7.3
VI	36	42		23.9	39.6	15.7	21.0	43.6	22.6	- 6.9
All leaders	---			23.5	40.0	16.5	21.3	44.0	22.7	- 6.2

hierarchies than leaders who had other types of connections or no connections at all within their own ethnic group.

French-speaking leaders with friends or relatives already in business they worked for (Type II) and with a father who preceded them in business (Type V) took an almost identical number of years (12.7 and 12.8) to reach the top. English-speaking leaders who benefited from the same types of connection took 18.4 and 20 years on the average to get into top management. Figures show that pull or nepotism does exist within hierarchical structures. It is more pronounced in the case of the French Canadians. So, the old saying "It is not what you know but whom you know" does indeed have some foundation. Is pull or nepotism wide spread? A negative answer would be given. Only a small minority of leaders (14 percent of French and 6 percent of English) had relatives, friends or acquaintances in businesses they were associated with. These percentages are exactly the same in the case of leaders connected with firms headed or owned by their fathers.

More than 70 percent of French-speaking and 80 percent of English-speaking leaders had no connection in the first and present firms at the time of their entry. Since it has been said earlier that no one leader began his career as "crown prince", i.e. in a major executive or large owner status, it can be concluded that these men without connections made their way up by their own means, taking more years to climb up the management

ladder than the average number of years needed by all leaders from each ethnic origin. The largest difference between French and English (7.3 years) appears in the case of leaders whose fathers were large owner or executive in the firm they worked for. French-Canadian leaders in this group took 12.8 years and English leaders 20 years to reach the top. They took almost the same number of years with connections in first but not in present firm. Influential connections are an important route to the top, more important for French-Canadian leaders, but they are restricted to only a minority of aspirants to top executive position.

2. Mabel Newcomer's Series of Factors

Studying the big business executive, Newcomer made an attempt to trace the principal factors responsible for the attainment of upper echelons in management (1). To found one's own corporation and become its head seem the surest road to the top. Factors such as investment in one company, success in another, and others listed in Table 41 were also revealed as being very important.

Obviously, more than one of these factors may play a role in the attainment of a top executive position. Therefore the respondents were asked to indicate one or several factors

1. NEWCOMER, Mabel, op. cit., pp. 95-106.

Table 41: Principal Factors in Obtaining Executive Position

Factors	Number and percentage of answers given by respondents			
	French-Canadians		English-Canadians	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Working up within a company	71	30.2%	165	55.0%
Work in organizing a corporation	50	21.2	18	6.0
Success in another company	36	15.3	72	24.0
Personal investment	29	12.3	13	4.3
Inheritance	16	6.8	11	3.7
	5	2.1	5	1.7
Sale of Company	4	1.7	2	.6
Other	24	10.2	14	4.7
TOTAL	235	100.0	300	100.0

which helped them in reaching the summit of the corporate system. Percentages were computed from the number of answers received. The major concern here is more in the differences between French and English than in the importance of factors as such.

Newcomer observed over the period of time she considered "a decline in the number of organizers and investors and a great increase in the number promoted from within" (2). The findings along this line show that 30 percent of answers made by French and 55 percent made by English leaders fell on the factor: "Working up within a company". In other words, these candidates have been selected for their personal achievement and promoted within the company for the several companies they worked for.

Other factors such as inheritance, merger, one company's being bought by another appear much less important. However, differences are marked between French and English. Organizers, promoters and investors seem to be found in a greater number among French leaders if one judges by the number of answers. Twenty-one percent of the answers given by French-speaking leaders and 6 percent given by English businessmen went to the factor: "Work in organizing a corporation". A less pronounced

2. NEWCOMER, Mabel, op. cit., p. 101.

difference appears in the cases of leaders who personally invested in their company. Success obtained in another company seems to be a more important avenue to the top for English than French-speaking aspirants. This could be explained if one recalls that the majority of English leaders were born outside the province of Quebec. They probably got their first business experience and training and showed excellent performance there prior to coming in Quebec.

Analyzing the factors by size of corporation, Newcomer concluded that "the most important difference is the increase in the proportion of executives who have worked up within the company as the size of the corporation increases, with a correspondingly smaller proportion of executives from all other sources". (3).

To assess the importance of the factors and differences between French and English, the number of individuals who indicated as an unique choice "working up within the company" or "success in other companies" was calculated against the number of those who mentioned both factors, or neither factor. In the case of French-Canadian leaders, another factor: "work in organizing a corporation" was sorted out.

3. NEWCOMER, Mabel, op. cit. p. 104.

Data recorded in Tables 42 and 43 check with Newcomer's findings within certain limits. The proportions of leaders from both ethnic origin who worked their way up is greater in business concerns producing for fifty millions and over than in firms of less than ten millions in gross revenue. However, the proportion is the greatest in firms producing for 10 to 50 millions. Success in another company decreases in importance as size of corporation increases in the case of French-Canadian leaders; the reverse being true in the case of English-speaking leaders. These latter behave differently from French-speaking leaders and from the American executives studied by Newcomer.

Personal investment, inheritance, merger, etc., are not important factors in obtaining an executive position. Moreover, their importance declines as the size of the corporation increases.

French Canadians present a special case. Twenty-four individuals out of the 167 cases studied had acted either as organizers, founders or promoters in the business concerns they served. An almost equal proportion of these individuals (18.5 and 19.7) is found in firms producing for one to fifty millions of dollar in selling value; the proportion is smaller (13.6%) in corporations with 50 millions or more of gross revenue.

3. Formal and Informal Criteria for Executive Success

"Success literature" has not yet produced a complete

Table 42: Factors in Obtaining Executive Position and Actual Size of Business (Millions of dollars), English-speaking Leaders -

Factors	Number of respondents			Percentage of respondents		
	Less than 10 millions	10-50	50 and more	Less than 10 millions	10-50	50 and more
Working up within company (unique factor)	27	33	55	56.2	67.3	64.0
Success in another company (unique factor)	6	4	13	12.5	8.1	15.1
Working up within, success in another (both factors)	6	7	14	12.5	14.2	16.2
All factors except the two previous ones	9	5	4	18.7	10.2	4.6
TOTAL	48	49	86	99.9	99.8	99.9

Table 43: Factors in Obtaining Executive Position and Size of Business (Millions of dollars) French-speaking Leaders -

Factors	Number of respondents			Percentage of respondents		
	Less than 10 millions	10-50	50 and more	Less than 10 millions	10-50	50 and more
Working up within company (unique factor)	20	23	9	31.2	50.0	40.9
Success in another company (unique factor)	11	6	3	17.1	13.0	13.6
Work in organizing a cor- poration (unique factor)	12	9	3	18.7	19.5	13.6
All factors except the three previous ones	21	8	7	32.8	17.3	31.8
TOTAL	64	46	22	99.8	99.8	99.9

listing of all the factors that could take an individual to the summit of a promotional ladder. As a matter of fact, in the actual state of psycho-sociological knowledge, it seems impossible to reach a common consensus on solid criteria to assess and predict executive success. Some will hold that virtues of hard work, native ability, demonstration of competence and loyalty are the most important attributes for achieving occupational success, others that optimism and self-confidence are the main characteristics of successful businessmen.

Pellegrin and Coates made an attempt to discover the influence of informal factors in career advancement. They conclude "that in complex 'other-directed', 'human relations minded' bureaucracies, it is becoming increasingly difficult to measure individual job performance on the basis of merit alone...(4). Informal factors associated with conformity and congeniality tend to supplement formal criteria.

The last item on the questionnaire presents a listing of fourteen formal and informal criteria that could be used in personal achievement assessment of an aspirant to top executive position. The respondents were asked to rank them by order of importance from one to fourteen. It was too cumbersome to handle fourteen ranks and detect differences between French and

4. PELLEGRIN, R.S., and COATES, C.H., op. cit., p. 104.

English leaders. A detailed distribution of percentages of respondents for each factor and rank is given in Appendix Table 6. Then the data were processed by regrouping the rankings in a somewhat arbitrary manner. The groupings are the following ones:

Very important:	ranks 1 - 2 - 3
Important:	ranks 4 - 5 - 6
Less important:	ranks 7 - 8
Not important:	ranks 9 and over.

A percentage distribution of the respondents from both ethnic origin given in Table 44 reflects more or less the degree of importance people in top executive position attribute to each factor. Formal factors such as hard work, technical and administrative competence, and experience appear to be more important than any other informal factor. The proportion of leaders who consider formal factors most important ranges from 59.3 to 87.1 percent, while the proportion giving the same importance to informal factors oscillates from less than 1 to 23.9 percent. The findings are somewhat at odds with Pellegrin's and Coates' general conclusions. This incompatibility between results may be explained. The questionnaire instrument does not seem appropriate for this subjective part of the research. It may have given the respondents an opportunity to express "official" answers. A better instrument and research framework would be to proceed by interview with

Table 44: Formal and Informal Factors in Career Advancement

Factors	<u>Percentage of respondents who considered</u>				
	Very im- tant	Impor- tant	Less im- portant	Not im- portant	No answer
FORMAL					
Hardwork					
French-Canadian	80.1%	6.0%	1.2%	0.0%	12.0%
English-Canadian	75.2	12.8	1.9	0.0	10.0
Competence					
French-Canadian	84.4	2.5	0.6	0.0	12.5
English-Canadian	87.1	2.3	0.5	0.9	9.0
Experience					
French-Canadian	59.3	16.8	2.4	3.0	18.5
English-Canadian	74.2	14.8	1.4	1.0	7.7
INFORMAL					
Family background and connections					
French-Canadian	7.2	17.2	6.6	42.0	27.0
English-Canadian	4.2	11.7	11.8	48.8	23.2
Participation in social organizations					
French-Canadian	7.4	39.2	7.8	22.0	23.4
English-Canadian	6.3	21.2	22.5	27.0	22.3
Participation in pro- fessional organiza- tions					
French-Canadian	7.8	34.8	10.8	22.8	24.6
English-Canadian	9.0	28.8	14.4	27.8	20.0
Acquisition of values attitudes of superiors					
French-Canadian	10.8	25.8	13.8	22.2	26.6
English-Canadian	23.9	29.5	5.8	20.5	20.0
Age					
French-Canadian	3.6	21.0	10.2	34.2	31.2
English-Canadian	4.9	30.0	11.7	27.4	25.1

Table 41: Cont'd

Factors	Percentage of respondents who considered				
	Very im- portant	Impor- tant	Less im- portant	Not im- portant	No answer
Religion					
French-Canadian	0.0	0.6	2.4	63.0	34.2
English-Canadian	0.9	1.0	0.0	70.3	27.8
Ethnic origin or language					
French-Canadian	1.2	3.0	4.8	55.8	35.2
English-Canadian	1.4	3.2	2.8	65.6	27.0
A person who lives with his annual income					
French-Canadian	5.4	17.4	11.4	37.8	28.0
English-Canadian	4.1	24.1	14.7	31.0	26.0
Influence of Wife					
French-Canadian	0.6	4.8	3.0	58.6	33.0
English-Canadian	4.5	16.6	11.8	41.5	25.6
Establishment of higher-level friendship					
French-Canadian	3.0	19.7	12.5	32.4	32.4
English-Canadian	3.2	12.6	13.5	43.0	27.0
Retention of lower- level friendship					
French-Canadian	3.6	14.4	17.2	34.2	30.6
English-Canadian	1.4	12.1	9.0	49.2	27.4

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an experimental and a control group. In other words, a number of individuals who reached the top should be contacted and compared with an equal number who were on their way to the summit of hierarchies but "remained on the shelf". Outstanding achievers should then be compared to remarkable "shelf-sitters". The questionnaire responses however remain good indicators of the similarities and differences between "declared" attitudes of French and English leaders on the importance attributed to criteria for occupational achievement.

A striking similarity exists between leaders of both ethnic origins on the rankings of various factors according to the degree of importance. In most cases when the largest proportion of English-speaking leaders assert that one particular factor is very important or not important at all, the same result obtains in the case of their French-speaking counterparts. The previous observation holds true for all formal factors, but not in three instances concerning informal factors. About 40 percent of French affirm that participation in social and civic organizations is important and 22 percent of them, not important; while 21.2 percent of English leaders declare this kind of participation important and 27 percent say that it is not. (See Table 44). On the importance of acquiring the values, attitudes, and behavior patterns of superiors, French leaders show a slight disagreement with English-speaking ones.

An equal proportion of French leaders say that this criterion is very important or important and less important or not important; while 53.4 English-speaking leaders affirm that it is very important or important and 21.3 percent say that it is less important or not important at all. These figures lead to conclude that English leaders put a heavier stress on conformity to top management values and norms than French leaders do. Age is also another area of disagreement between leaders.

The greatest proportion of French and also of English leaders affirm that religion is not important as a criterion for success. Small differences exist about ethnicity. Sixty-five percent of English and 55.8 percent of French leaders affirm that ethnic origin is not important. The findings here check with Pellegrin and Coates' results which ascertain that nationality origins and religious affiliations play a small part in career advancement (5).

Generally speaking it is not possible to affirm that all informal factors are unimportant in career achievement. This kind of generalization, if made, would be a flight from reality. The fact that informal factors appear to be less important than formal ones cannot be construed to deny that the former do have some importance. Looking at the

5. PELLEGRIN, R.S., and COATES, C.H., op. cit., p. 204.

percentages recorded in the middle columns of Table 41 this caveat is in order. For instance, 24 percent of French-Canadian leaders consider that judicious consumption (living within ones annual income) has a certain importance in favoring career progress. Nineteen per cent of English leaders judge the establishment of higher level friendship as an influence in career achievement.

Chapter VII

THE WIVES OF BUSINESS LEADERS

The figures in the previous chapters show the relative importance of occupational origins, education, first occupation, place of birth, firm association and size of businesses in getting into the upper echelons of the management ladder. Marrying the right woman is also a recognized way of achieving a position of eminence in business concerns. A popular saying holds that marrying the boss's daughter offers a guarantee of career success.

There is a questionnaire item bearing indirectly on the marriage question. The respondents were asked to indicate the occupation of his wife's father. Data pertaining to the occupational origins of wives' fathers and leaders' fathers are given in Table 45. About 10 percent of the men did not answer this item, it is thus concluded they were probably not married.

French and English-speaking leaders again present similarities and differences as to the kind of women they married. When percentages for executives, owners and professional men are added up, it can be seen that 53 percent of French and 65 percent of English-speaking leaders' wives come

Table 45: Occupation of Business Leaders' Fathers and Occupations of Wives' Fathers

Occupation	French-Canadians		English-Canadians	
	Wife's Father	Leader's Father*	Wife's Father	Leader's Father*
Major executive large owner	8.7	12.2	23.6	20.2
Professional man	16.1	10.8	15.0	17.2
Medium and small owner	20.8	21.3	18.5	14.4
Minor executive and Foreman	7.3	13.9	8.0	14.4
Sales, Clerical worker	17.4	11.0	12.5	14.4
Farmer	5.3	3.7	6.0	4.8
Laborer	22.8	22.0	12.0	10.1
Other	1.3	4.9	4.0	4.2

* From Table 4 -

No information: 18 French and 20 English-speaking leaders -

from business or professional backgrounds. At the bottom-end of the occupational scale, it can be observed that 22.8 percent of French and 12 percent of English-speaking leaders married women whose fathers were laborers. About an equal proportion of French and English leaders married women from farming occupations; 17.4 percent of French and 12.5 percent of English leaders married women from sales and clerical occupations. French leaders and their wives showed an almost equal tendency to have fathers who were medium and small owners, farmers and laborers. The greatest difference between the family origins of leaders and wives shows up at the level of minor executive and foremen for both ethnic origins.

A first general conclusion shows French-Canadian businessmen with a greater tendency to marry into lower occupational strata than English-Canadian leaders. But it is possible to proceed to a closer examination of marriage at or outside a particular occupational level. Table 46 is a reorganization of the occupations into levels as listed in the first chapter. Percentages tell the extent of endogamy or exogamy, that is, the proportions of leaders who married at their fathers' occupational level or not.

In general leaders tend to marry at their level of origin in a greater proportion than any other level taken separately. Studying the American executives, Warner and

Table 46: Occupational Levels and Marriage: Occupational Levels of Wives' Fathers by Occupational Levels of Business Leaders' Fathers.

Occupational Level of Wife's Father	Occupational Level of Leader's Father					
	French-Canadians			English-Canadians		
	L-1	L-2	L-3	L-1	L-2	L-3
Level 1	54.5%	23.4%	5.0%	56.7%	30.2%	17.2%
Level 2	24.2	53.1	46.3	32.4	49.6	48.2
Level 3	21.2	23.4	48.7	10.8	21.1	34.4
Number of respondents	33	64	41	74	76	29
Level 1: Professional man Large owner Major executive	Level 2: Medium and Small owner Minor executive and Foreman Salesman Clerical worker			Level 3: Farmer Farm laborer Skilled worker Semi-skilled and Unskilled-worker		

N.B.: "Other occupations" are excluded which accounted for 8 -

Abegglen also observed this tendency (1). However, English-speaking leaders who were born to fathers in farming and laboring occupations (level 3) tend to marry at other higher levels in a greater proportion. Sons of professional men, major executives and large owners show the greatest amount of endogamy. They tend to marry women from the same occupational level of origin in a greater proportion than other leaders who also married at their respective occupational level of origin. In this connection, leaders from both ethnic origins present a striking similarity.

A further assessment of the impact of marriage on occupational mobility may be had by looking at the extent of exogamy. Sons of laborers and farmers surpassed all others in marrying outside their occupational level or origin; English-speaking leaders surpassing their French-speaking counterparts in this matter. Sixty-five percent of the English-speaking leaders born to fathers from farming and laboring occupations married at the middle and upper levels while only 51.3 percent of French-Canadian leaders did.

Table 47 will help to examine more closely the extent of in-marriages and out-marriages. The ratios are computed by taking the proportion of sons who married at one particular level to the proportion of wives' fathers at this

1. WARNER, W.L., and AEBEGGLEN, J.C., op. cit., p. 180.

Table 47: Ratio of Marriage by Occupational Levels of Business Leaders' Fathers to Marriage Unrelated to Occupational Levels of Wives' Fathers.

Occupational Level of Wife's Father	Percentage of Wives' Fathers		Occupational Level of Leader's Father					
	F.C.		E.C.		French-Canadians		English-Canadians	
	F.C.	E.C.	L-1	L-2	L-3	L-1	L-2	L-3
Level 1	24.8%	23.0%	2.19%	0.94%	0.20%	2.4%	1.31%	0.74%
Level 2	45.5	46.2	0.53	1.16	1.01	0.70	1.05	1.04
Level 3	28.1	25.7	0.75	0.83	1.73	0.42	0.82	1.33

level. The percentages of wives' fathers were then regrouped into three occupational levels. A ratio of one could be expected if leaders at any particular level of origin marry women at this same level in an equal proportion. Sons of professional men, major executives and large owners still lead in the amount of endogamy (2.19 and 2.46). Sons of French-Canadian fathers in farm and labor occupations show again a greater amount (1.73) of in-marriage than sons of English-speaking fathers in this lower occupational level (1.33). In this category, it can be observed that a proportion of sons married at the middle level near the ratio that could be anticipated (1.01 and 1.04). English-Canadian sons of fathers from middle level occupations show the greatest amount of out-marriage (1.31). They are followed by the sons of French-speaking fathers who were laborers or farmers (1.01).

These figures lead to conclude that marriage has a certain impact in maintaining a high level position or in helping to get into one. Sons of upper-level origins show the greatest amount of endogamy and sons of lower-level origin present the largest amount of out-marriage.

Turning to the question of educational attainment and marriage, it could be supposed that highly educated men would marry daughters of professional men or top executives in greater proportion than daughters from any other occupational classes. Table 48 provides figures that tend to support

Table 48: Education and Marriage: Education of Leaders and Occupational Origin of Wives

Occupation of Wife's Father	Less than or some High School		High School graduate or some university		University graduate and post-graduation	
	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.	F.C.	E.C.
Major executive and large owner	3.8%	0.0%	10.0%	25.4%	7.4%	26.0%
Professional Man	11.5	0.0	5.0	6.7	26.0	21.1
Medium and small owner	23.0	22.2	20.0	15.2	21.0	21.1
Minor executive and Foreman	3.8	33.3	7.5	10.1	8.6	5.6
Sales and clerical worker	11.5	0.0	22.5	22.0	18.5	9.7
Farmer	3.8	33.3	12.5	8.4	2.4	4.0
Laborer	42.3	11.1	22.5	11.8	16.0	12.2

No information and "other occupation": 20 French and 28 English-speaking leaders -

that anticipation. Forty-six percent of English, 33.4 percent of French university graduates and post-graduates married daughters whose fathers were professional men and top executives. These leaders who were university graduates also married women of other occupational classes in proportions varying from 21 to 24 percent.

French-speaking leaders with some years of high school or less married daughters of laborers in a greater proportion (48.3%) than English-speaking leaders (11.1%). The reverse is almost true in the case of farmers' daughters. High school graduates and English-speaking leaders who attended university without completion of a degree married daughters of professional men and top executives in a greater proportion (32.1%) than their French-speaking counterparts.

The figures just presented on the extent of endogamy and exogamy, the relationship between education and marriage show the impact of these two variables in maintaining or getting into high level position within corporate structures.

Although the influence of marriage can be assessed for leaders of both ethnic origins, data do not lend themselves to any sort of explanation for the differential mobility of the two groups. As a matter of fact, French-speaking leaders married somewhat more in middle and lower levels than English-speaking ones, while French leaders were portrayed as being somewhat more mobile in terms of occupational origins of fathers.

C h a p t e r VIII

CONCLUSIONS

This research project is a modest attempt to trace back the kind of men who head Quebec businesses. The studies previously published on the relative composition of the work force and on the ethnicity of people who hold positions of power and prestige have all been strong for the fact that seats of authority were traditionnally reserved to English-speaking people. To rely only on this kind of information pertaining to business leadership would lead a French-speaking person to believe that his chances of making it through corporate systems are indeed rather meager.

If this belief so anchored in the minds of people were in fact true, one would expect a continued deterioration of the relationships between the French and English-speaking elements of Canada, especially in the province of Quebec. French-Canadian resentment towards the English-speaking fraction of the population would be sure to keep on increasing.

This research by studying mobility processes of French-speaking and English-speaking business leaders questions the accepted premise of inequality of opportunity for the French-speaking population.

The use of a questionnaire instrument provided valuable information from 167 French-speaking and 219 English-speaking leaders.

The analysis and interpretation of data have been presented in the body of this report. It is now possible to summarize the major findings in order to get a general understanding of Quebec business leadership.

1. Occupational Origins and Mobility Rates

The largest part of the economic elite originated from fathers who were already in business as large, medium, and small owners or as major, minor executives, and foremen. This recruiting pattern is common to French and English-speaking leaders and to American executives as well. This tendency to fill top-executive positions with candidates whose fathers were already familiar with the functioning of business and managerial philosophies is not surprising. No doubt that business concerns, in order to survive and develop, must acquire new blood, but top-management must also in the midst of innovation secure a certain degree of continuity and stability. Therefore, it is understandable that top-management tend to recruit from its own ranks. Moreover, top-management by recruiting individuals who where reared in the practical world of business, must worry about making the value of advancement come true for these same individuals.

This recruiting pattern common to all categories of business leaders studied can also be explained by referring to the socio-economic context described in chapter II. The decline of the agricultural sector, the emergence of large scale service industries in the areas of finance, insurance, transportation, communication, and retail, the shifts in the composition of the work force, the movement toward industrial concentration, constitute some of the important transformations that took place in the United States and in Quebec at a later date.

Important differences among the French and English-speaking as to occupational origins were also observed. When the occupations are broken down into twenty categories, it was noticed that the two largest percentages of French-speaking leaders originated from men who were skilled workers (15.2%) and small business owners (12.8%); whereas the two largest proportions of English-speaking businessmen were sons of major (17.3%) and minor executives (12.5%). Therefore, when mobility rates were computed for English and French-speaking leaders separately, it was not surprising to discover that French-speaking leaders are more often likely to come from middle and lower-level strata than English-speaking businessmen, the former having less opportunities to follow their fathers into top-management posts than do the latter. Again, this particular finding can be explained by looking into the socio-economic context.

English-speaking leaders could draw from a larger reservoir of candidates whose fathers were already in top-management posts than could French-speaking leaders. Facing a growing demand for executive talents, English-speaking promoters and business leaders, enjoying a greater share of the top positions than their numbers in total Quebec population would warrant, could recruit within their own ranks either in Quebec or outside, e.g. in Ontario, in other Canadian Provinces, or in the United States. As a matter of fact, the data pertaining to the place of birth of business leaders show that around 80 percent of English-speaking businessmen are born outside Quebec, whereas 90 percent of French-speaking leaders are born in this province. Studies bearing on the relative composition of the work force in terms of ethnicity and occupations reveal that French-speaking people tend to be heavily concentrated in occupations that can be placed in the middle or lower levels of an occupational class scale. Therefore, French-speaking leaders, also facing a growing demand for executive talents, were probably more often forced to recruit outside their own ranks, that is, from middle or lower-level categories.

The data collected on the degree of representation of various occupational categories in the business elite provide some additional support to the previous assertion. Admittedly, the difficulties of access to the business elite are about the same for the four groups of leaders studied. Business owners

and executives, and professional men are better suppliers of the business elite than any other occupational categories. Again this pattern is recurrent among French, English and American occupational structures. Differences, however, between French and English were also marked. French-Canadian occupational structure appears slightly less rigid than the English-speaking one, since in the case of the former clerical workers and foremen enjoy a greater representation in the business elite.

The belief that chances for French-speaking people to reach the upper-echelon of business enterprises are rather meager does not receive support from the analysis of the data. It would be more exact to assert that chances appear at least as good for French Canadians as they appear for English Canadians in the province of Quebec. Occupational origin and the need for executive talents seem to play a more important role than ethnicity in opening the route to positions of prestige and power in Quebec corporate hierarchies.

2. Education and Business Careers

It is said that French-Canadians were slow to realize that they were thrown in an industrialized and urbanized way of life without being mentally equipped to adapt themselves to it. Quebec's educational system, in particular, has been depicted as heavily oriented toward a liberal-arts type of education.

The fact that the humanities opened the door to the "best" (i.e. liberal) professions, seemed a deterrent to a career in the business world. The data collected on the degree of educational attainment do not allow to give a clearcut answer on this matter.

The analysis showed that seventeen percent of English-speaking leaders are sons of professional men whereas only 10 percent of French-speaking executives originated from this category. On this count alone, the professions appear to be a better reservoir for business candidates in the case of English-speaking executives. But when these percentages are related to the proportions of professionals in total Quebec active population, it can be observed that the professions provide more businessmen than their share of this population. This is equally true for the French and English. It would seem incorrect to conclude that Quebec educational system was a deterrent to a business career.

Studying the degree of educational attainment, it was observed that French and English-speaking leaders attained a higher degree of education than the general male population. However, French-speaking executives did achieve a lower degree of education than English-speaking leaders. About 80 percent of English-speaking executives got a university education compared with 68 percent in the case of French-speaking leaders. About 20 percent of this latter group of leaders terminated

their education before reaching high-school graduation. Only 4.6 percent of English-speaking leaders discontinued their education at this level.

Reasons for a lower degree of educational achievement among French leaders could be attributed to the fact that leaders of French extraction originated from lower occupational levels in a greater proportion than did English-speaking leaders. It can also be imputed to differences in places of birth and sizes of businesses. Eighty-two percent of English-speaking leaders born outside the province of Quebec attended university in a greater proportion than French-speaking leaders born within the province.

A lower degree of educational achievement attained by French-speaking leaders can also be observed among their fathers. As a matter of fact, the proportions of French-speaking fathers who got a university or a high school education are lower than the proportions obtained for English-speaking fathers. Therefore, educational attainment played less important a role in the career of French-speaking executives. In this sense, it is reasonable to think that since Quebec's educational system is oriented towards liberal-arts occupations, it would be less appropriate to the training of business leaders than the educational institutions in Ontario, in other provinces, or in the United States.

Turning to the relationship between education and the size of business, it was observed that more than half of French leaders were engaged in corporations relatively smaller than the businesses for which English leaders worked. Moreover, the proportion of university-educated French leaders engaged in relatively large businesses is smaller than the proportion of English-speaking leaders.

3. Mobility and Career Patterns

More than half of the leaders of both ethnic origins reached the upper-echelons of the management ladder fifteen years after they had launched their life career. None of them "inherited management". French-speaking leaders started out in professional occupations in a slightly greater proportion than their English-speaking counterparts; however, the percentages of English-speaking executives who entered first in middle level occupations are greater than the percentages of French-speaking leaders.

Comparisons between father's occupation and son's first employment revealed that the proportions of French-speaking leaders who began their career in lower occupational levels than their fathers' were smaller than those of English-speaking leaders, but the proportions of French leaders who started out in higher occupational levels than their fathers' were greater than those of English-speaking leaders.

The analysis of data bearing on the relation between educational attainment and first employment gave some foundation to the belief that highly-trained men have more chances to get their first job in high-level positions than men equipped with a high school education or less. As a matter of fact, 45 percent of French-speaking university-educated leaders started out their career in the professions, whereas 92.9 percent who had gone beyond high school began as laborers or clerical workers. English-speaking leaders behaved differently. An equal proportion of the English-speaking equipped with a university education started out as professionals and clerical workers.

An overwhelming majority of leaders worked for more than one firm in the course of their career. French Canadians were associated with only one firm in a greater proportion than English-speaking leaders. Relationships between first occupation, educational attainment and the extent of interfirm mobility were blurred to the point that data did not support the anticipated link which ran as follows: The higher the first level of occupation and the higher the level of education, the greater the amount of interfirm mobility.

4. Time Factor and Career Pattern

At the time of the study, French-speaking leaders were 50 years old on the average. They entered business at

the age of 24 and took 16 years to achieve a top level executive position. English-speaking leaders were two years older on the average. They entered business at an earlier age and took 22 years to reach the summit. Generally French-speaking Canadians took less time to achieve their position at the head of businesses.

Studying the relationship between the father's occupation and the number of years taken by the son to reach the top, it was discovered that English leaders originating from lower occupational strata took more time to achieve their present position than sons born to fathers in high level occupations. French-speaking leaders did not behave according to this pattern.

Nativity was also found to have an impact on differential achievement time between leaders born in various Canadian provinces and outside Canada. French-speaking leaders born in Quebec and English-speaking ones born in Ontario presented the smallest difference in the number of years needed to achieve their present business position.

Taking into account the father's occupation and place of birth, it was observed that the proportion of leaders born to laborers is the smallest for the province of Ontario. It was also noticed that the length of time prior to achieving an upper-level position is the shortest in the case of sons born to fathers from Ontario.

Studying the relationship between actual size of business and achievement time both French and English leaders were found to take more time to reach the top in large scale businesses than in relatively small ones. However, the length of time to reach the top is the longest for English-speaking leaders in large firms and the shortest for French-speaking leaders in relatively small businesses.

5. Occupational Origins of the Wives

French-Canadian leaders were found to marry more in lower occupational strata than their English-speaking counterparts. Eventhough both categories of leaders tended to marry women at the same level of origin the extent of endogamy or exogamy is important. Sons of upper-level origins showed the greatest amount of endogamy while sons of lower-level origins presented the largest amount of out marriage.

6. Influential Connections

The majority of leaders of the two ethnic origins who had no "pull" took more years to achieve their present business position. For a minority, influential connections are an important route to the top, more important for French-Canadian leaders.

7. Newcomer's Series of Factors

Present-day business leaders appeared to have been chosen for their personal achievement within the company or companies they were or are still working for. When one also considered the size of business, he discovered that the proportion of leaders who worked their way up by means of their own was greater in business concerns producing for fifty millions and over than firms of less than ten millions in gross income.

Organizers, founders, and promoters formed an important fraction of the French business elite. Data on educational achievement also corroborated this finding. It was found that a greater proportion of French leaders tried the hard way and discontinued their schooling after completion of the eight grade or less.

8. Formal and Informal Factors

The majority of business leaders agreed that formal criteria such as hard work, demonstration of competence and experience are the most important avenues to the top. Informal factors such as ethnic origin and religion were considered to be relatively unimportant. Areas of disagreement between French and English lay in the importance attached to the participation in social and civic organization, the ac-

quisition of values, attitudes, and behavior patterns of management. Age was also another area of disagreement.

These are most of the major findings that could be drawn from calculations and interpretation of the data. Similarities and differences between French and English-speaking leaders were so numerous that it was impossible to report them all in this concluding chapter.

A P P E N D I C E S

Appendix I

ADDITIONAL DATA

Appendix Table 1: Manufacturing Establishments Classified According to Gross Value of Products Quebec 1932.

Group of Gross Value	Establish- ments	Selling Value of Factory Shipments (000)
Under \$50,000.	6433	56,661.
50,000. - 99,000.	436	30,802.
100,000. - 199,000.	351	49,737.
200,000. - 499,000.	275	86,532.
500,000. - 999,000.	121	85,044.
1,000,000. and over	102	314,918.
TOTAL	7718	623,696.
1951		
Under 50,000.	6454	110,202.
50,000. - 99,000.	1691	120,868.
100,000. - 199,000.	1364	193,068.
200,000. - 499,000	1199	376,766.
500,000. - 999,000.	512	356,686.
1,000,000. and over	641	3,758,564.
TOTAL	11861	4,916,157.
1960		
Under 50,000.	5340	183,762.
50,000. - 99,000.	1723	124,112
100,000. - 199,000.	1567	221,750.
200,000. - 499,000.	1570	499,206.
500,000. - 999,000.	781	552,492.
1,000,000. and over	990	5,704,812.
TOTAL	11961	7,206,896.

Sources: Type of Ownership and Size of Establishment Engaged in Manufacturing in Canada, Ottawa.

Appendix Table 2: Age of Business Leaders at Time of Study by Ethnic Groups (1963).

Age Groups	<u>French-Canadian</u>		<u>English-Canadian</u>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Under 30	1	6	1	0.4
30-39	31	18.7	17	7.8
40-49	56	33.7	81	37.0
50-59	58	34.9	85	39.0
60-69	17	10.2	34	15.6
70 and over	3	1.8	1	0.4
TOTAL	166	100%	219	100%

Mean average for French-speaking Canadian: 49.2 years

Mean average for English-speaking Canadian: 51 years

No answer was given by one French-Canadian leader.

Appendix Table 3: Age at which Quebec Business Leaders Entered Business

Age Groups	<u>French-Canadian</u>		<u>English-Canadian</u>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Under 20	40	24.4	77	35.0
20-29	104	63.4	135	62.0
30-39	15	9.1	5	2.0
40-49	4	2.4	2	1.0
50 and over	1	0.6	0	0.0
TOTAL	164	100%	219	100%

Mean age for French-Canadian: 23.5 years

Mean age for English-Canadian: 21.3 years

No answer was given by 3 French-Canadian leaders.

**Appendix Table 4: Number and Percentage Distribution of Respondents
by Size of Business and Ethnic Groups at the Time
they Entered their Present Organization**

Size Class (Annual Sales)	<u>French-Canadian</u>		<u>English-Canadian</u>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
None	18	11.0	8	3.8
Less \$50,000.	7	4.3	0	0.0
\$50,000.-99,000.	9	5.5	3	1.4
\$100,000.-499,000.	22	13.4	12	5.8
\$500,000.-1,000,000.	16	9.8	15	7.2
\$1,000,000.-4,999,000.	41	25.1	40	19.2
4 millions and over	50	30.2	130	62.5
All classes	163	100%	208	100%

No answer was given by 4 French-speaking and 11 English-speaking leaders.

Appendix Table 5: Number and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Size of Business and Ethnic Groups at the Time of the Study.

Size Class (Annual Sales)	<u>French-Canadian</u>		<u>English-Canadian</u>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
\$500,000.-999,000.	5	3.0	2	1.0
\$1,000,000.-4,999,000.	46	28.0	36	17.0
\$5,000,000.-9,000,000.	35	21.3	24	11.3
\$10,000,000.-49,000,000.	58	35.4	58	27.4
\$50,000,000. and over	20	12.2	91	43.1
All classes	164	99.9	211	100%

No answer was given by 3 French-speaking and 8 English-speaking leaders.

Appendix Table 6: Formal and Informal Factors in Career Advancement. (English-Speaking Leaders Only).

List of Factors	Percentages of respondents according to each rank and factor									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and over	No answer
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
FORMAL:										
Hard work	7.7	34.2	33.3	10.5	1.8	0.5	0.5	1.4	0.0	10.0
Competence	69.4	12.3	5.4	1.4	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.9	9.0
Experience	9.0	36.0	29.2	11.2	3.1	0.5	1.4	0.0	1.0	7.7
INFORMAL:										
Family background and connections	1.0	1.4	1.8	2.7	3.6	5.4	5.9	5.9	48.8	23.2
Participation in social and civic organizations	3.1	1.4	1.8	5.0	5.4	10.8	13.5	9.0	27.0	22.3
Participation in professional organizations	1.4	3.1	4.5	6.7	10.8	11.3	9.5	4.9	27.8	20.0
Acquisitions of values, attitudes, and behavior patterns of successful superiors	5.4	8.5	10.0	20.5	6.3	2.7	1.8	4.0	20.5	20.0
Age	0.0	0.9	4.0	10.3	13.9	5.8	6.3	5.4	27.4	25.1
Religion	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	70.3	27.8
Ethnic origin and language	0.0	0.5	0.9	0.9	1.4	0.9	1.4	1.4	65.6	27.0
A person who lives within his annual income	0.9	1.4	1.8	6.0	10.0	8.1	6.3	8.4	31.0	26.0
Influence of the wife	0.0	0.9	3.6	4.9	4.5	7.2	6.8	5.0	41.5	25.6
Establishment of higher level friendship	0.0	0.5	2.7	1.8	5.4	5.4	4.5	9.0	43.0	27.0
Retention of lower-level friendship	0.0	0.9	0.5	2.7	2.2	7.2	4.5	4.5	49.3	27.4

Appendix Table 6: Formal and Informal Factors in Career Advancement. (English-Speaking Leaders Only).

List of Factors	Percentages of respondents according to each rank and factor									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and over	No answer %
FORMAL:										
Hard work	7.7	34.2	33.3	10.5	1.8	0.5	0.5	1.4	0.0	10.0
Competence	69.4	12.3	5.4	1.4	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.9	9.0
Experience	9.0	36.0	29.2	11.2	3.1	0.5	1.4	0.0	1.0	7.7
INFORMAL:										
Family background and connections	1.0	1.4	1.8	2.7	3.6	5.4	5.9	5.9	48.8	23.2
Participation in social and civic organizations	3.1	1.4	1.8	5.0	5.4	10.8	13.5	9.0	27.0	22.3
Participation in professional organizations	1.4	3.1	4.5	6.7	10.8	11.3	9.5	4.9	27.8	20.0
Acquisitions of values, attitudes, and behavior patterns of successful superiors	5.4	8.5	10.0	20.5	6.3	2.7	1.8	4.0	20.5	20.0
Age	0.0	0.9	4.0	10.3	13.9	5.8	6.3	5.4	27.4	25.1
Religion	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	70.3	27.8
Ethnic origin and language	0.0	0.5	0.9	0.9	1.4	0.9	1.4	1.4	65.6	27.0
A person who lives within his annual income	0.9	1.4	1.8	6.0	10.0	8.1	6.3	8.4	31.0	26.0
Influence of the wife	0.0	0.9	3.6	4.9	4.5	7.2	6.8	5.0	41.5	25.6
Establishment of higher level friendship	0.0	0.5	2.7	1.8	5.4	5.4	4.5	9.0	43.0	27.0
Retention of lower-level friendship	0.0	0.9	0.5	2.7	2.2	7.2	4.5	4.5	49.3	27.4

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Appendix Table 6: Formal and Informal Factors in Career Advancement, (French-Speaking Leaders Only).

List of Factors	Percentages of respondents according to each rank and factor										No answer %
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and Over	%	
FORMAL:											
Hard work	32.3	40.1	7.7	3.0	1.2	1.8	1.2	0.0	0.0		12.0
Technical and administrative Competence	57.5	21.5	5.4	0.6	0.6	1.3	0.0	0.6	0.0		12.5
Experience	4.8	18.5	36.0	7.2	6.0	3.6	1.2	1.2	3.0		18.5
INFORMAL:											
Family background and connections	1.2	1.8	4.2	1.8	7.1	8.3	1.8	4.8	42.0		27.0
Participation in social and civic organizations	0.6	1.8	5.0	13.2	17.0	9.0	5.4	2.4	22.0		23.4
Participation in professional organizations	1.2	0.0	6.6	12.6	14.4	7.8	4.2	6.6	22.8		24.6
Acquisitions of values, attitudes, and behavior patterns of successful superiors	1.2	1.2	8.4	10.8	9.0	6.0	9.6	4.2	22.2		26.6
Age	0.6	0.6	2.4	9.0	6.6	5.4	3.6	6.6	34.2		31.2
Religion	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.8	0.6	63.0		34.2
Ethnic origin and language	0.6	0.6	0.0	1.8	0.0	1.2	3.0	1.8	53.8		35.2
A person who lives within his annual income	0.6	1.8	3.0	6.0	6.6	4.8	6.0	5.4	37.8		28.0
Influence of the wife	0.0	0.6	0.0	2.4	0.6	1.8	1.8	1.2	58.6		33.0
Establishment of higher level friendship	1.2	0.0	1.8	3.0	9.5	7.2	7.7	4.8	32.4		32.4
Retention of lower-level friendship	0.6	1.8	1.2	1.8	7.8	4.8	9.5	7.7	34.2		30.6

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A p p e n d i x I I

MODIFICATIONS TO WARNER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

This review of differences between Warner's 1952 questionnaire and the one used in this study will be restricted to major alterations. Copies of the English and French version appear at the end of this appendix.

The size of business was an important variable and there was no satisfactory criterion to measure it. On this point, Warner's figures about volume of sales or gross income have been divided by ten (1). Industrialization in Quebec took place at a later date than in the United States and industrial structures are different. A business concern which produces for less than \$50,000. is usually considered as a small one in the province of Quebec. An annual gross income ranging from \$50,000 dollars to one million would be used to identify a medium concern. A firm with an annual volume of sales of one million and over would be considered as a large business concern.

1. WARNER, L, and ABBEGGLEN, J.S., op. cit., pp. 242-245.

The structure of item 8 has been changed. To study influential connections, I did not separate out relatives, friends or business acquaintances. I was more interested in comparisons between the general group of connections and family ties than comparisons between each single type of connection. Had I done so, the number of influences would have been difficult to handle for both ethnic categories of leaders.

Item 9 was concerned with sons' occupations at various moments of their career. I used about the same categorization of occupations as did Warner. Farming occupations have been divided into farm worker and farm owner. Middle-level positions were more elaborated with the addition of commercial traveler, insurance agent, inspector or investigator. In the professional category I added accountant, dropped minister and substituted professor for it. I was interested here in getting a good sample of liberal professions for comparison purposes between French and English in order to ascertain the possible influence of different educational institutions.

Item 10 is a combination of questions 11 and 15 which appeared in Warner's 1952 questionnaire. I asked the respondent to indicate the occupation of his father when he was his age, in order to evaluate the extent of the father's occupational shifts in the course of the son's career. Information about the grand-father's occupation has been deleted.

It is known that French-speaking grand-fathers lived at a time when the province of Quebec was not industrialized and occupations were not diversified. Comparisons with English-speaking grand-fathers would have been arduous, since many of the latter were probably born outside Canada in countries which went through the stages of industrialization at an earlier date.

Item 12 is concerned with education attainment of business leaders. To get French and English equivalents on the matter of educational levels presented many difficulties. "Less than high school" education would be in a French milieu equivalent to eight years of schooling or less; "some high school" would range from 9 to 12 years of schooling; "high-school" graduation would be the completion of grade twelve or a senior diploma (Rhétorique) in a "classical college". "Some university" for English-speaking students would mean a four-year college education on a university campus without obtaining a degree. For French-speaking students, "some university" education would mean the last two years necessary to the obtention of a Baccalaureate of Arts and two or three years on a university campus without obtaining a degree. At the level of "university graduation" and "post-graduation", equivalences do not obtain. French-Canadian students used to attend university for four years following the B.A. in order to get a university degree. English-speaking students would usually get their first university degree four years after completion of grade twelve or thirteen.

Then university graduation and post graduation would imply one or two years of additional schooling in the case of French-Canadian students.

Item 13 is a re-structuration of item 14 on Warner's 1952 questionnaire. I asked the respondents whether they got additional training or not and, in what area.

Item 14 deals with nativity of leaders and their fathers. I made a change in the names of places of birth, since the research was conducted in the province of Quebec, Canada. I did not inquire about the approximate population of birth places. I was not interested in territorial mobility as such.

Item 15 is concerned with urban or rural places of birth for people born in Canada. I did not process the data since this item does not appear on the French copy of the questionnaire. It was left out in the course of transcription. The error was detected when the questionnaire came out of press.

Departments through which an aspirant can reach a top executive position constitute different avenues of mobility. The intent was to assess the importance of various departments as avenues to the top. Unhappily, this item 16 was also left out in the course of transcription so that it does not

appear on the French copy. I hope to process those data at a later date in the case of English-speaking leaders only and compare findings with results obtained by people who have already done research on this point.

Items 17 and 18 which terminated Warner's questionnaire have been deleted and substituted. The intent was to replicate parts of researches conducted by Mabel Newcomer, Pellegrin and Coates and I re-phrased these items to this purpose.

Generally speaking modifications were introduced to fit the particular context and people studied, to meet research interests, financial and human resources. I also tried to keep the questionnaire within an acceptable length.

STUDY OF QUEBEC BUSINESS EXECUTIVES.

Strictly Confidential

1. What is your present age? 6-7
2. At what age did you first enter business? 8-9
3. What is the title of your present business position? 10-11

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Partner | ☐ 01 |
| Chairman | ☐ 02 |
| Chairman & President | ☐ 11 |
| President | ☐ 12 |
| Vice-President | ☐ 21 |
| Secretary | ☐ 31 |
| Treasurer | ☐ 32 |
| Secretary-Treasurer | ☐ 33 |
| Controller | ☐ 34 |
| General Manager | ☐ 41 |
| Division Manager | ☐ 42 |
| Other (specify) | ☐ 51 |

4. At what age did you first assume your present business position? 12-13
5. Approximate size of the business in which you now hold this position?

Volume of sales or gross revenue.	When you entered this organization (14)	At present (15)
None	☐ 1	☐ 1
Less than 50,000	☐ 2	☐ 2
\$50,000--99,000	☐ 3	☐ 3
\$100,000--499,000	☐ 4	☐ 4
\$500,000--1,000,000	☐ 5	☐ 5
\$1,000,000--4,999,000	☐ 6	☐ 6
\$5,000,000--9,999,000	☐ 7	☐ 7
\$10,000,000--49,999,000	☐ 8	☐ 8
\$50,000,000 and over	☐ 9	☐ 9

6. At what age did you enter your present organization? 16-17
7. a) How many firms have you been associated with during your present business career? (Count subsidiaries as separate firms) 18-19
- b) How many firms have you been associated with at the job level of:

Minor executive (above foreman and below production, finance or sales managers)	 20
Major executive (production, finance or sales managers, etc., and above)	 21
- c) How many firms are you associated with at present as a member of the Board of Directors? 22

8. Were any relatives, friends, or business acquaintances interested as owners or executives 23

a) in the business you first entered yes ☐ 1 no ☐ 2 b) in your present firm when you entered yes ☐ 3 no ☐ 4

9. After you started to earn your own living, what occupations did you engage in?

Occupations: Right at the start (24-25) 5 years later (26-27) 10 years later (28-29) 15 years later (30-31)

Worker (unskilled or semi-skilled)	☐ 01	☐ 01	☐ 01	☐ 01
Worker (skilled or mechanics)	☐ 02	☐ 02	☐ 02	☐ 02
Farmer: farm worker	☐ 11	☐ 11	☐ 11	☐ 11
farm owner	☐ 12	☐ 12	☐ 12	☐ 12
Clerical worker	☐ 21	☐ 21	☐ 21	☐ 21
Retail clerk or retail salesman	☐ 31	☐ 31	☐ 31	☐ 31
Commercial traveler	☐ 32	☐ 32	☐ 32	☐ 32
Inspector or investigator	☐ 33	☐ 33	☐ 33	☐ 33
Insurance agent	☐ 34	☐ 34	☐ 34	☐ 34
Foreman	☐ 41	☐ 41	☐ 41	☐ 41
Minor executive (see Q-7)	☐ 42	☐ 42	☐ 42	☐ 42
Major executive ()	☐ 51	☐ 51	☐ 51	☐ 51
Owner small business (Sales under \$50,000)	☐ 61	☐ 61	☐ 61	☐ 61
Owner medium business (Sales \$50,000--100,000)	☐ 62	☐ 62	☐ 62	☐ 62
Owner large business (Sales over \$100,000)	☐ 71	☐ 71	☐ 71	☐ 71
Engineer	☐ 72	☐ 72	☐ 72	☐ 72
Accountant	☐ 81	☐ 81	☐ 81	☐ 81
Professional Lawyer	☐ 82	☐ 82	☐ 82	☐ 82
Doctor (M.D.)	☐ 83	☐ 83	☐ 83	☐ 83
Professor	☐ 91	☐ 91	☐ 91	☐ 91
Other (specify)	☐ 92	☐ 92	☐ 92	☐ 92
Military career (regular force, specify the rank)	☐ 93	☐ 93	☐ 93	☐ 93
Government service (specify position)	☐ 94	☐ 94	☐ 94	☐ 94
Other (Please specify)	☐ 95	☐ 95	☐ 95	☐ 95

10. Principal occupation of others in your family (If deceased, indicate last occupation)

Occupations: Your father when you became self-supporting (32-33) Your father when he was your age (34-35) Your wife's father (36-37)

Worker (unskilled or semi-skilled)	☐ 01	☐ 01	☐ 01
Worker (skilled or mechanic)	☐ 02	☐ 02	☐ 02
Farmer: farm worker	☐ 11	☐ 11	☐ 11
farm owner	☐ 12	☐ 12	☐ 12
Clerical worker	☐ 21	☐ 21	☐ 21
Retail clerk or retail salesman	☐ 31	☐ 31	☐ 31

Commercial traveler	☐ 32	☐ 32	☐ 32
Inspector or investigator	☐ 33	☐ 33	☐ 33
Insurance agent	☐ 34	☐ 34	☐ 34
Foreman	☐ 41	☐ 41	☐ 41
Minor executive	☐ 42	☐ 42	☐ 42
Major executive	☐ 51	☐ 51	☐ 51
Owner small business (sale under \$5,000)	☐ 61	☐ 61	☐ 61
Owner medium business (\$50,000--\$100,000)	☐ 62	☐ 62	☐ 62
Owner large business (sales over \$100,000)	☐ 71	☐ 71	☐ 71
Engineer	☐ 72	☐ 72	☐ 72
Accountant	☐ 81	☐ 81	☐ 81
Professional Lawyer	☐ 82	☐ 82	☐ 82
Doctor (M.D.)	☐ 83	☐ 83	☐ 83
Professor	☐ 91	☐ 91	☐ 91
Other (specify)	☐ 92	☐ 92	☐ 92
Military career (permanent force, specify the rank)	☐ 93	☐ 93	☐ 93
Government service (specify) ..	☐ 94	☐ 94	☐ 94
Other (please specify)	☐ 95	☐ 95	☐ 95

11. If your father was a business owner or executive, are you connected with the same firm that your father was? Yes ☐ 01 (38)
No ☐ 02

12. Extent of schooling of yourself and your father. (Please check only the highest correct category)

	(39) Self	(40) Your father
Less than high school	☐ 1	☐ 1
Some high school	☐ 2	☐ 2
High school graduate	☐ 3	☐ 3
Some University	☐ 4	☐ 4
University graduate	☐ 5	☐ 5
Post-graduate study	☐ 6	☐ 6

13. How much formal business training have you had? (41)

None	☐ 1
Correspondence course	
Accounting, finance, or other	☐ 2
Administration course in college or university	☐ 3
Formal training within a company	☐ 4

14. Place of birth:

	(42) Self	(43) Your father
In Canada: Ontario	☐ 1	☐ 1
Quebec	☐ 2	☐ 2
Other province	☐ 3	☐ 3
Outside Canada: U.S.A.	☐ 4	☐ 4
Great Britain	☐ 5	☐ 5
France	☐ 6	☐ 6
Other country	☐ 7	☐ 7

15. If born in Canada, were you born in an urban (or industrial) area? (44)
Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

16. Department(s) through which you reached your present position: (45)

Operations or production	☐ 1
Finance or accounting	☐ 2
Sales and advertising	☐ 3
Legal	☐ 4
Personnel and Industrial Relations	☐ 5
Public Relations	☐ 6
Purchasing	☐ 7
Engineering	☐ 8
Other	☐ 9

17. Which one or more of the following factors helped you to reach your present position? (46)

Work in organizing a corporation	☐ 1
Inheritance	☐ 2
Personal investment in your present company	☐ 3
Success in another company	☐ 4
Working up within a company	☐ 5
The sale of your business to another	☐ 6
The merger of your business with another	☐ 7
Other factors	☐ 8

18. How would you rank the following criteria that can be used in the selection of a person to fill an executive position? (Number 1 will be the most important, number 2 will be a little bit less important, and so on.) (47)

	Rank
Family social standing and connections	_____
Hard worker.....	_____
Participation in civic and social organizations	_____
Technical and administrative competence	_____
Participation in professional organizations	_____
Experience	_____
Acquisition of the attitudes, values, and behavior patterns of successful superiors	_____
Age	_____
Religion	_____
Ethnic origin or language	_____
A person who lives within his annual income	_____
The influence of the wife	_____
Establishment of higher-level friendship	_____
Retention of lower-level friendship	_____

Les "leaders" de l'industrie québécoise: leur
origine et mobilité occupationnelle.

1. Quel âge avez-vous? _____ (6-7)
2. A quel âge êtes-vous entré dans les affaires d'abord? _____ (8-9)
3. Quel est le titre de votre position actuelle en affaires? _____ (10-11)

Partenaire	01
"Chairman"	02
"Chairman" et Président.	11
Président.	12
Vice-Président	21
Sécretaire	31
Trésorier.	32
Sécretaire-trésorier	33
Contrôleur	34
Directeur général.	41
Gérant de division	42
Autre (S.V.P. indiquez).	51

4. A quel âge avez-vous assumé votre position actuelle en affaires? _____ (12-13)
5. Grandeur approximative de l'entreprise dans laquelle vous remplissez votre fonction actuelle?

Chiffre d'affaires ou revenu brut:	Au moment de votre entrée dans cette entreprise (14)	Maintenant (15)
Aucun.	1	1
Moins de \$50,000	2	2
\$50,000 @ 99,000	3	3
\$100,000 @ 499,000	4	4
\$500,000 @ 999,000	5	5
\$1,000,000 @ 4,999,000	6	6
\$5,000,000 @ 9,999,000	7	7
\$10,000,000 @ 49,999,000	8	8
\$50,000,000 et plus.	9	9

6. A quel âge avez-vous commencé à travailler pour cette entreprise? _____ (16-17)
7. Pour combien d'entreprises (firms) avez-vous travaillé au cours de votre
 - a) carrière en affaires, y compris l'entreprise actuelle où vous travaillez?
(Un subsidiaire peut être considéré comme entreprise distincte). _____ (18-19)
 - b) Pour combien d'entreprises avez vous travaillé
 - au niveau de la moyenne direction (middle management) _____ (20)
 - au niveau de la haute direction (top management) _____ (21)
 - c) Avec combien d'entreprises êtes-vous associé maintenant comme membre
du conseil d'administration (Board of Directors) _____ (22)

8. Est-ce que quelques-uns de vos parents, amis, connaissances étaient intéressés comme propriétaire, partenaire, ou comme officiers supérieurs (23)
- a) dans la première entreprise où vous avez débuté? Yes 1
No 2
- b) dans l'entreprise actuelle quand vous avez commencé à y travailler? Yes 3
No 4
9. Quand vous avez commencé à travailler pour subvenir à vos propres dépenses (self-supporting) et plus tard, dans quelle catégorie occupationnelle étiez-vous?

Catégories occupationnelles	Au tout début (24-25)	5 ans après (26-27)	10 ans après (28-29)	15 ans après (30-31)
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Travailleur (non-spécialisé ou semi-spécialisé)	01	01	01	01
Travailleur spécialisé (homme de métiers)	02	02	02	02
Fermier: aide-fermier avec paie	11	11	11	11
propriétaire d'une ferme	12	12	12	12
Ecritures (clerical worker)	21	21	21	21
Commis (de magasin ou vendeur)	31	31	31	31
Voyageur de commerce	32	32	32	32
Agent d'assurance	34	34	34	34
Contremaître	41	41	41	41
Moyenne direction (middle management)	42	42	42	42
Haute direction (top management ou "senior executive")	51	51	51	51
Propriétaire d'une petite entreprise: chiffre d'affaires moins de \$50,000. +	61	61	61	61
Propriétaire d'une entreprise moyenne (\$50,000 @ 100,000). +	62	62	62	62
Propriétaire d'une grosse entreprise. +	71	71	71	71
Ingénieur	72	72	72	72
Comptable	81	81	81	81
Avocat	82	82	82	82
Médecin	83	83	83	83
Professeur	91	91	91	91
Autre	92	92	92	92

Carrière militaire (force régulière, indiquez le rang)	93	93	93	93
Fonctionnaire (indiquez le rang)	94	94	94	94
Autre (S.V.P. indiquez).	95	95	95	95

10. Occupation principale de quelques membres de votre famille (Si décédé, indiquez l'occupation antérieure)

Catégories occupationnelles	De votre père quand vous avez commencé à tra- vailler	De votre père quand il avait votre âge	De votre beau-père
Travailleur (non-spécialisé ou semi-spécialisé)	01	01	01
Travailleur spécialisé (homme de métiers)	02	02	02
Fermier: aide-dermier avec paie.	11	11	11
propriétaire d'une ferme.	12	12	12
Ecritures (clerical worker).	21	21	21
Commis (de magasin or vendeur)	31	31	31
Agent d'Assurance.	34	34	34
Voyageur de commerce	32	32	32
Contremaître	41	41	41
Moyenne direction (middle management).	42	42	42
Haute direction (top management)	51	51	51
Propriétaire d'une petite entreprise (chiffres d'affaires moins de \$50,000)	61	61	61
Propriétaire d'une moyenne entre- prise (50,000 @ 100,000)	62	62	62
Propriétaire d'une grosse entreprise	71	71	71
Ingénieur	72	72	72
Comptable	81	81	81
Avocat.	82	82	82
Médecin	83	83	83
Professeur.	91	91	91
Autre	92	92	92
Carrière militaire (force régulière, indiquez le rang).	93	93	93
Fonctionnaire (indiquez le rang)	94	94	94
Autre (indiquez)	95	95	95

1. Si votre père était propriétaire ou officier supérieur d'une entreprise, êtes-vous encore lié avec cette même entreprise?
Yes No (38)

2. Degré d'instruction et celui de votre père:
(S.V.P. indiquez seulement la plus haute catégorie correcte)
Le votre (39) Votre père (40)

Moins qu'une 9ème année ou 2 ans (cours classique).	1	1
Plus qu'une 9ème, moins qu'une 12ème (2 à 4 ans de cours classique).	2	2
Une 12ème accomplie (5 ou 6 ans, cours classique)	3	3
Quelques années au niveau universitaire ou un B.A.	4	4

Gradué d'une université 5 5
 Etudes post-graduées 6 6

13. Degré d'instruction en affaires (business training)

(41)

Aucun 1
 Cours par correspondance 2
 Comptabilité, finance, ou autre
 cours d'administration dans un
 collège ou une université 3
 "Formal training within business" 4

14. Lieu de naissance:

Vous même

(42)

Votre père

(43)

Au Canada: Québec 1 1
 Ontario 2 2
 Dans une autre province 3 3
 A l'extérieur du Canada:
 Aux Etats-Unis 4 4
 Grande Bretagne 5 5
 France 6 6
 Autre 7 7

17. Dans cette liste, quels sont les facteurs qui vous ont aidé à atteindre votre position actuelle?

(45)

Travail à l'organisation d'une compagnie 1
 L'héritage 2
 Investissement personnel dans votre
 compagnie actuelle 3
 Le succès dans une autre compagnie 4
 "Working up within a company" 5
 La vente de votre compagnie à une autre 6
 La fusion (merger) de votre compagnie avec
 une autre 7
 Autre facteurs 8

18. Comment ordonnez-vous par importance les critères suivants qui peuvent être utilisés dans le choix d'une personne pour remplir une fonction de haute direction (an executive position)?

Connections familiales et renommée de la famille
 Travail assidu et soutenu (hard work)
 Participation dans des organisations civiques et sociales
 Participation dans une organisation professionnelles
 Compétence administrative et technique

Expérience. —

Acquisition des valeurs, des attitudes et des modes de
comportement des supérieurs qui ont connu et connaissent
le succès. —

L'âge —

La religion —

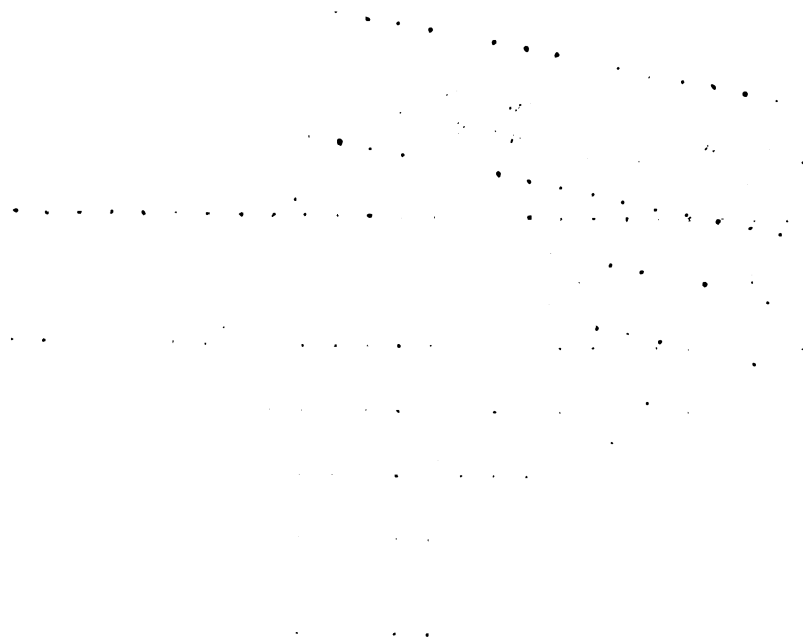
L'origine ethnique et la langue —

Une personne qui mène un "train de vie" correspondant
à son revenu annuel —

Une épouse qui est "influente". —

Une personne qui a su entretenir certaine amitié avec
ses inférieurs après avoir déjà été promue. —

Une personne qui a su établir certains liens d'amitié
avec ses supérieurs —



MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

"Sponsors"

Mr. Roy H. Crabtree

Mr. Andrew S. Beaubien

Mr. Jules A. Brilliant

Dear Sir:

The Province of Quebec is experiencing rapid economic growth in which the activities of the large firms are a major factor. Adequate understanding of this growth requires that we know more about the successful business leaders, their origins, and their ascent to the top of the business world. I am presently studying these factors for my doctoral dissertation in Business Administration at Michigan State University. I am respectfully requesting your help in completing this study by filling out and returning to me the attached questionnaire.

As you can see, almost all questions can be answered by choosing and marking a listed reply, or by entering a number. I believe that this arrangement will make it possible for you to complete the questionnaire in only a few minutes of your time.

The study is patterned after the research conducted on American business and government executives by Professor W. Lloyd Warner, sociologist, member of the faculty of Michigan State University, and chairman of my doctoral committee. The attached questionnaire has been used by his research group in virtually identical form. My study will therefore make it possible to analyse the characteristics of Canadian executives and also to determine differences and similarities compared with their American counterparts.

This questionnaire is sent to 1000 executives in the largest corporations in the Province of Quebec. The study will therefore hopefully cover executives in all businesses with annual sales of at least 1,000,000 in 1962.

Each copy bears a code number which enables me to correlate published information about your business with your answers to this questionnaire. I will alone have access to the code list. The results of my research will be published only in statistical form, without disclosing the identity of any respondent or his affiliation.

I would appreciate it if you consider this request, and I thank you for the attention you have already given to it.

Sincerely yours,

Laurent BELANGER

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

"Sponsors"

M. Jules A. Brillant

M. Andre S. Beaubien

Mr. Roy H. Crabtree

Cher monsieur,

La Province de Québec connaît actuellement une phase rapide d'expansion économique et sociale où la grande entreprise joue un rôle important. Une compréhension adéquate de cette expansion nécessite une connaissance plus approfondie de ses leaders industriels et financiers, de leur origine, et des facteurs qui peuvent expliquer leur ascension vers le sommet. La recherche de ces facteurs constitue mon sujet de thèse doctorale en Administration des Entreprises au Michigan State University. Je viens solliciter votre aide pour cette étude en remplissant et en me retournant le questionnaire ci-inclus.

Comme vous voyez, une réponse à la plupart des questions peut être indiquée par une croix ou par un chiffre. Je crois qu'il vous sera possible de compléter ce questionnaire en quelques minutes.

Cette étude suit de près le modèle utilisé dans une recherche faite aux Etats-Unis sur l'élite industrielle et les fonctionnaires fédéraux. Cette recherche était dirigée par le Professeur Lloyd Warner, un sociologue bien connu aux Etats-Unis et au Canada, et président de mon comité de dissertation. Il sera donc possible pour moi d'analyser les caractéristiques de l'élite industrielle canadienne et de confronter les résultats avec ceux obtenus ici.

Chaque copie porte un numéro qui me permettra de relier l'information publiée sur votre entreprise avec celle contenue dans le questionnaire. L'information sera tenue confidentielle. Les résultats de ma recherche seront publiés sous forme statistique sans dévoiler votre identité ou votre affiliation.

Toute considération que vous donnerez à cette demande sera grandement appréciée et je vous en remercie beaucoup.

Sincèrement vôtre,

Laurent BELANGER

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