

THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN PROGRAM
IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE

by

Carol Hunt

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Political Studies

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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any limitation of the field of selection deprives society of some chances of being served by the competent without ever saving it from the incompetent."

John Stuart Mill
The Subjection of Women

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The goal of the Equal Opportunities for Women (EOW) program in the federal public service was to ensure women had equal access to employment and career opportunities and to encourage and facilitate their development into managerial and professional positions. Some women greatly improved their position but for the majority of women in the public service the program brought little change. The EOW policy was first enunciated in 1971, and strengthened in 1975 but it remained largely symbolic, never receiving the commitment needed to change the historical inequalities within the public service. Its life coincided with a turbulent period for the government bureaucracy, one marked by changes in government priorities, cutbacks in spending and hiring, the beginning of collective bargaining and an emphasis on increasing the number of francophones in the public service.

During the past three decades the Canadian labour force was radically changed by the entry of a large number of women. The increase in the number of women in the work force was accompanied by a growing awareness of inequities in employment opportunities. To a large extent women work in a relatively small number of occupations, most of which are labelled as "female". These occupations generally pay lower wages and in 1971 women working full time earned on average only sixty-percent as much as men.¹ The development of human rights legislation and a growing emphasis in society on freedom from discrimination gave an impetus to demands by women for equal opportunities with men in the work

place.

The federal government as the country's largest employer of women, found itself under increasing pressure to show leadership in the treatment of its female employees and to set an example to the private sector. In 1962, the Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization pointed out that while there was no official discrimination against women in recruitment, selection, classification or pay--in practice a number of differences in the treatment of women could be considered discriminatory.² The report suggested the government provide "creative leadership" in the hiring and development of its female employees.

In 1969, the Judek Report: Women in the Public Service called on the government to "provide leadership toward the realization of the principle of equality for women, including the important matter of equality in economic opportunities."³ The Archibald Report: Sex and the Public Service, commissioned by the Public Service Commission and published in 1970, stressed the federal government was

more than an employer, it is also responsible for the welfare and progress of the nation as a whole. Thus it can be expected to lead other employers with respect to social responsibilities as it often has in the past.⁴

In response to pressure from women's organizations across the country, and to strong criticism directed at its own employment policies within the public service, the federal government appointed the Royal Commission on the Status of Women to study the position of women in Canada and to recommend steps the government might take "to ensure for women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian

society."⁵ The Commission was also to consider the employment and promotion of women in the public service.

In its report, submitted in 1970, the Commission found

women generally work in a few occupations labelled "female", earn less money than men, and rarely reach the top. This has been the situation for so long that society takes it for granted. In fact, its very familiarity probably does as much to maintain the status quo as any of the arguments offered in its defence. Seeing women in lower paying jobs and men in senior ones leads management to think in these terms when jobs are open, and so the system perpetuates itself.⁶

The report of the Royal Commission described a situation which matched the picture of female public service employees presented in Sex and the Public Service. In 1967, of the 41,000 female employees, almost eighty-three percent held office support or administrative support jobs, while only a small percentage worked in administrative or professional occupations.⁷ Only ten percent of female employees earned more than \$6,000 while forty-one percent of male workers had salaries above that level.⁸ The report suggested discrimination in personnel practices and in attitudes as well as the occupational structure of the public service were factors that created barriers to equal opportunities for women.⁹

In 1971, the federal government, following the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and the Archibald Report, established the Office of Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service Commission as a responsibility centre to stimulate equal opportunities for women in employment policies, procedures and practices.

A more aggressive approach was taken towards equal opportunities in 1975 when the Cabinet approved policy and program guidelines developed

by the Treasury Board Secretariat and the Public Service Commission designed "to ensure that women are in fact accorded equal access to employment and career opportunities."¹⁰

In 1983, an affirmative action program, under the direction of the Treasury Board, was implemented across the public service to "ensure more equitable representation in it of women, indigeneous people and handicapped persons."¹¹ The first service-wide measures for women were designed to increase the number of women at managerial levels.

The federal government, as the government of all Canadians can be considered to have a responsibility to provide leadership in demonstrating its committment to equal opportunities for women and to act as an example to other governments and the private sector. However, it also has to adapt to other economic, political and social changes in Canada.

...the public service is not organized nor does it operate in a social vacuum, it is shaped not only by the particular nature of the purpose for which it has been created but also by the physical, social and institutional features of the community it serves. In a quite literal sense it is a part of all that it has met.¹²

The years since concerns about the status of women in the public service were first seriously raised have been ones of change and reorganization in the public service: the introduction of collective bargaining in 1967, the political decision to recruit more francophones in order to better represent their distribution in the Canadian population and a growing emphasis on efficiency and value for money. As well, the service itself became an object of policy with the introduction of hiring and spending restraints, "six and five" wage

controls and the decentralization and relocation of many government agencies.

The 1960's were years of expansion and optimism within the federal government and the public service. There was a commitment to the pursuit of broad economic and social goals and a general acceptance of the idea that government was the proper vehicle for their attainment. However, by the middle of the 1970's, deteriorating economic conditions in Canada, high unemployment and inflation led to a restriction in government expenditures and a declining number of appointments to the public service.

The introduction of the planning, programming and budgeting system caused a major reorientation in financial management practices within the public service. New emphasis was placed on management efficiency and the control of resources. In recent years, severe spending restraint measures have been implemented and there has been an increase in the number of jobs lost through layoffs and privatization. Women have been more severely affected by the reduction of jobs through these measures than men.¹³

The passage of the Official Languages Act in 1969 and the earlier decision to recruit more francophones to the public service made significant changes in the composition of the government work force. In response to political pressures, the government embarked on what has been termed "the greatest affirmative action programme of all"¹⁴ in order to achieve proportional representation of francophones. In only a few years the program succeeded in bringing francophone representation in the public service to a level equal to that of their representation

in the Canadian population. Not only did francophones enter the public service in large numbers, within its ranks they achieved reasonably proportional representation in the various occupational categories.¹⁵

The introduction of collective bargaining in 1967 brought a reorganization of the occupational structure of the public service. Prior to 1967, there were 680 classes of employees, 1,725 grades and 320 salary ranges.¹⁶ Under the new structure there were five broad categories of employees for purposes of collective bargaining--scientific and professional, administrative and foreign service, technical, operational and administrative support. The sixth category, executive, was removed from the sphere of collective bargaining.

It was within the above context that the federal public service began to take steps to ensure a more equitable representation of women throughout its ranks.

This thesis discusses and evaluates the implementation of the Equal Opportunities for Women program in the public service. It also considers the decision to begin an affirmative action program from the viewpoint of its future impact on women. Since affirmative action departmental plans were only to be in effect by the 1985-1986 planning cycle, no consideration was given to the results of affirmative action in the public service. Affirmative action is studied only from the viewpoint of its significance for women, not its other client groups--indigenous people, the handicapped, black people in Nova Scotia, and since 1986 visible minorities. The problems of the groups are different--women are already well represented in the public service,

their difficulties are those of distribution by group and level--the other groups are concerned with entry into the public service.

The evaluation examines the structure of the EOW program, the environment of the public service, government and society, departmental activities and individual attitudes and behaviour. It assumes activities occurring at all three levels--the macro level of the public service as a whole including interchange between the organization and its environment, the intermediate level of departments and the individual level of managers and other employees can influence the success or failure of a program introduced into any level of the system.¹⁷ The organizational framework is a partial adoption of that used by Scheirer in Program Implementation: The Organizational Context. This views the implementing organization as a social system and emphasizes the processes and inter-relationships among the three levels of analysis for examining organizational phenomena.¹⁸

The evaluation considers the question: to what extent did the Equal Opportunities for Women program achieve its objective

that within a reasonable period of time, representation of male and female employees in the public service approximates the proportion of qualified and interested persons of both sexes available, by department, by occupational group and by level.¹⁹

It also considers what factors were important in the successes and failures of the program.

The paper also focuses on the implementation of EOW from a regional perspective, specifically in Manitoba. Since the majority of public service employees work outside the national capital region, significant progress for women cannot be expected without effective action by

departments in the regions. In 1984, sixty-eight percent of the 224,000 public service employees worked in the various regions across the country.²⁰ They were distributed in percentages ranging from less than one percent in Prince Edward Island, to nine percent in British Columbia and sixteen percent in regional offices in Ontario. In 1984, four percent of public service staff worked in the Manitoba region, a total of 9,753 public servants. Of this number 4,250 or 43.6 percent were women.²¹

Departments vary greatly as to whether they are centralized or decentralized. Some have few employees outside the national capital region, others have the majority of their employees outside headquarters. Occupational categories also vary in their representation in the national capital or the regions. Seventy percent of members of the management category are in head office but only 24.2 percent of technical officers and 11.6 percent of operational employees. Administrative support staff is more heavily concentrated in the capital with only 63 percent of all clerical staff in the regions.²²

A hypothesis of this paper was that difficulties of distance from head office and small numbers of women in many regional offices would make the implementation of the EOW program in a small regional office difficult and therefore quantitative results would show little progress for women. A second hypothesis was that large regional offices which have greater access to training programs and more career opportunities would show a greater quantitative change in the distribution of women. It was also expected that quantitative results in the national capital region would be superior to those in the regions because of more

opportunities for promotion and greater access to training and development.

Overall results of EOW in the Manitoba region were analyzed. However, the main focus was on the implementation of the program in four regional offices--Statistics Canada, Labour Canada, Employment and Immigration Canada and the Ministry of Transport. The four regional offices illustrate the variety and diversity of government departments. They were chosen to investigate the hypothesis that the EOW program would have little effect in a small regional office but would show greater results in a large one. A regional office with a large number of non traditional occupations for women such as engineers, air traffic controllers, firefighters, and heavy equipment operators, and a small percentage of female employees was also selected in order to assess the difficulties of implementation in that type of environment. The public service has a number of departments which contain small numbers of women and one of the goals of the EOW program was to achieve a more equitable distribution of men and women by department as well as occupation.

Statistics Canada is a highly centralized department with few employees in the regions. The majority of women in Manitoba are in clerical positions. The officer jobs are almost entirely in the program administration group, a group which in this department is entirely regional and has no members at headquarters.

Labour Canada is a small department both at head office and in the regions. Many of its jobs are technical, and have had few women in them in the past.

Transport Canada, a decentralized department with a large regional

office in Winnipeg is the fourth largest department in the public service with almost ten percent of all staff.²³ It offers positions in the operational, technical, scientific and professional categories, areas of non traditional employment for women. Transport has a small percentage of female employees in Manitoba, but is an example of a department where women must make progress if they are to change their concentration in clerical occupations.

Employment and Immigration is also one of the largest government departments and in 1984 had 1,015 employees in the Manitoba region.²⁴ The nature of its work offers natural career ladders from the administrative support category into officer positions. It was one of five departments to embark on an affirmative action program before the decision to begin it across the public service was made.

It is recognized that every department in the public service is unique. They have individual organizational histories, different personnel in key roles and varied working relationships. The four regional offices are not a true experimental population since members are not randomly assigned, but rather their population consists of pre-existing groups formed for reasons other than this investigation. However, the goal of this paper was to study the implementation of equal opportunities with a view to identifying any common patterns that might exist and to use the individual case studies as exploratory devices which might suggest further areas for research.

A number of secondary sources provided information on women in the public service. These included: Annual reports by the Public Service Commission, reports by the Treasury Board Secretariat on Equal

Opportunities for Women, publications of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women and individual departmental reports on Equal Opportunities and Affirmative Action. Treasury Board evaluations of departmental action plans and activities were also considered. As well, numerous articles and books on women in society and in the labour force were used to give depth to the consideration of equal opportunities in the public service.

Among the books and articles which provided useful insights into the evaluation of public policy were: Canadian Public Policy: Ideas, Structure, Process (Doern and Phidd), Policy Analysis in Political Science (Ripley), The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Edelman) and Program Implementation: The Organizational Context (Scheirer). Publications by the Fraser Institute were helpful in their discussion of opposition to affirmative action as a fair or effective means of changing women's position in the labour force.

Reports on equal opportunities published by the Treasury Board Secretariat and the Public Service Commission provide information on changes in the number of women by category, group and level for each department. However, there is often no regional evaluation or breakdown. Each department has varying amounts of regional data but there appears to have been no overall evaluation of the EOW program on a regional basis. The Public Service Commission data analysis unit can give a statistical breakdown of results for any group or level, but will release historical data by department only to members of that department. In all other cases, departmental data is aggregated with at least one other department in order to prevent individual

identification.

Secondary regional information was obtained from reports and documentation provided by regional departmental EOW coordinators and representatives, the regional EOW coordinator for the public service in Winnipeg and regional office staff members in Winnipeg. Since the start of Affirmative Action many departments appear to no longer have historical information on EOW available and it is difficult to locate secondary material, particularly at the regional level. In the Manitoba region, many of those involved in the implementation of equal opportunities have moved to positions in other departments or left the public service.

Open-ended interviews with staff members of the four departments selected for analysis provided primary material. Interviews were also conducted with the regional coordinator of EOW for the Public Service Commission and with the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, minister responsible for the Status of Women from 1980 to 1983. Since little EOW data is available on a regional basis it was intended these interviews would provide insight into the implementation of EOW and the necessary conditions for successful implementation. They give the perceptions and feelings of respondents, their recollection of past events. Objective data from Public Service Commission and Treasury Board reports provided a quantitative reflection of the EOW program. Both methods are important in investigating the implementation of EOW. The qualitative descriptions gained from the interviews help give exploratory depth while quantitative measurements show actual changes, provide a check on the objectivity of observation, and also make it possible to compare results across various offices and departments.

Footnotes

¹Gail C.A. Cook, ed., Opportunity for Choice: A Goal for Women in Canada (Statistics Canada, with the C.D. Howe Research Institute, 1976), p. 125.

²Kathleen Archibald, Sex and the Public Service (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 18.

³Stanislaw Judek, Women in the Public Service: Their Utilization and Employment (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 105.

⁴Archibald, p. 9.

⁵Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, The Royal Commission Report: Ten Years Later (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1979), p. 6.

⁶Lise Hendlisz et al., Affirmative Action for Women in Canada (Montreal: Montreal Association of Women and the Law, 1982), p. 4.

⁷Archibald, p. 20.

⁸Ibid., p. 24.

⁹Archibald, pp. 103-126.

¹⁰Public Service Commission, Report 1976: Women in the Public Service of Canada, p. 6.

¹¹Treasury Board of Canada, News Release, June 27, 1983.

¹²J.E. Hodgetts, The Canadian Public Service: A Physiology of Government, 1867-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 5, quoted in Audrey D. Doerr, The Machinery of Government (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), p. 9.

¹³For an illustration of this point, see Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, p. 99. In 1984, women received 61.7 percent of layoffs due to privatization and 49.2 percent of total layoffs, although they represented only 41.1 percent of public service employees. Annual Reports for other years present a similar pattern.

¹⁴W.S. Tarnopolsky, "Affirmative Action: Definitions, American Experience, and Application in Canada," quoted in Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Women in the Public Service: Overlooked and Undervalued (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1980), p. 55.

¹⁵Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1976, pp. 15-17. By

1976, overall francophone representation in the public service had reached 26.2 percent. The estimated rate of growth in francophone participation from 1974-1976 was 16.7 percent, that for anglophones 7.2 percent. In the officer categories, francophone representation increased from 13.4 percent in 1971 to 19.7 percent by 1976. In the six occupational categories, francophone representation was relatively equal by 1976: executive, 20.4 percent; scientific and professional, 20.4 percent; administrative and foreign service, 26.0 percent; technical, 18.1 percent; administrative support, 30.6 percent; and operational, 26.9 percent.

¹⁶"Our Formative Years 1907-1966," The Review 60 (1982), p. 14.

¹⁷Mary Ann Scheirer, Program Implementation: The Organizational Context (London: Sage Publications, 1981), p. 183.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁹Public Service Commission, Report 1976: Women in the Public Service of Canada, p. 6.

²⁰Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, p. 74.

²¹Ibid., p. 63.

²²Ibid., p. 74.

²³Ibid., p. 62.

²⁴Public Service Commission, 1984 Regional Report: Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Table 1.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Equal Opportunities for Women program in the public service was established in 1971 as a direct result of the recommendations of the Archibald Report: Sex and the Public Service. The report, written under contract to the Public Service Commission, documented the historical and continuing pattern of discrimination against women in the public service. Widespread exposure given to the hearings and recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women also provided a powerful impetus to government action aimed at improving opportunities for women.

However, the roots of the EOW program went far deeper than the Archibald report. Its development was part of a long struggle by Canadian women to gain political and economic equality. The right to vote and to be regarded as "persons" under the law were early victories in the fight for equal opportunity. Later, women's concerns began to focus on the situation of women in the labour market.

The question of the proper role of women and their place in Canadian society was the subject of much debate and argument throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century. A woman's primary purpose was considered that of homemaker, with work seen only as a temporary and short-term aspect of her life. It was acceptable for single women to work, but they were expected to leave the work force as soon as married. Most married women never returned to work and as late as 1941 it is estimated only 4.5 percent of married women were in the labour force.¹

Employers looked on women as temporary labour, a "reserve army" to be called into action only when there was a labour shortage, as for example in wartime. Opportunities for training and advancement were scarcely thought about since women were expected to be in the labour force for only a brief period.

The suffragette movement challenged the belief that women's place was in the home. Many of its leaders, themselves among Canada's few professional women, were concerned with equal employment opportunities for women. Flora Macdonald Denison, a newspaper columnist wrote: "Woman's duty and woman's sphere are just where her capabilities are making opportunities for her in nearly all vocations of life. Labour is not defined by gender, and washing dishes is no more feminine than the sending of a marconigram is masculine."²

The idea of a woman having a professional career was slow to gain acceptance. A career in law was possible in the 1890's, but as late as 1919 a woman could not become a chartered accountant. Men were reluctant to relinquish their control of the professions.

I think all lawyers must agree
On keeping our profession free
From females whose admission would
Result in anything but good.³

If women tried to compete with men intellectually or in careers they were often ridiculed. "Very intellectual women are seldom beautiful, their features and particularly their foreheads, are more or less masculine," the Christian Guardian observed in 1872.⁴

Because most women had only a brief participation in the work force they were concentrated in jobs which did not require a high level of skill or lengthy experience. These jobs were low paying, low status

ones offering few opportunities for advancement. In 1901 when thirty percent of women worked, more than half of them were employed as domestic servants, teachers, dressmakers or seamstresses.⁵

In the early 1900's the proportion of women in the labour force remained static at just over thirteen percent. However, after the first world war the percentage of women began to increase, reaching 22.1 percent in 1951 and 27.3 percent by 1961.⁶ Between 1901 and 1961 the male labour force tripled while the female work force increased sevenfold from over 200,000 to 1.8 million.⁷

A significant change in work patterns after 1940 was the increase in the participation rate of married women. While there is scarce data on the percentage of married women in the work force, census figures suggest four and one-half percent in 1941, eleven percent in 1951 and twenty-two percent by 1961.⁸ The largest participation increase was in the age group 35-44 and 45-54. This reflected the fact that a small but growing minority of women were going back to work in middle age. This second flow of women was a new phenomenon which became a major development in Canada in the 1950's.

The growth of the female labour force corresponded with "the industrial development of Canada, social and cultural changes and the increasing urbanization of the population."⁹ Smaller families, better education for women, expansion of employment opportunities through urbanization and industrial development and significant changes in attitudes towards working women, particularly married women, were all factors contributing to increased labour force participation by women. Economic reasons were undoubtedly responsible for much of the change in

attitudes towards married women. Census figures for 1961 indicate the working wife made a fairly substantial contribution to the family income, on average raising it fifty percent over the husband's alone.¹⁰

By 1961 there were 1.8 million women in the labour force. What kind of work were they doing? Increased participation in the work force had not been matched by any significant improvements in the position of women. Their average annual earnings were only fifty-nine percent those of male employees.¹¹ The proportion of women in professional careers was lower than at any time since 1901.¹² The major occupational increase for women was in the clerical category where they were concentrated in the lowest ranks of the growing white collar sector of the economy. The percentage of women in clerical occupations had increased from twenty-two percent in 1901 to sixty-two percent in 1961, while at the same time the relative earning power of the group had fallen drastically. Flooding the lower white collar ranks with women "has been essentially the utilization of a cheap labour reserve--a process not dissimilar to the drawing of surplus agricultural labour into the factories during the Industrial Revolution".¹³

The mobilization of large numbers of women during two world wars to fill "male" jobs confirms this view of women as a cheap labour reserve to be shifted briefly from one sector to another whenever external events made it desirable or necessary. At the war's end women were removed from almost all these jobs with no long term changes in occupational patterns having taken place. Seventy-one thousand women were employed in the manufacture of iron products in 1944; by 1946 almost fifty thousand of these were gone. By 1951, the proportion of

women in the manufacturing sector--an area whose relative earning power was rising--was at its lowest point in the century.¹⁴

Throughout the 1950's, despite the growing number of women in the work force, employment was still seen as a peripheral aspect of women's lives. Proper working roles for women were seen as those which were supportive of men or dealing with children such as secretary, receptionist or teacher. "It's perfectly all right for women to work in the labour market if they do jobs that are 'suited' to them, and these will resemble the ones they used to do at home."¹⁵ Magazines ignored the reality of working women, glorifying the role of housewife as a dozen careers in itself, and presenting a picture of middle class society where women found fulfillment at home with husband and children.¹⁶

The belief that female employees were less committed, less ambitious and less productive than their male counterparts was considered justification of their lowly employment status. Employers claimed women lacked appropriate education and skills, had a high rate of absenteeism and turnover, and were unsuited for supervision and management jobs, particularly where those involved the supervision of male employees. Most women had been socialized to accept this view of themselves as correct.

However, in the 1960's changing economic, demographic and social patterns made women less willing to accept their position in the labour market. Lower infant mortality rates, longer life expectancy and the birth control pill gave women greater freedom from child care responsibilities and the possibility of long term labour force

participation. The increase in the divorce rate forced more women to support themselves, while rising inflation caused more married women to enter the work force as the two-income family often became a necessity.

By 1966, almost one-third of the work force was female and for the first time it included a greater number of married women--fifty-two percent.¹⁷ As more women encountered employment discrimination many were no longer willing to accept it as natural or inevitable. It became difficult to blame personal inadequacy or inferiority when it was evident that almost all women were at the lower levels of job categories. Women's groups began to unite in demands for equality and to exert political pressure on the federal government.

In 1967, the government established the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Its task: "to inquire into and report upon the status of women in Canada, and to recommend what steps might be taken by the federal government to ensure for women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society." One of the areas the Commissioners were directed to inquire into and report on was: "laws, practices and policies concerning the employment and promotion of women in the federal civil service."¹⁸

Women's employment in the public service has been called "a controversial problem and a trouble to the governmental conscience since Confederation."¹⁹ In Biography of an Institution, a history of the public service, the authors say the government never considered women as employees to be treated on an equal basis with men. "Unlike the more subtle forms of covert discrimination against French-speaking civil servants, there was never any particular attempt made to hide the

discrimination against women which was, and is, built into the very fabric of civil service legislation and personnel practice."²⁰

The history of women in the public service reflected the same patterns, prejudices and changes occurring in the labour force as a whole. Although data grouped by sex on federal employees was not available on a regular basis until 1960, estimates on the proportion of women working in the public service indicate it followed the pattern of the general labour force. In the early 1900's the percentage of women in the public service was smaller than in the Canadian labour force, but by 1961 the proportion of women had reached 28.3 percent.²¹

Married women did not find a place in the public service to any extent until 1955. In 1921, formal restrictions were placed on their employment. "Married women could be appointed only when required to be self-supporting or on a temporary basis when a sufficient number of qualified candidates was not otherwise available."²² Women holding permanent positions who married were obliged to resign. If they were needed and wished to continue working they were rehired as temporaries and paid only minimum rates.

The restrictions were relaxed during the war and more than fifty percent of public service appointments made during that time were to women. However, in 1944 the decision was made to release the five to seven thousand married women in the service except for those in typing, stenographic or office appliance operating positions. "The latter stipulation is very revealing for it shows that the sex-typing of jobs--the very 'evidence' used to show why women would not be capable of

filling higher executive positions--was in large part a function of official enforced policy."²³

In 1947, the Public Service Commission reintroduced official restrictions against married women in order to open positions for returning veterans. It reminded all government departments that "female employees can be paid only minimum salary of the class, after marriage."²⁴ In the Commission's view women, and particularly married women, were a cheap labour supply with less right to employment than men. To fulfill the social and political goal of reintegrating veterans, the Commission was quite ready to discriminate against women. In this it was following the example of the private sector.

The belief that women belonged in the lowest job categories was as prevalent in the public service as elsewhere. However, the merit system which claimed to select the best 'person' qualified for a job, was an obstacle in ensuring this happened. The Commission was afraid the junior ranks--the pool for promotion to higher positions--would soon be filled with women since in the early 1900's they were more successful than men in competitive examinations.²⁵ Its solution was to ensure women would be confined to positions with few advancement opportunities.

In 1908, the Commission placed restrictions on women which would ensure they would not achieve advancement on the "mere ground of personal qualifications".²⁶ Deputy department heads were permitted to segregate occupational groups into male and female and to limit women to the lowest level of appointment, such as "stenographers and typewriters".²⁷ The Civil Service Act of 1918 reinforced the restrictions by giving the Commission authority to limit competitions on

the basis of sex, as well as age, health, habits, residence and moral character.

Although the rule of equal pay for equal work always existed in the public service, in practice it meant little since women were generally limited to the lower job levels and only men could advance to higher positions. Sex was finally forbidden as a basis on which to discriminate in the Public Service Employment Act of 1967. "Thus while equal pay for equal work had been official policy for nearly a century, the equal opportunity that would make equal pay meaningful was not endorsed in legislation until 1967."²⁸

In the 1960's a series of reports commissioned by the government criticized its treatment of female employees. The Report of the Royal Commission on Government Organization (1962) stated that while officially there was no discrimination against women in the classification and pay system, in practice it existed. The 1960 median salary for all female employees was \$3,221, that for men \$4,553. Maximum pay for a nurse was \$4,200 while a hospital orderly (a male position which could be learned on the job) could reach \$4,500. The Royal Commission found eighty percent of all female employees earned under \$4,000, reflecting their heavy concentration in clerical positions.²⁹ Women received fewer training opportunities than men and few were appointed to senior levels of management, particularly for positions involving the supervision of men. The report suggested the government provide creative leadership by allowing more women to reach senior positions, recommending it act as a model rather than follow the practices of the private sector.

In 1966, Dr. Judek conducted a study on the utilization and employment of women in the public service for the Department of Labour. He concluded the government had not made full use of "the talents and qualifications of women in staffing the public service,"³⁰ and recommended it provide leadership in fair employment policies and practices. Among his recommendations were: the appointment of women to key positions in the Personnel Policy Branch of Treasury Board, child care facilities for married women and increased training programs for women.

The report Sex and the Public Service, released in 1970, delivered a scathing attack on federal government employment policies towards women. Its author, Kathleen Archibald, found that eighty-three percent of the 41,000 women in the public service were in office support or administrative support jobs with the great majority clustered at the lower end of the pay scale. The Duncan and Duncan Index of Segregation for the Canadian public service based on 1967 was 73.1 percent; that is approximately three quarters of the women would have to change jobs in order that men and women be distributed equally across occupational groups.³¹ If men and women were distributed equally in all classes then approximately twenty-seven percent of each class would be women. Instead, many occupations had no women--there were no female fishery officers, no pilots, no geologists--but 13,000 typists.³² In interviews with senior men and women in the public service, Archibald found a general belief that many jobs were properly "male" or "female" only and excluding the opposite sex from competitions for these jobs was acceptable. This was not seen as discrimination.

Although the total work experience of women in the public service was somewhat less than that of men and there were differences in years of schooling, these factors did not explain salary differentials. In fact, the more education and experience a woman had, the worse off she was compared to male counterparts. Archibald found that differences in capabilities, experience and work interests did not fully explain the lower levels and salaries of women--these, she suggested were a result of restricted opportunities for women within the public service.³³

The report recommended the establishment of an equal employment program to improve access and advancement opportunities for women. Archibald considered three possible ways of implementing an equal employment policy--passive, active and aggressive. A passive approach she defined as one that "merely attempts to ensure that the existing structure is administered fairly."³⁴ It concentrates on educational campaigns to change attitudes, and a few "token" appointments of women into highly visible positions.

An active approach, the one recommended "is one which attempts to adjust the structure itself in those areas where it imposes unfairly on particular groups and where such adjustments, while sometimes disruptive and costly in man-hours in the short-run, are expected at least not to increase costs or decrease productivity in the medium-run. In other words, an active approach, as here defined, involves no special treatment."³⁵

Such adjustments could include ones to accommodate the realities of family responsibility through the introduction of day care at work, increased part-time work, flexible hours and re-entry programs for

women. Other adjustments recommended by Archibald were increased advancement opportunities through reorganization of work in the administrative support category and revised personnel selection standards to avoid discrimination.

Efforts to provide equal opportunities for French Canadians involved what Archibald termed an aggressive approach, one that is costly in the short and medium-run and also involves special treatment. She described the government approach in prior years as passive and in earlier years one of promoting unequal opportunities for women.³⁶

The Public Service Commission issued policy guidelines on equal career opportunities without regard to sex in 1969. The guidelines stressed that decisions on career appointments must be based on the qualifications or suitability of an individual, and not on the basis of characteristics assumed accurately or inaccurately to be associated with a particular group.³⁷

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women was released in 1970. Of its 167 recommendations, twenty-six specifically referred to the issue of employment in the public service. Recommendation 61 called for the establishment of a Women's Programme Secretariat in the Privy Council Office and also for the appointment of a Women's Programme Co-ordinator in each government department to promote equality of opportunity for women in the federal government service and the greater use of their skills and abilities.³⁸

In 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau pledged the federal government to "priority consideration" of the recommendations in the report. He announced the designation of a Cabinet Minister responsible for matters

relating to the status of women, the appointment of a Status of Women Co-ordinator within the Privy Council Office and the establishment of an Interdepartmental Committee to examine the recommendations of the Royal Commission and report to Cabinet.

In the same year the Public Service Commission established the Office of Equal Opportunities for Women as a responsibility centre to stimulate equal opportunities for women in employment policies, procedures and practices of the public service. In 1972, the Treasury Board Secretariat appointed a Woman's Policy Specialist to provide direction in the formation of policies and to monitor personnel policies.

The government established the EOW program in response to pressure from women--both in the public service and throughout Canada. However, the adoption of a program does not necessarily bring about either the commitment or actions to make it effective. Policies may be just for 'show' so that the government can be perceived to be doing something about a problem. The policy would be implemented at a time when managers in the public service--those who were expected to carry it out--were under increasing pressure to emphasize economy and efficiency in the management of their human and financial resources. Throughout the EOW program, the federal government would be preoccupied with such problems as inflation, unemployment and the federal deficit as well as the political need to bilingualize the public service. Whether the policy and structures developed for the EOW program and the resources and power allocated to those responsible for carrying it out, would be sufficient to change the situation of women in the public service--the

result of more than sixty years of discrimination--would be seen in the next twelve years.

Footnotes

¹Carole Swan, Women in the Canadian Labour Market - Technical Study 36 (Prepared for the Task Force on Labour Market Development, 1981), Chapter 2, p. 10.

²Gloria Geller, "The Wartime Elections Act of 1917 and the Canadian Women's Movement," Atlantis 2 (1976), p. 95.

³"The Law and the Lady," Grip (September 1982), quoted in The Proper Sphere: Women's Place in Canadian Society, eds. Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 167.

⁴Christian Guardian, quoted in The Proper Sphere: Women's Place in Canadian Society, p. 6.

⁵Patricia Connelly, Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1978), p. 88.

⁶Kathleen Archibald, Sex and the Public Service (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 15.

⁷Stanislaw Judek, Women in the Public Service: Their Utilization and Employment (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 1.

⁸Connelly, p. 84.

⁹George W. Wilson, Scott Gordon, and Stanislaw Judek, Canada: An Appraisal of its Needs and Resources (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 255-256, quoted in Stanislaw Judek, p. 2.

¹⁰Sylvia Ostry, The Female Worker in Canada: 1961 Census Monograph (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1969), p. 36.

¹¹Gail C.A. Cook, ed., Opportunity for Choice: A Goal for Women in Canada (Ottawa: Statistics Canada in Association with the C.D. Howe Research Institute, 1976), p. 125.

¹²J.E. Hodgetts, William McCloskey, Reginald Whitaker, and V. Seymour Wilson, The Biography of an Institution: The Civil Service Commission of Canada 1980-1967 (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), p. 482.

¹³Ibid., p. 483.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Elizabeth Janeway, Man's World, Women's Place: A Study in Social Mythology (New York: William Morrow and Company Inc., 1971), p. 183.

¹⁶"Henrietta the Homemaker and Rosie the Riveter: Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1939-1950," Atlantis 8 (Spring 1983), p. 84.

¹⁷Judek, p. 1.

¹⁸Royal Commission on the Status of Women, quoted in N.E.S. Griffiths, Penelope's Web: Some Perceptions of Women in European and Canadian Society (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 210.

¹⁹Judek, p. 9.

²⁰J.E. Hodgetts, William McCloskey, Reginald Whitaker, and V. Seymour Wilson, p. 483.

²¹Archibald, p. 15.

²²Ibid., p. 16.

²³Hodgetts et al., p. 487.

²⁴Civil Service Commission, Circular Letter 1947-20, see Appendix A.

²⁵Hodgetts et al., p. 484.

²⁶Ibid., p. 485.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Archibald, p. 18.

²⁹Royal Commission on Government Organization, Management of the Public Service, I (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 343.

³⁰Judek, p. 105.

³¹Archibald, p. 22.

³²Ibid., p. 145.

³³Ibid., p. 103.

³⁴Ibid., p. 127.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., p. 213.

³⁸Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Ten Years Later (Ottawa, 1979), p. 29.

CHAPTER III

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN PROGRAM

This chapter analyzes the implementation of the Equal Opportunities for Women program at three levels--the macro level of authorities concerned with the public service as a whole, the intermediate level of departmental processes and the individual level of attitudes and behaviour. It looks at the public service in the context of the environment in which it operates, that of other organizations, political pressures, public opinion and regulations and laws.¹ The chapter also provides an account of the chronology of the program, the responsibility centres concerned with its implementation, the staffing structure of the public service and quantitative results of the policy.

A. Chronological Periods

There were three distinct chronological periods in the development of the Equal Opportunities for Women program. During the first, from 1971 to 1975, basic structures for EOW were established in the Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board Secretariat and an interdepartmental committee on equal opportunities for women created. During this period departments were not required to develop objectives and action plans.

In 1975, the focus of the program became broader. The Honourable Marc Lalonde, minister responsible for the status of women announced a new policy on equal opportunities. He stated that while there had been a greatly increased awareness of discrepancies in equal opportunities, studies indicated progress towards the advancement of women had "not

been impressive".² In November 1975 the President of the Treasury Board issued guidelines to departments calling on them to develop action plans suitable to their individual circumstances. These plans were to include targets developed with consultation and assistance from officers of both the Treasury Board Secretariat and the Public Service Commission. Both Treasury Board and the Commission were expected to take an active role in ensuring the plans were developed and implemented. Deputy heads were responsible for establishing and publishing departmental policy and program statements consistent with the new guidelines.

In 1983, the President of the Treasury Board announced an affirmative action program to "ensure more equitable representation of women, indigeneous people and handicapped persons".³ After 1983, there was no longer a separate equal opportunity program for women--their concerns and needs were integrated into a broader program aimed at improving the status of all underrepresented groups in the public service. Although departments were to continue implementing their existing equal opportunity programs while they conducted a workforce analysis and systems audit, attention on women was weakened by their inclusion in a comprehensive program with other groups.

B. Responsibility Centres

Throughout the EOW program there have been several federal responsibility centres concerned with equal opportunities. They included those responsible for carrying out its implementation and others whose function was to advise the minister responsible for the status of women.

Among the latter are the Office of the Coordinator, Status of Women

and the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. The Office of the Coordinator was originally located within the Privy Council Office, but in 1976 became a separate department. It monitors policies and programs for all departments to ensure the effective integration of status of women concerns. The agency has access to Cabinet documents and reports directly to the Minister responsible for the status of women.

The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women was established in 1973 in response to a recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. A national advisory body, it is responsible for bringing to government and public attention "matters of interest and concern to women", advising the minister responsible for the status of women and researching issues affecting women.⁴

The Council published a number of reports on the status of women in the public service. However, since the resignation of an activist president in 1981, over the issue of reporting to parliament only through the Minister, it has done little research on the public service. Although the Council's reports are not studied by committees of the House of Commons, they have often been used by opposition members in parliamentary debate to provide documentation on the lack of progress for women in the public service. Reports were also quoted by Cabinet ministers as evidence of the need for stronger action in equal opportunity policy.

The Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board Secretariat were responsible for ensuring the implementation of the equal opportunities program. The Commission has authority for all matters

relating to staffing of the public service including initial appointments, promotion and determination of the application of the merit principle. Its role in equal opportunities was to monitor staffing procedures, to assist departments in identifying women with potential and to help in carrying out recruiting where departments were experiencing difficulty in finding qualified women. Within the Commission, the Office of Equal Opportunities operated as the focus of training and information assistance to departments. The Commission reports annually to Parliament on the recruitment, appointment and promotion of women in the public service.

Treasury Board is the Cabinet committee on management of the public service and acts as representative of the government as employer in the field of personnel management and collective bargaining. It is supported by a Secretariat, headed by a Secretary who reports to the President of the Board. The Treasury Board Secretariat reviewed departmental action plans and reported annually to Treasury Board ministers on progress achieved by departments towards the realization of government policy objectives on equal opportunities. Since Treasury Board authorizes the number of person-years for departments including positions at different levels, its decisions had an impact on the success of department efforts during the EOW program.

The Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board Secretariat were jointly responsible for disseminating policy to departments and for developing a data base on the distribution of women in the public service.

C. Structure of the Public Service

As discussed previously, the occupational structure of the public service consists of six categories: management, scientific and professional, administrative and foreign service, technical, administrative support and operational. Each of these categories is considered either an "officer" or a "support" category. Officer categories which include management, scientific and professional, administrative and foreign service and technical generally have higher pay scales, more prestige and more opportunities for advancement than support categories. In 1972, at the beginning of the EOW policy fifteen percent of the officers in the public service were women.⁵

D. Quantitative Results of the EOW Program

The history of the Equal Opportunities for Women program in the public service has been one of little progress and little change for women. When the program began in 1972 there were 68,276 women in the public service representing 29.6 percent of all employees.⁶ Twelve years later there were 92,093 women, a representation of 41.1 percent.⁷ Although the number of women increased by thirty-five percent, their distribution by category and group within the public service remained in most instances unchanged.

In 1972, there were three women in the executive category, the most prestigious of all government classifications and the one whose incumbents have the greatest influence on government policies and programs.⁸ By 1984, in the new management category, which included both the executive and senior management group, their number had risen to only 299 out of a total of 4,281 employees in that classification,⁹

despite a twelve year policy calling on departments to "encourage the assignment and advancement of more women into middle and upper echelon positions".¹⁰

From 1972 to 1984 women decreased their representation in one of the officer categories, the scientific and professional. In this classification which includes such occupations as engineers, mathematicians, agriculturists, pharmacists, veterinarians, biologists and nurses, the percentage of female employees decreased from 24.1¹¹ to 23.2 percent.¹² Within the category, women continued to remain clustered in traditional female occupations. In 1984, there were 1,429 nurses but only three dentists and no actuarial scientists.¹³

In the technical category female representation increased from 8.1¹⁴ to 12.6 percent.¹⁵ By 1984 there were 79 female air traffic controllers out of a total of 2,243, and 253 draftspersons. However, only seven percent of primary products inspectors were female despite the fact there are no technical qualifications required in order to be considered for this position.¹⁶

Women made their greatest gains in the administrative and foreign service category where their representation increased from 13.6¹⁷ to 35.3 percent.¹⁸ In this category distribution among the various groups was much more even for men and women. However, women are generally over-represented at the lower levels of most groups and under-represented at the intermediate and senior levels.¹⁹

By 1984, women's total representation in the officer categories had reached 25.6 percent,²⁰ an increase from 15 percent in 1972. However, it was still well below their overall representation of 41 percent.

Thirty-one percent of female employees were officers and sixty-two percent of male employees.²¹

Despite the fairly significant improvements in the administrative and foreign service category, the majority of female employees still remained in the administrative support category--exactly where they were in 1972. Sixty-seven percent of all women in the public service were in the administrative support category in 1972,²² by 1984 the figure was sixty-two percent.²³

In the operational category, a non-officer classification, the representation of women decreased from 13.2²⁴ percent to 12.9 in 1984.²⁵ Women appeared to have made few inroads into non-traditional occupations such as firefighters and general labour and trades where their representation was 0.5 and 1.7 percent respectively.²⁶

Women not only maintained their concentration in the administrative support category, they increased their domination. In 1972, they represented 68.2 percent of all employees in that category,²⁷ by 1984 their percentage had risen to 82.6 and there were almost five times as many women as men performing clerical and support work for the public service.²⁸ In 1972, women had outnumbered men in clerical positions by only two to one.²⁹

Women are not only distributed unevenly among occupational categories in the public service, they are concentrated in the lower levels of the various groups within each category. Even in the administrative support classification, where women have always predominated, they have continued to be under-represented at higher levels.³⁰

In 1981, within the program management group, one of the main feeder groups to the management category, women made up 42 percent at the lowest level but they represented only seven percent at level seven.³¹ In the early years of the EOW program it could be argued that since women were newly appointed to the group (although there were 3,000 in its junior levels when the policy began) they could not expect equal representation at higher levels. Throughout the EOW program women steadily increased their representation at the lower levels but progress to the intermediate and senior levels of the group has been very slow.

Twelve years of an equal opportunities program appeared to have made little quantitative change in the distribution of male and female employees by group and level within the public service. Archibald described the structure of the public service as one of "manpower utilization not woman power utilization". It was this structure of recruitment, selection, work organization, orientation and training which throughout the EOW program helped to maintain the status quo.

E. 1971-1975

1. Macro Level Components

In 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau pledged the government would take action in response to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. He acknowledged the importance of prejudice and attitudes in denying equal opportunities to women:

convention, ignorance, fear, lassitude, acquiescence, and even prejudice--these and other factors have combined for centuries to deny to women equal opportunity to choose without restriction their own careers and to develop without discrimination their own abilities.³²

The Royal Commission recommended the appointment of women to senior management positions where they would be able to act as role models for other women and at the same time demonstrate their competence and ability to men. In this way, it was hoped they would pave the way for other women to follow. In 1972, Cabinet Directive 44 was issued to all deputy ministers of federal departments calling on them to take steps to "encourage the advancement of more women into middle and upper echelon positions".³³

In 1971, the Prime Minister designated a Cabinet Minister responsible for matters relating to the status of women in Canada and appointed a Status of Women Co-ordinator in the Privy Council office. He also announced the establishment of an Interdepartmental Committee to examine the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and report to Cabinet. The Committee presented its report in February 1972.

Also in 1971, the Public Service Commission established the Office of Equal Opportunities for Women within the Commission and the Treasury Board Secretariat designated a Women's Policy Specialist within its personnel Policy Branch. This person was to provide direction and monitor personnel policies for equality of application.

The Office of Equal Opportunities established an interdepartmental committee to coordinate departmental actions towards encouraging the advancement of women and to provide a means of exchanging information and measuring progress on equal opportunity. Co-chaired by senior officers from the Public Service Commission and Treasury Board, the committee served the function of coordinating input on women's concerns

and activities from the various departments and of communicating those concerns to Treasury Board. By 1975, forty-seven departments and agencies had representatives on the committee which met regularly.³⁴

The EOW office also distributed information on equal opportunities and developed training programs designed to improve career opportunities for clerical staff. It compiled an inventory of qualified women in the public service considered suitable candidates for senior executive positions.

(a) Relations with the Environment

The equal opportunity policy began at a time when government priorities were increasingly becoming economic rather than social ones. Inflation, rising unemployment, spending restraints and the regulation of oil prices were becoming dominant concerns while social issues were relegated to lower priority status.³⁵ The early commitment of the Trudeau government to the "just society" was changing to an emphasis on value for money in government spending and effectiveness and efficiency in performance. The Throne Speech mentioned equality for women in both 1972 and 1974. However, women's issues were always on the fringes of politics during the Trudeau years, moving on and off the list of minor priority items.³⁶

At the political level, the October crisis of 1970 reinforced the commitment of the government to continue the policy begun with the passage of the Official Languages Act in 1969 to make the public service a more hospitable environment for francophones. Policies to improve opportunities for women were implemented at the same time as those designed to increase representation of francophones in all categories

and levels of the public service. Perceived as necessary for national unity, the need for changes in the representation of francophones would be seen as deserving greater resources than that of changing the distribution of women within the public service.

J. E. Hodgetts has stressed the need of the public service to constantly adapt to internal as well as external pressures, an adaptation he describes as "the competitive struggle between each of the organizational components to survive or expand".³⁷ In the years from 1971 to 1984, the EOW policy would receive much fewer resources of money, personnel and commitment than would the policy of bilingualizing the public service.

2. Intermediate Level Processes

At the intermediate level, attention focused on personnel measures and information activities during the early years. The Public Service Commission issued a directive to departments to rate relevant volunteer experience in the same manner as paid work in evaluating the qualifications of job applicants. Previously only "remunerative" work had been taken into account in selecting candidates, thus not giving them credit in the selection process for work done on a volunteer basis. The need to provide fair employment opportunities in competitions and in hiring practices was stressed.

Questions relating to sex, marital status and age were removed from application forms and government publications were monitored and controlled for sexist references. All competition posters had to carry the words "This competition is open to both men and women." Archibald found many departments specified men only when drawing up posters for

competitions.

The Public Service Commission distributed information on equal opportunities in an attempt to persuade managers of the need and desirability of hiring and promoting women. However, implementation of the policy of encouraging the advancement of women was left to the discretion of managers who "at the mercy of a maze of competing priorities and principles"³⁸ were given few, if any, resources for the responsibility of improving the status of women. As well, policy goals were vague and enunciated without the consultation or participation of those who were to implement them.

3. Individual Level Variables

In the early years implementation of equal opportunities at the individual level focused on changing attitudes by conducting awareness sessions and distributing information. The Commission urged women to take action on their own to improve their status and provided training programs for clerical staff designed to improve career opportunities.

Attitudes of male managers in the public service--those responsible for implementing the EOW policy--were undoubtedly generally the same as those held by other Canadians. James K. Bennett, a consultant to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's task force on the status of women said that "men--who it must be emphasized again, are the decision makers in Canadian organizations--still deal with their female colleagues as an inferior group, rather than as individuals with a wide range of talents and ambitions."³⁹ He said men may recently have become sensitive and sympathetic to women's demands and concerns but it is really "sensitivity without real action".⁴⁰ He found men generally held the

view that women were making substantial progress and that the problem of equal opportunities had been solved. However, he said large numbers of women in every organization where the situation has been studied in depth, are discontented with their status and "often bitterly frustrated at what they believe is an almost total absence of meaningful change".⁴¹

4. Summary

The adoption of a policy does not necessarily bring either the commitment or the actions to make it effective. A government may find it politically necessary to express concerns for the needs of a particular group, however, that does not necessarily mean the policy will be given full support in money, personnel and political will. There can be "policies without resources" to support them and only limited enforcement of regulations may be supplied.⁴²

During the period from 1971-1975 there was some evidence of a commitment to change evidenced by the announcement of an equal opportunity policy and by the structures created for its implementation and direction. Main efforts were directed to changing attitudes through posters and pamphlets and to improving employment opportunities by effecting some structural changes in the competition process.

Nola Landucci, the first coordinator in the EOW office said the awareness of women had grown and with it their demands and expectations. She remarked "It remains to be seen if the Public Service can deliver."⁴³ By 1974, there was little progress towards improving the status of women. In the senior executive category, (which would be enlarged and become the present management category in 1981) the number of women increased from three to eighteen,⁴⁴ while in administrative

support female representation increased by 9,000 new members.⁴⁵ Two thirds of all women were in this category where their domination increased from 68.2 percent in 1972⁴⁶ to 76.4 percent by 1974.⁴⁷

Women were not making inroads into non traditional occupations but instead were becoming increasingly concentrated in female ghettos. In the operational category (general labour, trades and the post office) there was a higher percentage of men than in 1972. Many groups were filled almost exclusively by men.⁴⁸

The occupational segregation and the "specialization by department on the basis of sex" which Archibald documented in Sex and the Public Service were even more marked after three years of an equal opportunities program. Across the public service women were concentrated in departments with a high percentage of secretarial and clerical jobs. The government's basically passive approach to equal opportunities involving a few changes in selection procedures, in competition posters and the establishment of an EOW office had made little change.

F. 1975-1983

1. Macro Level Components

In 1975, the government introduced new equal opportunity measures in an attempt to improve women's progress in the public service. The Honourable Marc Lalonde, Minister responsible for the status of women, acknowledged the present policy was not achieving satisfactory results. "It is quite apparent that a more explicit and aggressive policy is required which will involve the active commitment of departments to accelerate the desegregation of the Public Service work force."⁴⁹ At a

conference entitled "Action 75" he announced a new policy to ensure equal employment opportunities for women.

He stated that while there had been a greatly increased awareness of the need for equal opportunities, a special study on the position of women in the public service completed by the Advisory Council on the Status of Women showed that progress had not been impressive. He announced a number of new measures in support of equal opportunity in order "to ensure that within a reasonable period of time, representation of male and female employees in the Public Service in each department, occupational group and level, will approximate the proportion of qualified and interested persons of both sexes available."⁵⁰ In November, the Honourable Jean Chretien, President of the Treasury Board, announced approval of new policy and program guidelines concerning equal opportunities for women.

The Secretary of the Treasury Board and the Chairman of the Public Service Commission announced the new policy guidelines to department heads stating that "positive action would be required to ensure that women are in fact accorded equal access to employment and career opportunities in the federal public service".⁵¹ The policy recognized special measures might be necessary to prevent, eliminate or redress disadvantages which resulted for any group of employees because of race, religion, age, sex or marital status. It said the advancement of women into managerial and professional positions must be encouraged and facilitated in order to increase their participation in government programs and policies and in decision-making generally. To achieve this the organizational climate of the public service must be made more

receptive to the full participation of women. However, they pointed out, women themselves must take a more active part in the advancement of their own careers.

They stated the effective actions required to provide equal opportunities were:

- to recruit and promote qualified women
- to encourage and accelerate career advancement through training and development programs
- to identify and remove any employment or promotional barriers to any specific group
- to eliminate discriminatory elements in acts, regulations, policies and practices
- to attempt to change behaviour which militates against the participation of all levels of any specific group.⁵²

Responsibility for the policy was divided among the Treasury Board Secretariat, the Public Service Commission and the departments. Under the new guidelines which stressed positive action it was the departments which were expected to play the major role in implementation of the new policy. The policy formulation process was centralized, but responsibility for carrying out the policy was given to departmental managers.

The Secretariat, in cooperation with the Commission, was responsible for informing departments of the policy and deputy department heads were to publish their own policy statement by January 1976. It was the duty of the Secretariat to monitor progress achieved by departments, and to publish an annual review on equal opportunities

in the public service and also individual reviews of progress for each department.

During the EOW program, the Secretariat issued reporting guidelines to departments each year directing them to report on their progress with respect to their long-term objectives, annual plans and administration of the program. These guidelines, although not mandatory, became increasingly precise and after 1979 emphasized the attainment of targets developed by managers, and the implementation of a policy designed to attain these targets. The Secretariat never issued regulations regarding EOW, merely guidelines. Guidelines suggest what departments should do but they have a flexibility and a capacity to recognize that each department is unique. Regulations, on the other hand are rules of behaviour backed by direct penalties.⁵³

During this period, some structural changes were made which benefitted women. In 1979, the Public Service Commission announced the elimination of salary bands as a requisite for eligibility in competitions. This removed a major blockage in the system for women, most of whom were earning low salaries and thus had been unable to compete for higher level positions because of minimum salary restrictions.

Treasury Board introduced a policy on part-time work which made part-time workers, most of whom were women, eligible for vacation and sick leave benefits on a pro-rated basis. The introduction of a flexible hours of work policy also helped women in enabling them to request adjusted working hours to meet family responsibilities.

The Commission issued a recommendation that departments have a

woman member on any selection board for which there was a female candidate. This recommendation resulted from a staffing study which found the presence of one or more women on selection boards co-related with the success of female candidates. The sample of competitions was too small for any firm conclusions. However, excluding administrative support competitions from the sample, the study found that when a board was composed of all men, women had only a 23.5 percent success rate. When boards had one or more female members, success of each sex was virtually equal.⁵⁴

(a) Relations with the Environment

The new policy for equal opportunities coincided with International Women's Year. Undoubtedly the government felt it necessary, in view of women's slow progress towards equitable representation and in response to criticism from women's groups throughout the country, to express a stronger commitment to an equal opportunity program. Equality of Opportunity was considered a major priority item in the Throne speech of October 1976.

As a measure of support for women, the federal government allotted five million dollars for International Women's Year but these "appeared to have been allocated and spent without clearly defined objectives and an appropriate system for measuring the output". It was "frittered away on events where many of the same participants, mainly women, discussed the same issues over and over again".⁵⁵

The period from 1975 to 1983 was a turbulent one in both the public service and the federal government. It included the "six and five" program to control public service wages and the temporary elimination of

all monetary aspects of collective bargaining, the decentralization and relocation of some government departments, price controls and the passage of human rights legislation. For deputy ministers it was a difficult time as they struggled with "a seemingly endless stream of reforms and directives, each of which separately may have been desirable but which cumulatively have often distracted them from their primary departmental responsibilities".⁵⁶

Employment opportunities in the public service had increased by about 15,000 positions yearly from 1971 to 1975--it was an expansionary and optimistic time for the bureaucracy, a period where it was possible to hire and promote women without threatening career opportunities for men. However, after the mid 1970's, the public service grew much less rapidly as a climate of restraint and layoffs developed and thus opportunities for men and women became increasingly limited.

The Public Service Commission has always insisted the merit principle be the foundation of staffing in the public service. Under the Public Service Employment Act it is the commission which has the right to determine merit. Section 10 of the Act specifies:

Appointments to or from within the Public Service shall be based on selection according to merit, as determined by the Commission, and shall be made by the Commission, at the request of the deputy head concerned, by competition or by such other process of personnel selection designed to establish the merit of candidates as the Commission considers is in the best interests of the Public Service.⁵⁷

In the view of the Commission, the body responsible for public service hiring, "Candidates for positions in the Public Service must be protected from unwarranted discrimination and equal opportunity for all must be assured."⁵⁸ The Commission rejects employment quotas or general

preferences for members of under-represented groups saying this would create two classes of employees--those who got their positions on merit and those who got their job by being members of an under-represented group.

The merit system is theoretically intended to provide an objective method for assessing and hiring candidates but it has never been free from current prejudices and perceptions of society. In the past it has been used to exclude women and also to give preference to veterans. The section of the Public Service Employment Act which gives preferential hiring to veterans is still in effect. Under Section 16 of the Public Service Employment Act, 1966-67.c.71.s.1, the Commission may confine its selection of qualified candidates to those who are veterans or widows of veterans or those in receipt of a pension by reason of war service.

The treatment of francophones in the public service shows how the merit principle can be used to promote equality for disadvantaged groups. French-speaking representation in the public service had fallen to 12.2 percent in 1946, but by 1976, after a commitment to affirmative action principles for francophones, it had climbed to 26.2 percent, representing almost exactly the proportion of French-Canadians in the population.⁵⁹ In the senior executive category, francophone participation rose from fourteen to twenty-one percent between 1966 and 1976.⁶⁰ The values underlying the merit system were simply changed to include language--once it became politically desirable to bilingualize the public service--thereby giving more equality of opportunity to francophones.

What is almost totally forgotten in this country is that for at least the last decade we have witnessed

in Canada the greatest affirmative action programme of all, and this is the recruitment of Francophone Canadians into the federal Public Service. When, after a century of Canada's existence, it became obvious ... that Francophone Canadians in the federal Public Service comprised a much smaller proportion than their proportion of the total Canadian population, it became obvious that "special" programmes of recruitment, placement and promotion would have to be adopted to overcome this anomaly.⁶¹

Implementation of the Official Languages policy was highly controversial and greatly criticized both inside the public service and in society generally. The high priority assigned to the program by the government and particularly by the prime minister gave the Treasury Board Secretariat the support it needed at the political level to introduce change. "Selection gates were loaded by aggressive recruiting of French-speaking Canadians."⁶²

The issue of equal opportunities for women has never been considered as politically important. The Director-General of Personnel in one department while attending an EOW committee meeting, agreed priority was being put on the departmental francophone program because of the concentrated push by Treasury Board and said: "Should more pressure for the EOW program be mounted by Treasury Board and should he be made responsible for the EOW program's success, he would then be prepared to put effort as necessary into EOW."⁶³

There have been recommendations that the government temporarily suspend the merit system for special treatment of women. In 1977, the federal government formed a special committee to review personnel management in the public service, and in particular to review the application of the merit principle. Chaired by Guy d'Avignon, the committee made its recommendations in 1979. It advocated a

reinterpretation of the merit system and said the public service should move away from merit based on the specific duties of a single position, instead relating candidates' qualifications to a group of positions. In this way proportional representation could be included in the definition of merit and membership in an under-represented group become one of the selection factors to be considered in filling vacancies.

The point ... is that merit can and should be temporarily suspended by parallel provision for special treatment of members of designated groups in support of eventual real equality of opportunity. Such explicit recognition is essential to gaining the support of public service managers.⁶⁴

The report said: "The fact must be faced--if there is to be more rapid achievement of goals respecting participation, changes will have to be made in how the merit principle is now applied." It continued "... special measures are an extraordinary response to extraordinary circumstances" and said "merit will have to be accompanied by explicit recognition of the need for special treatment for designated groups whose members are judged to be in a disadvantaged position with respect to access to public service employment."⁶⁵

The report found there were women of proven competence and capacity in the public service and outside, those in administrative support who should be promoted and also women with the potential for accelerated development to management. It said:

It is evident that a well-designed program of positive action, focused on results, must be undertaken to improve the participation of designated groups and to move towards equal opportunity for those groups. It is also quite clear that by adopting a positive approach, special measures will be required.

The Human Rights Act (1977) provides the legislative framework

which allows for such special measures. Under Section 15(1)

it is not a discriminatory practice for a person to adopt or carry out any special programs designed to prevent future or continuing disadvantage suffered by any group based on or related to the prohibited grounds of discrimination.⁶⁷

The Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms included in the Constitution Act, 1982 also permits the creation of special programs which could improve the situation of disadvantaged groups."⁶⁸

The Human Rights Act also provides for equal pay for work of equal value. Several complaints of discrimination have been taken against Treasury Board by the Public Service Alliance of Canada. The work of librarians in the federal government, who were sixty-six percent female was compared to that of historical researchers who were seventy-five percent male. The librarians won their case and received pay increases ranging from \$500 to \$2,500 a year and back pay of up to \$5,900 each.⁶⁹

In another case, involving the General Services group which includes cleaning and janitorial jobs, the pay of men and women was found to be discriminatory. The settlement affected 3,300 workers and compensation exceeded 17 million dollars in total.⁷⁰ However, the process of achieving pay increases by this route is a long one. For both the librarians and the General Services group, two and a half years elapsed between the filing of the complaints and the settlements.⁷¹

The issue of special measures for women is not confined to the public service, but also reflects the controversy in society about the desirability or effectiveness of equal opportunity programs and affirmative action as vehicles for improving the position of women or other under-represented groups. In Canada, opposition to the idea of preferential treatment for women in employment is perhaps most strongly

presented by the Fraser Institute in Vancouver. This academic group acknowledges discrimination can exist in the market place but says it is not profitable, nor in the best interests of an employer in a free market to discriminate. In their view, if women are in lower paying jobs it is because they bring fewer skills and less human capital in terms of experience and education into the labour market. They have been socialized into their roles by schools, families and the media and by adulthood have different aspirations and occupational skills than men. Since profit and loss does not operate in the public sector, the Institute acknowledges there may be greater need for vigilance against discrimination in a government environment. The model of employment put forward by the Institute assumes equality of opportunity, free choice by rational people, that is "an economy indifferent to gender."

There is a strong relation between education, age and earnings. However, Orenstein and other researchers found that mathematical controls for education and experience did not completely reduce wage disparities between men and women. Archibald found the same results in the public service where the more education a woman had, the less well off she was in terms of salary with men. The negative relationship only began to decrease at the master's level.⁷²

In the view of those who oppose affirmative action, an individual who has been discriminated against should be compensated but those costs should be paid only by those who practised discrimination. "What is a company's obligation to its female employees? It is obliged to offer them the same opportunities as men and to reward them in proportion to their productivity. No more."⁷³ The Fraser Institute says special

measures are morally wrong because they do not help the victims of discrimination but rather those who share collective characteristics with them. Special measures, can harm women because if some women are promoted because of their sex, other women who would have "made it" without preferential treatment suffer a loss of self image. Unqualified people also run the risk of being promoted "over their head". The Institute suggests severe fines and loss of job as penalties to any individual found guilty of discrimination. They vehemently oppose special measures and quotas which would penalize men as a group for discrimination practised by individuals.

During the EOW program, the Public Service Commission did not make changes in how the merit system was applied, nor did Treasury Board "push" departments to meet their objectives as was done to increase francophone representation. The implementation of the policy emphasized equal access to employment and career opportunities, and stressed departments eliminate overt discriminatory practices. Yet, according to the special committee on personnel management the 1975 policy statement on equal opportunities had "seemed to hold great promise for truly effective action" in its reference to the need for special measures and positive action.⁷⁴

2. Intermediate Level Processes

The policy enunciated in 1975 called on departments to submit annual action plans to the Treasury Board Secretariat for review and approval each year beginning in 1976. In addition, they were required to submit a five year plan--designed to achieve EOW objectives--by March 31, 1977. Departments were expected to identify qualified and

interested women, presently under-utilized, set annual targets for the ratio of men and women within each occupational group and level and develop career paths and programs for women with potential for advancement. Objectives were to be set in such a way that their achievement was measurable and action plans were to include a description of departmental EOW structures, control mechanisms and the means used to ensure the participation of managers. Deputy heads were expected to establish and publicize their own statements of policy within their departments.

The Public Service Commission considered the major responsibility for successful implementation of the equal opportunities program rested with department managers. However, the Secretariat in its annual reviews of the progress of equal opportunities said there were difficulties in defining roles and assigning accountability for results within the departments. Most departments assured the Secretariat their managers participated in the development and implementation of action plans. However, the Secretariat found in some departments Personnel Branch developed the action plans without managerial participation, in many others the Branch developed the plans and presented them to the deputy head and management committee for approval, and only in some departments was it the responsibility of the managers to develop the action plans.⁷⁵ The Commission reported similar situations in its Annual Report in 1983. "Equal opportunity programs have not been well integrated with other departmental management activities. Efforts are haphazard and are often so poorly coordinated that they are only tenuously linked to established objectives."⁷⁶

Deputy ministers were to assign responsibility for implementing the program to the Departmental Responsibility Officer (DRO). The policy issued in 1975 stated "this person should be given the necessary authority to perform this duty, which implies the capacity to control and direct the development and implementation of action plans."⁷⁷ The DRO was expected to be a senior manager and play an active role in the implementation of the policy.

In most cases the DRO was the Director of Personnel, an important position for influencing hiring and training practices. The DRO was expected to advise and inform the deputy minister on the scope and organization of the EOW program and ensure senior managers were kept informed of government policy. However, few DRO's were members of departmental EOW committees and the Secretariat said in "too many cases their role vis-a-vis the development and implementation of the EOW action plans remains, to a great extent, a formality."⁷⁸

Departments also had equal employment coordinators, who "in theory were the employee responsible for co-ordinating the development and implementation of the department's action plan." However, in many cases, the co-ordinator "was" the program--developing action plans, submitting them to senior management, monitoring the program and preparing and submitting annual reports to Treasury Board. In the early years of the EOW policy, co-ordinators tended to be classified at relatively low levels giving them little authority in the implementation of equal opportunities. "Too often, the implementers are junior members of a staff department rather than senior persons reporting directly to top management."⁷⁹

In twenty-nine departments, co-ordinators had personnel administration responsibilities added to EOW or other special interest group duties, in twenty they were involved in all the equal opportunity programs for special interest groups (blacks, indigeneous and the handicapped) while in two departments they were responsible for EOW only.⁸⁰ Many of the larger departments had a network of co-ordinators extending to the regions thereby having a greater involvement of managers and employees. The Secretariat pointed out that not unexpectedly there was a fairly high turnover rate among co-ordinators.

Because the co-ordinators were generally in staff positions they had no line authority and depended on the willingness of departmental managers to implement equal opportunity measures. Kanter found managers in organizations often tend to see programs initiated by "staff" members as irrelevant to their primary "line" responsibilities and ignore their implementation.⁸¹ In 1980, the Secretariat reported the levels at which the coordinators were classified had risen since the EOW policy was first implemented, thus increasing their potential to influence public service managers.⁸²

Most departments also established EOW committees. Membership varied from senior management, to human resources staff, to women involved only because of interest in the program. Depending on its structure the committees played a decision-making or advisory role in the direction of the program.

Departmental resources reported for EOW in 1980 indicated that approximately 110 person years were allocated to the program. This was the total in all departments of resources working full-time or part-time

in the national capital region or in the regions.⁸³

The Secretariat reported few departments described the mechanisms, if any, that were used to ensure accountability of management for progress in the EOW program. The responsibility of implementing the plans was reportedly assigned to managers but very few departments indicated performance appraisals of managers took into account their efforts regarding EOW.⁸⁴ In 1980, the Secretariat and the Commission implemented a policy on Performance Review and Employee Appraisal requiring supervisors, managers and executives be appraised on their efforts to act on policies concerning under-represented groups, including women. It was expected this would lead to greater accountability by managers for results.

The Secretariat reported departments often set vague objectives which were not related to specific problems nor to achieving results. Action plans tended to provide descriptions of current departmental situations rather than attempting any in-depth analysis of what was happening. Departments often had difficulty in identifying actual problems that needed attention. Too often, the Secretariat said, plans over-emphasized feasibility studies, data collection or other elementary activities. As well, evaluation criteria were vague and not expressed in a way that would permit accurate measurement of progress.⁸⁵

The Secretariat praised efforts by some departments--these were not named in the equal opportunities report--to remove discriminatory barriers for women and said others had made efforts to eliminate sexist recruiting material and to ensure the presence of women on selection boards. However, very few departments developed bridging positions to

aid the movement of support staff to officer positions.⁸⁶

Some departments, the Secretariat said, set numerical targets and updated them regularly. However, a few fairly large departments had not set any targets by 1980. Very few departments set targets by category, group and level and even fewer revised targets set several years ago. The Secretariat commented: "It appears there is a lack of understanding of the various elements that must be considered when setting an appropriate numerical target and in fact, there is little appreciation of the need for setting targets."⁸⁷

By the late 1970's government attempts to reduce costs in the public service resulted in large numbers of layoffs and declining appointments. The first employees laid off by departments during a restraint period are usually term employees--a reasonable management practice designed to protect the continuing employee. However, since women are over-represented among term employees they are more adversely affected by layoffs than men. In recent years the use of term employees has been increasing in the public service with women being hired to fill the majority of these positions. In 1982, there were 8,527 women in full-time term positions and only 6,271 men.⁸⁸ A term position does not offer the security of an indeterminate one and the use of women in this capacity reflects public service management's continuing view of women as marginal employees.

3. Individual Level Variables

One of the reasons suggested for women's concentration in the lower levels of the public service is that they leave their jobs more often than men and thus display less commitment towards their careers. A

1979 study by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women found although women do have higher separation rates than men--58 percent of resignations in the public service in 1982 were female--a woman is only 8.2 percent less likely to remain in the federal service than a man.⁸⁹

Judek and Archibald and also recent American studies found that the more women's salaries increase, and the more they occupy higher level jobs, the more they tend to remain in the labour force.⁹⁰ In the public service, the percentage of women's resignations in the management category is approximately equal to their overall representation in management. The Canadian Construction Association says its studies indicate high separation rates are found for both men and women in low level jobs.⁹¹

Rosabeth Kanter, author of Men and Women of the Corporation says the structure of an organization plays a major role in employee commitment and in creating work behaviour. When women seem less committed and motivated it is probably because their jobs offer less opportunity than those of men. What management fails to see is that the employee is behaving quite rationally because they correctly perceive there is no opportunity for them to succeed in the organization in its present structure. Kanter says what appear to be "sex differences" in work behaviour emerge in response to ones place in the organization.⁹²

She says people in low mobility tracks tend to give up, lack commitment and become indifferent thus proving their placement is correct. Other authors have reached similar conclusions. "Once the pattern of role-taking is established within an administrative agency it becomes self-fulfilling and self-reinforcing."⁹³ Women in low-level

jobs develop attitudes that are sometimes described as typical of "women as a group". Kanter says these are more universal human responses to blocked opportunities.⁹⁴ "Reasonably enough, people will have few aspirations if they think their chances for mobility in an organization are low. Opportunity structures in an organization shape behaviour in such a way that they confirm their own prophecies."⁹⁵

Men in low opportunity jobs tend to also display limited commitment to their jobs says Kanter: "responses to work are a function of basic structural issues, such as the constraints imposed by roles and effects of opportunity, power and numbers. Attention to the issue would require organizations--not people--to change."⁹⁶

Kanter described people in organizations as the "moving" and the "stuck". Administrative support members in the public service tend to fall into the stuck category. They have low promotion rates, low ceilings in their salaries and generally occupy positions with short career ladders. She says what women need are bridging positions to enable them to enter officer positions, career reviews with specific goals and plans, job rotation, flexible work time and a means to make the organization aware of their skills and potential.

It can be difficult for a woman to be perceived as a manager by her male counterparts in an organization. Male management tends to be a homogeneous, comfortable group where women are often viewed as intruders. It has been suggested that since "life at the top" requires decisions and there are many uncertainties, managers prefer to have others like themselves as part of the decision team. Managers tend to choose others who can be "trusted" and this leaves women and others who

are different out.⁹⁷ The token woman manager can find her every act tends to be evaluated as a sign of "how women perform", judged as a representative of a group rather than for her own performance.

Opponents of special measures for women often express the view that one reason women are in lower positions is that they are less interested than men in career advancement. A study of attitudes towards the Equal Opportunity Program in a large regional office of one federal government department found there was no evidence to support this stereotyped view. Women were as likely as men to express a desire for increased responsibilities, and to say they were willing to train during and outside worked hours. They were even more likely than men to desire a promotion or a different type of work.⁹⁸

However, the study did find sex differences. Women were more likely than men to say their careers were limited by sex discrimination in recruiting, promotions, discipline, distribution of duties and assignments and in their training.⁹⁹

Men on the other hand believed men and women with equal qualifications already had equal opportunities and that past attempts at equal opportunities had been adequate.¹⁰⁰ Men felt women were getting, or were in danger of getting, preferential treatment. This was the same view found to be held by male management in 1975.

Interestingly enough, women were not in favour of preferential treatment in order to correct the inequalities of the past. Instead they chose bridging positions, developmental assignments and the more frequent use of on-the-job training. The authors comment: "Women's top three priorities were, in fact, very realistic solutions for people

whose careers are limited by low job ceilings and dead-end positions.¹⁰¹

One study of a public sector organization in the United States found that attitudes of younger managers do not show less discrimination against women.¹⁰² Whether this is the case in the public service is an unknown factor. However, what is certain is that attitudes are ingrained from years of experience and socialization and are not easily changed.

Summary

By 1981, the Treasury Board Secretariat expressed concern about changes in the economy which could affect the employment of both men and women.

Unless specific measures are taken to promote the appointment of women to positions of authority and their participation in non-traditional groups, the Public Service will not undergo the necessary adjustments to face, as in the private sector, the demands of an economy already oriented toward other sectors of activity.¹⁰³

The Secretariat said that based on progress between 1975 and 1980 women would continue to dominate the clerical level where there was reason to believe there could be profound changes in the nature of work.¹⁰⁴ If the career advancement of women continued at the same rate as in the past five years, women would only account for 6.5 percent of employees in the executive category by 1985.¹⁰⁵ In 1980, twenty-two of the forty-seven departments with positions in this category had no women executives and yet it is at this level that the greatest influence on government programs and policies is possible. The Treasury Board said in some cases this was true of departments with relatively large executive population.¹⁰⁶

Approximately seventy percent of appointments to the management category are made from the senior levels of groups in the administrative and foreign service category. Projections by the Treasury Board Secretariat suggested women would only reach 10.6 percent of senior positions in that category by 1985.¹⁰⁷ In order to have a pool of qualified candidates for promotion to the management category, the Secretariat said strong measures would have to be taken to increase the representation of women at the senior level.

The distribution of women in the various officer categories resembled a pyramid shape--the higher the level of the group in each category, the lower the participation of women. In the technical category, the Secretariat urged the recruitment of women through well organized programs where a critical number of women are hired over a short period of time, into a traditionally male-dominated line of work.¹⁰⁸

In the administrative support category, mobility of women to officer positions continued to be slower than that of men in the same category. In 1980, only 63.6 percent of those promoted to the three officer categories were women although they accounted for 80.7 percent of the employees in this category. The Secretariat also expressed concern that women who did move to lower officer levels were finding themselves stuck and creating a new "ghetto" rather than an opportunity for normal career advancement.¹⁰⁹

The Secretariat, having enumerated in its 1980 report Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service, the lack of progress in most instances for women said it was reducing the demands made on

departments by the central agencies. New reporting guidelines exempted some departments from submitting a report to the Secretariat in 1982-83 and others had to only submit a partial report. However, departments which had encountered particular problems in their EOW submissions still had to submit a full report meeting all guideline requirements. Action by the Secretariat appeared to weaken the central agency's control of implementation of departmental action plans. However, the Secretariat said it "would continue to analyze the situation in all departments each year and maintain close relations with them."¹¹⁰

In 1980, the government introduced an affirmative action pilot project in three departments to be implemented in conjunction with their EOW programs. The project was later extended to two more departments. In 1983, the government announced a mandatory affirmative action program across the public service "to eliminate barriers to equal participation of the disabled, women, natives and other visible minorities in the federal public service."¹¹¹

The Hon. Judy Erola, minister responsible for the status of women, said the success of the affirmative action programs in the five departments led to the decision to implement it throughout the public service. At a news conference Erola said the government's equal opportunities program had failed: "Obviously it didn't work, the figures prove it."¹¹² Employment Minister Lloyd Axworthy said the equal opportunity program was flawed because it was run by junior officials.

The President of the Treasury Board announced the new program would not set hiring or promotion quotas but instead would establish numerical goals to ensure the public service reflected more equitably the makeup

of the general population. These would be an estimate of what could be achieved. The initial goal would be to double the number of women in the management category by 1988. He said the new program would be given higher priority than EOW and "senior civil servants will be evaluated in part by their success in implementing the program."¹¹³

Departments were required by Cabinet to analyze their current workforce, compare the representation of the three target groups to the numbers estimated to be available, qualified and interested in the workforce, and review employment systems to determine whether any had a negative impact. By December 1984 departments were to submit summaries of their findings and resulting action plans to correct under-representation of the three groups to the Treasury Board Secretariat for approval.

Action plans were to include: measures to improve employment practices found to have negative impact on the three groups, numerical targets to correct under-representation and temporary special measures. Special measures could vary with departments but could include training and development opportunities and special recruitment efforts through the Public Service Commission in order to build up better inventories of qualified people for competitions. Targets in the action plans are objectives based on projected job vacancies and availability of qualified and interested individuals.

Action plans were to be in effect by April 1985 after review by the Secretariat in conjunction with the Public Service Commission. Departments were expected to continue to implement action plans developed as part of the equal opportunity program.

As departments analyzed their employment systems, they identified various blockages and employment policies and procedures which placed women at a disadvantage. In the departments selected as case studies for this paper some of the problems identified included: hiring patterns which resulted in "excessively many" females at the lowest officer levels in some groups and "excessively few" at level three and above, women not granted education leave on an equitable basis with men, under-representation of women in programs designed to provide career development and broad work experience, over-representation of men in higher level clerical positions and slow advancement of women from the administrative support category into junior officer positions.¹¹⁴

Evidence of adverse impact on women at the screening and appointment level of competitions, in type and amount of training provided and in the number of acting appointments at higher levels was also discovered. The percentage of women in the various groups often did not represent the percentage considered available and qualified within the public service or outside.¹¹⁵

The blockages, the adverse impacts in competitions, the lack of training, career development and appointments for women were the same problems identified in 1975. The speeches by Cabinet ministers, the awareness meetings, the voluntary appeals to departments, and the reports by the Secretariat and the Commission had made little change in the structure of the public service. The EOW policy was one of passive non-discrimination rather than planned change. It emphasized equality of treatment in the belief that equality of results would take place. However, the policy ignored the historical disadvantages women faced in

the public service which affected them and those making employment decisions about them.

The program suffered from vagueness with regard to lines of communication, authority and responsibility. Its implementation had been the responsibility of departmental managers but there had been little accountability for their performance. At the department level, planning was often carried out as a ritual rather than through a commitment to improving opportunities for women. As a group, women lacked economic and political power and male attitudes towards them in society and in the public service were slow to change.

The EOW policy did not change the economic nor political structure of the public service, and role differentiation by sex remained a continuing reality. The government, although it expressed support for the goals of equal opportunity did not give the program the resources nor the commitment required to overcome the discrimination that existed within the public service. In 1984, the EOW office in the Public Service commission was closed.

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⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 89-90.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 107.

⁶⁷Canadian Human Rights Act (1977), Section 15(1).

⁶⁸The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of the Constitution Act (1981), Section 15(2).

⁶⁹Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Current Issues for Women in the Federal Public Service (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1983), p. 5.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 6.

⁷²Kathleen Archibald, Sex and the Public Service (Ottawa: Public Service Commission, 1970), p. 95.

⁷³Carl Hoffman and John Shelton Reed, "The Strange Case of the XYZ Corporation," Across the Board, April 1981, p. 38.

⁷⁴Report of the Special Committee on the Review of Personnel Management and the Merit Principle, p. 104.

⁷⁵Treasury Board of Canada, Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada: 1979, p. 10.

⁷⁶Canada, Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1983, p. 30.

⁷⁷Treasury Board of Canada, Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada: 1980, p. 15.

⁷⁸Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada: 1979, p. 11.

⁷⁹Moore and Laverty, p. 24.

⁸⁰Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada: 1979, p. 11.

⁸¹Rosabeth Moss Kanter, Men and Women of the Corporation (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1977), p. 187.

⁸²Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada: 1980, p. 16.

⁸³Ibid., p. 17.

⁸⁴Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada: 1979, p. 10.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 9.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 10.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1982, p. 57. Annual reports for other years show the same pattern. In 1985, 10.2 percent of women in the public service were in term positions compared to 5.6 percent of male employees.

⁸⁹Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Women in the Public Service: Overlooked and Undervalued, p. 27.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 29.

⁹¹Canadian Construction Association, Positive Employment Practices Manual, p. 11.

⁹²Kanter, p. 262.

⁹³Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972), p. 164.

⁹⁴Kanter, p. 159.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 158.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 261.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 47-55.

⁹⁸Nina L. Colwill and Wendy L. Josephson, "Attitudes Toward Equal Opportunity in Employment: The Case of One Canadian Government Department," Business Quarterly 48, Spring 1983, p. 89.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁰²Joseph Tomkiewicz and O.C. Brenner, "Organizational Dilemma: Sex Differences in Attitudes Towards Women Held by Future Managers,"

Personnel Administrator, July 1982, pp. 62-65.

¹⁰³ Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada: 1980, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 6. See also the Treasury Board Report for 1979, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 11; underlining is in the original.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 12.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

¹¹¹ Winnipeg Free Press, June 28, 1983, p. 1.

¹¹² Toronto Globe and Mail, June 28, 1983, p. 1.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Illustrations are drawn from affirmative action studies conducted by Statistics Canada, Labour Canada, and Transport Canada. Employment and Immigration Canada did not provide its affirmative action analysis. However, a Treasury Board fact sheet on the department's initial affirmative action project listed similar problems in staffing and training.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

CHAPTER IV
REGIONAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN PROGRAM

This chapter discusses implementation of the EOW program at the regional level of the public service in Manitoba. It includes an overview of regional activities, general details on the Manitoba setting and quantitative results of the EOW program in the region.

Regional Overview

Regional involvement with EOW began later in the regions than in the national capital region. At the macro level, the Public Service Commission hired regional EOW coordinators in 1977 to help promote equal opportunities in the regions. In Manitoba, the coordinator had strong support from the regional director and was a member of the management team.¹ In some other regions of the country the position did not have such a high visibility. The local coordinator held orientation and training sessions for female employees in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Most Manitoba EOW representatives relied on the co-ordinator, rather than head office personnel, for information on EOW activities.

The Commission also assisted in the development of a local equal opportunities committee. In the Manitoba/Saskatchewan region, meetings of the committee have been continuous since 1977 on a quarterly basis. In other regions, committee meetings have been sporadic.

The Winnipeg interdepartmental committee had a continuing relationship with the national inter-departmental committee in Ottawa. It forwarded resolutions on regional concerns and on two occasions the

local co-chairs attended a national meeting of the committee. Treasury Board EOW officials also visited Winnipeg twice and held informational meetings with departmental EOW representatives and regional directors. The visits provided a sense of legitimacy to EOW policies and gave some evidence to local management of government commitment to the program. They also helped make Treasury Board representatives more aware of regional problems.

The committee forwarded general resolutions to the national IDC on matters such as the removal of salary bands for competitions and benefits for part-time workers. It also addressed specific regional problems and recommended transfers and interdepartmental exchanges of employees, the clustering of small departments for competitions and the elimination of intradepartmental competitions in the regions.² In Manitoba, large departments often open competitions only to their own staff members. This makes it difficult for employees in small departments--male and female--to compete for new positions.

Most departments have members on the interdepartmental EOW committee, which has continued its meetings since the start of affirmative action. Some are management appointed, others are merely interested volunteers. The Ministry of Transport is the only department with a full-time coordinator in the Manitoba region. In 1982, the committee conducted an Equal Opportunities for Women Overview, Winnipeg, Manitoba and sent the results to departmental managers in Winnipeg. In a letter accompanying the overview, the Regional Director Staffing Branch for the PSC Manitoba/Saskatchewan Region said it is encouraging to note that

local managers are generally supportive of the EOW program but a little discouraging to observe that little direction or activity seems to be generated by most departmental EOW coordinators in Ottawa.³

General concerns identified by the committee were: lack of developmental training for women, little apparent accountability by managers for the program, job rotation used only for operational rather than developmental purposes, no monitoring by departments of competition results and little communication within departments concerning equal opportunities.⁴

Committee recommendations to senior regional department managers included having the EOW representative report directly to the regional director in order to facilitate communication of issues affecting women. Also stressed was input by the local EOW representative into the departmental action plan. The committee suggested departments enable head office representatives to attend local EOW sessions and send local EOW representatives to head office sessions in order to enhance headquarters knowledge of regional concerns.⁵

At the intermediate level, departments with regional offices did not have to present their first regional action plans to the Treasury Board Secretariat until 1978. All but three departments complied by the deadline date. The Secretariat commented: "... in most cases the quality of the plans was not on a par with that for the department as a whole".⁶ Many departmental action plans for the regions merely concentrated on objectives such as informing employees of the EOW program and women of the need to plan their own careers. However, in large departments, regional equal opportunity structures were said to be well organized and plans aimed at specific results.⁷

Highly decentralized departments usually added equal opportunity duties to regular staffing functions of regional personnel officers. "In many cases these duties are not included in the job description of the representative who performs them on a voluntary basis."⁸

In smaller regional offices the EOW representatives were either appointed by the regional director or volunteers acting because of personal interest in EOW. Many were active in providing information on EOW policy to staff members, attempting to arrange developmental positions and appointments, and in recommending training for female employees. However, representatives were usually in lower level clerical positions and "while some very competent and interested coordinators exist at this level, it is often more difficult for such coordinators to assert themselves and their program".⁹

The Secretariat found that generally managers in the regions appeared to be less active in the program than those in the national capital region. Although expected to be supportive of equal opportunities, they often had no input into departmental action plans for their region.

Although many departments have important regional offices, regional managers in the public service often feel remote from head office decisions and policies. In 1976, the Public Service Commission reported that only about one in five of senior executives in the national capital region had ever held a public service position elsewhere in Canada. The Commission expressed concern saying that few of the financial, personnel or administrative heads of departmental services in highly decentralized departments had ever had the experience of coping "when far afield with

policies largely developed at headquarters".¹⁰ A common belief among regional officials and staff is that Ottawa-based department officials do not understand the constraints of field operations.

Regional offices are distant from headquarters and because of the organization of the public service they are also isolated from each other. In Manitoba, in 1984, there were regional offices for forty departments and agencies with employees ranging in number from one to 1,500.¹¹

The small size of many regional offices concerned the Treasury Board Secretariat during the EOW program. In 1979, after action plans had begun in the regions, it commented that this factor limited the possibilities of improving the representation of women in the regions. However, it considered the regions important for the success of equal opportunities and in 1980 predicted "that significant progress cannot be expected in the representation and distribution of women in the Public Service without effective action by the regions".¹²

The Manitoba Setting

During the past twenty years Manitoba has shown the same dramatic increase in female labour force participation as the rest of Canada. Between 1966 and 1980, the number of women in the provincial work force grew by almost sixty-six percent--an increase more than three times as large as that for men.¹³ The female labour force is projected to continue its rapid expansion throughout the 1980's while male labour force growth is expected to be very slow.¹⁴

The pattern of women's participation in the labour force in Manitoba is also almost identical to the Canadian average. In 1984,

64.7 percent of women in the age group 15-64 were employed compared to 87.3 percent of men in that age group.¹⁵ For Canada as a whole the participation rate of men and women was 84.4 and 61.2 percent respectively.¹⁶ Women in Manitoba increased their share of the labour force to 42.8 percent, an increase from only 30.1 percent in 1965.¹⁷ Statistics on the participation of women in the Manitoba labour force for earlier years are not published by Statistics Canada, but it seems likely their representation would have been very close to the Canadian average of 21.5 percent in 1950.¹⁸

Women have entered the labour force in growing numbers but as in the rest of Canada the majority work in sales, clerical and service jobs. In 1980, only four percent were employed in administrative or managerial occupations. In contrast, men were distributed much more evenly over a broad range of occupations.¹⁹

As women increase their participation in the labour force, they are also increasing their participation in higher education. In 1984-85 at the University of Manitoba they received 45 percent of all degrees granted. Women received 51 percent of Arts degrees, an area where they continue to be over-represented, but also a solid percentage of degrees in non-traditional areas: 41 percent in Administrative Studies, 44 percent in Commerce (Honours), 25 percent in Agriculture, 38 percent in Architecture, 36 percent in Law, 62 percent in Pharmacy, 25 percent in Science and five percent in Engineering. In Computer Science (Honours) 25 percent of graduates in 1984 were female.²⁰

Moreover the number of women graduating in these areas is not a new phenomenon but one that has been steady since at least 1980. The

Treasury Board Secretariat said in its 1979 report on Equal Opportunities "it is obvious that the Public Service has not always kept pace with the increasing representation of women among university graduates".²¹ There are qualified women available for employment in the scientific and technical fields and also in managerial areas. Graduates in the master of business administration were thirty-two percent female in 1984-85 and thirty-four percent in 1980-81.²²

In the undergraduate courses the percentage of women, while still sometimes small, is increasing in most disciplines. At the University of Manitoba, in 1984-85 women constituted nine percent of engineering students, 45 percent of those in administrative studies and 31 percent of students in science.²³

However, in the non-traditional technical trades women's participation in training continues to be low. At Red River Community College the enrolment of women is increasing slowly but has still only reached eight percent in the industrial and technology division. The College is presently attempting to raise the profile of women in non-traditional jobs and is putting a thrust into increasing the number of women enrolled. Steps taken include: a full-time women's coordinator position and a course for the first time on "relief from maths anxiety". Women's fear of mathematics is believed to be one reason for low female enrolment in technical courses which generally require a strong mathematics background.

In 1984, there were 9,753 employees in the public service in Manitoba, four percent of the total number across Canada. Women represented 43.6 percent of those employees.²⁴ The total number of

public servants in Manitoba has been decreasing slightly in recent years. However, the participation rate for women has increased from 34.3 percent in 1975. From 1975-1984, the number of men decreased by 2,200, mainly as a result of the removal of Canada Post from the public service while the number of women increased by about 250.²⁵

Women in the public service in Manitoba are somewhat younger than men. In 1984, sixty-two percent were under 40 while only 48 percent of male employees were below that age.²⁶ Twenty-nine percent of men were over 50 years of age but only 18 percent of women.²⁷ It can probably be assumed that men generally have somewhat more public service work experience than women. Data on education levels for public service employees in Manitoba is not available.

Women's salaries in the public service in Manitoba are lower than those of men--this is probably a reflection of the kinds of jobs women do. In 1984, 70 percent of full-time indeterminate female employees earned less than \$25,000 while only 30 percent of male employees earned less than that amount. At higher salary levels, 20 percent of men earned more than \$40,000--compared to only 1.6 percent of female employees.²⁸

Although the number of public servants in Manitoba is decreasing slightly, the workforce is not static. In 1984, there were 525 appointments to the public service and 887 promotions. These included 17 promotions in the management category and 467 in other officer categories.²⁹ Appointments were split almost equally between the officer categories and administrative support and operational. Women received 42 percent of total appointments to the officer categories but

there is no promotion breakdown by sex shown in public service data for Manitoba.³⁰

Quantitative Results of the EOW Program in Manitoba

Results of the equal opportunities program in Manitoba were very similar to those in the public service as a whole. In 1981, after three years of regional action plans, women in Manitoba were distributed in the various categories in comparison with those in the national capital region and the public service as a whole as follows:

	Man	NCR	P. Service
Officer Categories:			
Executive	1.7	6.4	5.2
Administrative and For. Service	32.3	34.4	32.3
Scientific and Professional	34.0	20.4	21.9
Technical	10.9	22.6	11.4
Support Categories:			
Administrative Support	85.2	78.4	82.1
Operational	21.5	11.8	11.7
Total	43.1	44.2	39.3³¹

With some exceptions, the percentage of women in nearly all occupational groups was relatively equal in Manitoba, the national capital region and the public service as a whole. In the Program Management group, one of the main feeder groups for the senior management category the percentages were: 30.7 in Manitoba, 33.0 in the NCR and 31.5 percent in the public service.³² Most groups in the administrative and foreign service category showed the same pattern. The situation in the technical and scientific and professional groups

was similar.

In 1981, there was only one woman in Manitoba in the executive category. Because of the centralized nature of the public service there are fewer senior management positions in the regions. Although Manitoba has four percent of the public service population, it has only two percent of positions in the management category. Thus for both men and women promotion to the senior management category may be difficult.

By 1984, there were changes in female representation in the various categories in both Manitoba and the public service. Data on the national capital region was not available.

	Man.	Public Service
Management	2.3	7.0
Scientific and Professional	28.0	23.2
Administrative and For. Service	35.8	35.3
Technical	10.5	12.6
Administrative Support	85.2	82.6
Operational	16.3	12.9
Total	43.6 ³³	41.1 ³⁴

By 1984, the number of women in the management category had increased to two. Except for small gains in some non-traditional jobs such as commerce officers and computer scientists there appeared to be little change in the distribution of the Manitoba public service in the three year period. In recent years, the Treasury Board Secretariat has not released data on the representation of women by level, but it seems likely there would be more women at higher levels in the National Capital Region just as there are more women in the management category.

The announcement of affirmative action meant departments had to concentrate on their workforce analysis and identification of systemic barriers. These were conducted by head office personnel. By April 1985, with some exceptions, departments were responsible for beginning the implementation of affirmative action plans approved by the Treasury Board Secretariat. However, reports given by EOW representatives on the Interdepartmental Committee suggest there is little activity in the Manitoba Region at present.

Footnotes

¹ Interview with the Regional Coordinator, EOW Manitoba/Saskatchewan Region, March 25, 1986.

² Recommendations to Winnipeg Interdepartmental Committee of EOW to the National IDC Committee.

³ Letter from Regional Director, Staffing Branch, Public Service Commission, Winnipeg, to public service managers in Winnipeg, April 15, 1982.

⁴ Winnipeg Interdepartmental Committee of EOW, Equal Opportunities for Women Overview (Winnipeg: EOW, 1982).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Treasury Board Canada, Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada (Treasury Board Canada, 1979), p. 10.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 1980), p. 17.

⁹ Regional Day Conference, Regional Perspectives: Problems in Implementing the EOW Program, 1982.

¹⁰ Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1976, p. 13.

¹¹ Public Service Commission, 1984 Regional Report: Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Table 1.

¹² Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 1980), p. 17.

¹³ Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower, Women in the Manitoba Labour Market (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower, 1981), p. 3.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁵ Statistics Canada, Characteristics of Women in the Labour Force, Selected Data, Canada and the Provinces (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1986), p. 9.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey (unpublished data), p. 9.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Manitoba Department of Labour and Manpower, Women in the Manitoba Labour Market, p. 3.

²⁰The University of Manitoba, Institutional Statistics Book 1984-1985 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), pp. 32-34.

²¹Treasury Board Canada, Equal Opportunities for Women in the Public Service of Canada, 1979, p. 7.

²²The University of Manitoba, Institutional Statistics Book 1984-1985, p. 32.

²³Ibid., p. 25.

²⁴Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, p. 63.

²⁵Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1976, p. 64.

²⁶Public Service Commission, 1984 Regional Report: Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Table 10.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., Table 9.

²⁹Ibid., Table 12.

³⁰Ibid., Table 13.

³¹Data provided by the Public Service Commission, Manitoba region. In some cases, percentages for the public service as a whole are not identical to those listed in the PSC Annual Report 1981.

³²Ibid.

³³Public Service Commission, 1984 Regional Report: Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Tables 2 to 7.

³⁴Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, pp. 76-78.

CHAPTER V
CASE STUDIES

Statistics Canada

Departmental Structure

Statistics Canada is a highly centralized department. In 1984, ninety percent of its 4,497 indeterminate employees worked in the national capital region. The remaining 450 were employed in eight regional offices across the country.¹ In 1984, the Winnipeg regional office had 55 employees, including part-time clerical and data entry staff. All the men except one were in the officer categories while the majority of women were in clerical support positions. The department also employs about 1,500 people in the regions under the Statistics Act to collect statistical information. However, they are not public servants.²

The department has always had a high percentage of female employees. In 1975, they represented fifty-one percent of the departmental work force, in 1984 fifty-three percent. There has been an improvement in the representation of women in the officer categories since the start of the EOW program. Following are the percentages of women in the various categories in 1975 and 1984.

	1975	1984
Management	4.0	9.5
Scientific and Professional	16.7	25.3
Administrative and Foreign Service	20.4	36.0
Technical	37.9	42.5
Administrative Support	73.3	76.5
Operational	0.0 ³	2.9 ⁴

However, as in the rest of the public service, women are still poorly represented at higher salary levels. In the clerical group where men are only one-quarter of the total group, they represent one-half of the top two salary levels.⁵ The departmental workforce analysis conducted in 1984 found generally excessive numbers of females at lower job levels and insufficient numbers at upper levels. However, the analysis said 1984 data was not as unbalanced as that of 1979.⁶

In the Winnipeg office, clerical staff has always been almost one hundred percent female. In the officer categories, women improved their representation during the EOW program reaching forty-four percent of the administrative and foreign service category by 1984.⁷ The men in the regional office were distributed across junior, intermediate and senior ranks, all the female officers except one were at the junior levels.⁸ Female officers generally have less public service officer experience than male officers. However, some have had extensive experience as clerical supervisors or as senior interviewers with Statistics Canada.⁹

National resources for the EOW program consisted of money set aside to cover the salaries of two staff members--an EOW coordinator and an assistant. The coordinator was generally appointed under a Special

Assignment Pay Plan (in 1979 this was at the intermediate level), and the full-time assistant was a clerical worker.¹⁰ Salaries and costs of the EOW committee members were borne by their respective divisions.

Regional Activities

The main focus of the department during the EOW program was on activities in head office. The regional offices received little attention in departmental action plans, perhaps because they represented only ten percent of the agency's population and were not important in the power structure of the department. A particular difficulty for the department in changing the distribution of women was that the main officer group in the regions--program administration--whose members administer survey operations field work was a group which had no members in head office. Unless members move into other categories or groups, the only career ladder is in the regions. Regional offices have generally not experienced a large turnover in the officer categories and this has meant limited opportunities for promotion or entry into officer positions.

The department included regional targets and analysis in its action plan for the first time in 1979. The plan foresaw limited prospects for change in the distribution of women in the regional offices:

The regional office staffs of Statistics Canada are small and generally speaking untouched by the EOW program thus far. The distribution of male and female staffs in the regions is such that most if not all of the middle and senior management positions are male and have been since their creation. There is a paucity of lower level officer positions or suitable bridging opportunities. Most if not all of the administrative support staff is, and always has been female. There is little training or development

accorded that is not directly related to the performance of the employees' present positions, and due to the geographic remoteness from head office, most of the literature, training and general information concerning competitions, career planning, counselling, etc. is either inappropriate or unavailable in the regions.¹¹

Action plans for the regions were to: establish contact with regional representatives and the regional director, survey employees in the regions, provide or recommend and sponsor a set of training and development courses in the regions, and research and develop a proposal for a regional EOW action plan for each regional office including a budget for training. Plans were to be implemented over a five year period with the objective of improving training and development opportunities for women in the regions, increasing the awareness of management and developing specific programs aimed at providing a more equitable distribution of female employees.¹²

Also included were specific numeric targets for changes in the program administration group but these were not broken down into individual regional offices. In 1979, there were only nine women in a total of 104 program administration positions across Canada.¹³ In the Winnipeg office there were twelve men and two women in the administrative and foreign service category. Regional offices in Halifax and Ottawa had no women in that officer category.¹⁴ No regional breakdown of data on the program administration group was provided in the departmental equal opportunities report.

The 1980 action plan proposed an EOW information session for all regional employees and also a survey to determine the needs of employees in the regional offices and their interest in training and development

opportunities.¹⁵

The departmental Report on Equal Opportunities (1980) said that EOW generally had "neither a favourable image nor a high priority when compared with such programs as the one aimed at promoting francophone representation".¹⁶ Information dissemination was needed, the report said, to help managers behave fairly towards women in the department and to aid them in developing effective EOW programs.

Head office established a working group specifically to deal with regional office concerns. In 1981, the EOW coordinator paid an informational visit to all the regional offices to promote awareness of equal opportunities. Attendance of all staff was encouraged at the session in the Winnipeg office. However, head office did not give the visits a high priority and in the Vancouver regional office neither the director nor the assistant director attended the meeting.¹⁷ Yet it was important managers be aware of the equal opportunities program according to the former Winnipeg director. "The government should insist managers be knowledgeable about affirmative action because they have the authority to make it happen."¹⁸

EOW coordinators in head office maintained some contact with the EOW representative in Winnipeg--a series of female staff members volunteered to act in this role--but it was irregular and often depended on the regional representative contacting head office for information. Literature on equal opportunities and minutes from meetings of the national interdepartmental committee on equal opportunities were forwarded sporadically to the regional office for distribution.¹⁹ EOW representatives did not have time allotted for equal opportunity

activities in their job descriptions, indicating the department's limited support for the role.

Statistics Canada's report on Equal Opportunities for Women (1980) said EOW activities played a very minor role in the representative's activities, involving perhaps less than one percent of their time. The report added the EOW committee was planning for better distribution of female employees in the regions for the future and this might warrant increased effort and participation on the part of regional representatives at a later date.²⁰ However, this did not take place.

The survey of employees in the regions was designed and sent to the Treasury Board Secretariat for approval. However, it was postponed because a departmental audit conducted by Price Waterhouse recommended a survey of all employees. Neither survey was conducted by the department.

The regional director during the EOW years says there was never any formal regional EOW plan and that he did not contribute towards the development of regional targets and plans. This was done by head office without consultation with regional management. Since he had no say in the development of the plans, he says he felt little responsibility for their implementation. "I glanced at the Treasury Board evaluations, but I never felt they applied to individual regional offices."²¹

The regional office did not have a training and development budget for equal opportunities and any developmental training had to come from regular training funds. The Winnipeg office did not keep any records on the percentage or type of training given to women. In head office, the department only began keeping statistics on training broken down by sex

after affirmative action planning began. Because the Winnipeg office does not have a personnel officer, it still does not keep any records or conduct any analysis of training, but forwards all data to headquarters.²²

The description of the regional offices given in the department action plans seemed to indicate an acceptance of the status quo as inevitable, rather than as a challenge to be overcome. A small number of clerical staff in the Winnipeg region received acting appointments to officer positions during the 1981 Census, but there was never any formal career planning for either male or female staff in the Winnipeg office. Any initiatives for change had to come from individual managers according to the regional director.²³

In its 1981 review of Statistics Canada's EOW program, the Secretariat found there were serious representation and distribution problems in the program administration group and that "specific targets accompanied by activities to improve the representation of women at all levels of this group should be established".²⁴ The department was asked to provide a much more detailed analysis of activities to improve distribution in their next report. In 1980, women represented ten of the ninety-one members in the group. There was no breakdown by regional office in the 1981 Treasury Board analysis.²⁵

The Secretariat said responsibility for policy matters, long range planning, and evaluation of EOW progress appeared to be assigned to line managers. However, they said, there was no evidence from the equal opportunities report that the department had clearly assigned responsibility for the implementation of action plans to them.²⁶ This

was the case in the Winnipeg office. The former regional director says:

I never felt any great overwhelming thrust to get women into managerial jobs, there were no measurement devices and I never felt I got marks for EOW on my appraisal. There was never any apparent reward for choosing a woman for a position and no punishment for not.²⁷

The department kept no records on a regular basis of the success rate of women in competitions as far as screening, qualifying, and appointments were concerned. However, a competition study conducted by Statistics Canada on 1979-80 departmental data found women were more successful in competitions when there were women on the selection boards. In 1979, in the Scientific and Professional category, no women who appeared before an all male board were hired, yet more than half of those going before mixed boards received job offers.²⁸ This study reinforced results of one by the Public Service Commission which led to the recommendation that whenever there is a female candidate, there should be at least one woman on the board.²⁹ In Winnipeg, although management was aware of the recommendation, staffing for positions at junior and intermediate levels of the program administration group was done without a woman on the selection board.³⁰

While the regional offices received less emphasis than head office during the EOW program, they bore the brunt of cutbacks during 1978-79, losing twenty-four percent of their staff.³¹ The cuts in the regions affected men more severely than women--for example all the layoffs in the program administration group went to men and more than half of the clerical decrease went to male employees. Winnipeg lost six positions, resulting in an increase in female representation in the region from

forty-seven to fifty percent.³² Although the cuts in staff were made on the basis of reverse order of merit, without the EOW program it is perhaps fair to speculate women would have been affected more heavily.

By 1981, the number of female members in the program administration group nationally had reached nineteen of a total of ninety-seven positions in this group. There were seventeen women at the junior level, two at the intermediate and none at the senior level. The Secretariat said that although representation of women in this group had increased substantially, "on the whole women are poorly represented in the PM group at Statistics Canada".³³ In the Winnipeg office, there were three women in indeterminate positions in this group.

Summary

The objectives of the EOW program for the regional offices were never reached in Winnipeg. Although the office had various EOW representatives, they never had any regular communication with the EOW coordinator in head office, and they received little information on head office activities towards equal opportunities. Representatives had direct access to the regional director who was sympathetic and supportive of progress for women. However, he was under no pressure from head office to change the status quo and says he feels only lip service was ever paid to EOW.³⁴ He says there is still a lack of understanding and education on the part of those in upper levels, who are often ignorant and biased.³⁵ A female officer and former clerk says the EOW program was helpful in pointing out the need to be assertive and provided for a lobby group but did not accomplish anything concrete.³⁶

In Winnipeg, there were more women in officer positions after the EOW program than before. Because of the EOW policy women were perhaps looked at more favourably for promotion than in the past. However, since targets and plans were never developed for individual regional offices it is difficult to see how changes can be specifically attributed to EOW action plans. For clerical staff the EOW program meant little. Distance from head office meant departmental training programs were generally unavailable and no special budget was ever provided for developmental training or bridging positions. The description of the regional offices given in the department's EOW action plan tended to become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In 1984, Statistics Canada conducted its workforce analysis and developed an affirmative action plan. For the regional offices, emphasis is to be placed on increased awareness of regional concerns, regular communication with regional representatives and regional directors, and the research and development of action plans based on issues identified by regional representatives.³⁷ Regional office targets for women are not broken down by regional office. However, those for natives indicate to which office they apply. Managers are to be held accountable for their implementation of affirmative action goals and plans.

Labour Canada

Department Structure

Labour Canada, the department concerned with labour affairs, has five regional offices and nineteen satellite district offices across Canada. Regional offices are responsible for delivering programs concerning occupational safety and health, conditions of work, quality of working life, labour education and injury compensation. It is a small department and in 1984 had a total of only 801 employees, fifty-two percent of them women.³⁸ About one-third of department employees work in the regions. The Central region with its regional office in Winnipeg had 22 female and 15 male employees in Manitoba. Fourteen of the women worked in clerical or secretarial work, the other eight were officers employed in personnel, administrative services or program administration. The men were all in the officer categories.³⁹ The majority of officers in the Central region are in the program administration group.

During the EOW program each region had a regional coordinator who was a line official and devoted approximately five percent of their time to equal opportunities. The regions were not represented on the national EOW advisory committee but regional coordinators attended a two day training session at headquarters in 1980.⁴⁰

Nationally, the program coordinator was the director of the Personnel Administration Branch who reported to the deputy minister. There was also an equal opportunity adviser, directly responsible for the program and a functional coordinator. The adviser devoted approximately one-third of his time to equal opportunities and the

coordinator approximately ten percent.⁴¹

Nationally, changes in the distribution of women during the EOW program were similar to those across the public service. In 1984, women had achieved the following percentages in the various categories: management, 17.1 percent; scientific and professional, 14.9 percent; administrative and foreign service, 30.9 percent; and technical, 43.2 percent.⁴² Female representation in the various categories in 1977 was: management, zero percent; scientific and professional, 11.8 percent; administrative and foreign service, 24 percent; and technical, 50 percent.⁴³ In the administrative support category women increased their representation to 88 percent⁴⁴ from 83.5 percent in 1977.⁴⁵ The percentage of women in the management category is high but represents a total of only seven women. In the central region, women's representation in the program administration group was 10.5 percent in 1981,⁴⁶ and twenty-nine percent in 1984.⁴⁷ Regional statistics for earlier years were unavailable. In the administrative and foreign service category women increased their representation from 31.9⁴⁸ to thirty-eight percent.⁴⁹

Regional Activities

Labour Canada is interesting from a regional viewpoint because, despite the small number of employees in the Winnipeg regional office, it did attempt to make changes in the distribution of women. In Manitoba, the Central Region faced the same situation as Statistics Canada--a small staff with the women mainly in clerical positions, a lack of bridging positions and limited opportunities for promotion. The

department had an additional difficulty since the main officer position--that of a labour affairs officer--required technical training in safety and health. The few women hired usually came from outside the public service and had experience in industrial health work.

The Central region tried to train and develop administrative support staff as a feeder group for the officer level. In 1981, the regional office developed a job rotation scheme for clerical staff which provided rotating officer assignments in two personnel officer positions for five support staff members. Departmental action plans integrated regional objectives with those of the department as a whole rather than treating the regions separately as Statistics Canada did. Possibly, Labour Canada gave more emphasis to the regions because they represented a larger percentage of total employees, although numerically the regional offices were smaller.

The activities the Central region undertook to promote women to positions as labour affairs officers--although they were generally successful--illustrate some of the problems identified in the general discussion of equal opportunities in the public service.

The 1982 Report and Action Plan for Labour Canada stated "management is dedicated to the concept of Equal Opportunity and committed to do every effort in order to reach targets set out at the corporate level".⁵⁰ The report said "this is clearly demonstrated where university degrees or professional accreditation are not required and where development programs permit recruitment from the administrative support category".⁵¹ The 1981 action plan called for resources to be given to regional managers to establish development positions. Fifteen

person years were to be allocated within the department--at least two-thirds were to be used for women in 1981-82 and at least one-half in 1982-83. However, in 1982, despite the commitment expressed in the action plan, managers were still responsible for using their own person years for any development positions.⁵²

Despite the lack of resources from head office, the Winnipeg regional director--at the instigation of a female officer who was chairperson of the Winnipeg interdepartmental committee for EOW--initiated a training program to develop labour affairs officers from clerical support staff.⁵³ After the Winnipeg program proved successful, other Labour Canada offices "jumped on the bandwagon" and it became part of a formal national training program.⁵⁴ The program takes time and money since it is a two or three year process to develop an officer from the clerical level. When hiring from outside, it normally only requires six months to bring an officer to the working level of the position.

Regionally, since 1981, in the program administration group where labour affairs officers are found, the number of women increased from two to six by 1984.⁵⁵ While this may seem a small change in numbers, it represents significant effort by management and particularly by the individual women who were promoted from clerical ranks.

Some of the problems faced by women who became labour affairs officers were peer group resentment at their promotion, lack of acceptance or support by male officers, and difficulty in "seeing themselves as officers and people in authority".⁵⁶ It also took courage and determination since traditionally it has been a man's job and it is

difficult for a woman to establish credibility with other officers.

The first clerk who was successful in a competition for the bridging position to labour affairs officer in the Winnipeg office--and who is now at the intermediate officer level--says the transition from clerk to officer was difficult in several ways. Initially, men did not accept her and even now she feels some still see her in a clerical role. After training, when the time came to go out on the job it was the usual practice for experienced officers to take the new trainee out to observe inspections. However, one officer refused to have her accompany him, while others were reluctant and felt the trainer should take her out. When she eventually began work on her own she did not receive much help from fellow officers. "I stumbled a lot, but the more I went the easier it got."⁵⁷ She used the experience gained in clerical work with labour legislation and reports to guide her.

The first trainee did not face peer group resentment at her success because "she had paid her dues" as a clerk for fourteen years and other staff were supportive. However, the next clerk to be successful in winning a developmental position had been with Labour Canada only a short time and senior clerical staff members resented her promotion.⁵⁸

The first officer promoted says women have to work harder than men in order to succeed. She feels the onus is on the individual to perform but management needs to change the job structures and provide bridging positions so that women can experience jobs at the officer level.⁵⁹

She feels a responsibility towards other women and wants to see them in officer roles. "If I do all right it's got to help women down the road." At the same time she wouldn't want a woman in the job if she

can't handle it because all women are judged by how the individual woman performs in a non-traditional field.⁶⁰

She saw herself as a guinea pig, judged for her whole sex by the department and says if she'd known how hard it would be doesn't think she would have started.

Summary

Since individual regional office goals did not appear to be set by Labour Canada in its national action plans it is difficult to judge the success of the EOW program in the Winnipeg regional office. Developmental positions were created but little attention appeared to be paid to overcoming the difficulties faced by women promoted from clerical ranks to a non-traditional area of work.

In recent years developmental training has not been encouraged for clerical staff in the department and most recent labour affairs officers hired have been men.⁶¹ The regional representative on the department's affirmative action committee says women are being screened out of competitions on the experience factor and are not receiving acting appointments and developmental positions on an equitable basis.⁶²

The affirmative action plan for Labour Canada says the labour affairs officer developmental plan will continue. The department's goal is to "expand and accelerate the LAO training program for the program administration group to ensure well qualified female replacements for LAO vacancies".⁶³ In 1984 out of twelve appointments across Canada, eight were from outside the public service and four were women promoted from administrative support positions.⁶⁴ The regional office member of

the department's affirmative action committee, a woman at the upper intermediate level of the program administration group, says the program can't be left to the discretion of individual managers because this makes implementation too spotty. For this reason, she says, quotas are needed.⁶⁵

Employment and Immigration Canada

Departmental Structure

Employment and Immigration Canada is a highly decentralized department with approximately ninety percent of its population located in ten regions across Canada. The third largest department in the public service, it has always had a high percentage of female employees. In 1979, women made up 54.8 percent of department staff compared to an average of 34.6 percent for the public service as a whole.⁶⁶ By 1985, their representation had increased to 61.9 percent and the 15,155 women employed by the department represented sixteen percent of all women in the public service.⁶⁷

The Manitoba region employs approximately four percent of department staff. As in Canada as a whole, approximately one-sixth of female public service employees in Manitoba are members of Employment and Immigration Canada. In 1985, there were 640 female employees in the Manitoba region, representing 62.7 percent of the Commission's staff.⁶⁸ One-third of the Manitoba regional staff works outside the Winnipeg area.

In the regions the majority of department employees are either in clerical positions or members of the program administration officer group. In 1985, in the Manitoba region sixty-eight percent of male employees were in the program administration group and eighteen percent in clerical positions. For female staff the situation was reversed with sixty-three percent in clerical positions and thirty-two percent in program administration.⁶⁹ Overall, eighty-two percent of male employees were officers and thirty-seven percent of female staff.⁷⁰

For women this represents an increase from twenty-six percent in 1980.⁷¹

The department is a very large user of the program administration group--a major source group for senior management positions--and in 1980 thirty-six percent of all program administrators in the public service were employed by Employment and Immigration.⁷² The percentage of women in this group in the department is higher than in the public service as a whole, but they have not achieved representation proportional to their representation in the department. In Manitoba, in 1985 women represented forty-four percent of the program administration group,⁷³ an increase from thirty-three percent in 1980.⁷⁴

Nationally there was significant improvement in the representation of women in the administrative and foreign service category--the category in which fifty percent of all department employees work--during the EOW program and a small increase in their numbers in the management category. In the administrative and foreign service category, the pattern of women's employment is similar to the rest of the public service and most female officers are at lower levels. In Manitoba, in 1985, seventy-seven percent of women were at the junior levels of the program administration group and none at the senior level.⁷⁵ The lack of women at senior levels of the group is significant since the program administration group is one of the prime feeder groups for senior management. Only twenty-three percent of female staff were above the junior level of the group compared to forty-three percent of male employees.⁷⁶ This is an improvement since 1980 when eighty-five percent of female employees were at junior levels.⁷⁷

Nationally, by 1985, the number of women in the management category had risen from two in 1976⁷⁸ to 21, the number of men from 56 to 191.⁷⁹ In Manitoba, during the EOW program there were no women in the management category in the department and none have reached it since the program ended. However, in the early 1970's the director general of the Winnipeg regional office was female.

Following are the overall departmental changes in the percentage of women in the various categories between 1979 and 1985:

	1979	1985
Management	5.1	9.9
Scientific and Professional	15.6	24.6
Administration and Foreign Service	30.9	43.0
Technical	45.1	44.8
Administrative Services	81.5	83.9
Operations	10.8 ⁸⁰	9.0 ⁸¹

Data from Manitoba for the years 1980 and 1985 shows similar improvements in the administrative and foreign service category:

	1980	1985
Management	0.0	0.0
Scientific and Professional	20.0	14.2
Administrative and Foreign Service	32.0	44.1
Technical	100.0 (1 Employee)	No employees in this category
Administrative Services	88.4 ⁸²	85.5 ⁸³

Departmental resources for the EOW program consisted of an EOW coordinator classified at the level of a PE-3 (lower intermediate officer level) who worked full-time on the policy. The coordinator reported to the manager of the Equal Opportunities Directorate (PE-5) who in turn reported to the Executive Director of Personnel, the responsible officer for EOW in the department. Each region had an EOW coordinator, but except in Quebec all coordinators worked only part-time on EOW activities. At headquarters the department established an EOW committee comprising senior management personnel and throughout the program most regions had EOW committees associated with the committee of Human Resource Planning.

Regional Activities

The department began producing annual reports on the EOW program in 1974 (at that time Manpower and Immigration had not yet merged with the Unemployment Insurance Commission). During that year an EOW committee was established in each region to cooperate with the Special Adviser on Equal Opportunities in headquarters and to undertake projects of a uniquely regional nature.

In 1976, the Secretary of the Treasury Board saw the pending merger as providing "an important occasion on which to examine new possibilities to enhance career opportunities for women".⁸⁴ He continued:

Since many impediments to women's career advancements are of a structural and organizational nature, I hope that your department will pay special attention to the impact of the reorganization.⁸⁵

The department was characterized by the Secretariat as maintaining an

active EOW program since 1973 with a "high level of activity and commitment to equal opportunities".⁸⁶

However, at least in the Manitoba region, historical information on EOW activities is fragmented and difficult to obtain and there appears to be little organized evidence of an active implementation of the EOW policy. This is perhaps because emphasis was placed more heavily on affirmative action requirements after 1980 when Employment and Immigration and two other public service departments began affirmative action programs. However, the regional chief of staff training and development for the past 17 years says he felt affirmative action was just a change of name as far as the department was concerned.⁸⁷

During the EOW program, each region was responsible for developing an action plan to be forwarded to national headquarters and then to Treasury Board as part of the overall departmental plan. The Manitoba regional action plan for 1980-81--the earliest one located in the Winnipeg regional office--said there was an acceptable percentage of women in the system but problems in their distribution since most women continued to remain at junior levels of the officer groups. Regional objectives designed to overcome this included: the development of a regional capacity to coordinate and monitor programs in developing equal opportunities for women, the identification by twenty-five or more women of their potential career interest(s) and the development of an action plan for progression upward, development experience in management for five intermediate level women and basic supervision training for at least twenty women at junior officer levels. The region was also to study the feasibility of increasing part-time employment.⁸⁸

The 1980-81 regional action plan included some of the same objectives as those listed for 1979-80 and indicated these had not been met in the previous year. The evaluation of 1979-80 activities was however, optimistic and stated: "Anecdotal reports indicate that managers are encouraging more women to apply on promotional competitions and providing opportunities to learn and grow."⁸⁹ This was partly reflected the report said in the increase in the number of women at the intermediate level of the program administration group during the past year. Quantitative data on the number of women applying on competitions or receiving training and acting assignments was not provided in the report.

The analysis of the department's overall action plan for 1980-81 by Treasury Board said commitment of the department's regional offices to the EOW program varied greatly from one region to another. Although each regional office had submitted a report, wide disparities existed from one region to another in terms of data analysis, precision in describing objectives and activities and in evaluation criteria. The Board pointed out responsibility centres for implementation of action plans were clearly identified in some regions, while in others--including Manitoba--there was no indication in the department report of any assignment of responsibility.⁹⁰ The analysis said accelerated progress would be needed if the department was to meet its goal for all occupational groups where women were under-represented.

The analysis recommended precise identification in the department submission for fiscal year 1981-82 of responsibility for action plans in

the regions which had failed to provide it to date. The 1980-81 report was approved on condition that the submission for 1981-82 include evidence of progress in correcting the problem of the high concentration of women in clerical positions and an analysis of the movement of employees from administrative support to officer categories. At that time women represented 81.5 percent of clerical employees nationally and eighty-eight percent in Manitoba.⁹¹

The type of work done in the department offers natural career ladders from clerical positions into the program administration group. However, Treasury Board said there was no evidence the department had a specific development program for employees in the clerical or secretarial groups. The report pointed out the percentage of female clerical staff promoted into officer positions was lower than the representation of women in the upper clerical levels. As well it said departmental expenditures on training and development for women had decreased by twenty percentage points in 1978-79, with women receiving only forty-two percent of the training budget. This was lower than their representation in the department.⁹²

In Manitoba, only one set of career planning seminars was conducted for women in the department. This was done by the regional EOW coordinator for the Public Service Commission who says approximately 200 women attended the four sessions designed to aid their career progress. Training in the department, she says, was generally job specific rather than connected to the forward movement of female staff members.⁹³ The regional departmental chief of staff training and development says "development was a small word" in training programs for both men and

women since people in the department tended not to be future oriented.⁹⁴ In some cases, he says, individual managers would attempt to develop support staff members but be told only supervisors could go on a particular course. In an internal memo written October 30, 1980 he said a clear and unequivocal policy statement on staff development, and a reward system for supervisors who applied the policy was needed by the department. Until then, he said: "We are more likely to have supervisors reacting only to their biases--if they like the program they may try to apply it, if they don't feel comfortable with it, they won't."⁹⁵

In its analysis of the department's 1981-82 EOW Progress Report Treasury Board found all the regions had identified responsibility centres for implementation of EOW policy and each region had set annual and long-term targets. However, Manitoba as well as some other regions had not set up monitoring mechanisms to measure progress. For the Manitoba region, the development of the capacity to monitor and coordinate equal opportunity programs had been a regional objective for 1980-81.⁹⁶ The action plan for that year called for the capacity to be developed by September 1980.

The Secretariat said it was important the department set up specific mechanisms to monitor progress made annually towards regional long-term targets so the department's long and short-term objectives could be attained. No such mechanism, it said was described in the department's report.⁹⁷

In a letter to the deputy minister of the department, the Secretary of the Treasury Board said representation of women at the intermediate

and senior levels in the department remained low. This situation, the Secretary said was particularly serious considering that "under its mandate, Employment and Immigration is called upon to play a leadership role in the development and use of human resources in Canada".⁹⁸

The disproportionate distribution of women in the Manitoba region in the program administration group--the largest officer group in the region--can be seen in the following tables for December 1980. Ninety percent of the department officers in the region are members of this group.

PM Group	No. of Employees	% of Group at Level	No. of Women	% of Women in Group
Jr.	244	66	104	85
Int.	118	32	19	15
Sr.	10	2.7	0	0
Total	372		123	34 ⁹⁹

The solution to the problem regarding the representation of women at the intermediate and senior levels of the program administration group was, the Treasury Board Secretariat said, heavily dependent on regional involvement.

However, the Manitoba regional EOW action plan for 1982 had no long-term targets at senior or higher intermediate levels for women since it said no turnover was anticipated. The only intermediate target for women in the program administration group was that of increasing the number of female PM-4's by one per year. From 1981-1985 the number of

women at this level did increase from three to ten and women achieved a representation of 22.7 percent at this level.¹⁰⁰

The action plan included a proposal for a survey of junior officers to gain information on their education, training, work experience, career goals and mobility. Rationale for the survey was that females were making little progress in getting out of junior positions which were the source for higher consultation and supervisory positions. The goal of the survey was to help determine if this was due to motivation, training or experience and then to take corrective action.¹⁰¹ The survey, however, was never conducted.

In 1982, a report on the pilot affirmative action project in the department was prepared by the Affirmative Action Directorate and presented to senior management. The Executive Summary of the report expressed criticism of the department and said the underlying conclusion "is that systemic discrimination not only exists but is so pervasive that it is difficult to recognize, much less describe, in terms which will be understood".¹⁰² The report said that without remedial short term actions--"painful as they may seem"--to achieve equitable representation, real change in the department could take decades.¹⁰³

The report recommended job descriptions for all managers and supervisors including personnel managers, explicitly include responsibility for affirmative action and their performance evaluations explicitly appraise results. Temporary measures were suggested to increase the number of women in management positions, management training and on development courses. For a predetermined period, it recommended the basic experience factor be waived in competitions or

used only in terms of skills required for jobs.

The January 1983 Treasury Board Secretariat analysis of the department's EOW report, the final one before the end of the EOW program, suggested little had changed in the department. In a letter accompanying the report, the Secretariat stressed the regions must be involved in any solution to the problem that women were less well represented at intermediate and senior levels than in the program administration group as a whole, since ninety percent of the department's strength was concentrated in them. The analysis said all the regions had made efforts to set realistic numeric objectives which showed the Commission's concern for correcting the situation. However, it added: "monitoring and control of progress in each region are essential to the attainment of the objectives set".¹⁰⁴

Quantitative goals for the regions after that date were set in affirmative action plans. Nationally, in 1984-85 the department set ten year goals. However, the focus for women was at the PM-5 level and above. Since the Manitoba region has only two women at this "management ready" level, affirmative action targets had little significance. Affirmative action plans for the Manitoba region focussed on development training for women, management assignments for junior officers, more realistic statements of qualifications in competitions and the requirement of a female board member on every staffing board. At present, there are no quantitative targets for women in the Manitoba region. Although the Chief of Human Resource Planning for the Manitoba region says the department hopes to achieve equal representation for all groups within ten years, public service downsizing and the obligation to

consider those employees with priority entitlement will make this difficult.¹⁰⁵ At present, she says the department is concentrating on retention and development of female staff.

Summary

During the EOW program, the number of women in junior and lower level intermediate officer positions increased significantly in the Manitoba region of Employment and Immigration Canada. Once the competitive process was changed in 1980 by the removal of salary bands and the department requirement of a university degree for the program administration group, female staff were able to move from the administrative support category into junior officer positions. The 1981 regional EOW report said although no hard data was available, the probability was high that a large majority of junior program administration positions were filled by internal recruitment of staff at intermediate and upper clerical levels.¹⁰⁶ However, the department was unsuccessful in dealing with the problem of the low numbers of women at upper intermediate and senior level positions.

The former Manitoba coordinator of women's employment for Employment and Immigration says this is because EOW was never taken seriously by the department and there was little accountability for results. Regional commitment, she says, varied from one region to another. Some individual directors were supportive and there were development opportunities for women in those regions. However, in Manitoba she says it was a major undertaking to push anything through the department.

She says an internal male network operated in the Manitoba region and males received the interesting developmental assignments while women tended to be left behind. Support for this view is given by affirmative action data from 1981 which showed all non-competitive staffing processes in the Manitoba region were awarded to men. This was similar to the national pattern in the department, but much more pronounced.¹⁰⁷ The coordinator says those women who did achieve middle management positions were generally not in structured line positions where they administered budgets and therefore had little power. Basically, she says, the department paid only lip service to target groups and males have maintained the status quo as far as power in the department is concerned.¹⁰⁸

The chief of staff training and development for the Manitoba region says accountability for EOW existed only intermittently in the region depending on the director general's pressure. Managers, he says, listen to what they think the deputy minister wants rather than paying attention to Treasury Board reports on EOW activities.

However, he believes the program was a factor in helping to shift attitudes and behaviour as far as the selection, training and development of women was concerned. The EOW program, he says, had an impact despite the fact there were no direct rewards for actions by managers. The cultural shift taking place in society regarding the role of women was accompanied by behavioural shifts in the department. To illustrate this, he says some women at junior and intermediate officer levels are presently being developed in acting assignments and given authority to implement changes in the field.¹⁰⁹

Transport Canada

Departmental Structure

Transport Canada is a decentralized, primarily masculine department employing almost ten percent of all public service staff. It has always had a small percentage of female employees and during the EOW program their representation increased by only six percentage points--from 13.3 percent in 1975¹¹⁰ to 19.8 percent in 1984.¹¹¹ The majority of female employees have always been in clerical positions.

The department includes the Canadian Air Transportation Administration (CATA), the Canadian Marine Transportation Administration (CMTA), the Transport Canada Training Institute (TCTI), the Canadian Surface Transportation Administration (CPS) and the Director-General for Personnel (DSP). The central region with headquarters in Winnipeg is part of CATA which provides and operates airports, navigational aids and related facilities. It also develops and enforces technical and safety regulations for civil aeronautics in Canada. The central region is also responsible for small numbers of employees in Saskatchewan and northwestern Ontario. These are included in department statistics for the region.

CATA employs approximately 13,500 persons and during the EOW program was divided into four components--a staff group at Ottawa headquarters, a Directorate of Civil Aeronautics, a Directorate of Airports and Construction Services and six decentralized Regional Administrations. The department is the third largest public service employer in the Manitoba region and in 1984 had 1,055 employees in Manitoba, 197 of them female.¹¹² Seventy-six percent of female

employees in Manitoba were in the administrative support category.¹¹³

The department has a large number of occupations in the technical, operational and scientific categories which are considered non-traditional for women. In general terms, any occupation in which relatively few, if any workers of a particular sex are employed is considered non-traditional for that sex. Transport Canada is also a prime user of some of the groups in the technical category--air traffic controllers, civil aviation inspectors and radio operators--and is the largest user of employees in that category in the public service. In 1984, almost one-third of the members of that category were employed by the department.¹¹⁴ Five percent of the department's technical category employees were woman compared to a percentage of 12.6 for the public service as a whole.¹¹⁵

In the Central region, women had reached a representation of 3.8 percent in the technical category by 1985.¹¹⁶ For the Manitoba region as a whole, women held 11.0 percent of technical category positions, the majority in the engineering and scientific support group.¹¹⁷

The department is also a larger user of operational employees and in 1984 had 5,473 employees in that category, seventy-seven of them women.¹¹⁸ This category includes groups such as firefighters, general labour and trades, general services and ships' crews. In 1985, the Central region had one women in the operational category and 266 men.¹¹⁹ The men worked mainly as firefighters and general labourers and tradesmen, the woman was employed as a machine operator in the general labour and trades group.

Increases in the representation of women in the various categories

from 1980 to 1984 in the department as a whole, in CATA and in the Central region are shown in the following tables:

	1981	1984
Transport Canada:		
Management	4.2	3.7
Scientific and Professional	5.6	9.8
Administrative and Foreign Service	24.1	32.0
Technical	3.9	5.1
Administrative Support	78.1	82.9
Operational	1.1	1.4 ¹²⁰
CATA:		
Management	3.4	2.2
Scientific and Professional	2.8	8.0
Administrative and Foreign Service	22.2	29.0
Technical	3.8	5.2
Administrative Support	77.6	85.2
Operational	0.7	1.0 ¹²¹
Central Region:		
Management	0.0	0.0
Scientific and Professional	0.0	9.1
Administrative and Foreign Service	15.6	24.6
Technical	3.1	3.8
Administrative Support	72.4	82.6
Operational	1.4	0.4 ¹²²

In the early years of the EOW program, responsibility for direction and guidance of policy rested entirely with personnel in headquarters and in the regions. In Manitoba, EOW policy was a personnel function until 1981 and the coordinator acted also as the human resources planner and the regional training officer. In the regions, action plans were developed by each manager, rolled up through the regional administrators, then for CATA as whole and finally combined for the whole department.

The departmental structure for EOW was changed in 1980 because it was concluded that a lack of human and monetary resources was one of the problems facing the program. At that time, the deputy minister asked that full-time coordination positions be established in the Air, Marine, Surface and Departmental Administrations, and at the Training Institute. In addition, there was to be a budget allocation for the operation of the programs in each of these groups. Responsibility for EOW program development and implementation was to be delegated more extensively to the various groups in order to bring accountability closer to line operations.¹²³

In 1981, the department appointed a chief of special employment programs (SEP) for both CATA and CMTA and full-time regional coordinators were also hired for all regions. The 1981-82 CATA EOW national action plan said the "stigma of EOW" was removed by including other responsibilities in the SEP coordinators' positions.¹²⁴ By this was meant responsibility for improving the participation of other under-represented groups including francophone participation at various levels within the department. After 1981, the name EOW continued to be used at the national level, but in the regions equal opportunities for women became part of special employment programs.

At the same time, the department established a SEP resource pool in CATA of fifteen person years, as well as salary dollars. This was later increased, and in 1983 there were 72 person years for the department. Since 1981, the Central region has used the resource pool twenty-two times to recruit or develop people from under-represented groups, nine

of them women in non-traditional roles (WINTRS).¹²⁵ Under the program, managers were expected to make a commitment to permanently absorb the employee at the end of the special resources period. In some cases, this commitment was waived to allow for short-term assignments or to initiate a new program.¹²⁶

Since approximately four-fifths of department employees are in the regions, the input of regional coordinators was considered essential for the establishment of practical long-term targets for the department. It was expected that the establishment of SEP positions would give the program a high profile and status within the operational structure. In the Central region, the coordinator was at the AS-5 level and reported directly to the regional administrator. As a member of the regional executive committee which included the heads of the branches in the region, the coordinator had a high visibility.

The structure of the SEP organization within Transport Canada and specifically within CATA is shown in the diagram in Appendix D. The office of the Assistant-Deputy Minister Personnel was responsible for the direction and control of planning for SEP in the department. Line authority for the program rested with the CATA Air Administrator and regional administrators. However, each manager in the regions was responsible and "therefore theoretically accountable" for "actively planning and implementing measures to achieve the goals of the departmental program".¹²⁷

Regional Activities

Transport Canada policy for EOW emphasized the necessity for positive action. It stated:

It is recognized that the low percentage of females in the middle and upper echelon positions in Transport Canada warrants a concerted effort to encourage and facilitate the recruitment, promotion and career development of more women on the basis of competence into technical, administrative, professional, and executive positions.¹²⁸

The statement of policy continued:

... special measures will therefore be implemented to influence the organizational climate in Transport Canada to be more receptive to the full participation of women in all occupational groups and at all levels.¹²⁹

Action plans for EOW started in the department in 1977. In CATA, the main emphasis of equal opportunities planning was to increase female representation in the technical category and in managerial level positions. It also placed a special focus on developing the resources available in the administrative support category, where the majority of women in the department worked.

The 1981-82 national action plan for CATA said an operational review had found EOW action plans had not been very effective since there had been little monitoring or review of their implementation. As well, the awareness and acceptance of managers at all levels of the department was rather limited or non-existent. Women in the department, the report said, were becoming disinterested and disillusioned.¹³⁰

A consulting firm which prepared a study on EOW for CATA in 1981 said a review of previous action plans showed a mixture of nice gestures in the direction of EOW and positive action and added "... it is never

clear either in the plans or in the way they have been implemented that there has been any priority in either direction".¹³¹ The same, it said, was true of targets.

The study found planning for EOW was done at site and regional levels, CATA level and at the overall department level. This could result in inputs from as many as 140 individual action plans for the department. The consulting firm said there was a great likelihood that "whatever consistency there may be in the plans developed by all these various groups is more coincidental than conscious".¹³² In the Central region, EOW action plans for 1979-80 included a regional plan and also nine individual plans for each branch in the region.

Theoretically responsibility for EOW rested with all management the review said, but because there was little follow-up the program was open to abuse by those who have little or no intention of carrying it out. Managers, it said "who are least likely to implement EOW often have significant control over local planning".¹³³ In 1978-79, Treasury Board commented on the department's national action plan that

the plans should be more action oriented and that setting targets and assigning responsibility for achievement of objectives would improve the effectiveness of the plan.¹³⁴

Objectives in the Central region's action plan for 1979-80 included increasing the awareness of personnel at all levels, but in particular the managerial and supervisory levels regarding the EOW program, providing clerical employees with career planning information and assistance and increasing the number of women being nominated for training and developmental assignments. As well, the region planned to

increase the number of women competing in technical category entry level positions.

The criteria specified for evaluating the region's success in meeting the objectives for the technical category were a twenty-five percent increase in the number of women in air traffic controller positions, an increase in the number of female electronic technicians from zero to two by 1982, and an increase from six to twelve in the number of women appointed to the radio operations group by 1981-82.¹³⁵

By March 1981 the Central region had five women in air traffic controller positions, two employed as electronic technicians and sixteen female radio operators.¹³⁶ In 1985, there were nine female air traffic controllers, two electronic technicians and only nine radio operators.¹³⁷

In the scientific and professional as well as the operational category, the goal for 1978-79 was to increase the number of women applying for positions. Activities planned to accomplish this objective included requesting the names of qualified females from universities, unions and apprenticeship boards, contacting these women and encouraging them to consider applying at Transport Canada. The region was also to monitor the number of women referred by the Canada Employment Commission on competitions for operational employees, and take corrective action if necessary.

Referrals are an area which can cause difficulties in hiring women for non-traditional occupations. A report prepared by the Industrial Training Division of the Employment and Immigration Commission said there is a general consensus on the part of community colleges and

clients that CEC counsellors "do not, with notable exceptions, actively encourage and direct women to non-traditional areas".¹³⁸

It said female clients are unlikely to receive in-depth counselling, accurate information or positive reinforcement. Since counsellors are generally unfamiliar with industrial settings they often concentrate on the wrong occupations for placement of women in non-traditional areas, and women who are placed may or may not be suited to the positions. The report said employers are antagonized and "fuel is added to their already existing prejudices against women".¹³⁹

The Commission said the only women who succeed are those who have already chosen their trade before seeking help from the Commission and those who have been most assertive about attaining their goals.

In 1985, the SEP program in the Central region achieved what it described as a "major breakthrough" in dealing with the problem of CEIC referrals. A letter of agreement from the director-general of CEIC said policy amendments had made it possible to have "specified" referrals on entry level competitions and target group referrals when CATA was funding staffing projects using special resources.¹⁴⁰ For women, this meant that for any competition in the operational category open to applicants outside the department, names of interested women identified by SEP personnel could be submitted to CEIC. These names would then be included with others sent back to the department on the list of candidates. SEP personnel in the region also developed a computerized skills inventory of target group members in the region. This made it possible to refer to the inventory, and specifically identify employees with the basic qualifications on requests forwarded to CEIC for

referrals.

Attitude surveys conducted by headquarters and the Central region found women were strongly in favour of a campaign to recruit more women into non-traditional occupations--as ships' officers, firefighters, air traffic controllers and radio operators. They also felt the department should make a special effort to search for qualified women when filling managerial and professional positions. However, male and female attitudes as to how the goal of the EOW program should be reached differed. Men were in favour of letting equal opportunities for women evolve naturally, while women felt positive steps were needed to overcome years of discrimination. Survey findings supported the idea that the department was "still generally considered to be one of the strongest bastions of male tradition in the federal public service".¹⁴¹

One recommendation of the surveys was that sex-typing of occupations within the department be avoided in recruiting literature and other departmental publications. As a result, recruitment material for air traffic controllers was revised to include pictures of women on the job, and revisions were made to characteristically male job descriptions. However, distribution of the literature was only on demand to people already aware of, and interested in the positions.¹⁴² Recruitment material for electronics and radio operations was also revised and discriminatory sections in the entrance exam for radio operators removed.

Objectives in the 1981-82 CATA action plan included having more women on selection boards, and an increase in female representation at the PM-5 level and above and in the number of women moving from clerical

to officer positions. The plan also called for increasing public awareness of employment opportunities in the department by visiting schools and universities and by a publicity program. Managers in the regions were responsible for increasing the number of women working as civil aviation inspectors by two in each region during the next year. Some progress towards these goals was reported in 1982, but objectives for 1982-83 remained basically the same, with the addition of plans for exit interviews with senior women who had left the department.

In the Central region, the former regional administrator says he insisted there should be a woman on any board where a woman was a candidate, and that any board without a female member be referred to him for approval. He would look for women in the region who had the correct background to sit on the board, or bring someone from headquarters if this was required. However, he says, it was often difficult to find women for selection boards in some areas and groups.¹⁴³ The deputy regional administrator says he believes the region was ninety-five percent successful in finding women for selection boards.¹⁴⁴

In the area of recruitment for civil aviation inspectors, the Central region has a good record and in 1985 four of its fifty pilots were women.¹⁴⁵ This represented twenty percent of female pilots in the public service across Canada. The deputy regional administrator says some managers have become convinced of women's abilities and decided it's worth the special efforts needed to hire them.¹⁴⁶ The former regional administrator agrees and says one or two of the branch heads did turn around completely in their attitudes towards women, once they saw how good they were in their jobs. However, he says it's an uphill

struggle and easy to slip back very quickly.¹⁴⁷ In 1985, sensitivity to SEP concerns became a rated item for line manager competitions in the Central region. As well, each director was required to establish specific SEP goals and report on progress at monthly meetings.

One of the female civil aviation inspectors in Winnipeg says women are accepted now, but she feels they still have to prove themselves more than men. However, she says this is an improvement from four years ago when the department said it was accepting women but wasn't really prepared to do so. Today, women's qualifications are looked at in the same way as those of men--the region is looking at people "who can get the job done"--and it doesn't matter if you are male or female. However, she says, there are still barriers in the department. These include military men at the top, who because they have never worked with women, find it hard to accept them as peers. As well, she says, women are still judged as a group, rather than as individuals if they do poorly.

She feels quotas are stupid since women shouldn't be hired if they aren't competent. However, equal opportunity programs are needed to ensure men are kept on the right track. It's necessary to make sure the competition is fair and women receive an equal chance. She says monitoring is needed, since there can be systemic barriers for women such as screening pilots out unfairly by insisting on experience in certain types of aircraft or too high a number of hours of flying.¹⁴⁸

In the Central region, the SEP coordinator was a member of the executive committee which met once a month. The former administrator says this showed regional managers SEP must be taken seriously. He says

he supported affirmative action because of the fairness of it. "There was a bias in administration and management in the department against women and a responsible manager should try to do something about it."¹⁴⁹

Partly because of the high profile of the coordinator, the deputy regional administrator says objectives of the EOW program are now internalized by regional managers. "We are at the stage where attitude altering has been accomplished" he says.¹⁵⁰ The acting regional manager of human resources feels there are still isolated pockets of resistance to equal opportunities but they are not as widespread as formerly. More managers and supervisors, he says, are now from the younger generations and they are the product of going to school with women on an equal basis and have a new way of thinking about them.¹⁵¹

The department conducted a survey of women who had left Transport Canada from 1981 to 1984 in order to determine their reasons for leaving. Although the number of women who were located and agreed to complete the survey was small, results corroborated other department findings from management information systems. The predominant reason given for leaving the department was the lack of career development and training opportunities. Although most respondents said they would return to Transport Canada, all identified specific requirements which would have to be met before they would accept another position. The five percent who would not return cited Transport Canada's technical-ex-military perspective as the reason.¹⁵²

The deputy regional administrator agrees the department has a masculine image and a poor reputation as far as women are concerned. There must be impediments in the organization he says, since we have

difficulty finding women and keeping them. The system, he says, may need a push and we may need quotas at the beginning although he feels women want to win jobs on their own merit and not through special treatment.¹⁵³

The SEP research officer and acting coordinator says the department's regional branches are male dominated areas where men get the special assignments and courses. "Women, don't get a chance" she says. Because administrative support staff generally don't meet the pre-requisites for supervisory and management training and development, they are often only eligible for a limited number of departmental training courses.

She says clerical staff need to study the system and use it to their own advantage. They don't give themselves enough credit for their accomplishments, she says, and their resumes reflect this. Thus they don't pass the paper screening when they apply on competitions. Women have to augment their skills and use their own initiative since educational requirements are increasing all the time and there is greater competition because of economic conditions and unemployment. In many cases, she says, women want to remain in administrative support positions and this is a barrier since the majority of positions in the department are not in that area. Because women look for traditional competition posters, there are often no female applicants for positions in the operational category although many women in clerical positions could meet the basic requirements for entry into jobs in that category.¹⁵⁴

The former regional administrator says he feels only about one in

fifty women in the clerical area has the ambition or desire to transfer into more technical positions. Also, he says women did not do as well as men in exams at the air traffic controller school in Cornwall, although he says the school tried to eliminate any male-female bias in the tests. He says he doesn't know if this is a result of social conditioning or differences between the sexes.¹⁵⁵ At present, women are doing slightly less well than men in tests at the school. However, on the checkout before licensing which follows nine months on the job, women are achieving better results than male air traffic controllers.¹⁵⁶ The Executive Summary on Affirmative Action for the department says "ab initio" tests given in 1983 to applicants for air traffic controller training were "strongly suspected to have adverse impact on women" and called for structured pre-testing of new tests presently being developed.¹⁵⁷

The SEP research officer says the resource pool was important because in some cases it allowed women to enter jobs in the department below the working level of the position. Once there, they did very well, performing successfully in technical and professional positions and advancing through the normal competitive process. Efforts to recruit women and retain them in the operational category were less successful.

Under the department employment equity plan approved by Treasury Board in August 1986, Special Employment Program personnel were integrated within the personnel units of the department. As well, the SEP resources pool was reduced from 74 to 25 person years as of April 1986 and will be eliminated entirely in April 1987. Managers will then

be responsible for target group recruitment from their own resources. In 1984, the Affirmative Action Executive Summary recommended the replacement of special resource measures by the normal human resource planning process within the next five years. The Summary said these measures may be creating another form of barrier in treating target group members as "special" or "separate" from the regular work force. This could foster the perception that target group representatives were brought into the department outside the boundaries of merit and competency.¹⁵⁸

From 1981-1985, the representation of women in the Central region showed its largest increases in the administrative and foreign service and technical categories. In the first, the number of women increased from 16 to 31, while in the technical category the numbers rose from 13 to 31. The number of women in the scientific and professional category increased from zero to four and in the operational decreased from two to one. There are no women in the management category.¹⁵⁹

The change in the number of women in the administrative and foreign service category reflects increases in traditional officer positions in personnel, administrative services and program administration. However, changes in the scientific and professional and in the technical category--despite their small numbers in relation to total employees in the two categories--do represent determined efforts by individual women and managers and by the SEP staff.

Summary

Eighty percent of male employees in Transport Canada work in either the technical or the operational category, the two categories in the public service which have the least number of women. Only ten percent of female public service employees are members of these categories.¹⁶⁰ Implementation of EOW policy in the department would have been difficult even if managers had been committed and held accountable for their activities towards equal opportunities. Given the masculine ethos of the department, the lack of commitment by many managers and the social conditioning of women to be educated and to work in traditional female areas, it is not surprising progress towards equal representation was slow.

In a speech to the department's Regional Women's Seminar in October 1986 the Assistant Deputy Minister of Personnel said there had been some significant milestones achieved toward the advancement of women in Transport Canada since 1981, but "unfortunately that progress can best only be classified as a promising beginning".¹⁶¹ Progress cited included the appointment of a woman as the first female air traffic control chief and other women appointed to positions as directors.

He said studies show women leave the department for one of two reasons--a better job elsewhere or due to the frustration of working in a predominantly male and somewhat hostile, environment. To overcome the second cause will require behavioural changes on the part of managers--many of whom he said are set in their ways and in some cases even proud of them. The time has now come he said "to start taking careful note of the non-contributors and more especially, the

negators".¹⁶²

Major emphasis for women in the departmental action plan has been placed, he said, on the need to significantly increase recruitment rates into non-traditional occupations in the technical and operational categories, and to increase the representation of women at senior levels of all categories, including management. This objective also includes emphasis on the development and career promotion of women in the administrative support, administrative and foreign service and the scientific and professional categories.¹⁶³ In 1984, the Affirmative Action Task Force said there is "substantial evidence to suggest the rate of change in female representation must be accelerated via special measures and numerical target-setting".¹⁶⁴ Outside recruiting, it said, was also needed to improve representation and distribution.

At present, the department has begun a campaign to recruit women into air traffic controller positions with the goal of a fifty percent recruitment rate. The Central region's recruiting team includes a female air traffic controller who will also sit on the selection board for applicants. The regional recruitment campaign will include publicity campaigns at technical colleges and high schools in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario. In 1985, there were 79 female controllers out of a total of 2,223 controllers in the public service. The central region had nine female and 283 male controllers in 1985.¹⁶⁵

Overall departmental employment equity goals for the period from 1986 to 1989 seem modest. Objectives are to increase the representation of women in the management category from 3.5 to 8.0 percent, in the technical from 5.5 to 7.7 percent, and in the operational from 1.4 to

3.2 percent. As well, the objective is to increase representation of women in the program administration group to 21.9 percent and in the personnel group to fifty-one percent.¹⁶⁶

Whether Transport Canada will overcome "the corporate culture within the department which is perceived to work against the advancement of women" remains to be seen.¹⁶⁷ A former Minister of Transport referred to the department as a "series of fiefdoms" and a terrible department for women.¹⁶⁸ In the Central region, both men and women interviewed spoke of "the old boys network" functioning in the department. To change this in the central region and in the department as a whole will require managerial commitment and accountability and also determined recruiting of women to fill positions in non-traditional areas.

Footnotes

¹ Statistics Canada, Personnel Branch, Affirmative Action Report (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1985), p. 2.

² Ibid.

³ Treasury Board Canada, Analysis of 1980-81 EOW Action Plans.

⁴ Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984 (Ottawa: Public Service Commission, 1984), p. 76-86.

⁵ Affirmative Action Report, p. iii.

⁶ Ibid., p. 17.

⁷ Public Service Commission, 1984 Regional Report: Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Table 3.

⁸ Personal knowledge of interviewer.

⁹ In 1984, two of the female officers in indeterminate positions were former interviewers and senior interviewers with the department, and one was a former clerical supervisor.

¹⁰ Statistics Canada, Report on Equal Opportunities for Women (EOW) 1980, p. 83.

¹¹ Statistics Canada, Report on Equal Opportunities for Women (EOW) 1979, p. 6.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Statistics Canada, Report on Equal Opportunities for Women (EOW) 1980, p. 121.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁷ Recollections of EOW coordinator.

¹⁸ Interview with the former regional director of the Winnipeg office of Statistics Canada, March 18, 1986.

¹⁹ Recollections of EOW representative in the regional office.

- ²⁰ Statistics Canada, Report on Equal Opportunities for Women (EOW) 1980, p. 82.
- ²¹ Interview with former regional director, March 18, 1986.
- ²² Information obtained from regional chief of administration, Statistics Canada, Winnipeg.
- ²³ Interview with former regional director, March 18, 1986.
- ²⁴ Treasury Board Secretariat, Equal Opportunities for Women Program in the Public Service of Canada, Statistics Canada: Analysis of Progress as of December 31, 1980 and of Planning for Fiscal Year 1981-1982, p. 5.
- ²⁵ Ibid., p. 8.
- ²⁶ Treasury Board Canada, Analysis of 1980-1981 EOW Action Plans, p. 6.
- ²⁷ Interview with former regional director, March 18, 1986.
- ²⁸ Statistics Canada, Competition Study 1979-1980, p. 9.
- ²⁹ Public Service Commission, The Office of Equal Opportunities for Women, Women on Selection Boards.
- ³⁰ Correspondence between the EOW representative in the Winnipeg regional office and the regional director and also with the staffing officer at headquarters.
- ³¹ Statistics Canada, Report on Equal Opportunities for Women (EOW) 1980, p. 67.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Treasury Board Secretariat, Equal Opportunities for Women Program in the Public Service of Canada, Statistics Canada: Analysis of Progress as of December 31, 1981 and of Planning for Fiscal Year 1982-1983, p. 4.
- ³⁴ Interview with former regional director, March 18, 1986.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Interview with junior program administration officer, March 12, 1986.
- ³⁷ Statistics Canada, Personnel Branch, Affirmative Action Report (1985), p. 32, Action Plan.
- ³⁸ Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, p. 67.

- ³⁹Public Service Commission, Population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, March 1984.
- ⁴⁰Labour Canada, Equal Opportunities for Women 1981 Report and Action Plan, Volume I, p. 6.
- ⁴¹Labour Canada, Equal Opportunities for Women 1982 Report and Action Plan, Vol. 1, p. 3.
- ⁴²Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, pp. 76-86.
- ⁴³Labour Canada, Equal Opportunities for Women Program 1981 Report and Action Plan, p. 10.
- ⁴⁴Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, p. 84.
- ⁴⁵Labour Canada, Equal Opportunities for Women Program 1981 Report and Action Plan, p. 10.
- ⁴⁶Labour Canada, Equal Opportunities for Women Program 1982 Report and Action Plan, Volume II, p. 16.
- ⁴⁷Public Service Commission, Population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, March 1984.
- ⁴⁸Labour Canada, EOW Program 1982 Report and Action Plan, p. 16.
- ⁴⁹Public Service Commission, Population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, March 1984 (data for Manitoba only).
- ⁵⁰Labour Canada, EOW Program 1982 Report and Action Plan, p. 6.
- ⁵¹Ibid.
- ⁵²Ibid., p. 21.
- ⁵³Interview with the EOW Public Service Commission regional coordinator, Manitoba/Saskatchewan region, March 25, 1986.
- ⁵⁴Interview with Labour Canada program planning coordinator in the Winnipeg regional office, March 19, 1986.
- ⁵⁵Public Service Commission, Population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, March 1984.
- ⁵⁶Interview with Labour Canada program planning coordinator, March 19, 1986.
- ⁵⁷Interview with labour affairs officer in the Winnipeg region, April 2, 1986.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Interview with Labour Canada program planning coordinator, March 19, 1986. The coordinator is also the central region representative on the department's national affirmative action committee.

62 Ibid.

63 Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, Action Plan/Form/Affirmative Action (1985-1986), Section 1.7.

64 Ibid.

65 Interview with Labour Canada program planning coordinator, March 19, 1986.

66 Treasury Board Canada, Analysis of 1980-81 Action Plans (October 21, 1980).

67 Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1985, p. 60.

68 Public Service Commission, 1985 Regional Report Manitoba and Saskatchewan, p. 11. Since the department did not provide employment statistics for 1984, data obtained from the Public Service Commission for 1985 was used.

69 Public Service Commission.

70 Ibid.

71 Employment and Immigration Canada, Distribution of Men and Women by Department, Region, Category, and Level as of December 31, 1980, Table I.

72 The Treasury Board Secretariat, EOW Program in the Public Service of Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration Canada, Analysis of Planning for Fiscal Year 1981-1982 and Progress as of December 31, 1980, p. 6.

73 Public Service Commission.

74 Employment and Immigration Canada, Distribution of Men and Women by Department, Region, Category, and Level as of December 31, 1980, Table I.

⁷⁵Public Service Commission.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Employment and Immigration Canada, Distribution of Men and Women by Department, Region, Category, and Level as of December 31, 1980, Table I.

⁷⁸Data for 1976 are from Equal Opportunities for Women, Internal Program Department of Manpower and Immigration 1975-1976, Appendix 2.

⁷⁹Data for 1985 are from Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1985, p. 70.

⁸⁰Treasury Board Canada, Analysis of 1980-1981 EOW Action Plans.

⁸¹Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1985, pp. 70-80.

⁸²Employment and Immigration Canada, Distribution of Men and Women by Department, Region, Category, and Level as of December 31, 1980, Table I.

⁸³Public Service Commission, 1985 Regional Report Manitoba and Saskatchewan, pp. 19-28.

⁸⁴Department of Manpower and Immigration, EOW Internal Programme 1975-1976, Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury Board to Mr. A.E. Gotlieb, Deputy Minister of Manpower and Immigration, May 27, 1986.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid.; comments by the Treasury Board Secretariat.

⁸⁷Interview with the regional chief of staff training, February 11, 1987.

⁸⁸Employment and Immigration Canada, Equal Opportunity for Women Manitoba Plan: 1980-1981.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Treasury Board Canada, Analysis of 1980-1981 Action Plans, p. 5.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 7.

⁹²Ibid., pp. 4 and 5.

⁹³Interview with the regional EOW coordinator, Public Service Commission, Manitoba/Saskatchewan region, January 15, 1987.

- ⁹⁴ Interview with the regional chief of staff training, February 11, 1987.
- ⁹⁵ Memorandum, October 30, 1980.
- ⁹⁶ Treasury Board Secretariat, EOW Program in the Public Service of Canada, Analysis of Planning for Fiscal Year 1981-1982 and Progress as of December 31, 1980, p. 10.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 11.
- ⁹⁸ Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury Board to Mr. J.D. Love, Deputy Minister, Employment and Immigration Canada, December 10, 1981. The letter pointed out there seemed to be a serious problem regarding the implementation of the EOW policy at Headquarters where no short or long-term targets for any group had ever been established.
- ⁹⁹ Treasury Board Canada, Distribution of Men and Women by Category, Occupational Group and Sub-Group as of December 31, 1980, Table I.
- ¹⁰⁰ Public Service Commission.
- ¹⁰¹ Manitoba Region, EOW Plans for the calendar year of 1982.
- ¹⁰² CEIC, Executive Summary of the report on the Affirmative Action Project (December 29, 1982), sent to regional managers by the Director General, CEIC, Winnipeg.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁴ Treasury Board Secretariat, EOW Program for Women in the Public Service of Canada (January 28, 1983), p. 5.
- ¹⁰⁵ Interview with the chief of Human Resource Planning, Manitoba region, March 20, 1986.
- ¹⁰⁶ Equal Opportunities, Manitoba Region, Report for 1980-1981 and Plans for 1981-1982.
- ¹⁰⁷ Regional Affirmative Action Statistical Profile.
- ¹⁰⁸ Interview with the former Manitoba coordinator of women's employment for Employment and Immigration Canada, December 16, 1986.
- ¹⁰⁹ Interview with the regional chief of staff training, February 11, 1987.
- ¹¹⁰ Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1976, p. 66.
- ¹¹¹ Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, p. 67.

¹¹²Public Service Commission, 1984 Regional Report Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Table I.

¹¹³Ibid., Table 6.

¹¹⁴Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, p. 83.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶Transport Canada, Special Employment Programs 1985 Annual Report: Central Region.

¹¹⁷Public Service Commission, 1985 Regional Report Manitoba and Saskatchewan, p. 25.

¹¹⁸Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, p. 86.

¹¹⁹Transport Canada, Special Employment Programs, 1985 Annual Report: Central Region.

¹²⁰1981 data is from Special Employment Programs, Annual Review for 1981-1982, p. 5; 1984 data is from Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1984, pp. 76-86.

¹²¹Transport Canada, Special Employment Programs, 1985 Annual Report, Table 3A.

¹²²1981 data is from 1981/1982 CATA EOW National Act Plan, p. 9; 1984 data is from Special Employment Programs, 1985 Annual Report: Central Region.

¹²³Transport Canada, 1979 Report on Equal Opportunities, p. 2.

¹²⁴Transport Canada, 1981/1982 CATA EOW National Action Plan, p. 3.

¹²⁵Transport Canada, Special Employment Programs, 1985 Annual Report: Central Region.

¹²⁶Transport Canada, Special Employment Programs, Annual Report 1984, p. 5.

¹²⁷Transport Canada policy for EOW, quoted in Equal Opportunities for Women, CATA Volume I: Background-The Program (1981), p. 6.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 5.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Transport Canada, 1981/1982 CATA EOW National Action Plan, p. 3.

¹³¹CATA, Equal Opportunities for Women, Volume I: Background-The

- Program (1981), p. 26.
- ¹³² Ibid., p. 10.
- ¹³³ Ibid.
- ¹³⁴ Transport Canada, 1982/1982 CATA EOW National Action Plan, p. 21.
- ¹³⁵ Transport Canada, Central Region EOW Action Plan 1979-1980.
- ¹³⁶ 1981/1982 CATA EOW National Action Plan, p. 12.
- ¹³⁷ CATA, Special Employment Programs, 1985 Annual Report, Table 3B.
- ¹³⁸ Employment and Immigration Canada, Industrial Training Division, "Initiative to Train Women in Non-Traditional Occupations," p. 300.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 301.
- ¹⁴⁰ Transport Canada, Special Employment Programs, 1985 Annual Report: Central Region.
- ¹⁴¹ Transport Canada, Report on a Survey of Attitudes of Departmental Employees Towards Working Women (1979), p. 40.
- ¹⁴² CATA, Equal Opportunities for Women, Volume I: Background-The Program (1981), p. 13.
- ¹⁴³ Interview with former regional administrator, central region, March 21, 1986.
- ¹⁴⁴ Interview with deputy regional administrator, April 4, 1986.
- ¹⁴⁵ CATA, Special Employment Programs, 1985 Annual Report, Table 3B.
- ¹⁴⁶ Interview with deputy regional administrator, April 4, 1986.
- ¹⁴⁷ Interview with former regional administrator, March 21, 1986.
- ¹⁴⁸ Interview with civil aviation inspector, April 8, 1986.
- ¹⁴⁹ Interview with former regional administrator, March 21, 1986.
- ¹⁵⁰ Interview with deputy regional administrator, April 4, 1986.
- ¹⁵¹ Interview with acting manager of human resources, March 24, 1986.
- ¹⁵² Transport Canada, Affirmative Action Employment Systems Review: Other Studies, Book 8, p. 51.
- ¹⁵³ Interview with deputy regional administrator, April 4, 1986.

- ¹⁵⁴ Interview with Special Employment Programs research officer, March 26, 1986.
- ¹⁵⁵ Interview with former regional administrator, March 21, 1986.
- ¹⁵⁶ Interview with Special Employment Programme research officer, February 18, 1987.
- ¹⁵⁷ Transport Canada, Affirmative Action Executive Summary, Part A (1984), Book I, p. 35.
- ¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 2.
- ¹⁵⁹ Special Employment Programs, 1985 Annual Report: Central Region.
- ¹⁶⁰ Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1985, pp. 60, 76, and 80.
- ¹⁶¹ Speech presented to the Regional Women's Seminar, October 1986.
- ¹⁶² Ibid.
- ¹⁶³ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁴ Affirmative Action Executive Summary, Part A, Book I, p. 24.
- ¹⁶⁵ Public Service Commission, Annual Report 1985, p. 67, and Special Employment Programs, 1985 Annual Report, Table 3B.
- ¹⁶⁶ Speech to the Regional Women's Seminar, October 1986.
- ¹⁶⁷ Affirmative Action Executive Summary, Part A (1984), Book I, p. 24.
- ¹⁶⁸ Interview with the Hon. Lloyd Axworthy, June 13, 1986.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In the report Sex and the Public Service, Kathleen Archibald posed the rhetorical question: "Are opportunities for occupational satisfaction and advancement in the Canadian public service more limited for women than for men?"¹ Her answer in 1970 was an unequivocal yes. In 1984, after twelve years of an EOW policy whose goal was to ensure women had equal access to employment and career opportunities the answer was still the same.

Although there was some progress for women in the public service, the EOW program did not succeed in reaching its objective of changing the traditional patterns of employment by department, group and level. Women greatly increased their representation in the administrative and foreign service category--where jobs in personnel, information services and program administration are found. However, they made few gains in technical, scientific and professional occupations and almost none in the operational category. In the executive group, the most prestigious in the public service, the number of women was 46 times greater than when the program began² but this represented an increase of only 136 women in twelve years.³ The majority of women, as at the beginning of the EOW program, continued to work in clerical and office support positions.

The implementation of the EOW program coincided with a period in Canada which saw an unprecedented increase in the participation of women in the work force. In 1960, female participation in Canada was well

behind that of the United States, Australia, Sweden and the United Kingdom and trailing that of France, West Germany, Italy and Japan. By 1983, it had surpassed all those countries with the exception of Sweden.⁴ The increase in participation took place in all age groups except among older women. According to projections by the Department of Finance, by the year 2000 it is assumed there will be no difference in the participation rate of men and women except during the childbearing years.⁵ In the public service, women represented 41.4 percent of employees in 1984.

Between 1972 and 1982 women's educational patterns also changed dramatically. The total number of women enrolled full-time in university increased by 54 percent, that of men by 7.3 percent.⁶ By 1982, nearly half of all undergraduate enrolment was female and women represented forty-one percent of those enrolled at the master's level.⁷ Women are increasingly choosing to specialize in traditional masculine fields such as biology, dentistry, medicine, economics, commerce and law. In the age group of women under forty, the percentage working in male-dominated fields increased in the years from 1971-1981 and it was in these fields that women made their greatest gains in earnings.

To some extent the public service reflected the changes in women's choice of occupation and training. By 1984, there were 240 female auditors, 74 veterinarians, 108 engineers, 79 air traffic controllers, 212 lawyers, and 97 chemists. However, in all those groups women represented only a small percentage of total employees.⁸ In the public service, women still represent the majority of employees at lower wage levels--a reflection of their concentration in the administrative

support category and in the lower ranks of officer positions. In 1984, one-third of male employees had salaries of more than \$35,000 yearly but only eight percent of female employees.⁹

No single component can be considered responsible for the failure of the EOW program to reach its objective of ensuring that "within a reasonable period of time, representation of male and female employees ... approximates the proportion of qualified and interested persons of both sexes available, by department, by occupational group and by level".¹⁰ The program lacked a single, integrated equal opportunity policy and adequate administrative leadership. As well, there was little government commitment or management accountability for results. Systemic barriers in the public service staffing processes, an inflexible merit system and attitudes in society were other factors which hindered the policy's success. The hypothesis that participation at the initial stages by those affected by a new program is necessary for its success is controversial. However, commitment to the equal opportunities program would probably have been greater if male and female employees had participated in its development.

During the period of the EOW program, other issues were considered of higher priority by the government and received greater commitments of time, money and resources. The policy was implemented during a turbulent period in Canadian politics when government concerns over inflation, unemployment and the deficit were paramount. In the public service, emphasis was placed on wage restraints, bilingualism, management economy and efficiency, and in the 1980's on the need to reduce the size of the public service.

The Special Committee on the Review of Personnel Management and the Merit Principle said that if the goal of equal opportunity was a representative public service, merit would need to be accompanied by recognition of the need for special treatment for women.¹¹ However, the Public Service Commission consistently refused to modify the merit principle to aid women, although it had done so in the past to fulfill certain social or political goals such as reintegrating veterans after the war or increasing the number of francophones in the public service. In the case of women, the Commission insisted employees must receive their jobs through merit, rather than by being members of an under-represented group. By its determination to reject special measures for women, although these were not considered discriminatory under the Human Rights Act (1977), the Commission continued to ignore the existing inequalities for women in the public service, and the history of past discrimination in hiring, promotion and training. General opposition to special measures for women comes from individuals and groups such as the Fraser Institute. In their view, men as a group should not be penalized today for discriminatory actions carried out against women in the past.

Treasury Board, through the expenditure budgetary process, controls the number of positions available to departments. In support of the Official Languages policy, the Secretariat authorized supplementary person-years and funds, thus making it possible for individuals to be replaced temporarily while on language training. Except for the Corporate Assignments Program (CAP), this provision was not used to aid the development and training of women.

The central agencies implemented some measures which aided women. The elimination of salary bands for competitions, the recommendation of having a woman on all selection boards where a woman is a candidate, and a new policy on part-time work and flexible hours were positive steps. Monitoring of recruitment literature and government publications for sexism and occupational stereotyping was undoubtedly useful as were awareness sessions for management and department staff. However, attitudes are ingrained from years of experience and are not easily changed by training sessions.

A study of one government department found male employees were likely to believe the reason women were under-represented in management, technical, and operational positions was because they lacked natural ability, were unwilling to accept responsibility and were not interested in advancement or careers.¹² The higher separation rate of women throughout the public service gave support to this view of the lower commitment of women to long term careers.

The media did little to counteract the view of women as marginal employees with limited interest in professional careers. A report commissioned by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission said Canada's advertising industry continues to accent women as "scantly clad queens of the kitchen".¹³ The CRTC says advertisers have been partially successful in improving the image of women but "much remains to be done before the portrayal of women on Canadian airways reflects more closely the reality of society".¹⁴

The government considered the primary initiative to implement the EOW policy must come from the departments. However, management's

commitment varied from one department to another and there was little accountability for performance. Responsibility for action plans was often not clearly assigned nor the monitoring mechanism for results specified.

The Royal Commission on Financial Management in reviewing managerial accountability found departments were not required to "account for their efficiency and effectiveness in using human and financial resources or attainment of goals set out in department plans".¹⁵ The Commission recommended greater accountability for managers saying

Virtually no effort has been made to establish clearly defined objectives against which the performance of a department or agency can be measured either in total or in respect of particular programs or activities.¹⁶

Scheirer points out that in a program implementation the forces which supported and maintained the previous operating system are often "still present and likely to create pressures against implementation of an innovation requiring substantial changes".¹⁷ She found programs introduced from outside the usual authority channels without the strong support of central administrators were likely to be ignored by those accustomed to receiving job rewards or reprimands from their supervisors. In the case of EOW, Treasury Board--although it made recommendations--did not push departments to meet objectives as it had with the official languages policy. Since managers were generally not held accountable for progress, it was easy for them to ignore the action plans and goals.

At the individual level, some managers developed career paths and

advancement opportunities for women, others did little or nothing. Studies conducted by departments indicated women did not want special treatment but rather bridging positions and developmental training and assignments. Many considered departmental promotion practices to be discriminatory and felt there were barriers which prevented their progress. Men, while they supported the idea that both sexes should have equal chances for advancement, felt women with equal qualifications already had equal opportunities and that past attempts at equal opportunities had been adequate. As well, most men seemed to believe that discriminatory attitudes no longer existed.

Results of the primary research conducted for this paper supported the hypothesis that difficulties of distance from headquarters and small numbers of women would make the implementation of EOW in a small regional office more difficult. It also provided support for the view that women's promotion to officer positions would be greater in a large regional office with career paths from administrative support positions.

However, the hypothesis that quantitative results in the Manitoba region would be poorer overall than those in the national capital region, because of fewer opportunities for promotion or training did not prove correct. Results in the Manitoba region were similar to those in the national capital region and to the public service as a whole. Although there is a lower percentage of women in management positions and in officer positions generally in the Manitoba region than in the national capital region, the same is also true for men.

In 1981, within the various occupational groups and categories, representation of women was approximately equal to that in the national

capital region. Data on the national capital region for the period after 1981 could not be obtained from the Public Service Commission. However, at the overall level of the public service, representation of women has remained very similar to that of the Manitoba region. The rejection of the hypothesis that results would be poorer in the regions suggests the EOW program was never seriously implemented in either the regions or the national capital region, since the Public Service Commission considers there are fewer opportunities for women in the regions.

The case studies of the four regional offices provided examples of different problems in the implementation of EOW policy. At the same time similarities among them illustrated some of the deficiencies in the program. It is recognized the people interviewed gave their perceptions of the EOW policy--the picture of the program as they saw it--and that the interviewer's perspective was affected by contemporary knowledge of the situation in the public service today. However, departmental reports and correspondence, and the statistical data available from Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission and individual departments provided an objective representation of the results of the program.

At Statistics Canada, there was no regional EOW plan, no budget for training or bridging positions and no career development plans for male or female staff. The regional director received little communication on EOW and says he felt no accountability for actions to change the distribution of women in the Winnipeg office. The office illustrates the need for clustering of small departments for competitions and of rotational assignments in large departments to gain experience and

opportunities for promotion.

Labour Canada demonstrated the successful creation of bridging positions which provided career ladders for former administrative support members. The department also illustrates the difficulties for the "token" women moving into a non-traditional line of work and the need for support measures.

The case study of Employment and Immigration Canada supported the hypothesis that a large regional office with general management positions would provide more opportunities for women to move into officer positions. However, although women did move from the support category to the junior officer levels, they have been unsuccessful in reaching senior levels of the officer groups. Considering the large number of women at junior officer levels, it seems likely there are systemic barriers preventing their advancement.

Transport Canada showed little change in the distribution of women throughout the EOW program and representation of women continues to be low in all groups except the clerical. As in the rest of the public service, women increased their representation in the administrative and foreign service category but it is still below the public service average. The department has remained a male-dominated one and few women have succeeded in crossing its selection and attitudinal barriers.

Although it is recognized each department is unique, the four case studies suggest necessary actions if the government wants to change the representation of women in the public service. Affirmative Action studies conducted by Transport Canada--in their description of the United States Department of Transportation--provide an example of the

kind of accountability that is required to achieve results:

It is clear the success of their program for minorities and women are the result of management commitment. Managers are provided with a series of tools to use to improve the representation and distribution of target group members within their sections. The managers are judged and rated on the degree to which they make use of these tools. If they do not meet EO objectives which are both quantitative and qualitative, they can and sometimes do lose their positions.¹⁸

In Canada, action in meeting affirmative action goals is only one of the elements in the appraisal of deputy ministers.

Other successful measures used by the United States Department of Transport to recruit women into non-traditional positions are targetted recruiting campaigns at universities, awards to employees and managers who perform well in this area, part-time work programs, paraprofessional positions to bridge the gap between junior and middle management positions and lateral transfers for higher grade employees to fill one to twelve month assignments in operating administrations.¹⁹

The regional case studies suggest other changes needed in employment policies and practices. These should include interdepartmental exchanges, special measures or block hiring for certain occupations, bridging positions and developmental training and assignments. In competitions, attention should be paid to the removal of artificial selection barriers such as technical qualifications required for a purely management role or experience factors unrelated to potential job duties. Also needed is a strong government campaign, both within and outside the public service, to develop positive attitudes and behaviour towards the enlistment of greater numbers of women into the public service.

The EOW program was largely symbolic. Although it specified actions to be taken by departments, managers and central agencies, it never included accountability for results. It did not have the strength or commitment needed to change the pattern of roles within the public service, and the forces which supported the existing structure were to a large extent able to maintain the status quo. As well, women in the public service were not united in their support for equal opportunities and as a group they lacked the power to bring about change.

Edelman points out the intensity of interest in a particular political objective is lessened to the degree there is: (1) constitutional, statutory or administrative action dedicating the state to achieving the objective, and (2) frequently renewed ritualistic assertion, overt or implicit, that the objective is being achieved.²⁰ The federal government used these means in the EOW program--speeches by cabinet ministers, the announcement of a "new" policy in 1975, annual reports by Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission, department action plans and progress reports--all gave the impression the government was doing something about the problem of equality for women.

The program can be viewed as one using exhortation, that is a series of potential acts of persuasion and voluntary appeals to achieve its goals. However, as Doern reasonably points out "there is little doubt that exhortation is not a wholly reliable way to ensure that public policy goals are achieved in the long run".²¹

The future for women in the public service does not seem promising. Although departments are required to establish five-year numerical targets for improving areas of under-representation, the only

service-wide numerical goal of the affirmative action program is to double the number of women in senior management by 1988. While it is important to increase the number of women in decision-making positions, this goal will mean little to the majority of women in the public service since few women are at levels high enough to be considered for senior management positions.

The Public Service Alliance of Canada, largest of the public service unions, is opposed to the government's first priority action and is instead concerned about advancement for clerical and junior administrative staff where the majority of its female members are found. The union has expressed support for special recruitment and development measures for women and also for measures such as child care, paid parental and educational leave and flexible working arrangements. Whether male members of the Alliance would support attempts to provide special recruitment measures for women is unknown. However, studies during the equal opportunities program did not indicate general support among men in the public service for this type of activity. During the equal opportunity program, the union was not active on the issue of opportunities for women and has been criticized for the lack of women in executive positions within its own structure.

In the book Nowhere To Go, Nicole Morgan paints a bleak picture of future promotion opportunities in the public service. She suggests the influx of the baby boom generation has created a career blockage that will be long lasting because of the number of relatively young people who hold decision-making positions. Women, she says, will be particularly affected by the blockage because they occupy many of the

lower level officer jobs where no movement will be possible.²²

The government is committed to reducing the size of the public service workforce by 5,000 positions each year until 1989. In the past, women have been over-represented in layoffs and since their representation in term positions continues to be greater than that of men, there is little reason to expect this pattern to change. As well, for women in the administrative support category, technological change poses a threat of reductions in the number of clerical jobs.

If public policy can be considered as what governments choose or choose not to do, for women in the public service it has been mainly a case of choosing not to do. It was because of political pressure from women in Canada that the government established the EOW program. It will require that same kind of pressure to cause it to demonstrate the leadership and commitment needed to change the situation of women in the public service. At present, the road to equal opportunities seems long indeed.

Footnotes

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²Monica Townson. Women in the Public Service: An analysis of employment statistics 1972-1974 (Ottawa: The Advisory Council on the Status of Women, September 1975), p. 3.

³Public Service Commission. Annual Report 1984, p. 72.

⁴Jean Andre Boulet, Laval Lavallee. The Changing Economic Status of Women (Canada: Minister of Supply and Services, 1984), p. 6.

⁵Ibid., p. 7.

⁶Ibid., p. 27.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Public Service Commission. Annual Report 1984, pp. 72-73.

⁹Ibid., pp. 68-69.

¹⁰Public Service Commission. Women in the Public Service of Canada Report 1976, p. 6.

¹¹Report of the Special Committee on the Review of Personnel Management and the Merit Principle (Ottawa, 1979), p. 89.

¹²"Attitudes toward Equal Opportunity in Employment: The Case of one Canadian Government Department". Business Quarterly (Vol. XLVIII, No. 1), p. 90.

¹³Toronto Globe and Mail, February 1, 1986.

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¹⁵Canada. Royal Commission on Financial Management and Accountability: Final Report, p. 39.

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¹⁷Mary Ann Scheirer. Program Implementation: The Organizational Context (London: Sage Publications, 1981), p. 184.

¹⁸Transport Canada. Affirmative Action Part B, Book I, 1984, p. 15.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 16.

²⁰Murray Edelman. The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972), p. 164.

²¹G. Bruce Doern & Richard W. Phidd. Canadian Public Policy: Ideas, Structure, Process (Toronto: Methuen, 1983), p. 317.

²²Nicole S. Morgan. Nowhere To Go (The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1981), p. 4.

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Appendix A



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25-1 Vol.3

OTTAWA, July 2, 1947.

Circular Letter 1947-20 ✓

Comm. 25-

Deputy Heads, Government Departments, Ottawa.

It appears that Departments are still under the impression that female employees who marry and who wish to be continued in employment may be paid, after marriage, the same rate of pay they were receiving prior to marriage.

While authority for this was granted during the war years under the War Measures Act and was continued under the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, the Commission now wishes to advise all Departments that, as authority under these Acts expired on March 31, 1947, female employees can be paid only the minimum salary of the class, after marriage.

Section 113 of the Civil Service Regulations provides that a female employee in the public service shall, upon the occasion of her marriage, be required to resign her position. Any employment, thereafter, even without break in service, is regarded as a new appointment, and must necessarily be made at the minimum rate.

R. Morgan,
Secretary.

Appendix B

CABINET DIRECTIVE - NUMBER 44

STATUS OF WOMEN IN CANADA - REPORT OF
THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE

The Cabinet recently considered a number of questions arising from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

The Public Service Commission has embarked on an active program to promote equal opportunity for female public servants. Moreover, a number of departments have commenced reviews of their personnel policies as they affect the positions and career opportunities of women.

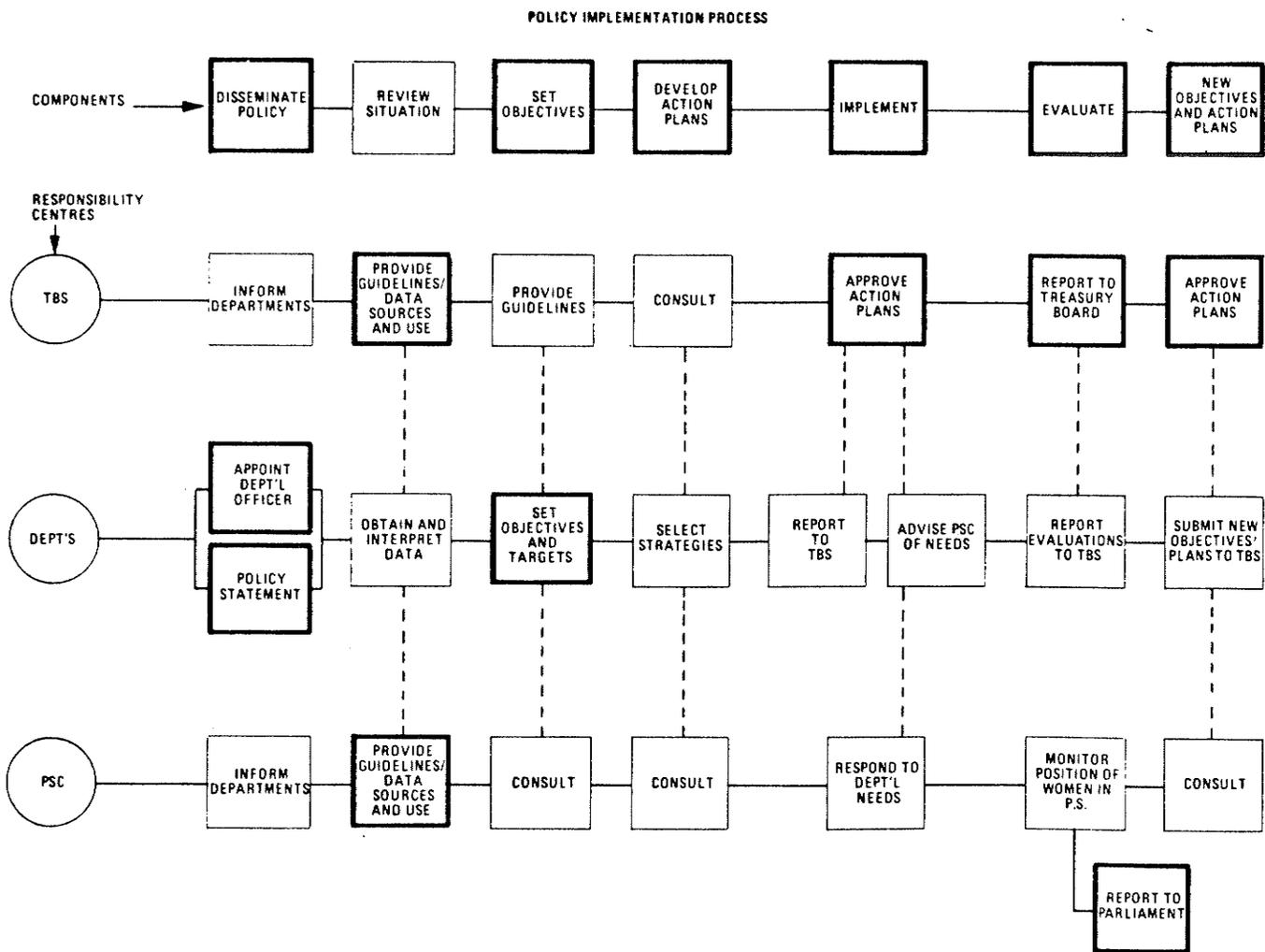
In order to facilitate and expedite the process throughout the government, Deputy Heads of Departments are directed by the Cabinet to take steps to encourage the assignment and advancement of more women into middle and upper echelon positions.

R. G. Robertson,
Secretary to the Cabinet

April 14, 1972.

Appendix C

2-B STEPS TO FOLLOW



Appendix D

FIGURE 1

STRUCTURE OF E.O.W. IN
TRANSPORT CANADA AND C.A.T.A.

