

CAREER IN CIVIL SERVICE
CANADA, GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

by

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FOREWORD.

The principal part of the material for this study, namely the body of facts on the career officers in the Federal civil service of Canada, was collected during the summer of 1957. This was made possible, thanks to the hospitality of the Civil Service Commission, who allowed the writer to use its office space and to draw freely on material from its files. No less helpful were the several Departments, most of all the Department of Trade and Commerce, whose personnel office supplied all the information for the case study related in Chapter Six, and took upon itself the great trouble of multiplying the questionnaires used for the field enquiry, routing them to all officers involved and transmitting the replies to the writer in Montreal.

Thanks to the help of these agencies, the writer was able to collect material on the Junior - and other - Administrative Officers, parts of which had never been studied before. Much of this material has been incorporated in the study without particular reference to the sources in each instance, for this would have been impossible. Valuable material was found also on the professional and scientific classes, as well as on the general clerical service, and this information has been often used in the same way. The writer is, therefore, indebted to the Civil Service Commission or to the relevant Department, as the case may be, for any information not expressly referred to another source. The references will be found in the footnotes. Here the writer wishes to thank in general the Civil Service Commission and the managements of the several Departments. A special acknowledgment of gratitude is due the Civil Service Commission and its Secretary, Mr. M. M. Maclean, for the permission to quote verbatim from some documents, as referred to in the appropriate places. Of the officers on the staff of the Civil Service Commission, all of whom were most generous with their assistance, a few deserve particular mention. The Secretary, Mr. M. M. Maclean, found

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time to discuss problems of general policy, referred to him. Dr. O. E. Ault and Mr. G. A. Blackburn showed great concern for the facilities extended to the writer and opened many a door for him. Mr. J. F. Dawe took upon himself the general care for the access to the files and availability of all other information desired by the writer. The Heads of the several Branches and many officers on the staff were more than helpful; special mention is due to Messrs. G. S. Follis, E. Gougeon, V. M. Clarkson and many others.

Mr. L. J. Rodger, Personnel Officer, Department of Trade and Commerce, extended his invaluable help, putting his time as well as his knowledge and experience at the writer's disposition.

From Washington came the immense help of Mr. J. Douglas Hoff, Manager of College and Foreign Visitor Program of the Civil Service Commission of the United States. Both he and his associates answered innumerable queries, collected documents and mailed them to the writer. The U. S. Civil Service Commission allowed the writer to spend a week's time in its offices in the summer of 1955.

Mr. Wright W. Miller, Information Officer, H. M. Civil Service Commission, London, secured much valuable material on the British Civil service and transmitted it to the writer in Montreal.

Mr. R. A. Fraser, Lecturer in Political Science, Sir George Williams College, drew the writer's attention to Roderick Seidenberg's book Post-Historic Man, discussed various points with the writer and edited parts of the manuscript. The other parts were edited by Mr. H. W. Yarosky.

The director of the writer's studies, Professor K. B. Callard, suggested this subject, so obviously central in the writer's interest that it might well have been overlooked by himself. Professor Callard gave also the writer the benefit of his criticism, apart from the usual direction,

and permitted him to read an unpublished paper of his own. Parts of the manuscript were read by Professor S. J. Frankel, whose remarks contributed to the removal of a number of defects.

Mr. I. D. Pal discussed some points and read sections in manuscript, and Mr. J. A. Galbraith contributed valuable remarks to the tables.

The writer himself is solely responsible for the delimitation of the subject, its coverage and the arrangement of the material, for the collection of the information on the Canadian civil service, for its coordination and evaluation, for all the arguments and opinions not referred to sources either by direct note or by general remark. All the interpretation of the findings and of their mutual relations, and all the conclusions, general as well as particular, if not credited to sources, are his own, and he bears all the responsibility for them as well as for all the shortcomings and mistakes.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES.

Bet. Govt. Pers.: Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel:

Better Government Personnel. New York, Whittlesey House, (1935).

Bet. Govt. Pers. Ev.: Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel:

Evidence. New York, Whittlesey House, (1935).

CISSEB.: Memorandum by the Civil Service Commissioners on the use of the Civil Service Selection Board in the Reconstruction Competitions.

London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1951. S.O. Code No. 25-286.

Cmd. 9613. Evidence.: Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55.

Evidence. London, H.M.S.O. 1954-1955.

Cmd. 9613 Report.: Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55. Report.

London, H.M.S.O. 1955.

E.C.: Establishment Circular, (identification by number and date).

First Hoover Commission Report.: The Commission on Organization of the

Executive Branch of the Government, Personnel Management, a Report to the Congress, February, 1949. Washington, U.S.G.P.O., 1949.

First Hoover Commission Task Force.: Task Force Report on Federal Personnel

(Appendix A) prepared for The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, January, 1949. Washington, U.S.G.P.O., 1949.

VIII.

Gordon Commission Report.: Royal Commission on the Administrative Classification in the Public Service, 1946. Report. Ottawa, King's Printer, 1946.

Pres. Com. Adm. Man.: The President's Committee on Administrative Management. Report of the Committee with Studies of Administrative Management in the Federal Government. U.S.G.P.O., 1937.

Report of Transmission.: Arthur Young & Co., Chicago, Toronto, New York, Report of Transmission to accompany the Classification of the Civil Service of Canada. Describing the Schedules....etc. Ottawa, King's Printer, 1919.

Second Hoover Commission Report.: Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Personnel and Civil Service, A Report to the Congress, February 1955. Washington, U.S.G.P.O., 1955.

Second Hoover Commission Task Force.: Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Task Force Report on Personnel and Civil Service. Washington, U.S.G.P.O. 1955.

T.B.: Minute of the Treasury Board (identification by number and date).

T.C.: Treasury Circular (identification by number and date).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The word "career" has attained a striking popularity with the public personnel administrator on both sides of the Atlantic. Most frequently seen in recruitment literature, it is also found quite prominently in writings concerned with different aspects of public personnel administration. The concept of "career" has obviously been growing in importance, both with the administrator and with the ordinary staff member, and both have become increasingly concerned with it.

The aims of this enquiry are to study the nature of the concept of career, both in theory and practice, as it applies to the Federal civil service of Canada; to investigate its functions in the Federal civil service and its environment; to compare it with 'career' as it applies in theory and in practice in the civil services of Great Britain and the United States; and finally, to evaluate the development and present position of the 'career service' in the civil services of these three countries in the light of their present needs and operative trends.

THE CONCEPT OF CAREER

The term "career" has different meanings in different societies. This fact is naturally more pronounced on the level of common parlance, where its use is markedly connotative, than in the more denotative and formal usage as found on a more specialized level. As used conversationally on the North-American continent, the meaning of "career" is¹ hardly distinguishable from the work-history of a person.

Some writers follow the same usage cf. e.g., William H. Form, and Delbert C. Miller. "Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument". The American Journal of Sociology v. 54 No. 4 (Jan. 1949) 317 - 329.

Such Conversational use may be found in the official recruitment literature such as posters and pamphlets. Some writers, while following the ordinary conversational usage, modify it by introducing the factor of success in one's work in order to make it a career, while others would prefer seeing in it a satisfaction of a natural need for advancement and achievement in a popularly approved way.

In Great Britain the term popularly implies the idea of a life-time pursuit, as suggested by the following quotation:

"As a matter of history, the Civil Service has been built up on the idea of life service, with appropriate pensions as an integral element in its system and its terms."⁵

The foregoing might account partly for the popularity of the expression both with the recruiter and the candidate. Vaguely promising advancement and success, and not encumbered with strict requirements or harsh pre-conditions, 'career' is an ideal recruitment slogan. Such a slogan is of growing importance to-day, when the need for attracting responsible administrative officers to the government service is growing

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2. "These positions are called competitive positions, because applicants compete for them in civil-service examinations. Taken all together, they make up the competitive, or career, service." Working for the U.S.A. United States Civil Service Commission, Pamphlet No. 4, June 1955 (G.P.O. code 16-59579 - 7).
cf. also The Government Personnel System, Pamphlet No. 4 in Personnel Management Series of the U.S.C.S.C., p.2., for identification of 'career' with non-partisan service.
 3. e.g. William Seal Carpenter, The Unfinished Business of Civil Service Reform. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952. p.27.
 4. cf. George A. Graham, "Personnel Practices in Business and Governmental Organizations" in Problems of the American Public Service, Monograph 11 of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, N.Y., McGraw-Hill Book Co., Ltd., 1935, preface.
 5. Taken from Civil Service Pensions, Outline of Case of Retired Senior Officers, Prepared by the Committee of the First Division Pensioners' Group, July 1953. London, H.H.Greaves Ltd. - p. 7 par. 19, - the quotation represents accurately what is implied by 'career' in Great Britain.

more acute and more difficult to satisfy.

It is certainly not this vague and popular idea of 'a career' that the immense number of references in official personnel literature are concerned with. True, some of the expressions refer to the slogan for recruitment purposes,⁷ but the majority point undoubtedly to some more elaborate meaning of the term. There must be some assumption behind an expression such as

"This is a brand-new program designed to encourage people of college caliber to set their sights not on just a job, but on a career with the Federal Government."⁸

The quest for the substance of this concept of "career" unearths two levels of meaning, not very distinct, but discernible under closer scrutiny. The less pedantic would agree that

"the career concept implies a long period of service, with an opportunity for reasonable advancement during that period so as to make full use of the career employee's increased experience and ability."⁹

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6. Carl Joachim Friedrich, "Responsible Government Service under the American Constitution" in Problems of the American Public Service, Monograph 7 of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, (cit. supra.) p. 37-8. see also pp. 8 - 15, cf. also Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Task Force Report on Personnel and Civil Service. Washington, G.P.O., 1955 p. XXIII, and p. 1 n. A very similar situation on the Canadian scene is said to have created similar needs -- see G.A. Blackburn, "The Role of the Vocational Guidance Counsellor in Staffing Civil Service Establishments" - a talk given to School Counsellors at Ontario Department of Education Guidance Summer Courses, July 19, 1955.
 7. As when Dr. Luther Gulick asked a witness "...what do you think... should be done first in advancing the cause of the merit system, the development of career service?" - Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel: Evidence. New York, Whittlesey House, 1935. p. 255.
 8. The Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, Philip Young, in a release to the press announcing the plan for Federal Service Entrance Examination, July 14, 1955, for the papers of July 19, 1955.
 9. John W. Macy, Jr. Executive Director, U.S. Civil Service Commission, in an Address to the 18th Annual Conference of the Texas Personnel and Management Association, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. September 1, 1956, p.6.

They would generally agree, further, that career implies a regular salary, increasing responsibility, increasing authority and rewards, and some security of tenure and of retirement, while providing a certain social status or esteem, all with a stress on long service following upon an early recruitment.

The other level, that of the stricter meaning, as used by the scholar and the leader among civil service practitioners alike reveals itself best in the light of the purpose the concept is made to serve. It is an end proclaimed with a striking consistency over the widest range of social values, mores, and economic interest, by representatives of the most various backgrounds and approaches. Its remarkable similarity is the more

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10. Here agreement is wide enough: As for the American opinion - it is represented by:
- (a) writers, see e.g. Reinhard Bendix, Higher Civil Servants in American Society, 1949. Boulder, Colorado, University of Colorado Press, 1949, p.3;
 - William C. Beyer, "Municipal Civil Service in the United States" in Problems of the American Public Service (cit. supra) Monograph No. 8, p.163;
 - (b) official bodies such as: -
 - Commission of Enquiry on Public Service Personnel. Better Government Personnel. New York, Whittlesey House, 1935, p.3;
 - Task Force Report on Federal Personnel, (Appendix A) prepared for the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, January 1949, Washington, U.S.G.P.O. 1949, p.29;
 - Second Hoover Commission, Task Force Report, p. XV;
 - U.S.Civil Service Commission, Annual Reports for the years 1955 - pp. 105-6, 1956 - p.14, 29, and passim.
 - The Canadian opinion is represented by D.M. Watters and D.J.S.Gow, "Career Opportunities for Administrators in the Civil Service of Canada". Public Personnel Review, v. 17 No. 4 (October, 1956), 197 - 203.
 - In the British attitude the same basic set of factors was found by L.D. White, "The British Civil Service" in Civil Service Abroad: Monograph No. 2 of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, New York and London, McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1935, p. 7.
 - The International Civil Service is represented by the Report on Recruitment Methods and Standards for the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, issued by International Civil Service Advisory Board, U.N. 1950, see esp. p. 6 and p. 21 (p. 21 in particular identifies "limited periods of service" with "non-career basis".)

This list is by no means exhaustive; rather, it aims at presenting the width of semi-popular agreement on the fundamentals of career. A full listing would require a bibliographical volume for itself.

significant when one considers the profound implications this consensus has for the entire realm of our social and individual values and possibly for the trend of current history. These far-reaching implications can only be dealt with briefly, however, and only after a study of the present function of the concept of career.

It is agreed that modern government depends in a decisive way on the civil service, the core of which consists of a career service or a group of career men. This is equally true for international ¹¹ as for national administrations. Statesman and politician agree here with practitioner and scholar. Presidents of the United States have realized this truth and have asserted it a number of times over the years. President Taft referred to it in 1913 ¹², and President Eisenhower wrote to Chairman Philip Young of the Civil Service Commission on August 20th, 1957:

"A strong and competent career civil service is the most important single factor in achieving a sound and efficient management in Government."

and in the same letter, where he makes clear the purpose to be served by the career service, he wrote:

"the career civil service that gives full credit to career civil servants with the initiative, ability and courage to solve the complex problems of government and rejects those persons who have not fully demonstrated their capacity to assume leadership in their fields of endeavour." ¹³

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11. cf. Professor Frank R. Scott "The World's Civil Service" International Conciliation, No. 496, January 1957.
 12. "the Government cannot hope to secure and retain the services of an equally intelligent and ambitious class of persons /to that of 'many business establishments' / while these unfortunate conditions exist." /i.e. while "the classified service will not offer a career..." / A Message of January 9, 1913, Senate Document 1113, p.238. Quoted by Emery E. Olson and Ross Pollock, "Staffing and Training for Administrative Competence in the Federal Service". Personnel Administration v.8 No. 1 (September 1945), 8 - 14.
 13. Italics mine. The quotations in the text were picked at random, as representative of a great number.

Essentially the same note was struck by Sir George Murray in 1912, when he said:

"Owing to the nature of work carried on in the public service it is highly desirable that men should be encouraged to enter it early and remain in it as long as their powers are unimpaired - in short, to make their career in it".¹⁴

A number of public bodies arrived at similar conclusions. In 1935 Mayor Hatton testified to the same effect before the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel, when he insisted that the success of democracy depends on a career civil service.¹⁵ In 1937 the President's Committee on Administrative Management¹⁶ echoed this opinion in its report. The same strain was sounded in 1955 by the Report of the Task Force of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government in which it was observed that:

14. Report of Sir George Murray on the Public Service of Canada (1912) Ottawa, Kings' Printers, 1912. par. 91.

15. Better Govt. Pers. Ev. pp. 242 - 250.

16. The President's Committee on Administrative Management, Report of the Committee with Studies of Administrative Management in the Federal Government. Washington, U.S.G.P.O. 1937.

On p. 2. the Committee says, as if in a strange premonition: "Facing one of the most troubled periods in the troubled history of mankind, we wish to set our affairs in the very best possible order to make good our democratic claims. If America fails, the hopes and dreams of democracy over all the world go down..."

How similar was the exchange referred to in note 15, supra:

Question (Dr. Gulick): "Do you think that this insistence on professional people and on the merit system is consistent with our ideas of democracy?"

Answer (Hatton):- "Not only that, but it is essential. After all, there are only two phases of government, as I see it; one is the determination of public policy, and the other is the execution of public policy. If public policy fails (that is, assuming public policy is determined largely in accordance with what the people ultimately want) by reason of imperfect administration, then democracy has failed to that extent." p.242.

"The personnel system as such does not place emphasis on affording incentives for those who would devote outstanding talents to a career within the civil service, although the Government is dependent upon men who will make national administration their life work."¹⁷

Contemporary practitioners follow suit. Out of a vast number of similar statements, only two utterances picked at random will suffice to document the resemblance. Chairman Philip Young, in his opening address to the Golden Anniversary Conference of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, said:

"...a need that has become more and more pressing as our Government's activities have grown ever broader and more complex. This is the need for continuity in Government service. The long-range programs of modern Government are dependent upon the continuing services of trained and experienced career specialists, not only in technical fields but in administration as well."¹⁸

And J.W. Macy, Jr., when on May 11th, 1956, speaking to the same body on "New Horizons for Federal Personnel Administration" referred to the Federal Service Entrance Examination as:

"...designed to attract highly qualified young men and women with the capacity to grow in the service and become the career leaders of the future."¹⁹

This is not a new trend among practitioners, nor is it restricted to the North American Continent. In the United States the civil servants whose work was highly specialized and responsible remained at their posts even during the height of the period of the spoils system for they could not be dislodged without serious consequences. This consideration prevailed through a number of changes of administration in that very period, i.e. 1829-1883.²⁰

17. Second Hoover Commission Task Force, p. 49.

18. Washington, October 8th, 1956.

19. Italics, mine.

20. Herbert Kaufman, "The Growth of the Federal Personnel System" in The Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige and Problems. The American Assembly, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, N.Y., 1954, p.31.

In the British civil service the idea of permanency and life-time commitment and tenure has been well established for a long time. A concise evaluation of its validity there in modern conditions reveals three main points.

- a) Cabinet system must rely on the experience accumulated in the permanent civil service for its functioning;
- b) Permanency reduces loss of training, and of accumulated skills, thus enhancing efficiency; and,
- c) Permanency diminishes dissemination of confidential information, thus facilitating the preservation of security and loyalty of Government staff.²¹

In short - the general agreement holds that

"Public dependence on Government services and our national security require that these employees be used efficiently and effectively. Our national economy requires that they be used with maximum economy. These requirements make a career staffing concept both necessary and inevitable. Yet - such a concept to be successful requires a great deal more than mere job perpetuation."²²

Thus the belief prevails that government depends for its functioning on an efficient career service. On the other hand the public dependence on government is increasing sharply in times when the economy does not respond to our expectations or gets out of hand for any reason. Such periods and their residue compound the dependence on career service.²³

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- 21. cf. E.N. Gladden, Civil Service or Bureaucracy, London, Staples Press Ltd., 1956, p. 48.
 - 22. Administration of the Civil Service System. Report to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service etc. Washington, U.S. G.P.O., 1957, p.10. In this the Committee Staff echo the Special Consultant's Report to the Committee, p. 23 ibid.
 - 23. See for instance Carl Joachim Friedrich's argument in "Responsible Government Service under the American Constitution". cit. supra, passim.

In order to fulfill the numerous tasks, both implied and explicitly stated above, the career service must obviously possess certain characteristics. But what precisely these characteristics should be is a question far more controversial than the question of whether or not a career service is required; for a general consensus on the latter question has been shown to exist. It is plainly inadequate to say "The term career-administrator and professional administrator are used interchangeably in this Report."²⁴ This deprives career of all meaning, making every non-political officer and every administrator by occupation a career administrator.²⁵

A degree of security of tenure would be widely accepted as a necessary condition of career.

"Job security is the keystone of any career service, whether in Government or industry."²⁶ said the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

Almost as widely accepted as a criterion is a condition of continuous growth in a career,

"starting a career in a position of low responsibility and in the course of it coming to assume large responsibilities. In one phase it is a shift from subordination to many people to superordination over many."²⁷

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24. As did the Second Hoover Commission Task Force, see Report p. 1, n. - italics original.
 25. See H.M. Somers, "Some Observations on Tenure" in The Federal Career Service - A look Ahead. Pamphlet No. 8, Society for Personnel Administration. Washington (1954) pp. 45 - 73.
 26. Removals of Federal Employees. Fact Sheet No. 9, November 1955. And compare Administration of the Civil Service System p. 27: "Throughout the history of American Government, the use of appointments to administrative posts as patronage has been a major barrier to efficiency and competence in the civil service and to public respect for it. Patronage appointments destroy the fundamental incentive to a career."
 27. Talcott Parsons, The Social System. Glencoe, Ill. The Free Press, 1951. p. 242.

This aspect is continuously mentioned and stressed with great persistency in the circles of the Civil Service Commission in Ottawa. Almost any reference to career, and more especially to a career in the scientific services, will evoke a mention of development and growth through training and learning in the service. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the service is an organization where the management invariably, consciously and purposely provides for the training and development of the employee. There is, nevertheless, the feeling that the requirements of present day government are so stringent as to call for more than a casual employment relation, be it even a long term relation. This feeling is well expressed by Rocco C. Sicilliano, who said,

"A career in the Federal Service does not consist solely of taking a job in the Federal Service and continuing in it until retirement. To constitute a career, there must be development, advancement, and increased financial reward. There must be a management climate which encourages advancement by holding out rewards for it. In the final analysis employee morale has as its backbone the belief of the employees in their future with the organization...A career system then must lead one forward, must promise greater challenges, greater responsibilities, and greater compensation."²⁸

The most careful and explicit statements, evolved in the course of formal and elaborate enquiries into this subject, reveal a few additional points. The President's Committee on Administrative Management postulated "opportunity for advancement on the basis of performance from the lowest to the highest posts in the service"²⁹ - a condition seldom attainable in its fullest extent and thus hardly realistic, if exceptions are not taken to make rules. Dr. White expected a career service to develop high morale, and professional standards and ethics, and to attain a high degree of prestige - all aspects of a pronounced professionalization.³⁰ Everett Reimer stressed prominently two points more common in

28. Rocco Carmine Sicilliano, (U.S. Assistant Secretary of Labour for Employment and Manpower) "Building and Using the Career Team" in The Federal Career Service - A Look Ahead, pp. 11 - 14. Passage quoted - p. 11.

29. loc. cit. p. 118.

30. See Leonard D. White, Government Career Service. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1935. passim, and especially pp. 69 and 12.

the European and British conception of career than in the American idea. Among his four characteristics of career he included:

"(3) there are clear lines of promotion for those who demonstrate their ability, and (4) there are planned means for the development of personal ability through training and change of assignment."³¹

In the practice of governments on the North-American Continent, some sections of the government services respond with a sufficient degree of approximation to these stricter requirements to merit recognition as career services. Notably the Foreign Service Officers of the United States, and those in the Departments of External Affairs and Trade and Commerce in Canada fall into this category. Here is how Professor Herman Miles Somers describes the system in the United States:

"They understand that a member of such a service accepts the obligations of working for the entire organization; that he must serve in the job and the place where the organization feels he is most needed; that he will be shifted from job to job and place to place so that his breadth of experience will insure the permanency of his value irrespective of organizational and policy changes; that he will move up the salary scale according to a strictly defined pattern; that he will adopt a rigidly non-partisan political attitude in all his utterances and behaviour; that he will deny himself some of the normal civil liberties. In return for the sacrifices the individual makes, and the benefits the Government derives from such a system, the career man is given the guarantee of a reasonably planned career with permanent tenure. The quid pro quo elements of service and reward are visible and explainable to all."³²

The above description strikingly fits both the Canadian Foreign Service Officer and officers of the Civil Service in Great Britain.

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31. Everett Reimer "Modern Personnel Management and the Federal Government Service" in The Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige, and Problems. pp. 152 - 179. Quoted from p. 156. Italics mine.
 32. "Some Observations on Tenure" p. 46.
 33. The Foreign Service Officers in the Department of Trade and Commerce of the Federal Government of Canada were included in a case study conducted by the writer in summer 1957, and described in Chapter VI of this paper. The British Civil Service has been so often and so well described, that it might be presumptuous to try to suggest any one source. Perhaps only for the sake of brevity the reader might refer to p. 172 of John D. Kingsley's Representative Bureaucracy, Yellow Springs, Ohio, The Antioch Press (1944).

Two additional points, however, have to be clearly recognized as implicit in all the preceding considerations. First it must be recognized that career is an organizational concept, an institutional concept. Any course of life, characterized by advancement, planning, growing responsibilities and increasing training, may be very successful without a hierarchical or otherwise regulated system of consecutive levels of status, but should not be considered a career.³⁴ The other point to note is that regularized advancement is essential to the notion of career. In order to enable the career man to achieve a sense of fulfillment and reward for a lifetime of dedicated work in which his freedom is severely restricted in many respects, there must be adequate scope for him to advance within the system. He must be able to attain a position both reasonably superior to that of his original point of entry into the service and commanding adequate prestige in his customary environment to give him the sense of satisfaction. In other words - what is necessary is a point of entry within reasonable range from the mark set for a given social stratum.³⁵ This need has been realized often enough, if very reluctantly, on the American scene. The attitude taken in Great Britain has been less adverse to the acceptance of this need. There will be ample opportunity to observe and discuss this point in the following chapters. Suffice it here to observe merely, that attainment to an agreed level is essential to the consummation of a career.

The Basic Assumptions.

It may be assumed, therefore, that there is a certain degree of agreement upon the inevitability of a permanent career core in the government

34. cf. R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, toward the codification of theory and research. Glencoe, Ill. The Free Press, 1949. Chapter Bureaucratic Structure and Personality (pp. 151 - 160).

35. See e.g. Better Govt. Pers. Ev. p. 202, testimony of H. Eliot Kaplan.

services of the present day. It may be further assumed, that the governments of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States of America recognize this necessity and attempt to act upon it within the framework of their respective institutions, traditions, political and administrative goals and general circumstances. It may be assumed that even in the American system with its relatively large degree of political turnover, the tendency to foster a stable core of experienced officers is prompted by a feeling of urgency sufficient to influence the very considerations of non-civil service positions, such as the ones placed in Schedule C, as reported by the Special Consultant to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of the U.S. Senate.³⁶ It may be assumed moreover, that "any human being in accepting a position, more especially in undertaking a career, will look at the reputation of the organization, public or private, as to basic job security."³⁷

The Problem.

Assuming the truth of all the foregoing, one confronts the inevitable question of the relationship between the quest for career and the wider and more fundamental values of present day democratic societies. Granted that contemporary societies differ in their attitude to moral ends, one would hardly dispute the wide acceptance of the individual as an end, not a means, current in much of Western thinking. One would agree that individual freedom of choice and individual responsibility for its use are widely recognized social principles. Is there no conflict between such individual freedom and the concept of career, with its implications of a pre-planned path of development and advancement? Is the plan of a certain corps of workers, who submit to a set of regulations not dissimilar in some respects to an almost monastic order, clearly compatible with the ideal of freedom from regulation except in emergency?

36. Administration of the Civil Service System, p. 36. Title "Experienced Hands."

37. ibid. p. 54.

Furthermore - a career employee has his clear line of promotion set beforehand, the rate of advancement depending not only on his own attainment, but equally on the plans of the organization which is a force majeure compared with his own will. The organization gives the individual status, sets for him goals and exacts life-long loyalty and devotion in return for rewards largely conditioned by its own fiat, such as rank, remuneration, benefits and privileges. Only the tangible rewards, such as salary, leave and superannuation have a more or less objective value in the society at large, and some of these do not compare too favourably with the same category of rewards available in that society in return for other services. Does not the modern insistence on career contradict the ambitions of self-made men? Is it not in some respect a return to feudal concepts of status, of the station and its duties?

And more particularly, how do the various implications of the concept of career square with the popular temperaments and the popular ambitions in the several societies with which this enquiry is concerned?

"How can the career system idea with its tendencies toward the development of self-governing elite groups closed off from the mobility and freer circulation of American society, be adapted to the emphasis which our traditions and our democratic values place upon a representative and responsible civil service?

How can all these competing values be reconciled in a Federal Government personnel system which is adequate for twentieth century realities?"³⁸

The same question may be put with equal validity with reference to the Canadian Federal civil service. Less pronounced possibly, because of a lesser degree of social mobility operating there, the same question would be nevertheless far from irrelevant to the British scene. The ac-

38. Wallace S. Sayre, Introduction to The Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige and Problems (cit. supra) p. 9.

ceptance in that country of a rigid framework for the civil service, and of a more or less planned and largely closed career within it, does not mean the renunciation of liberty of movement and work. Of this the Civil Service authorities are aware.

Can one adequately plan and plot a minutely set line of advancement and division of roles and duties in such an environment, without an additional tier of dikes and fences designed to isolate a selected, artificial environment? Can career be popular and unrestricted even in Great Britain with its more ready acquiescence in a stratified society?

However, the dependence of present day society upon government for services, leadership, policies, expertise, protection, and co-ordination is an undisputed fact. In a democratic society these ends may probably best be served by a career government service, by a bureaucracy ready to serve sine ira et studio. Moreover, a democratic society owes these servants a career tenure, protection and care, for in their service they must develop skills and habits peculiar to the service which outside are of limited marketable value.

These ideas are not new. In Great Britain they have long received general acceptance. The last three generations in the United States are conscious of these principles and the prolonged disputes about their application and violation. Even Canada, with her characteristic reluctance to state explicitly the principles that guide her practices, has in

39. Sir Stanley Leathes "The Qualifications, Recruitment and Training of Public Servants". Public Administration, v. 1, (1923). pp.343 - 362.
40. See Richard M. Paget "Strengthening the Federal Career Executive" Public Administration Review v. 17 No. 2 (Spring, 1957), pp. 91 - 6.
41. Max Weber's phrase, see e.g. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, H.H.Gerth and C. Wright Mills trans. New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, p. 334. See also C. Wright Mills The Power Elite (third printing). New York, Oxford University Press, 1956. p.236, where Mills asserts:.....the bureaucrat "will serve a new
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her archives an unequivocal statement of the necessity of a career service,
⁴²
 written for her as early as 1912.

The study of all three countries reveals to the observer an amazing variety of attitudes and stages of development. Evaluating these systems not on the basis of principles professed by them but on the basis of their actual practice, one finds much diversity. It is sometimes difficult to detect common patterns in the practice although there is so much in common in the respective systems of principle and belief.

Since this enquiry is concerned primarily with the Federal civil service of Canada, the writer will treat other systems only for purposes of comparison.

The Federal civil service of Canada does not explicitly profess the need of planning careers. The Chairman of her Civil Service Commission, C.H. Bland, writing in 1935,⁴³ did not show concern for the necessity of a major reform or even modification of the system as then practised. He went no farther than admitting the desirability of recruiting "some candidates of university standard" in order to widen the field from which to make future promotions. This was a typically North-American attitude; a reading of the Evidence before the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel will bring out this fact with great clarity. That same Evidence

41. cont'd

political administration and its policies as faithfully as he did the old. That is the political meaning of genuine bureaucracy. For the bureaucrat as such does not make policy; he provides information relevant to alternative policies and he carries out the alternative that becomes official". See also his quotation of Finer, *ibid.* to the same effect.

42. See n. 14, supra.

43. C.H. Bland, Public Personnel Administration in Canada, Monograph 3 of the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel. London and New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw Hill Book Co., 1935, passim.

proves not only a lack of concern, but sometimes even a positive aversion to the idea of planned career. Some witnesses perceived the less overt implications of that idea, and did not approve of them either. And a number of witnesses realized that the application of these notions to the American environment would call for extensive adaptation.⁴⁴

Some scholars assert, however, that the very function of administration and the role of the administrator have not yet been recognized in America.⁴⁵ This might be characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, who do not as a rule think for the sake of thinking or plan for the distant future. This has been their way from time immemorial.

"True to their genius, both halves of the race (i.e. the English in 1763 in both hemispheres) were following their noses, meeting specific problems as they arose, not indulging in great sweeps of continental planning; such idle dreams could be left to the French, who had failed."⁴⁶

Moreover, the early history of settlement in the New World encouraged reliance on physical prowess, depreciated intangible pursuits and occupations, and militated against feudal ideas of tenure and status. The influence of that past is still clearly perceptible today.⁴⁷ This might contribute to the remarkable lack of planning exhibited so often in the sphere of personnel management on the North American continent, where public service has "developed without a basic plan or definition. It has truly 'just grew'."⁴⁸ Even when the avowed purpose is declared to be planning for

44. See e.g. testimony of Harry B. Mitchell (President, U.S. Civil Service Commission) p. 6.

45. See for instance L.D. White's Government Career Service, p. 19.

46. Arthur R. M. Lower: Colony to Nation, a History of Canada, 5th printing. London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1953, p. 127.

47. cf. John D. Millet, Management in the Public Service, the Quest for Effective Performance. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954, pp. 277 - 78.

48. Administration of the Civil Service System, p. 23.

the future needs of the civil service, this planning takes the form of an engineering approach to problems of bulk and mass, rather than the form of charting the development of humans and providing them with an environment⁴⁹ and facilities conducive to a lifetime of harmonious and fruitful work.

The situation is curious indeed. The lack of planning, the aversion to planning in a field where the need of it has been repeatedly asserted is puzzling. The more striking is it, when this inertia is compared with the general boldness, the lack of inhibitions and the great originality and courage displayed in other fields of endeavour in North America. This neglect of such an obvious need in organization by a people known for their bold ingenuity and organizational skill is surely worth examining.

Nor can one claim that preoccupation with material tasks diverted the attention from the human subject. True, the activities of pioneering days were directed outward, away from the self, leaving little time and attention for oneself. But today the North-American is aware of being an organization man, and he accepts the fact and some of its implications.⁵⁰

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49. See for instance U.S. Civil Service Commission Departmental Circular No. 808 (with its appendices) July 12, 1955. This is the "Announcement of the Federal Service Entrance Examination." The F.S.E.E. is by far one of the most successful planning attempts of the U.S.C.S.C. This situation is by no means universal. It does not represent some cases of departmental classes and services, where the human aspect may be very prominent and the planning very much aware of the needs and welfare, as well as of the possibilities and promises of its human objects. As a general statement, however, concerned with the general service classes it represents very accurately both the situation in the United States and in Canada.
50. William H. Whyte: The Organization Man, 4th printing. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1956.

Insofar as he does not accept the situation, he seems to feel a need for more attention to the individual, for more planning of individual development and status, not for less.

With no greater success can one seriously defend or explain away the neglect of such a need on the grounds that planning as such contains inherent evils. The attempt to equate individual freedom with the absence of planning is certainly unsatisfactory and out of date. Two recognized facts expose the anachronism of such an approach:

First - the growing interdependence of all factors, human and non-human, in contemporary society with its increasingly complex structure.

Second - the inherent trend towards more explicit regulation and organization, the inescapable necessity of more complete and more streamlined planning, which the human mind seems to generate and develop.

This inescapable planning process seems to engulf lately the human individual himself.⁵¹ The process may be accelerated by the pressure of the increasing complexity of modern social relations - itself a probable product of the necessity of planning.

These latter wide implications, however, must be left out of the present study. They do not belong to its field proper, which is confined to the narrower limits set for it within the assumption that

"Today - many would say unfortunately - the nation's choice is not between bureaucracy and no bureaucracy: it is between bureaucracy by design and bureaucracy by default; the bureaucracy of efficiency and the bureaucracy of incompetence. The former has its dangers and needs careful safeguards; the latter spells inevitable disaster."⁵²

51. This is one of the burdens of Roderick Seidenberg's Posthistoric Man, an enquiry. Boston, Beacon Press, (1957). (A reprint of University of North Carolina Press edition of 1950.)

52. Gladden, op. cit. p. 195.

Within these limits the study will attempt an evaluation of the adequacy of the principles and practices adopted in the Federal civil service of Canada in terms of the goals professed, and the needs recognized, by its central personnel agency. If possible, an attempt will be made at tracing the causes of these practices, and at studying their underlying beliefs.

THE THESIS.

It is submitted, that in the Federal civil service of Canada, a career service in the strict sense⁵³ does not exist in the general classes or functional lines. In this respect the Federal civil service of Canada is similar to that of the United States. Both North American countries differ, however, in this sphere from Great Britain. The American countries are engaged in an attempt to build a general career service. In Canada, as in the United States, this career service is not yet developed. This state of partial development is due to a number of reasons:

I. In the society at large:

- a) Unwillingness to accept the full extent of the idea of career service with all its implications;
- b) Hostility encountered by the recurrent partial and fragmentary attempts to put the principle into practice.

II. Within the civil service:

- c) Inertia of the main body of the service, which is the environment in which the career groups have to be planted and which moves by its own momentum, carrying the career groups along.

53. For "career in the strict sense" see the formulations given by Better Govt. Pers. p. 3, and by Watters and Gow - both sources cited supra, n. 10. See also the additional points developed subsequently in the text supra.

III. Within the career groups:

- d) Contradiction inherent in projects that failed to develop their underlying concept to its full extent, but which have tried instead to graft the parts adopted onto a foreign stock.

It is further submitted that in some of the more or less independent, isolated and well defined sectors of the civil service, in the administrations of some of the departments, there exist secluded elements where the idea of career has been fully accepted and developed. In these sectors the full benefits of a career service are being derived.

The trend of events and the direction of thought seem to indicate that the sectors of governmental service where the idea of career has not yet matured will have to follow suit, albeit at a gradual rather than a sudden pace, and with inevitable modifications. The fact that the idea and practice of career has already penetrated some sectors indicates the possibility of its ultimate adaptation to other sectors of the service.

CHAPTER TWORECRUITMENTRELATION OF RECRUITMENT TO CAREER

The principles of recruitment, as well as its techniques, deserve a very careful consideration. It is through the techniques of recruitment that the candidate is selected for the civil service, and the set of principles which govern this recruitment largely determines the complexion of a service.¹

Recruitment for a career service must attract the candidate who can make the service his career. This entails the inclination to a prolonged service, with the capacity of attainment to a progressively higher quality of service.

"The objective is to assure a regular intake of talented young people who have the capacity to become the top executives and specialists of the future. The flow of such people into the Federal service should be maintained whether the Government is expanding or contracting."²

✓ in This statement may be assumed to express with equal fidelity the attitude of the Civil Service Commission of Canada or of any other modern personnel agency. Less ready in the recognition that such recruitment depends not only on the availability of suitable candidates and on the proper attitude of the personnel agency, but also on the general cultural environment, its beliefs and values. Without a general acceptance of life-time commitment, no techniques of recruitment and no principles of

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1. A truism widely recognized, e.g. C. W. Mills counts "the criteria of admission" in "the most important set of facts about a circle of men.....if these are similar within a circle, then they will tend as personalities to become similar." The Power Elite, p. 281, also cf. Better Govt. Pers. p. 25.
 2. U.S.C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1956, p. 12.

staffing can produce a career service. ³

Assuming that the necessary atmosphere is present, proper selection may produce the men and women who will satisfy the obvious requirements in regard to: (1) Physical qualifications, (2) Character traits, and (3) Intellectual equipment.

The physical demands are a relative youth, and b good health.

The character traits one would look for are:

- a Adaptability to the structure of the organization, to its lines and manner of functioning and advancement;
- b Capacity and willingness to identify oneself with the organization, and with its immediate goals and long term objectives;
- c Stability of moral principles, reliability of a general nature, will power and constancy.

Intellectual equipment would have to include:

- a Capability of acquiring the adequate education and training, and of applying such;
- b Capability of acquiring the necessary experience and profiting by it;
- c Capability of exercising judgment adequate to the expected levels of responsibility.

Thus endowed, prospective employees must be induced to enter the Government service. The various benefits offered as inducements cannot be fully discussed here for they pass imperceptibly into the field of incentives and rewards in service.

3. "Recruitment can't be turned off and on like a water tap. Our cultural and political history is such that acceptance of the idea of committing one's life to long term government service comes slowly." Joint Committee of Expert Examiners for the Junior Management Assistant, Annual Report and Recommendation of the Chairman, 1953-1954. Raymond L. Randall, Federal Civil Defense Organization, Chairman, July 1, 1954. mimeo. p. 4.

As such they must be left for the discussion in Chapter Four.

The statement of their nature may be introduced here, although there is no general agreement as to their order of precedence. To the writer they seem to merit the following ranking in order of importance.

- 1) Security of tenure; 2) Adequate remuneration; 3) Interesting work;
- 4) Recognition and Prestige; 5) Advancement; 6) Other numerous fringe benefits. ⁴

There is a general recognition of the importance of the principles and practices of recruitment for the character of the service. The attention paid to this issue in Great Britain is evident to the reader of any of the documents on the subject. ⁵ On the North-American Continent this concern produced a flood of discussion and opinion, ⁶ which reveal both the different

4. Although highly controversial, and ranked in the most divergent order by different authorities, these inducements are in general agreed on in essence. The social values and attitude-patterns influence, of course, their relative importance in different environments, as do individual differences of temperament and inclination. But these factors influence equally the attitude to a career concept as interpreted in the present study, and the writer believes that very marked differences in the ranking of the inducements might be accepted to serve as an index of the acceptance of that concept. A fuller discussion of the relative importance of the incentives and inducements - may be deferred to Chapter Four. The order proposed here, however, should not be taken too dogmatically either as equally valid in different environments, or as representative of various services or occupations - for what attracts, say, an administrator may be indifferent to a scientist and vice-versa.
5. See the most recent and comprehensive Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55, Cmd. 9613, with its numerous appendices and full verbatim evidence.
6. As a representative of the writers - see J. D. Millet, Management in the Public Service, the Quest for Effective Performance. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1954, pp. 292-7.

For public bodies see: Brit. Govt. Pers., - 1935. President's Com. on Adm. Management. 1937. Both First and Second Hoover Commissions (1949 and 1955, respectively). Administration of the Civil Service System - 1957. (cont'd)

theoretical approaches to the matter and the various proposals for action, as well as the solutions attempted.

THEORETICAL PREMISES OF RECRUITMENT
TO THE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE OF CANADA.

The observer of the civil service of Canada has the impression that the service is administered according to a number of guidelines tacitly accepted and followed, without much attempt to scrutinize them and voice any express opinion about their soundness. Therefore the conventions and customs of the service are only scantily available in explicitly Canadian terms, although they may be found in writings originating elsewhere.

The recorded sources may be divided into two classes, viz: Formulations not adopted, and Formulations adopted as guidelines, or originating in practice.

Foremost among the first category are some parts of the Report by Sir George Murray, such as the following quotation:

".....if the service is to be regarded as a permanent career to which a man is to devote his active life, it becomes necessary to form a judgment not only on his capacity for the work which will fall to him immediately on appointment, but on his capacity some twenty or thirty years later for the higher duties which he may then be required to perform." 7

The Report included a few pertinent words on inducements assuming - as his British background prompted Sir George to do - that the principle of

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The authorities are best represented by Career Staffing..... A Method of Manpower Planning, U.S.C.S.C. Personnel Management Series No. 10, October, 1956, and Executive and Professional Development, Civil Service Commission of Canada, (1957).

7. Paragraph 55.

recruiting career servants is recognized as valid. Among these inducements one finds: (1) High Standards of competitive examination in order "to induce young men to look on it (i.e. the service) as an honourable career in which they may spend their lives," ⁸ and (2) certainty of advancement dependent only on ability and industry. ⁹

The next formulation in chronological order is the implemented Report of Transmission by Arthur Young. ¹⁰ Its adoption in 1919 marked a decisive step in the determination of the future development of the civil service, for the bequest of Arthur Young & Co. proved to be permanent and tenacious, the more so since it affirmed for the Canadian civil service the validity and necessity of principles which ruled the system of the United States, both in government and many large non-governmental organizations. Moreover, once the personnel system of the government adopted these principles and began following them as an explicit rule, they became ingrained, and the momentum gathered in daily operation proved strong enough to carry along ~~latter~~ additions, which were originally conceived on different lines and meant to follow other principles. Such additions were e.g. the Junior Administrative Officer and its sequel Administrative classes, the details of which will be explained and discussed later. The relevant recommendations of that Report were as follows.

The Applicant for entry should be selected on the basis of three criteria, viz: 1) Suitability of character - proved by the record of his past activities and by references;

8. Paragraph 59.

9. Par. 60 - This appears to be meant as exclusion of chance and other uncontrollable factors - such as success in competitions.

10. Report of Transmission to accompany the Classification of the Civil Service of Canada, Describing the Schedules etc. Arthur Young & Co., Chicago, Toronto, New York, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1919.

- 2) Education and experience - proved by statements and certificates verified or investigated and confirmed as to reliability;
- and 3) Ability to perform the actual duties of the position to which admission is sought - this ability to be proved in a test. This last point may include proof of any knowledge, proficiency, health-conditions or personal characteristics.

Examinations should not be general, neither academic, nor qualifying or preliminary. They should test in a direct (!) way the qualifications for a given class. ¹¹

Thus, through the implementation of the Report, the decision has been made not to test "capacity some twenty or thirty years later". This decision, however, has also had the effect of seeking not the administrator of some twenty years later, but of concentrating on filling vacancies as they occur - on a short term basis, not on a plan for the distant future. The implications for a life-time career are evident.

Theoretical premises, however influential as factors moulding the developments, cannot check the emergence of new needs brought about by developments in the society. Such were (1) the necessity of employing non-specialist, general administrators, and (2) the need of establishing a long term career relationship between even new classes of employees and the government. The causes of these emerging trends were mentioned in Chapter One. It is proposed here to discuss the practices of recruitment in their relation to career service. The conflict between the principles and new needs, as well as the effects of contending factors within each sphere, should become evident in that discussion.

RECRUITMENT PRACTICES IN THE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE OF CANADA.

General.

Recruitment into the Federal civil service of Canada is characterized

11. ibid. p. 41.

by three features, noticeable throughout its field and which condition the thinking of the practitioner. First is the practice of recruiting for an individual position or a number of identical individual positions. Some observers attribute this to the American egalitarian tradition,¹² whose basic tenet is believed to be equality of opportunity. This means avoidance of preferences, which, if practiced at points of admission to a group, result in restricting entry. Such restrictions are felt to be unfair according to the egalitarians, even if they amount only to giving preference to an employee in line for promotion as against an outside candidate - a newcomer. The principles of recruitment championed by the Report of Transmission reinforced that general stand, as it has been related above. The result is a conception of fairness which consists in throwing each vacancy open to competition, and recruiting into a particular post rather than into a line of advancement. These principles are generally followed to the present day and indeed they condition much of the character of the contemporary service. The deviations - and exceptions from them, are few and relatively recent - and therefore not at all well rooted as yet. These few exceptions are found only in the Junior Administrative Officer Class and in a number of departmental lines of service, such as the Foreign Service Officers, or Northern Affairs or Forestry Officers.

The second characteristic is in some respects a derivative of the first. No position, on any level, is exempted from direct outside recruitment in a case when there seems to be no convenient field of candidates in the service, which would warrant an internal promotion-competition. Thus any vacancy, at any level, may be occasionally filled by a direct external recruit.¹³

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12. R. N. Spann, "Civil Servants in Washington," Political Studies, V. 1 No. 2 & 3 (June and October, 1953). see part 1.
 13. Very often the recruit through such open competition is an established civil servant who wins it and obtains the appointment. Such an appointment would be termed, post facto, a promotion. See Civil Service Regulations, s. 61.

The third characteristic consists of the absolute, continuous and permanent preference accorded veterans in all appointments other than promotions.¹⁴ A claim of a veteran is second only to that of a laid-off employee eligible for reinstatement.

These characteristics have important implications for the development of a career service. The first, if taken literally, would be sufficient in itself to prevent the creation of any career service, for, carried to its logical conclusion, it admits a candidate to the position for which he has specifically qualified, without an attempt to investigate the total extent of his qualifications, and without giving him any rights to positions for which he has not been tested. In fact, this approach creates organizations of unintegrated points of activity (-the positions), where certain actions are performed. While the material worked on, whatever it might be, may be moved from one of these points to another and receive in each the treatment proper to the position, there is no other connection between the points than (1) the fact that each is individually subjected to the ultimate management - through its respective supervisors, and (2) the accidental relations emerging out of the chance

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14. Civil Service Act, s. 28. - Veterans of World War 1 or disabled veterans with compensable disability, or the wives of totally disabled, as well as their widows and orphaned dependants, are placed at the head of any eligible list for which they have qualified; veterans not in receipt of disability pensions, and widows of veterans are placed second if qualified, and all the other competitors who qualify - third. Each sector is arranged in a separate order of merit. The preference is given the veteran repeatedly, and age limits are removed upon a certification by the Civil Service Commission that the veteran is capable of fulfilling the duties of the position sought and probably will be so capable for a reasonable period of time (s.29). Thus the preference is absolute upon a pass mark, continuous - for a veteran employee may exercise his rights even when employed in the civil service, whenever he participates in a competition, and permanent - for nothing short of clear disability due to age may deprive him of his privilege which may be invoked repeatedly and at any time.

sequences in which the material happened to move through the organization from post to post.¹⁵ In such organizations any post is filled by recruitment, and the incumbent is in a position equal to an outsider with whom he must compete, when he tries to obtain another position. The essential aspects of career, such as regularized progress and development, and promotion to higher posts with the esteem attached to such promotion - are absent from this kind of organization. Eventual movements upward are all the incumbents' own ventures in repeated new starts.

In this respect the system prevailing in Canada is similar to that of the United States. Conscious of the limitations imposed by their respective systems, and of the handicaps these systems present, both governments point out the great number of opportunities for advancement present in their organizations. But the use of the term 'opportunity' is significant. The term is precise and very appropriate. The system may offer opportunities, which the incumbent might be able to utilize, but the organization does not assume the initiative and responsibility for advancement of its employees. All that is really promised is that in the event of vacancies incumbents on lower levels who can prove the qualifications may be given priority over outsiders in filling them. There are internal promotion competitions, open only to members of the staff. These are arranged when believed advisable, due to availability of internal candidates.

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15. This is a highly schematic and oversimplified analysis, for each material processed in an organization must impose on it a certain sequence of operations in response to the necessities or convenience of the work-process. But it is conceivable that a variety of materials processed would force the organization to re-arrange its work-sequence and its lay-out, as it is indeed the daily experience in any organization. The difference is rather one of attitude, and it is essentially identical with the distinction between a 'job-tenure' system and a 'career-tenure' one, in the language of the U.S.C.S.C., (see e.g. Career Staffing referred to in n. 6.).

There is, however, a significant difference between the two North American systems, in their treatment of such future advancement. In Canada any advancement is termed a promotion, even if it be the result of a success in open competition without the benefit of any privileges.¹⁶ The Civil Service Act, 1952, directs indeed that "vacancies shall be filled, as far as is consistent with the best interests of the Civil Service, by promotion" (s.49 (1)). In the United States, however, advancement of employees through open competition is not regarded as promotion by civil service personnel authorities who do not claim credit for such advancement, albeit in implicit form. In the attempt to provide advice and assistance to employees interested in developing themselves for promotion both governments profess equal solicitude.¹⁷

The second of the characteristics described above must inevitably diminish the effectiveness of the reference to the available opportunities, for it detracts from their ultimate number and the probability of their attainment. The situation would be quite different if there was an established principle of recruitment to the lowest point of admission in each line of work, as it is more or less the practice in Great Britain. Such practice makes the incumbents feel that the group of employees is the reservoir of the future higher posts, and that diligence and real merit cannot fail to bring advancement. This is the main spur of a career service.

16. Civil Service Regulations, 1954 s.61.

17. Further discussion of this point must be deferred to Chapter Three: Structure and Promotion.

in a scheme of career service any disruptive factors are particularly noticeable and harmful. One of these - and the most prominent in the services of both Canada and the United States, is veterans' preference.

Its results are not favourable to the development of a career corps. There are the standard criticisms of this practice, such as the argument that this preference progressively debars women from the service; that it lowers the standard by admitting veterans who have scored lower in the competition than non-veterans, thus in effect subverting the merit system; and that it fills the service with older and less adaptable material. A far more significant criticism may be made, however, namely that it encourages the veteran to look at the service as a refuge in case of failure in other lines of work, and that it discourages non-veterans, who might aspire to a career service. These latter see their prospects in service disrupted by an accidental factor, uncalculable and not subject to control by orderly and sustained effort. The significance lies in the fact that orderly and sustained effort is the almost single method by which the civil servant can show his merit, and by which he may legitimately strive to advance. It is, moreover, the method most congenial with his circumstances, his skills and duties. In this respect the system in the United States may be slightly less harmful than the Canadian, for it works by 'added points', not by absolute preference except in the case of veterans with a 'compensable disability' of ten per cent or more, who are given first priority upon a pass in examination. In both North-American countries the issue of veterans' preference is a very sensitive one, touching off strong emotions. 18

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18. Two interesting facts might be mentioned as illustrations. (1) The proposals of the Task Force on Personnel and Civil Service of the Second Hoover Commission were not included in the ultimate Report. see Task Force Report pp. 114-115. (2) An attempt by the Canadian Legion, late in 1949, to have veterans exempted from any age limits on appointment, put the Civil Service Commissioners under a great strain, in spite of the admission by the Legion itself that it would be undesirable to fill all junior vacancies with aging veterans.

The situation is quite different in Great Britain, where the division into veterans and non-veterans is less sharp and less meaningful, and consequently the preference took the form not of an individual privilege, but of a general allotment in the reconstruction competitions.¹⁹ The implications for the composition of the British career service are, therefore, of a different order. They involve not a depression of standards of qualification and performance, but a modification of the technique of selection calculated to compensate for dissimilarity of experience - a factor not necessarily decisive as determinant of standards of attainment and capabilities.

A number of minor points should be mentioned here. One is the recent removal of the marriage bar on appointment and retention. The Canadian civil service followed the example of Great Britain and the U.S.A. only in November, 1955, and since that date marriage does not necessarily preclude the career of a woman in the civil service.²⁰

Another characteristic feature is the continuous attempt to solve shortages in some categories of recruits through manipulations of initial salary. The shortages are caused by a number of factors, among which the rapidly expanding economy of the country takes a prominent place. It causes a grave lack of engineers, physical scientists, some clerical employees and others. In a semi-inflationary economy with conditions approaching full employment, the Civil Service Commission feels that the service is at a disadvantage not being able to stand its ground in competition with the financial attractions offered elsewhere.

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- 19. Civil Service National Whitley Council, Recruitment to Established Posts in the Civil Service during the Reconstruction Period. statement of Government Policy and C.S.N.W.C. Report. Cmd. 6567, 1944.
 - 20. Civil Service Commission of Canada, Annual Report for the year 1955, p. 9.

This is a real problem in a society where life-time commitment is rare and a job in the civil service is one of a number of positions one occupies in one's working life. In such circumstances the immediate salary is far more important, than the more remote prospect of the attainment to the upper rates in the category to which one seeks admission. This is enhanced by the frequency of cases, where the prospects of the future lie in a direction other than the upper rates of salary in one's initial category of employment, even if one remains in the civil service for a prolonged time. In addition it should be considered that many classes have only a short range of pay-rates.

The recruiting agencies - the Civil Service Commission and the Departmental Personnel Officers - are urging a constant watch intended to keep up with the 'going rate' in the various categories of employment. The result is a very frequent, sometimes more than once in a single year, revision of entrance rates. When coupled with a simultaneous adjustment all along the line, such changes cause only a continuous flow, with a great load of paper work and little stability. But whenever such adjustment is delayed even for a short while and for any reason - it may happen that the new entrant is paid more than his senior colleague, and the resultant bitterness may cause considerable damage to the service, particularly in morale and devotion. 21

Moreover, in cases of shortage the Treasury Board may be persuaded to exempt a class from the provisions of section 22 of the Civil Service Act to provide for payment at rates above the minimum for the class. In most cases the same precautions are necessary as in the case of a salary revision, and indeed the danger of injustice is greater.

21. of Royal Commission on the Administrative Classification in the Public Service, Report, 1946. Ottawa, King's Printer, 1946. p. 15.

The situation in classes, hit by shortage which brought about the expedients described, is not peculiar to Canada alone, nor are the solutions applied to it. In the United States recruitment at a rate above the minimum in cases of shortage was approved by the Congress and put into effect on September 1, 1954.²² The situation in Great Britain, however, seems to confirm the conclusion that in a society conditioned to a life-term commitment other considerations may prevail over immediate salary rate, making such adjustments less urgent and less frequent.²³ A similar conclusion of a British economist suggests that the raising of ceilings on recruitment salaries may not be an appropriate answer at all in such circumstances.²⁴

Shortages have prompted a development in another direction as well - namely a growing number of continuous competitions in the Canadian practice.²⁵ These change the character of the hiring in effect, from competitive to qualifying, for every candidate who qualifies in the examination is offered an immediate appointment. A prolonged period of such practice must unavoidably affect the general character of the classes involved.

RECRUITMENT TO THE CAREER CLASSES.

In a study of recruitment for careers in the Canadian civil service the clerical classes must be included. This does not imply that the average clerical officer has a career in the civil service.

22. Sect. 104, Public Law 763, approved September, 1954.

23. Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55, Report 91.

24. Barbara Wooton, The Social Foundations of Wage Policy. London, George Allen and Unwin, (1956). p. 178 ff.

25. Civil Service Commission of Canada, Annual Report for the year 1956, p. 11.

There are, however, two reasons for inclusion of these classes. First - the classes intended to provide a general career service, namely the Administrative Officers' classes, were launched through the competition for Clerk Grade 4 positions, and the clerical employees are eligible for promotion to the administrative series. Second - a considerable proportion of the incumbents of senior positions in the civil service - namely 275 out of a total of 863 - were originally recruited at a clerical or even sub-clerical level. ²⁶

26. The following table presents the results of a census made on the basis of the records of 863 officers in receipt of a salary of \$7,500 and above p.a. This group included all present recipients of these salaries, and a few separated very recently for various reasons. The records are kept by the Civil Service Commission in Ottawa, whose kind permission made them available to the writer.

TABLE 1. Numbers of senior civil servants in the several salary-ranges as of July 1957, showing the respective numbers of those originally recruited at a salary of \$3,000.- or less.

Range of Salary, \$	Total in the range (3)	Total recruited at a salary below or at \$3,000 (2)	Number recruited at salaries in \$ (1)		
			0-1000	1001-2000	2001-3000
7500-8000	2	1			1
8001-900	320	101	5	41	55
9001-10000	275	107	7	46	54
10001-11000	120	39	2	13	24
11001-12000	85	13	1	3	9
12001-13000	36	9		2	7
13001-14000	15	3		1	2
14001-15000	6	2			2
15001-16000	1				
16001-17000	2				
17001-18000	0				
18001-19000	1				
Grand Total	863	275	15	106	154

Source: Records kept by the Civil Service Commission, Ottawa.

Notes:

- (1) In some cases the original salary at recruitment is not available. The lowest and oldest rate was accepted instead in these instances.

(cont'd)

Clerical.

Recruitment into the clerical classes is conducted regularly for the most junior grade of Office Clerk, and occasionally to higher levels when a vacancy cannot be filled by a promotion-competition for lack of a suitable field of candidates. In the latter case the number of actual vacancies is announced. Constant shortages have caused concern about the efficacy of recruitment drives, particularly about the publicity given to recruitment. Advertisement in the daily press has come into use lately, with some favourable results reported.²⁷ The same causes prompted the introduction of premium rates for high-school and university graduates, and their wide publication.²⁸

26. - cont'd.

That rate might be, and sometimes was indeed, a result of a promotion. However, the number of cases does not exceed 24, out of which 3 are known to be promotions. The slight distortion in favour of higher rates of salary at recruitment is insignificant.

- (2) The figure \$3000 has been selected because this was the minimum originally set for the Administrative Officer Grade 1 - the first non-trainee grade. (1947).
- (3) In two cases a short interruption in service, of less than a year's duration, was disregarded. One case, with a prolonged break, was excluded.

27. C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1955, p. 16.

28. cf. poster calling for Office Clerks (the lowest grade in the clerical series, salary range in 1957 \$1860 p.a. to \$2640 p.a.) in competition No. 57 - M985, where high-school graduates with 2 years of office or teaching experience are offered \$2040 at entry, while university graduates are promised \$2520 at entry. See also Charles H. Bland "Opportunities in Government Service", a talk broadcast on August 14th, 1955, No. 5 in the series Canada at Work.

cf. discussion supra, and notes 23 and 24.

Under the pressure of the shortages referred to, an attempt is made to simplify and modernize procedures in order to eliminate avoidable wastage of candidates. Machines are used in scoring tests thus shortening the delay between the announcement of a competition and appointment. In continuous competitions testing is done as soon as possible after application - some performance tests are made on the very day of application. Tests of broader application, objective ones and suitable for a number of similar classes are being introduced - a significant departure from the orthodox interpretation of the Report of Transmission of 1919.²⁹ The actual conducting of examinations is gradually delegated to the Departments, along with the rating of non-objective papers. In an attempt at raising the quality of recruits, on the other hand, the use of oral interviews as part of the examination is spreading. There is even the intention, not yet implemented for want of staff, to extend the practice of interviews to the recruitment of Office Clerks.³⁰

Among the qualifications sought two points are significant. First - the absence of upper age-limits permits the admission of people who are clearly not at the point of seeking a career.³¹ There might be reasons for a deliberate policy of employing older people. Such reasons were made public, for instance, in Great Britain in August 1955,³² in spite of

29. C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1956, p. 11.

30. This is a time-consuming technique, which in a country like Canada involves sending examiners on a circuit if uniformity of the standard should be safeguarded. In Great Britain interviews were discarded from recruitment to the Executive Class in 1952-53, thus saving a delay of 3 months in announcing the results and making appointments. See Cmd. 9613 Evidence 3-4 days, qu. 342-356.

31. See e.g. poster 57-M985, Office Clerks: "Age at least 16 years" or poster 57-M998, Clerks 3 - no mention of age at all.

32. See Central Office of Information, London, Reference Division, The British Civil Service, R. 3188, December 8, 1955, mimeo.

the criticism voiced previously by people concerned with the career structure of the civil service.³³ In the case considered here, however, there seems to be no other reason than the hope to fill a number of vacancies which need filling badly. The point did not provoke any reaction, which is only natural in the given circumstances and the general conditions as described in this study.

The other significant point is the general nature of education required and the absence of any particular requirements. This point opens the way to a variety of duties and positions, which is, theoretically at least, favourable to a career approach.

The Civil Service Commission undertakes to suit the interest of an applicant whenever this is feasible, and to appoint him to a position satisfactory to him. A candidate who refuses to accept an appointment after having successfully participated in a competition forfeits all his rights acquired through that participation unless he can show good reason for his refusal.³⁴ An appointee remains on probation for at least six months. This appointment becomes permanent if he is neither discharged nor put on extended probation. The system of probation is not effective enough as a means of testing one's suitability for life-time employment in the civil service, and many entrants remain in the civil service as permanent employees due to the default of the Civil Service Commission in serious scrutiny at the lapse of their probation.³⁵

The over-all picture is one of a system which has grown by trial and error, with no coherent set of basic principles. Conflicting tendencies exist side by side. In some quarters there must be a feeling of growing inadequacy of such method in the increasingly exacting conditions of a modern government, for one of the Civil Service Commissioners told the writer that he and his

33. Cmd. 9613, Evidence 4-5 days, qu. 672.

34. Civil Service Regulations, s.32

35. Royal Commission on Administrative Classification, 1946, Report p. 19.

colleagues suspect that the legacy of the 'lean 30's' persists in the form of complacency, which has continued with the influx of veterans after the war. He suspected that some practices and procedures which might have been adequate twenty-five years ago, were still being dragged along in a very tight labour market, to the detriment of all concerned.

University Graduates.

University graduates used to be hired as professionals or scientists by the civil service on the basis of their specialized education, in the few cases where their service as consultants for a fee would not suffice. A few doctors or lawyers were clearly necessary. A more extensive use of people with training for the professions is a development of the last generation. This shall be discussed in the third part of the present chapter; here the newest arrival in the civil service, namely the general graduate, will be considered.

The need for highly educated people other than members of the professions in the civil service is a sign of an advanced and sophisticated machine of government. In Great Britain this need became apparent at the time of the reforms of the Indian Civil Service. It was probably prompted by the variety of national cultures encountered by the empire with their complex problems. The nations of the American Continent met such a challenge only after the first world war and its aftermath.³⁶ The reasons were probably similar, namely the growing demands of a progressively complicated administrative situation with even wider tasks.

The non-specialist university graduates are recruited for two broad categories, (1) the all-department Junior Administrative Officers and the

36. The first examination for general graduates on the American Continent was set in 1934 by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. Canada recruited the first graduates as such to the Clerk Grade 4 class in 1936. The information about the Canadian practice has been extracted from the files of the Civil Service Commission in Canada.

one-department classes, such as Foreign Service Officers in the Departments of Trade and Commerce and of External Affairs, and a few others. In the following discussion all of them will be treated jointly whenever there is no express necessity of a separate presentation.

The development of the idea.

The plan of recruiting general arts graduates or other non-specialists with university degrees was novel in 1934. There was no convenient point of admission for them, and the planners were clearly aware of the need for a step in an untried direction. In August 1934 the Civil Service Commission argued before the Treasury Board that most departments of government suffer from a shortage of experienced officers capable of conducting the more responsible work. The departments, said the Commission, cannot induce a well trained person from outside for various reasons, not the least of which is the fact that the work of government is not quite paralleled or duplicated in other spheres of activity and it requires responsibility and experience unattainable apart from association with government offices and their functions. The provision of such officers depends on "a considered plan for recruitment and careful anticipation of the needs of each department."

The Civil Service Commission observed that a number of professionals, such as doctors, lawyers or engineers who were employed by some of the departments, proved to be excellent material for administrative positions. The absence of such potential administrators from other departments, where no professionals, or only very few of them were employed the Commissioners attributed to the fact that the education of junior clerks who are the bulk of recruits has been cut short by their entry upon work. The Commissioners concluded, on their experience, that university graduates are the best material for administrative positions. They found support in the identical experience of the Civil Service Commission of the United States. 37

37. Letter from L. D. White, U.S. Civil Service Commissioner, to C. H. Bland, Chairman, C.S.C. of Canada, April 19, 1935.

They proposed admitting university graduates without specialization to a point fairly high up the clerical line - namely Clerk Gr. 4. They did not think creating a separate and isolated "Administrative Class" would be acceptable to the Canadian public or fitting to the style and needs of the Canadian Civil Service. Neither did the idea appeal to them of making the 'administrative clerks' an exclusive preserve of university graduates, or of giving them any a priori rights to all upper positions. Their plan provided for the admission of capable non-graduate Clerks Grade 4, or Principal or Chief Clerks to the same administrative groups. This plan, the Commissioners felt, "will make it reasonably certain that qualified employees will be available to compete for responsible positions when vacancies occur....." 38

"The attention of the Treasury Board is especially directed to the point" - the Commissioners wrote further-"that it is not proposed to create new positions for the appointment of these Administrative Clerks, but merely to utilize such positions of Clerks, Grade 4 or higher as may fall vacant in Departments where the need of better trained administrative officers is apparent." This plan represented a definite departure from the traditional method of recruitment aimed at a specific job, for "its purpose is to provide the various departments with young men and women who have the capacity to develop into senior officers", ³⁹ and not "to perform the duties of the class ₄₀ to which they seek to be appointed". Thus an instrument was created, the use of which proved to be more versatile than the other technique. This was not overlooked, after the second world war, when recruitment into the various classes

38. This and the following quotations are taken from a memorandum of the Civil Service Commissioners to the Treasury Board, August 7, 1934. quoted by permission of the Civil Service Commission.

39. Bland, "Opportunities in Government Service". (cit. supra.)

40. Civil Service Act 1952, s. 25 (2).

was resumed. The Departments of Trade and Commerce and of External Affairs, when resuming their normal recruitment of Foreign Service Officers, found this new method ready for use.

The implementation.

The first competition was launched in 1936, for Clerks (Male) Grade 4. There was, however, an internal contradiction in the plan. Its main objective was to attract to the service young people with a wide range of capabilities, with executive ability and promise for the future. The whole tradition of the service, however, was one of a congeries of classes with each class having its own particular functions to perform. There was no concept in the service of the amateur equally at home in every place but nowhere involved in too minute details. The departments wished to obtain officers capable of performing detailed duties. Their requirements were phrased accordingly and they expected successful candidates to fill defined and particular positions. The effort to effect a change in this attitude, to bring the departments over to seeing the administrative recruits in the proper light has been a long and frustrating battle with ingrained habits of thought.

Each year, when asking the departments to state the number of Administrative Officers they wished to recruit, the Civil Service Commission would repeat:

"The purpose of the Junior Administrative Officer is to provide potential administrators for training and for long-term administrative requirements. Therefore, we suggest that you do not ask for the services of persons to do immediate specific jobs." 41

41. From the yearly circular letter sent by the Chairman of the C.S.C. to Heads of Departments, asking for the requests of the departments. This particular letter has been dated on March 11, 1955.

Quoted by permission of the Civil Service Commission.

7 / The departments keep, nevertheless, asking for persons with special interests, skills or backgrounds, and the Commissioners try their best to satisfy these wishes. The situation calls for recruiting with some regard to the particular needs of the various positions offered by the departments, and this necessitates a more selective attitude to the entrants. The Commissioners feel that without a careful consideration of the requests of departments their endeavours are "blindfolded". Thus the recruitment of the non-specialist class lands back again in the proximity to the familiar quest for specialists, if not as pronounced a quest as is the case of other classes.

The Civil Service Commission attempted to reconcile these disparate views and needs, but without much success. The departments assigned to the Junior Administrative Officers duties of a conventional character, which kept them from the rotation which had been planned for training purposes, and turned them into more educated clerks. - The Civil Service Commission sometimes reacted by refusing to appoint such officers to the departments concerned. The departments, not particularly interested in an overly high standard of entrants, clamoured for rather considerable numbers, while the Commission, with an eye to the original program, would recruit only a few each year.⁴² At length a plan has evolved, which attempts to reconcile the particularistic practices and expectations of the departments with the generalistic central planning.

"We propose now" - wrote the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission in the circular quoted above⁴³

42. In one case a department requested, over seven years, twenty-nine Junior Administrative Officers. Their total share in appointees was eight, out of which they succeeded in retaining three.

43. See n. 41.
This was a solution adopted in the U.S.A. earlier in 1935.
Related by L. D. White, see n. 37.

"to meet both needs by setting up two lists from our present competition.

1. Junior Administrative Officer (A) from which assignments will be made to the administrative type of position only and
2. Junior Administrative Officer (B) on which will be successful candidates with special interests and education for such Departmental jobs as Citizenship Officer, Treasury Officer etc. "

Yet, by 1956 the idea of Junior Administrative Officers being primarily a 'generalists' class had made further progress, at least within the staff of the Civil Service Commission. The existence of list (B) did not seriously hamper the original plan, and in the oral examinations conducted in February 1956 the examiners had before them a list of a vast number of positions in fourteen departments, which were open to recruits through the one and reasonably uniform examination in whose administration they were engaged. The departments' demand for these officers is growing apace.

In order to meet the growing demand for Administrative Officers and Foreign Service Officers, the field of recruitment must be kept wide and growing. No statistics are available to show the numbers of applicants for the examinations held over the years, but the information that exists shows that the ratio of candidates who were offered an appointment to the total number of eligible candidates approaches the point of exhaustion. While in 1946 out of 20 eligibles a total of 14 were appointed in various classes, and in 1952, 43 out of 45 eligibles were offered appointment, in 1953 all 36 eligibles were offered appointment, but only 18 accepted.⁴⁴ The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission could still maintain in 1950, that "with thousands of applicants from which to choose the Commission can afford to be selective".⁴⁵ In 1957 the situation was less encouraging.

44. Fuller numerical data infra, Table 4.

45. C. H. Bland, The Public Service of Canada. An address "delivered in 1950" (no other information available) mimeographed by the Civil Service Commission, Ottawa.

The poster issued in 1956 announced a continuous competition - a sure sign of acute shortage of candidates. The intense effort is directed not only at approaching a wider field, but also at inducing a higher calibre of graduates to compete. This would mean, of course, a higher yield of eligible candidates as well as a better quality of recruits.

In this effort the title of the classes underwent changes in order to make it more attractive and also to enhance the prestige of these classes. The field of candidates is scanned more actively by teams of recruiters visiting the campuses, by contacts with faculty members, even by personal letters sent to each prospective graduate in some fields, as was done in 1956.⁴⁶ The question of age limits came up for a more searching scrutiny. In its course a significant plan was proposed in 1938, when the imposition of an upper limit of twenty-five or twenty-six years was suggested instead of the absence of any restriction hitherto prevailing. The suggestion was motivated by the anxiety that admission of older people, say at the age of twenty-eight, would open a haven to all kinds of misfits with academic abilities but no other credits.⁴⁷ This point has not yet been settled too clearly. In 1957 the age limit was thirty-one as of June 1, 1957, for the external competitor,⁴⁸ and thirty-five for the promotee from within the ranks.

The initial educational requirements of an honours degree or Second Class Honours with some graduate work or a pass degree with graduate work was reduced over the years to a graduation from a university of recognized standing, in the case of an outsider. Promotees from the ranks must meet

46. C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1956. p. 9.

47. C.S.C. files, internal memorandum, signed and dated February 2nd, 1938.

48. Poster No. 57-2650. Various Careers for University Graduates.
Examination Announcement.

different conditions. According to the tradition of recruiting university graduates as Clerks Grade 4 it is implicitly recognized that the senior clerks are entitled to share the privileges of the 'administrative clerks.' The dilemma of reconciling this title with educational standards was solved in 1956, when an explicit statement followed the practice that had evolved since 1952. Clerks Grade 4 or their seniors were to be admitted to an examination for the course on administration provided for the Junior Administrative Officers during their probationary year. Those who qualify for it are admitted as Administrative Assistants, to participation in the course, and after completion of training they return to their original departments. Their further advancement depends on success in promotion-competitions. There are no previous educational requirements with respect to these cases, for the experience and proven ability of the entrants seem to give sufficient ground for confidence in their promise. ⁴⁹

The issue of initial salary was as controversial in relation to this class as to the clerical, and involved similar considerations. Even more crucial has been the question of promotion as an inducement. This has been found closely related to that of establishment and the number of vacancies to be filled by recruitment in a given year. It was felt that a set goal would make the competition more realistic and the position of the recruiting agency less ambiguous, for some commitment could be given to the applicant. As regards future advancement, the Commission was powerless to do anything. They could only, and still can only publicize the experience of many officers who have advanced quickly in the service, as an incentive to potential applicants.

49. This issue as a whole is still under consideration by a newly formed advisory committee of senior officers in the Civil Service Commission. It seems, nevertheless, that the general direction of the developments is clearly foreseeable. The proposals, one may venture to forecast, will most probably reaffirm the main lines foreshadowed in the present practice, with a possible improvement of promotion practices in the direction of a more systematically planned progression.

Any specific and detailed plans of advancement were and still are impossible in the Canadian civil service, which prefers to base advancement on individual initiative and enterprise rather than on a closed system of ranks and steps. ⁵⁰ The Commission is aware, nevertheless, of the disadvantageous effect that this inability to attract good people by a promise of planned and regulated advancement has on their recruitment program. ⁵¹

The novelty of recruiting non-specialists was not a purely Canadian phenomenon. In all the consecutive drives in this direction the experience here parallels closely developments in the United States. The plan of recruitment to the Junior Management Assistant class there was as novel in its beginnings, and ran into similar difficulties when faced with the traditional specialist orientation of the civil service. ⁵² The hopes for them were as high there and their reception and adjustment within the service as repeatedly wanting, as in Canada. ⁵³ The persistent difficulties which keep the issue open in Canada and which lead to repeated starts and unceasing revisions, ⁵⁴ are found as well in the U.S.A., where they resulted in the recent introduction of the "entirely new approach to this source of high calibre employees" - the Federal Service Entrance Examination. ⁵⁵ On the other hand the fact of its being novel saved

50. This being one of the main issues of the present study, discussion will have to return to it at a number of points at the risk of some repetition. The author sees no other way of doing justice to his thesis than to let it emerge and assert itself at each of the relevant points. The unification of these various insights and remarks will be achieved in the final chapter, "Discussion and Conclusions".

51. See for instance the paragraph "Advancement" in the folder issued to announce the Fall 1952 recruitment competition for Administrative Trainee (Junior Administrative Assistant). No. 52-700.

52. cf. Bet. Govt. Pers. pp. 47-8.

53. For the hopes - see Pres. Com. Adm. Man. p.9. The results have been briefly discussed by Everett Reimer in The Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige and Problems, (cit. supra) p. 169.

54. see n. 49.

55. U.S.C.S.C. Annual Reports for the year 1955, pp. 108 ff. - (Quotation from p. 108); - for the year 1956 - p. 31.

the U.S.A. and Canada the agony of readjustment of well rooted institutions after the disruption of war, which took such great amount of energy in Great Britain. ⁵⁶

The British civil service, whose principles of recruitment are so widely different from those current in North America, must contend sometimes with similar problems. One of these is the quest for people who could be immediately useful in a particular post. Once in a while a department would ask for a man whom it would be possible to place soon in the Minister's private office. And every year the civil service of Great Britain feels the lack of a few - three or four - individually outstanding candidates. ⁵⁷ The difference between that situation and the North American circumstances is indeed more than a matter of numbers or ratios. The quantitative distinction becomes here qualitative, at once inherent in the disparate systems of civil service and generating this disparity. Even in that system, however, the needs of the departments make them press on the personnel agencies for lowering the standards and increasing recruitment, as was the case repeatedly in Canada. ⁵⁸ This country, on the other hand, was spared the problem of compulsory military service interfering with recruitment. ⁵⁹

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56. Memorandum by the Civil Service Commissioners on the Use of the Civil Service Selection Board in the Reconstruction Competitions. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1951, S.O. Code 25-286 - gives a description of some aspects of the Reconstruction Competitions, and provides an insight in the magnitude of that task. Referred to in the following pages as CISSB.
57. Cmd. 9613, Evidence. 3-4 days, qu. 379-380; 27th day, qu. 3948 and many more.
58. See supra and n. 42. The British situation reported in Fabian Publications The Reform of the Higher Civil Service. London, Victor Gollancz, 1947. par. 19.
59. For the British solution see Cmd. 9613, Evidence, 3-4 days, qu. 324-330. The U.S.A. situation in Futures in the Federal Government pamphlet No.30 of the U.S.C.S.C., October, 1955, U.S.G.P.O. 1955 - O-358323. p. 4.

Educational requirements for career recruitment showed a similar development in all three countries despite their differences. While in Canada the initially strict criteria were toned down, in the United States considerations other than formal education attracted attention, such as "frustration - tolerance", versatility, ingenuity, or capacity for teamwork, and in Britain similar considerations were suggested at that very time.⁶⁰ This is a significant fact, for it underlines the basic identity of expectations in relation to the career servant, current in all three countries.

While professing a less institutional approach to career, and one more favourable to individual initiative, Canada remained, nevertheless, behind Great Britain on one related point. The prospective promotee in Canada needs a departmental nomination for admission to the examination leading to the course on administration for the J.A.O's. No such requirements restrict the applicant in Great Britain.⁶¹

The prospective career civil servant in Canada is at a clear disadvantage as compared to his British and United States counterparts. In those countries only as many candidates are declared successful as can be appointed.⁶² This permits the immediate appointment of all successful candidates, thus avoiding long periods of delay before appointment when eligibility lapses with the 'death' of the register. Both Canada and the United States, however, suffer from the handicap of not being able to promise any definitely set prospects of promotion

60. Everett Reimer, loc. cit. p. 175, and Cmd. 9613, Evidence 3-4 days, qu. 388.

61. C.S.C., Home Civil Service, Administrative Class Limited Competition 1957, pamphlet 16/57.

62. In the U.S.A. this was the practice with the J.M.A.'s. The F.S.E.E. practice is not yet clearly settled. The J.M.A. practice see in E. Reimer loc. cit. p. 169. In Great Britain the present intake runs behind the demand, leaving vacancies unfilled.

as an inducement. This characteristic was presented as a virtue in the following quotation.

"Individuals should be informed that they are being recruited because they have a high potential of reaching top grade positions but there must not be any guarantee that this will happen. Otherwise the idea of the 'crown prince' will dominate the process and many of the values of the program will be destroyed through sheer disdain of the J.M.A. for other employees. The new J.M.A. should be told frankly that he can be aimed in the right direction but from there on in, it's up to him to make the grade." 63

Present problems.

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A number of points persistently challenge the practitioner, who did not yet, however, find any feasible way of meeting them. One is the long delay after the beginning of a competition and before offers of appointment can be made. This has been reduced lately to about six or seven months, from September to the beginning of March. Many promising candidates turn to other employment during this period. The requirements of ranking the candidates on a numerical scale, seem to rule out any improvement on this score. Over the years many details have been streamlined or eliminated especially in the administration of the written tests, which now take one week-end of well organized activity. However, a vicious circle seems to operate here. The scarcity of successful candidates, and the loss of some of them due to delays, makes it desirable to attract as great a number of competitors as possible. The increased numbers, however, contribute to the delay, thus increasing the loss, according to the law of diminishing returns.

Another problem is the question of standardization of intake. It has two aspects; - When the normal competition does not satisfy the demand - a continuous competition is announced. Its implications as to comparative standing of entrants have been discussed above. The other aspect is the occasional entry of a promotee, or a newcomer, much above the intake point as initially planned.

Such an entrant can neither be checked too closely at his entry - for the position usually calls for a considerable flexibility, which militates against strict requirements for eligibility, nor can he be subjected to the induction processes usual with juniors. This position, nevertheless, will necessarily enable him to influence in a real way the careers of his subordinates.

The candidate who passes the written test is invited to an interview before a board composed of an examiner on the staff of the Civil Service Commission who acts as chairman, a representative of the department interested in the candidate, and technical members. These boards, conducted as far as possible by one chairman throughout the country for the sake of a uniform standard, are serious, conscientious, resourceful and highly successful.⁶⁴ The combined results of written and oral examinations serve as the mark which determines the final order of merit. The interviewing board is not an examination board of the academical type, and does not probe educational qualifications,

27/ "There the candidates' personal qualities are assessed; an effort is made to discover whether they have the capacity for leadership, initiative, common sense, the ability to work with and lead others, community spirit and the sense of service which an ideal public servant should bring to his job." 65

This is, therefore not a board of the Civil Service Selection Board type either; rather it resembles the Final Selection Board of British practice.⁶⁶ It might be relevant to point out, that in Britain the practice of interview came under many severe attacks as a device of social discrimination.⁶⁷ While the technique

64. A sample of recommendations of some boards is given in Appendix 1.

65. Bland, Opportunities in Government Service.

66. See memorandum cit. supra. n. 56. (CISSB).

67. See, among others: ibid., par. 84-87; - Kelsall, op. cit. p.p. 91-92; - William A. Robson, ed. The Civil Service in Britain and France, London, The Hogart Press, 1956. p. 156; Gladden, Civil Service or Bureaucracy, p. 176 ff.

of interview was abolished in the selection of the Executive Class entrants, it remained in use for recruitment into the Administrative Class, it being argued that members of this class certainly cannot be selected unseen, since such a large proportion of their work consists in dealing with the public. ⁶⁸ On the other hand the British Boards do not assign any numerical marks, for "such a method would, in the Commissioner's opinion, be fallacious." ⁶⁹

In North American society, significantly, no protests arose on the account of social discrimination. Rather, it is urged that the practice be made more extensive both in Canada and in the United States, where interviews are administered to those Federal Service Entrance Examination candidates whose duties may involve extensive public contacts. ⁷⁰

The operation in its totality recruits the Junior Administrative Officers and, at the same time, the Clerks 4 (the word "Grade" was deleted from use in the vocabulary of the Civil Service Commission on March 27, 1956). In this respect the Canadian practice is similar to that in Britain, where some Executive Officers are selected from the marginally failing candidates for the Administrative Class. This fact points to similar implications for the possibility of promotion of officers not initially recruited to an administrative class, and of their ultimate career in the administrative classes. ⁷¹ The attainment of such a career is in both countries more difficult for women, whom some departments refuse to accept, others try to decline, or restrict to lower, not administrative classes.

68. Cmd. 9613, Evidence 3-4 days, qu. 342-356.

69. CISSEB par. 34.

70. See Second Hoover Commission Task Force pp 88-9. Use in FSEE recruitment reported in Federal Service Entrance Examination, Manual of Instructions for Individual Oral Interviews. Bureau of Departmental Operations, examining Division, U.S.C.S.C. mimeo.

71. Cmd. 9613, Evidence 3-4 days, qu. 405-415.

The general level at which the sights are set in the Canadian practice may be best described by the following quotations.

An unsuccessful candidate wrote on April 30, 1951, to the Secretary of the Civil Service Commission:

" You state that the Board found my qualifications "not strong enough". In view of this rather general statement and since the questions asked by the Board were personal.... I would.....request..... a more precise statement of my lack of qualifications "

The reply of the Secretary is dated May 7, 1951. It reads in part:

"In selecting Junior Administrative Assistants the Commission attempts to find persons with very outstanding qualifications. They should have qualities of adaptability, resourcefulness, initiative, maturity, and the ability to work harmoniously with associates. The fact that the Board did not rate you as successful is not to say that it did consider that you lack any of the qualities I mentioned above, but it is to say that in the opinion of the Board you lacked them in a sufficient measure to warrant placing you in the very small group which was declared successful". 72

In line with serious attitude to the recruitment of administrative entrants a careful consideration has been given to their probation. This period used to be no less than one year, and in 1946 an additional improvement came with the introduction of a formal Review Board at the close of the probationary period.

The Board would be composed of a Personnel Selection Officer from the Headquarters of the Civil Service Commission, as Chairman; a representative of the employing department - preferably the Chief of Personnel; representatives of the organization and Classification Branch and the Staff Training Division of the Civil Service Commission - whenever possible. The representative of the

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72. A Correspondence file, Civil Service Commission, Ottawa. Quoted by permission of the Civil Service Commission.
The main problem of examination is explicitly presented in this correspondence. The quest is directed at qualitative, as well as quantitative, characteristics. One certainly cannot be dogmatic in things human. But, on the other hand, it is doubtful whether communications, which originate in a procedure set for selecting people, may justifiably be couched in vague and indefinite expressions, such as the one quoted in the letter from the enquirer. This does not detract anything from the tact and good sense of the reply.

department would bring a written report on the progress of the probationer, and he should be prepared to make any recommendations the department might wish to present. The probationer would be invited and interviewed. The Board would appraise the material presented to it and recommend action. This procedure would formally affirm the permanency of the successful probationers in accordance with the statutory provision. ⁷³

The experience in Great Britain travelled along similar lines. The regular probation of two years in the Administrative Class is extended to four in the case of a limited competition entrant. ⁷⁴ The use of an interview at the end of probation has been introduced only recently in Great Britain. ⁷⁵

Scientific and Professional

The shortages encountered in recruiting into the civil service are gravest in the scientific and professional classes. While in other classes it is difficult to recruit, in these it is even more difficult to retain the employee.

73. Civil Service Act, 1952. s. 23 (1).
The Board goes, nevertheless, beyond a formal adherence to the letter of the law, as the following excerpt from a Report picked at random from a 1955 file would indicate.
"The Department's immediate plan for Mr.-- are to leave him in the Personnel Division and to develop him as a general Personnel Officer. They foresee an administrative career for him but they can also see him in positions such as that of Personnel Selection Officer in the Civil Service Commission, where he would have to deal with large numbers of people in various departments and to exercise judgment in this selection of people"
Quoted by permission of the Civil Service Commission, Ottawa.
74. Pamphlet 16/57 cit. supra.
It is difficult to decide, whether this is in favour of the promotee, giving him a longer term for adjustment, or to his disadvantage; it is certainly meant primarily as a safeguard for the service. It is interesting to note, that White proposed a five year probation for the U.S. Government Career corps. See Government Career Service. p. 49.
75. See Dorothy Johnstone, "Developments in the British Civil Service, (1945-1951)". Public Administration. v. 30 No. 1 (Spring, 1952). 49-60.

National shortages aggravate the situation. As a result, not only had the service to resort to all the expedients mentioned so far, including an almost overall use of continuous open competitions, but in many cases instantaneous hiring is practiced, with all formalities following later, when the recruit is already employed. Often subprofessional people are hired and provided training in service, while working as subprofessional or ancillary personnel. ⁷⁶

The scientist who takes up an appointment in the civil service does so usually for the sake of gaining experience or training which will be useful in later practice, or because of the prestige and standing of his prospective scientific supervisor, or lastly - in some cases - because of the desire to serve the community more directly rather than through the medium of working for a private organization. ⁷⁷

These characteristics of the scientific service contain a conflict which is graver than all others in its implications for a career in the civil service. The nature of scientific work makes scientists more responsive to direct hiring, as for a given project, laboratory or line of work. But such fragmentary hiring prevents the unity and uniformity of a scientific career service, as well as the best utilization of the available personnel and the best advancement for the individual. ⁷⁸ In the Canadian practice, both ways of recruitment, directly by department with later reference to the Civil Service Commission and central - by the Commission, are in simultaneous use, as they are in the other countries. In the quest for university graduates - scientists and professionals as well as general arts graduates - a new approach is gradually coming to the fore. This is the seasonal employment of students. From a means of attracting trained people

76. C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1956. p. 10.

77. G. A. Blackburn, "Engineers in the Civil Service of Canada", Engineering Journal, May 1955.

78. See e.g. Cmd 9613 Evidence, 18th day, qu. 2715.

for work possible only in the summer months - and presumably cheaper work, student employment became a major activity. In 1955 the Civil

Service Commission planned

"to encourage a wider use of under-graduates for summer work as a means of promoting interest in government service - particularly in the arts, the humanities, and commerce..... it is realized that it will be necessary to acquaint students with the possibilities of careers in the Service well before they reach their graduating years.....a general program..... should be extended downward to include high school students who may go on to university. Some work was done in this area during 1955. More will be done in 1956 and the following years." 79

During the summer of 1956 the Commission employed 1172 students, and their records are preserved for prospective appointment.⁸⁰ These employed students represent 46% of all the group who were offered employment in that year.

The scientist, as well as the professional man, is hired on the strength of his testimonials submitted with his application, on the recommendation of his teachers or colleagues, and on the record of past work. These are considered by a board of examiners, composed of representatives of the Civil Service Commission, the employing department and the profession concerned. In case of direct hiring - the board is convened as soon as is practical. The examiners interview the candidate, and submit a recommendation based on all the material available. In cases of great urgency, or when an outstanding candidate is available, hiring may be effected instantaneously, after an ad hoc board of examiners convened on the spot rates the data and approves the action.

79. C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1955, p. 13.

80. J. C. Woodward, The Scientist in the Public Service of Canada - address at Annual Conference on Public Personnel Administration of the Civil Service Assembly of the U.S. and Canada, Washington, October, 1956.

The unusually great difficulty of recruitment resulted in a study of the reasons for refusal of appointments, in an attempt to eliminate them. Such study was undertaken in 1952,⁸¹ and the replies obtained in it from 39 cases are presented below.

TABLE 2. Reasons for Refusal of Appointment by Scientists and Professionals, 39 cases.

Reasons for refusal of appointments	Number of cases			Percent of the total number of replies
	Engineers	Chemists & Biologists	Total	
Low remuneration	3	8	11	28%
Opportunities for advancement believed to be low	7	3	10	26%
Professional supervision believed inadequate	3	0	3	9%
Offer arrived too late	12	8	20	51%
Location too remote	2	3	5	13%
Working hours and conditions unattractive	1	1	2	6%

Source: Civil Service Commission, Ottawa.

Note: Multiple reasons were reported in some cases, and all of them are listed above.

The alternative employment accepted by the refusing candidates was believed capable of throwing some additional light on their decision, therefore it was included in the study with the following information as a result. Only thirty-five replies to this question were received.

TABLE 3. Alternative Employment of Scientists and Professionals who Declined Civil Service Appointment, 35 cases.

Alternative employment	Number of cases			Percent of the total number of replies
	Engineers	Chemists & Biologists	Total	
Another Federal Agency	2	3	5	13%
A Provincial Agency	3	1	4	10%
Industry	15	5	20	51%
Private Practice	1	0	1	3%
Postgraduate Studies	0	5	5	13%
TOTAL	21	14	35	100%

Source: Civil Service Commission, Ottawa

Note on p.59

81. By Mr. J. F. Dawe, Civil Service Commission, Ottawa, by whose

Note: While none of the respondents believed the conditions of work in the government to be better than outside, ten of them (26%) were of the opinion that these would prove about equal.

The situation in recruiting the scientist or professional in Canada resembles in a striking manner the one found in other countries. The response to the needs is accordingly similar, with very few differences. One of the more significant differences is the distinct achievement of instantaneous central hiring by the Civil Service Commission, reported in Canada. The best the British Civil Service Commission can do is a delay of four to eight weeks, as compared to two or three hours in Canada.⁸² Direct departmental hiring is practised in Britain as well, and with equal speed and efficiency. The candidate must usually be less than twenty-eight years of age in Great Britain, and is admitted to the basic grade of Scientific Officer, or to the Senior Scientific Officer grade, at the age of twenty-six to thirty-one. Only in exceptional cases, is appointment given to a more senior grade.⁸³ This practice differs sharply from the Canadian or United States one where hiring goes on all along the scale, whenever needed and possible. Occasional voices are raised against the rigid rules in Great Britain, although these rules are in accord with the general style of the civil service there.⁸⁴

The most significant step for the entrant's future career in the civil service of Canada is, however, his probationary period and its formal

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82. See Cmd. 9613 Evidence, 3-4 days qu. 487-8.
The information about the Canadian practice comes from an interview with Mr. V. M. Clarkson, Selection Officer, C.S.C. Ottawa, to whom the writer is indebted for many points contributed to this discussion.
83. See Cmd. 613, Introductory Factual Memorandum on the Civil Service, Dated 15th December 1953, Submitted by H.M. Treasury, par. 215.
84. e.g. Sir Frederic Brundrett, See Cmd 9613 Evidence, 23rd day, qu. 3399.

conclusion. After one or two years of probation a Professional or Scientific Review Board interviews him, after mailing to him a questionnaire designed to elicit his reaction to his assignment and conditions of work. His reply to the questionnaire is studied before the interview. The avowed purpose of the Board is to help the probationer to adjust himself better to the service, to effect a change of assignment or place of work if necessary, to provide the probationer with a clear appreciation of the support he may obtain in solving his problems or difficulties, and to protect both himself and the service from the perpetuation of any initial error. The probationer should, consequently, acquire a confidence in the career he might be able to carve for himself in the service. To this end he is offered the opportunity to speak frankly, in the absence of any representative of his department, who is called in later to present the plans the department has prepared for the future of the probationer. These are discussed, and confirmed or altered. The recommendation of the Board concludes the probation and is intended to launch the reviewed employee on a permanent career.

This imposing venture is as yet far from perfected. The Civil Service Commission is engaged at present in the standardization of the incidence of review, whether on the lines of a salary-step barrier or of the term - deadline.⁸⁵

The Civil Service Commission believes that in spite of all the great effort put into the recruitment of the scientist and professional man, the calibre of the recruit is far from the best. Judged by their intelligence and personal suitability, the majority of professional

85. As the Selection Officer mentioned above, Mr. Clarkson, informs the writer, the term - deadline (i.e. a set date of review laid down at a fixed interval after hiring) seems to be gaining support over the step-barrier suggestion, which would prevent the entrant from obtaining more than a set number of increments unless approved by the Review Board.

people recruited in the early post-war years belonged to the lower half of their college groups.⁸⁶ A similar complaint was voiced by the President's Committee on Administrative Management in the United States.⁸⁷ This does not seem to have been the experience in Great Britain, where the quality is believed to be good, even though the service does "not quite get the proportion of cream that (it) had twenty or twenty-five years ago." ⁸⁸

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

There is a lack of statistics with regard to recruitment into the clerical classes of the Canadian civil service. This is due both to a failure to collect data and the intermingling of some of it with general statistics on the service as a whole.

Data on the administrative officers were intermingled with those on other classes of senior clerical officers, and did not prove very informative for purposes of analysis, due to gaps and uncertainties. Only the ratio of acceptance of appointments to the number of offers could be established for the years 1946 to 1953. This is presented in Table 4.

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86. A study conducted by G. A. Blackburn, C.S.C. in 1947, internal memorandum of January 12, 1948. The author went on to say that since the above-average employees tend to leave for outside employment there was a danger that by 1953 or thereabout all government positions would be filled by employees below the average in their profession.
87. see p. 81. Faulty standards of selection are blamed there.
88. Cmd. 9613 Evidence, 19th day, qu. 2844. A characteristic sequence follows in qu. 2845 viz:
 Qu: "Would not a major factor in stimulating recruitment and getting high - quality entrants be career prospects.
 Ans. Yes."
cf. also, many other opinions to the same effect in the evidence, e.g. 3-4 days, qu. 543-7; or Report, par. 538, and passim. The general feeling in Great Britain seems to be rather one of satisfaction with quality in spite of evident shortcomings, and deficiencies in quantity.

TABLE 4. Rate of Acceptance of Appointments Among Successful Competitors for Junior Administrative Officers, 1946-1953.

Year of Competition	Successful	Appointments	Percentage of Successful Appointed.
1946	20	6	30.0%
1947	37	17	45.9%
1948	60	31	51.7%
1949	30	21	70.0%
1950	31	18	58.1%
1951	53	27	50.9%
1952	45	23	51.1%
1953	36	18	50.0%
Total	312	161	51.6%

Source: Civil Service Commission, files.

The data for Foreign Service Officers of the Department of Trade and Commerce will be presented in Chapter Six, where that service is studied.

The data for scientific and professional personnel are available in coherent order only for the post-war period, with the exception of the year 1947-8 and with certain omissions for the preceding year.

The presentation follows in Table 5.

TABLE 5. Trends in Recruitment of Professional Personnel to the Civil Service of Canada after the Second World War.

Year of competition	Number of applications	Total of discarded	Percentage of offers of appointment refused	Total number of new appointments	Percentage of applicants appointed
1946-7	858	815		43	5.0%
1947-8	not available				
1948-9	3427	2933	19.6%	494	14.4%
1949-50	3408	3075	19.8%	333	9.8%
1950-1	2515	2242	13.7%	273	10.9%
1951-2	2246	1894	19.9%	352	15.7%
1952-3	2089	1765	25.9%	324	15.6%
1953-4	3108	2880	24.7%	228	7.3%
1954-5	3794	3456	31.7%	338	8.9%
1955-6	3114	2732	35.2%	382	12.3%

Source: Studies conducted for the Civil Service Commission by Mr. G. A. Blackburn, Assistant Director of Planning and Development. Numbers used by permission of the Civil Service Commission.

Note: A fuller table and notes are given in Appendix 2 to which the reader is directed for reference to the following discussion.

While the results show a slightly erratic fluctuation, a few characteristics may nevertheless be seen.

The number of applications was decreasing until 1952/3, after which a significant increase was evident for two years. The improvement in the number of appointments offered lagged for one year, and improved significantly only in 1954/5. In the same year a significant drop appeared in the proportion of appointments accepted, as shown by the increase in the percentage of appointments refused. The proportion of waste in recruitment, as shown by the percentage of discards, has been fairly high throughout, while the proportion of new appointments effected is seemingly erratic, with some tendency to change in the inverted direction to that shown by the number of applicants.

The conclusions of studies conducted by research officers of the Civil Service Commission seem to agree with those of the writer, as far as the fluctuation in numbers are concerned. The said officers conclude that the decrease in the number of applicants evident in 1955/6 would be considerably greater but for an increase in the number of student assistants attracted by an improved salary range.⁸⁹ Even so the percentage of acceptance

89. The employment of student assistants for summer months is shown in the following table.

TABLE 6. Seasonal Summer Employment of Student Assistants in the Professional Branches of the Civil Service of Canada, 1949-1956.

Year	Applications	Employed
1949	3300	1041
1950	4209	1277
1951	2668	799
1952	2331	716
1953	2637	844
1954	3356	886
1955	4136	888
1956	5701	1172

Source: Civil Service Commission, files.

of appointments among student assistants is said to be alarmingly low, namely 46%. The corresponding rate for graduates is said to be 52.8%, significantly lower than in 1954, when it was 63.7%, (48.8% in 1952). The reason for the decline in both the number of applicants and the proportion of those accepting appointment is sought in the deterioration of the value of starting salaries, which were adjusted in 1955. That adjustment is said to have been reflected in the increase in the number of applicants in the 1955 competitions. The subsequent increase in earnings outside the civil service was charged with detracting applicants in 1955/6. A factor contributing to the general increase in the number of appointments effected is the larger number of positions offered to recruits.⁹⁰ This last observation may be interpreted to mean, that in conditions more similar to those of 1954/5 the number of recruits would be smaller, thus stressing even more the role played by the rate of initial salary, in comparison to outside pay.

One more observation is in order. The average rate of acceptance of offers of appointment reveals a characteristic which might be significant. The ratio of offers accepted by scientists and professional people over the years 1948/9 - 1955/6 is 76.2%.⁹¹ This rate is strikingly close to that found among Foreign Service Officers in the Department of Trade and Commerce, which is 77.1%,⁹² both significantly higher than the rate of acceptance of Junior Administrative Officers, which is 51.6%.⁹³ The implications of this

90. Civil Service Commission, internal memorandum, dated September 7, 1956, and files.

91. See Appendix 2.

92. See infra. Chapter Six - Table 19.

93. See supra, Table 4.

fact should become clear in the discussion throughout the following chapters. They will be further interpreted in Chapter Seven.

An interesting sidelight on this last point comes from Great Britain. As the following Table 7 shows, in that country 72.6% of those successful in the reconstruction examinations at university graduate level accepted appointment to the civil service.

TABLE 7. Reconstruction Recruitment at the Civil Service Selection Board in Great Britain. Results by Number and Percentage.

Choice of Participant as to class	Entries to Qualifying Examination	Qualified pass to CISSB		Successful, pass at FSB		Appointed		Percentage, appointed to success
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Administrative Class Only	2590	1657		486				
Administrative Class and Foreign Service ("dual choice")	1761	708		186				
Total	4351	2365	54.2	672 ^x	15.4	488	11.2	72.6%

x Includes 19 candidates who were originally unsuccessful at the CISSB, and were successful at a second attempt directly at FSB.

Source: Memorandum by the Civil Service Commissioners on the use of the Civil Service Selection Board in the Reconstruction Competitions. H.M. Stationery Office, 1951. S.O. Code 25-286.

Note: Percentages (except in the last column) shown in relation to initial number of entrants. Internal percentages are: 54.3% of entrants passed the qualifying examination; of these 27.9% passed both CISSB and FSB successfully; 72% of the successful took up appointment.

Figures were not available for a similar analysis of normal competitions.

Those included in the above Table present, however, the years 1945-1949, which should be a fair sample for comparison.⁹⁴

⁹⁴. N.B. - The percentage of 72.6 applies in Great Britain to both the Administrative Class and the Foreign Service Officers. These classes are inseparable as a result of the "dual choice".

A similar study of the results of recruitment to the Junior Management Assistant class in the United States reveals a situation very different, as the following Table shows.

TABLE 8. Recruitment to the Junior Management Assistant Class in the United States. Results by Number and Percentage, 1949-1952.

Year	Participants in written examinations	Participants in oral examinations	Passed success- fully in both examinations	Appointed	Percentage of successful appointed
1949	12,579	?	562	86	15.3%
1950	14,214	1650	820	302	36.8%
1951	11,461	1681	681	230	33.7%
1952	8,784	935	325	71	21.8%

Source: U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington.

- Notes:
- 1) A few appointments executed later than in the spring of each year might have been omitted.
 - 2) Some failures were due simply to absence at the examination. Numbers unavailable.
 - 3) No numbers of passing and appointed available for the year 1953, or after. 95

The percentage of appointed is even at its highest significantly lower than the corresponding figure in Canada.

When discussing the numbers of applicants for the above examinations, viz: 19371 in 1950, 15493 in 1952, 8376 in 1953, H. Emmerich and J. L. Belsley remarked, that the figures attest to the declining interest, with the declining belief, in the career offered by the J.M.A. program and its value.⁹⁶

Trends in Recruitment.

In all three countries a few common trends are clearly visible. The

95. The information for this table came to the writer from the staff of the Civil Service Commission in Washington. Special thanks are due to Mr. J. Douglas Hoff, Manager, College and Foreign Visitor Program, and Miss Sally Greenberg, who extracted the data for Mr. Hoff.
96. Herbert Emmerich and G. Lyle Belsley "The Federal Career Service - What Next?" Public Administration Review, v. 14 No. 1 (Winter, 1954), 1-12. In the article the numbers are given as 21000, 15000 and 8300 respectively - difference due probably to rounding up. cf. The Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige and Problems, p. 148.

most prominent is the growing number of young people continuing longer in schools or proceeding to college, and the simultaneous greater demand for them in the general economy with the accompanying greater competition for their services. The governments find themselves in a market which is growing steadily tighter. This is one of the basic notes in the evidence given before the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55,⁹⁷ it is the main theme of the releases of the Civil Service Commissions⁹⁸ in Canada and in the United States. The answer to this challenge in North America is a series of plans and recurring efforts at a better technique of recruitment and the offering of more attractive conditions. As one of a series of efforts to produce new plans, the United States launched the J.M.A. program, an afterthought to the Junior Professional Assistant drive in the early thirties, and the recent FSEE. A parallel development in Canada produced the Clerk Grade 4 (Male) competition, and the various changes of title, through Clerk Grade 4 (university graduates), Junior Administrative Assistant, and Administrative Trainee, brought it to the present denomination of Junior Administrative Officer and its sequel Administrative Officers. From an unsystematically recruited class it became here a recognized member of the University Graduates group, recruited since 1956 by one consolidated competition, as far as the basic grades are concerned.

Great Britain, with its longer rooted traditions, perceived the changes as clearly as did the others. The number of new departures there

97. Cmd 9613, Evidence; 3-4 days, p. 48 pars. 4-8; 8th day, p. 236 pars. 108-9; and passim. - Ibid. Report; pars. 398, 433, 469, and passim. These are places selected casually, many more could be pointed out. The situation did not change, compare CSC Annual Report for the year 1956, p.p. 3-4.

98. Cf. the Annual Report of the Civil Service Commissions in both countries for the years 1955 and 1956, passim. See also the Address by the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Louis S. St-Laurent to the Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada, Ottawa, February 23, 1957.

is far smaller however. The standard reaction was to watch the development carefully in order not to let the government employment fall too far behind the line in attractiveness. There were only two really new departures in the general field. Admission into the clerical classes, in which there was a great shortage of personnel was allowed without an examination on the strength of the General Certificate of Education in 1953.⁹⁹ And for the first time, recruitment has been opened to the Administrative Class above the basic grade, in the competition for Principals in 1945, and again in 1948.¹⁰⁰

The graver shortages in recruitment in all countries are accompanied by the more frequent and more incessant mention of career prospects in the civil services.¹⁰¹

Another development concerns the scientific and professional classes. From the fragmentary direct hiring, appropriate in the time when these employees were rare and not essential, the recruitment changed to an emphasis on central hiring as an important activity. The problems involved in this development have been discussed above, where their basic importance and the inherent impossibility of a permanent solution were hinted at.

99. Cmd 9613, Evidence, 3-4 days. qu. 306-311.

100. D. Johnstone. loc. cit.

101. Note the titles of "Career-conditional" and "Career" employees in the civil service of the United States, (cf. C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1954, p. 28.).

CHAPTER THREE

STRUCTURE AND PROMOTION.

Advancement is recognized as an important element of career.

"We know that there can be no true career service, in government or anywhere else, without promotion" said Mr. J. W. Macy Jr., in a recent address.¹ But, in order to make a career in service reasonably predictable, promotion itself must be reasonably foreseeable, reliable and responsive to planning. This is the more important to the civil service, for born good civil servants are not born risk-bearers, as R. N. Spann observed.² They seek some security of progress to the top.

Advancement in an organized service may take place only through climbing the rungs of the hierarchy, along the lines of progression provided by the structure of the organization. It depends, in short, upon the establishment and the structure, which provide the supporting skeleton. For a career system, which is a long term commitment on the part of both the government and the employee, the ladder must be clear and constant, not subject to frequent shift and change, which might frustrate a life-time plan. Thus both the classification system and the policy of promotion become geared to the purpose of maintaining a career system, if such is the purpose of the organization.³

For the classification plan to favour a career system means to promote the possibility of a meaningful and satisfying long term connection

1. -To the Civil Service Assembly of the U.S. and Canada, on New Horizons for Federal Personnel Administration. May 11, 1956.
2. loc. cit.
3. cf: E. Reimer, loc. cit. p.161-2, on the role of planned upward progression. Also C. W. Mills, op. cit. p.237, on the effect of its blocking. See C.S.C. of Canada, Annual Report for the year 1955, p. 21 - on the connection between the classification plan and the career idea. (This last reference is especially important for its implications for the discussion infra.)

between the employee and the organization, and to facilitate the employee's progression over a long period from one engaging position or work - assignment to another, with ever wider responsibility and increasing authority. The increased responsibility and authority are the indices of advancement, accompanied usually by enhanced hierarchical status and greater rewards at appropriate intervals.

The positions or work-assignments may be precisely and narrowly set, or broad and general. In the first case a long line of carefully graded positions or work-assignments must be provided in order to induce a person to plan his life-work within an organization with a prospect of advancement over a long period. In systems which resort to a broad classification this consideration does not assume the same importance, for the officer can advance to a certain extent without a change in his classification. This applies to functional advancement as well as to authority, remuneration and even hierarchical status. On the North-American Continent the accepted pattern is one of narrow classification. This pattern progressively reveals its inherent limitations in the modern conditions. In the growing complexity of governmental functions which has necessitated the employment of members of many thousands of different occupations, the task of keeping the classification up to date is beginning to assume baffling proportions. The trend is turning, therefore, towards favouring broader classifications.⁴ This tendency is corroborated by the restrictive influence of minutely described classes, which confine the incumbent within narrow lines - a feature particularly serious in conditions of manpower scarcity.⁵ Moreover - the

4. cf. Second Hoover Commission, Report, p. 54, U.S.C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1956 - p. 83. See the discussion in C.S.C. of Canada, Annual Report for the year 1955, p.20. This is a throw-back to the Report of Transmission of 1919, p. 8.

5. See Herbert Emmerich, "What's Ailed for Public Personnel Administration". Public Personnel Review, v. 12. No. 1 (January, 1951) 3-8.

use of narrowly described classes habituates the organization to narrow specialization of its employees, to their use as specialists and to expectations of specialist services from them. Such a stand compounds the difficulties for it contributes to rigidity when elasticity is needed to remedy shortage of staff.

The other of the components mentioned above - the degree of responsibility and authority - may be inherent in the position or job, so as to make it an attribute fully separable from the person of the incumbent, who does not personally acquire any status. With a change of job he may lose whatever authority he would have wielded before. This set-up, again usual in the North-American conditions, is a concomitant of the position-classification systems. It is not favourable to a life-time career service, and when the shortcomings of position-classification become more noticeable, the voices calling for some form of recognition of personal rank and permanent status become more numerous. It is characteristic that the recognition of the advantages of a personal rank system is more pronounced in regard to the incumbents of most senior positions.⁶ A variant of this plan is the idea of a "pool" of senior civil servants, championed by some

6. cf: (1) First Hoover Commission, Task Force, p. 39, p. 56 - (the Task Force proposes personal rank for incumbents of "top career positions" and recognizes the personal factor which determines the classification of a scientist's position).
 (2) Second Hoover Commission, Task Force, p.15 & 50 ff. (Recommendation 8); Second Hoover Commission Report p. 38 ff. (Recommendation 6);
 See E. Reimer, loc. cit. p.177 for a brief discussion of rank vs. position-classification systems. See also O. Glenn Stahl, "Security of Tenure - Career or Sinecure?" - The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. v. 292 (March 1954) 45-56. The growing importance of status in modern conditions is discussed by Whyte in The Organization Man, Part 7 The New Suburbia: Organization Man at Home. The need for personal rank in certain circumstances and at higher levels was discussed by Herbert Emmerich in "What's Ahead for Public Personnel Administration", and, together with Belsley, in "The Federal Career Service - What Next?" - both cit. supra.

writers and vigorously opposed by others. The idea of a personal status also underlies plans for "civil service reserves" which have lately been appearing. All these attest to the need for re-admitting personal motives to participation in supplying the driving force in civil service - the need of a career service.

Whatever the system of classification and of lines of hierarchy and promotion, the policies of complementing the classes, as well as the policies of awarding promotions, will decide the value and attractiveness of the career system to the employee, as well as its worth to the organization. As for complementing the classes two conditions are necessary for a flow of promotions, namely (1) a right proportion of incumbents on the consecutive levels, so as to avoid severe blocks or glutting; and (2) judicious consideration of resort to lateral admission or external recruitment, which may restrict the openings for advancement and frustrate the employees in line for promotion. Care must be taken also of the right proportion of incumbents within the organizations or agencies, with proper machinery provided for the transfer of promising employees whose advancement may be blocked.

In this setting the structure of the Federal Service today and its methods of awarding promotion are discussed below.

CLASSIFICATION AND STRUCTURE IN CANADA.

a General

The Federal civil service of Canada is similar to that of the United States in that "it consists of separate posts each listed with its duties described in the classification schedule.....every post is classified and a small difference in the nature of the work justifies a higher or lower classification."⁷ This is a highly developed position classification system, with its specialization pushed to an extreme. The number of separate classes

cannot be ascertained for it is variously given as between 2051 and 2600.⁸ Any change in the classification or in the conditions of one of the classes requires a recommendation of the Civil Service Commission and a resolution of the Treasury Board (in lieu of an Order-in-Council)⁹ - quite an involved machinery. The resulting rigidity of classification is one of the main factors which contribute to its being evaded and defeated in practice, as when a position is classified in a class not because of its appropriateness by function, title or description, but for the convenience of that classification, on account of a feasible rate of compensation and the acceptability of the title in the set-up of the agency, if not in the particular conditions of the post. Thus the class and title are not necessarily indicative of the function of an employee, and classification is subverted into a vehicle for assigning remuneration.¹⁰

Rigidity of classification may become an inherent trait of a system which resorts to it, and may produce a fragmentation where even numbering of grades does not mean necessarily that uniform levels cut horizontally through the service. Such is the case in Canada, for the number of a grade in a

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8. The lower number - by the C.S.C. in the Annual Report for the year 1955, p. 20. The higher number as an approximate by the Classification Officers of the C.S.C. in interviews with the writer.
 9. C. S. Act 1952, s. 11; Financial Administration Act, s. 5.
 10. This may be illustrated by the case of an administrative officer in one of the Departments, who was assigned to personnel work. He was nominated for promotion from Head Clerk to Personnel Officer 3 in 1954. He missed, however, the prescribed written examination which barred the entry to that class, due to illness on its date. Therefore the Civil Service Commission suggested, and effected, his promotion to Technical Officer 3 - a class not barred by examination. Fifteen months later he was promoted to Administrative Officer 3. He progressed in that same line to grade 4 as secretary of the Branch. (Source: files of one of the Departments.)

series does not imply correspondence to the same number in another series.¹¹ There is no remedy for this disadvantage in the Canadian system, unlike the United States, where the pulverizing tendency of position classification is counteracted by the introduction of uniform and all-pervading, but separate and independent, grading for the sake of compensation, on the G S scale. Even in spite of this integrating and regularizing salary scale, the position classification in the United States proved to be too unwieldy in times of emergency, and necessitated the use of what was virtually a dummy-class system, in the form of "master-sheets".¹² These converted the classes in some cases into actually broad categories, enabling the service to survive the strain without having its forms burst and the existing framework destroyed. Some measure of flexibility is a clear necessity, and the higher the development of differentiation and minuteness of classification, the greater the need for flexibility. For in systems built on a position-classification plan staff in the several departments or lines of work is not interchangeable, as the Civil Service Commission of Canada was aware in 1934.¹³ The need for such interchangeability, however, was becoming progressively more pronounced, as said above, and it contributed to the evolution of a plan for a series of non-specialist administrative classes, as related in the preceding chapter.¹⁴

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11. See, for instance, the long lists of classes included in Treasury Board Minute of July 5, 1957, T.B. 519606, where the variety of meanings given to the same grade number in various series is striking. See also n. 10 supra, for promotion from Technical Officer 3 to Administrative Officer 3.
 12. L. DeWitt Hale "Streamlining Classification" Personnel Administration v. 7 No. 10 (June, 1945) 9 - 17.
 13. An internal memorandum dated March 2, 1934.
 14. The said need became evident in the United States and in Canada at the same time, about 1933-4. Both countries still lack such a genuinely 'generalist' service. In the United States it has been observed

(cont'd)

b Administrative Officers.

The introduction of these series, however, did not cause any marked change in the situation. Today as before some departments tend to put all their entrants into specialized work as soon as they receive them, thus frustrating the attempt to build up a class of officers who could serve in many positions interchangeably. The fact is, that instead of producing a number of officers who could range widely over a variety of work-assignments, the system deprives a number of classes with distinct titles of their more intrinsic distinctions by filling them with a variety of men selected by criteria not necessarily related to these respective classes. At the same time the incumbents of positions classified as general are not necessarily non-specialists, being in fact specialized more often than not.¹⁵ On the other hand, many one-man classes continue to exist. The resulting structure is somewhat non-descript, and amorphous.

Over the range of the Federal civil service in Canada a few trends are discernible, nevertheless. A few departments welcome the Administrative Officers assigned to them and develop them, as far as the specialist traditions permit, along non-specialized lines. A series of Administrative Officer grades exists, leading from Junior Administrative Officer, through Administrative Assistant, or sometimes skipping this stage to Administrative Office 1 to 8. There is no rule or custom, however, which

14. (cont'd)

".....we are bucking a sizeable tradition of specialization. Because of demand of industrial organizations, colleges have tended more and more to train people in those areas which are marketable. Our requirements on the other hand are for the broad general type of background."

(Randall, in the Annual Report of July 1, 1954, quoted above.)

15. In many cases the situation to-day is not different from that described in the internal memorandum cited in n.13, supra. Specialization suits better many Departments.

prevents some Administrative Officers from leaking out of that series into some other, related or unrelated hierarchy, nor does anything prevent lateral entry at any point from outside the series. There is, therefore, no definable group of Administrative Officers by occupation and membership, only a group of incumbents pro tempore. There is, moreover, no device nor any desire for one, to keep under control the numbers of incumbents at any level in the service as a whole.

c Scientific and Professional Series.

In the case of scientific and professional employees in Canada there is a clearly visible tendency to clarify the structural principles. Late in 1954 a study of the problems involved in the classification of chemists served as a pilot project, and during 1955 a few other series of scientific classes were studied and a classification plan developed for them. These series were analysed and lines of laboratory, supervisory, research and management activities were identified where feasible. Positions in these lines were assigned to one of five grades respectively. The qualifications and work assignments for each level were standardized and related to one another. Thus a plan for reasonable uniformity has evolved. This was a considerable advancement as compared with the situation that prevailed before, when in some professions the employees were sometimes classified so unsystematically as to blur their identification and make any coherent service impossible.¹⁶

16. e.g. Chemists were classified into 42 classes, including Technical Officers, Agricultural Research Officer, Forest Products Engineers, Scientific Officers - Mines and others. These classes comprised 22 different scales of remuneration, ranging from \$2940 to \$8200. The differences in compensation amounted sometimes to as little as \$6.75 a month.

Source: Internal Memorandum to the Civil Service Commission of November 25, 1954. Confidential, approved by the Commission. Released for use of the writer by permission of the Commission.

The uniformity of classification still does not extend to the whole field of scientific and professional classes, however, and comparison on the basis of their designation by grade number still cannot be made.¹⁷

The employment of considerable numbers of scientific and professional personnel is a recent phenomenon in civil service generally. Not even in Great Britain were they separated from other personnel or regarded as a particular group having common interests before the first world war.¹⁸ In 1944 they were still in a state of "chaos of grades and services", with more than 500 spread over more than 120 unrelated hierarchies, and with no systematic promotion or a prospect of career provided for.¹⁹ The belated administrative development of the scientists in the civil services of the world may be due not only to their late appearance among their older and more prominent colleagues, but also to the fact that their work depends less on hierarchical and administrative arrangements, and more on the personal contribution of the scientist, whatever his status. Moreover, only the administrative improvements in the scientific classes brought to light the problems which have come to occupy the centre of the stage recently, namely the question of the career prospects of a scientist whose unwillingness to carry administrative responsibilities prevents his advancement. This question received attention in the Canadian civil service when the new structure of these series was considered in 1955, and advancement up to the top grade 5 was provided for prominent scientists without obliging them to carry such responsibilities.

17. Compare for instance the two Minutes of the Treasury Board of May 9, 1957, No. T.B. 517272 and No. T.B. 516045.

18. L.A.C. Herbert, The Professional Civil Servant's Handbook, London, Institute of Professional Civil Servants, 1944 p.45.

19. Kingsley, op. cit. pp. 168-9

In the case of the scientific classes the question of proportion of incumbents on the several levels of classes and grades is less important, because of the individual nature of their work, which, as said, does not depend on hierarchical complements but rather on general facilities, such as availability of help and materials.

ESTABLISHMENT AND STRUCTURE IN CANADA.

A more serious problem of a structural nature in the civil service of Canada is the attitude to the establishments of the several departments of government. It has been noted above, that proper establishment of departments is essential for making advancement predictable and constant. In the Canadian circumstances this problem is somewhat unique. It is possible, and indeed not unusual in the Federal Departments to utilize any unoccupied post on the establishment approved for a department in order to provide for any position necessary, whether related to the approved establishment-post or not, as long as a number of conditions are observed. These are 1) that the position so created is urgently needed; 2) that no more suitable or more closely related post on the approved establishment is vacant; and 3) that the incumbent actually put in the position and assigned to fill the unoccupied establishment-post receives a salary not in excess of the rate approved for the post. Thus a position approved for a high ranking officer and not filled may be preserved on the establishment as a spare, or used as a temporary perch for a necessary clerk or typist or messenger. Since the departments are not overstaffed in relation to the approved establishments, but rather have ample spares, this situation does not hinder promotions, but it contributes to the erratic shape of advancement, which is less determined by vacancies and more by arbitrary factors.

Class and Compensation.

As noted above, the use of classes in the civil service is often

regarded more as a vehicle for the award of a proper salary than as a means of systematization of the service.²⁰ The structure of the class from the standpoint of salary is therefore, of some importance as a factor in determining the attractiveness of a career in a certain class.²¹

The classes which should be considered on this score in the present study are chiefly the Administrative Officers and the scientific series. The first series presents ten grades, each with a span of four steps of salary; only at the level of Administrative Officer 1 there are five steps. At thirteen points these steps overlap, sometimes on more than two levels. Assuming that an officer would advance to the top of the basic grade of

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20. A one-time Director of a Branch in the Civil Service Commission, and at present a top-ranking officer in one of the Federal departments, commented on this fact in an interview with the writer. According to his analysis the attitude to establishment and class was traditionally a flexible one. In a small civil service, as was the Canadian until recently, the classification officer was familiar with every corner and the attitude to set rules was both lenient and sceptical. The classification and assignment were primarily a means of having some particular job done. This once achieved, the classification used to be changed upon a switch of the employee to another job. The only belief held dogmatically was, that any minute change in a person's duties had to be reflected in his compensation. This tradition must still persist, for in a Conference of Senior Personnel Officers on Executive and Professional Development, convened in Ottawa on May 20 and 21, 1957, the same observation was made and recorded in the Summary. An additional value was recognized in the service - namely the factor of prestige. Therefore, it was said, some departments request unique titles for their classes, in order to boost morale.
21. The importance of this factor should, however, not be overestimated. The considerable ease of change of class on promotion, and the orientation of the civil servant at a job or at its improvement, rather than at a regular and prolonged service in a certain class, should be remembered. These tendencies deprive the farther prospects within a class of special significance. These prospects tempt probably only slightly more than those of any cognate class. It is different, however, in some professional classes.

Junior Administrative Officer, and thereafter receive promotion to the next level at the next higher salary rate, and advance again to the top of the grade and continue in this fashion, it would take him twenty-eight years to attain the highest salary provided for Administrative Officer 8. Some within-grade increases amount to \$150 p.a. (at lower levels), others to \$180 or \$240, while at the most senior level the increment would amount to \$360 p.a.²²

A typical scientific series is of a somewhat shorter life-time, 23 years in Economics or Statistics, 20 years in Astronomy, 19 in Chemistry series, etc. Grade to grade increments would be about the same as above, with the rare case of a greater increment for most senior positions.²³

The top levels do not provide, however, a salary which by itself could inspire twenty-odd years of patient climbing. Moreover, the civil servant who would progress systematically and orderly over all the rates provided in the plan would be regarded a distinct failure in the service. Even in the case of scientists, who are sometimes bound to a class-series by their specialty, and in consequence should progress rather within the series, many jumps up the scale would be expected. These would be the effect of participation in open competitions, in limited promotion-competitions, of reclassification or promotion without competition. All these procedures will be discussed later on.

Class and Advancement.

For the purpose of promoting a career service, neither the structure of the several classes in terms of compensation, nor their arrangement in

22. Based on T.B. 519606, July 5, 1957. A full diagrammatic picture may be found in Appendix 3.

23. e.g. Dominion Astronomer: 2 x \$500. Based on T.B. 517272, May 9, 1957, and T.B. 516045, same date. See App. 3 as supra.

consecutive tiers was very successful in the Canadian civil service. The causes are not readily discernible at first glance, for the overt differences between this system or that of the United States and of Great Britain are not very striking.²⁴ Overlapping salary-rates are not confined to the Canadian system, for they are common in that of the United States as well, if not on multiple levels as in Canada. True, the deficiencies of overlapping may be partially alleviated there by the resort to classification of consecutive levels in a functional series on the alternate, not on the consecutive, steps of the General Schedule scale.²⁵ This, however, is not the invariable rule.

Another characteristic of the system in the United States which may have considerable consequences is the fact, that a genuinely successful officer does seldom have to spend a year on each and every consecutive step of the salary-schedule, even if his advancement is confined within the lines of one series and proceeds regularly step by step. Canada does not follow this lead.

A closer look at the British system, however, reveals the difference with unmistakeable clarity, showing how that system favours the long term career commitment. For the distinctions are not merely in external details. These latter are rather similar. There is no overlapping in the British salary schedules, but the general level of salaries is more or less comparable. The length of time of possible advancement within a class is comparable as well, being of the order of thirty years in the Administrative Class, and even thirty-eight in the Executive Class, in extreme cases. After that length of time one would have reached the upper ranks where there are no increments to

24. See the charts in App. 3.

25. e.g. Social Insurance Administration Series (Code GS-025): Positions at GS.-8, GS-9, GS-10, GS-11, GS-12, GS-13, GS-14; but Veterinary Livestock Inspection Series (Code GS-701) shows positions at GS-7, GS-9, GS-11, GS-12, GS-13; Agricultural Marketing Specialist Series shows the same sequence with additional positions at GS-14, etc. (Source - U.S.C.S.C., Position Classification Standards.)

the one rate of salary. Nevertheless such prolonged advancement with delayed promotion would not, usually, bring one up to those ranks at all, and the usual rate of advancement is much faster. The difference, therefore, as compared with Canada, seems to lie neither in the length of the total period of financial advancement, nor in its rate. It seems rather to lie in the marked advancement in terms of responsibility and authority, as well as range and level of work, which is involved in a promotion in Great Britain, as distinct from advancement by monetary increments and seniority. Moreover, a promotion usually brings a quite substantial increase in salary. In the life of the British civil servant promotion is an event far rarer and more outstanding than in that of his North-American colleague, for the usual advancement of the British officer is not regarded as a promotion. This advancement continues between promotions, and proceeds by way of small increments and by way of informal recognition of his growing experience, manifested, for instance, by more attention and weight being given to his opinion. These satisfactions are not hampered by the length of time spent in one class, nor by the laterally restricted range of the lines of promotion, usually confined within a functional line of grades - the "Class" as the term applies in Great Britain. The variety of work is decidedly not restricted by the classification system. And a tendency is evident in Great Britain to open a runway as long as possible for promotion of people of genuine ability, for the British civil service authorities are aware that

"persons recruited to the service.....should be placed on an equality for the purpose of opportunity of promotion to higher posts.....artificial barriers to promotion, where now they exist, should be removed; and the material hindrances must not be allowed to block merit and ability." 26

26. Joint Committee on the Organization etc. of the Civil Service, appointed by the Civil Service National Whitley Council, Report dated February 17, 1920. par. 55.

Nevertheless, the Administrative Class is still in many respects a separate preserve, and its upper sector, the Higher Civil Service, including the Under Secretaries and above, are "the grades above the 'normal career level' ".²⁷ But civil servants of ability aspire to that level, with its exacting duties and corresponding prestige, and they reach it.

Compared with that prospect, the amorphous upper layer of the civil service in Canada seems far less effective as a goal for an ambitious person, a goal whose prospect could spur him to a life-long effort. There is not in the Canadian service a distinct level of prestige-posts, no traditions of long standing to enhance and set off the social standing of such posts as do exist in the upper reaches of the civil service, not even a very clear conception of these upper reaches as an entity. This situation, however, is still more favourable to a person with an ambition of making the civil service his career than is the case in the United States, where

"If a civil servant does by chance graduate into the political hierarchy of Secretary, he risks not only demotion but discharge, if his political backers are defeated at the polls." ²⁸

The similar danger to career service from that open upper outlet into the political is being diminished in Canada at present, with the introduction of the Executive Assistant Deputy Head into the uppermost hierarchy of the departments. The introduction of this political officer will leave the post of Assistant Deputy Head as a clearly a-political, civil service career

27. Committee on Higher Civil Service Remuneration, Report February 1949, Cmd. 7635. par. 3.

28. H. Struve Hensel "Ways and Means for Recruiting Capable Federal Executives" Public Administration Review. v. 13 No. 2 (Spring, 1953) 123-129.

position.²⁹ Whether this innovation will enhance the prestige value of the upper classes in the civil service of Canada remains to be seen. The probability does not seem very great, given the general temper of the North American, and the prevailing evaluation of any occupation or position mainly upon the criterion of salary or income, which is serving also as a ready modulus of advancement.³⁰ Moreover, it seems improbable that a distinct class of higher civil servant can emerge in the Canadian circumstances, to counterbalance by its social status its monetary deficiencies. Too strong is the influence of the United States pattern, where the idea itself provides "ammunition that is easy to use and has always been most effective." ³¹

Advancement must take place, then, along the rungs of his scaffolding.

PROMOTION: PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE.

a Principle.

In the civil service of Canada promotion is the achievement and the prize of the employee. He is the primary beneficiary in it, and it is up to him to utilize the opportunities which may present themselves. Frequent reference is made to the analogy with a bottle of milk, where each droplet of cream will ultimately find its way to the top.³²

29. Note the misleading, inept nomenclature. The writer is indebted for this point to Mr. L. J. Rodger, Personnel Officer, Department of Trade and Commerce.

30. cf. M. Dreesse and K. E. Stromsen "Factors Related to Rapidity of Rise of Interns in the Federal Service" Public Personnel Review, v. 12, No. 1 (January 1951) 31-7.

31. Paget, loc. cit.

32. Everett Reimer, when discussing promotion (loc. cit. p. 173.) refers to the 'cream approach' current in the U.S.A., along with 'shoe leather' approach and with 'desk-to-desk' approach. One should observe that the second and third methods are subordinate to the first, for only when the milk, as it were, is left undisturbed and the cream droplets climb up as may happen, some will use their shoe soles, others will shove imperceptibly from desk to desk. It would be different in a 'separator approach', if one may venture an extension of the metaphore.

The employee, the metaphore suggests, has to be free to pick up the opportunities whenever they flash on, unhampered, and the result will come as if by itself - the best employees will rise to the top of the hierarchy. The interests of the service are paramount, to be sure. But where not contrary to these interests, vacancies should be filled by promotion.³³

There is in this attitude a remnant of the characteristic North-American belief in the essential fairness of free access to opportunities, the fairness of unrestricted possibilities, and the responsibility of the individual for the use he makes of his chance when he gets it. This 'go-getter' attitude is essentially a stand of the public, rather than of the authority. The public, the hypothetical mass of aspirants to public office might take a position of asserting 'Well, you had your chance'. The management cannot preserve such a detached disinterestedness. The management is interested not only in having competent people at the top, but equally in having the most efficient service of each employee and the best morale of all. To the management, a vacancy is a task vacated, which has to be placed in worthy hands; to the group of competitors for a job it is an opportunity which should be distributed fairly. It is not the position of the management that is embodied in the customary North-American attitude, for it is not as the bounty of the king, or other form of prerogative, that promotion is being given out. It is as a post which belongs to the people, which is being offered to whoever merits it best. The public, it is believed, has a preeminent right to the vacancy, and under its eyes it should be allotted in fairness, without preferences. Therefore the 'separator approach' is foreign to the North-American. He prefers the 'milk bottle'

33. Civil Service Act, 1952, s.49 (1).

approach, where he himself either makes the mark or misses it, but in reliance on his own capabilities, not on another's evaluation of them. The fairest way to the equitable distribution of public jobs is said to be the relative desert of contenders. It is as a compromise with modern conditions, those modern conditions that proved the managerial approach right and the Jacksonian democracy wrong, that the contender has to prove his desert by satisfying the management about his ability to carry out the duties of the position in the best fashion. And nothing will prove this better than a competitive examination, says the popular belief. The examination must only be free of any irrelevant considerations. - This is the origin of the ubiquity of competitive examinations all over the domain of the public service in North America.

These tenets are believed in by the more orthodox part of the staff in the Canadian Civil Service Commission.³⁴ They are not held as absolutely in the departments. One is tempted to suggest that the departmental officers, with their defined managerial responsibility for executive tasks, cannot so fully surrender the managerial stand and embrace the role of a disinterested referee, as can members of a staff-agency. Characteristically, the above tenets ceased long ago to be professed in the United States.³⁵ In that country the practice veered

34. One of the Classification Officers of the Civil Service Commission characteristically related to the writer, how, when a vacancy occurs in the service, no heir apparent has been groomed for it beforehand. Rather, he said, all probable successors would be kept on their toes, alert and strictly arraigned on the starting line, to begin the race at the signal from the Commission. The best runner should, and would, be the winner.

35. The President's Committee on Administrative Management complained about the inactivity of the Civil Service Commission in locating prospective promotees. (p.83). The First Hoover Commission's Task Force urged the compilation of a roster of

away from the strict abstinence from directing and active pre-selecting for promotion. During the early post-war years a Committee for the Placement of potential promotees was working, though with limited efficacy,³⁶ and in 1955 a roster of candidates for key posts was established on a government-wide basis.³⁷ Specially selected prospective promotees are given training in the Internship Training Programs in the United States, in an effort to facilitate their undertaking more advanced duties. No guarantee is given the interns that any promotion will materialize, but experience shows that they advance faster and find more opportunities. The program is claimed to be a step on the "way to find

35. (cont'd)

prospective promotees (p.40). Second Hoover Commission's Task Force complained that the Government not only does not recognize capacity in its employees, but cannot even take official note of the most plainly demonstrated capability, which is neglected. The Report of the Commission strongly concurs with that finding (Task Force Report p. 49; Commission Report p. 37). The U.S.C.S.C. in its Annual Report for the year 1956 refers to the need to motivate and develop people for promotion (p.49), and its Chairman, Mr. Philip Young, believed it to be the agency's responsibility to seek out the young and promising among its employees when there is a vacancy for them to fill ("The Federal Service Entrance Examination" Public Administration Review, v. 16 No. 1 (Winter 1956) 1-5).

In a Federal Department of the Government of Canada a Chief of Personnel told the writer, that he absolutely disagrees with promotion competitions as used in the civil service. "They stir up thirteen people, leave twelve disappointed and one who should have had it anyway" said the officer.

36. Herman Miles Somers in Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige and Problems, p. 77.

37. Improving Career Managers in the Government Service an address by John W. Macy Jr. at the 18th Annual Conference of the Texas Personnel and Management Association, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, Nov. 1, 1956.

This should not, however, be interpreted too unqualifiedly to mean that career in general is planned in the U.S.A. It is rather only an indication of an enhanced conflict of older and newer trends, where these latter become more vociferous. It is too early to judge what would be the outcome. See infra. n. 56, for the short and rather fragmentary span of the planned part of the FSSE career.

and develop....administrative ability",³⁸ which is a considerably more active participation in promotion than the general Canadian service knows, even if the Junior Officers are included, i.e. those who come up as promotees to the course of administration for Junior Administrative Officers. In both cases alike no guarantee whatever is given, but the aim of seeking out the talented promotee is not so actively and positively declared in Canada as it is in some cases in the United States.

b General practices.

The practices involved in promoting the civil servant fall naturally into two categories, namely the ones observed by the management and those resorted to by the civil servant. As noted above, the management in Canada follows the rules based on the belief that the vacancy is a public property. Each vacancy is filled by promotion when there is a field of candidates, or one pre-eminently suitable candidate available. If the deputy head of the department states that the vacancy may be filled by promotion, he would indicate the groups or classes to which the competition should be restricted.³⁹ The vacancy would be advertised in the designated area, and applications invited. The proper tests, - examinations or perusal of credentials, service records or information included in the application - would be administered by a board of not less than three members, and promotion awarded and publicized. If there is one preeminent candidate, no advertisement would be made, but his promotion would be posted for public notice within the area where the promotion-competition would have to take place. Here one of the main difficulties in providing a government-wide career originates: It is a departmental vacancy that is filled, most often by a departmental

38. U.S.C.S.C. Guide for Internship Training in the Federal Service
Pamphlet 46, June 1952.

39. C. S. Regulations, s. 56.

promotion; inter-departmental promotion by means of a promotion-competition is almost unknown. The disparity within the service as between various departments is great, with departments having a very real role and a substantial influence.⁴⁰ - Each promotion may be appealed by any employee entitled to consideration, and becomes permanent only after the lapse of the appeal period and the disposal of appeals.⁴¹

This procedure differs markedly from the ones used in the United States and in Great Britain. In the United States, there is no government-wide standard, with departments or even smaller units following their own rules, some requiring a selection board, others permitting the immediate supervisor to nominate the promotee, still others having a formal competition. The only general rules are those imposing some restrictions, such as limiting the number of promotions per year or prohibiting a promotion within three months of a competitive appointment,⁴² etc. In Great Britain, however, the system, set and definite, recognizes promotion as the prerogative of management, and permission for the employee to make representations is regarded as a privilege, freely granted, but not as a right.⁴³ Selection by examination is exceptional,

40. e.g. in 1954, and again in February 1956, one of the Departments insisted that a vacancy, to which each time one suitable candidate only was available, should be advertised for an open competition. The aggrieved officers left the service; thus the initiative of the department twice disrupted a career and caused a loss of a very promising junior. (Source: internal memorandum).

41. C.S. Regulations, s. 63.

42. Second Hoover Commission Task Force pp. 161 ff.
cf. U.S.C.S.C. Notes on Promotion, dated 25 February 1955.
Coded 251-117/55.

43. Treasury Circular TC 22/38, par. d.

and whenever the Head of a Department cannot base selection upon personal knowledge of candidates, a promotion board is appointed to advise him.⁴⁴ If any previously accepted principle is claimed to be violated in a promotion, the Departmental Whitley Council may make representations. Staff associations are given early notification of appointments for this purpose. Vacancies are brought to the attention of those directly affected, but no applications are accepted unless specially called for, and any attempt to secure support for a candidate disqualifies him.⁴⁵ Limited competitions are advertised only when they are government-wide, and lead only to the basic bottom-grade of a class. A fee is collected in these competitions, and except for the age requirements, which are adjusted, they resemble in all respects an open competition and are regarded as recruitment, not as promotion. There is, therefore, no departmental promotion to the basic grades of Assistant Principal or of Executive Officer.⁴⁶ Unlike that system, the Canadian promotion competitions are ever-present, impose no age limits in some cases at all,⁴⁷ and demonstrate clearly the 'studious avoidance of establishing any apparent crown-princes'. The Civil Service Commission prompts the departments positively to encourage employees to be constantly on the look-out for opportunities, which may appear any time and vanish as unexpectedly, and to take part in as many competitions as may be available.⁴⁸ Many

44. T.C. 11/22 par. 6 - 21.

45. Ibid., par. 6 - 27, 29, 32; 5-17; 3-8.

46. T.C. 12/48. Normal Recruitment to the General Classes, August 13, 1948.

47. E.g. competition 57 - P - 1D - 87 (for a sole position of Administrative Officer 3).

48. see J. C. Woodward, loc. cit.

departments, on the other hand, are rather eager to have positions filled by open competition, rather than by a promotion-competition. They encourage their employees to participate in these open competitions, and believe that this honours the rights of their employees under s.49. of the Civil Service Act, while being fair to the service and the public.⁴⁹

" To summarize, the civil servant in Canada can rise to senior levels by a system of competitive promotions even to the office of Assistant Deputy Minister." 50

The civil servant certainly can rise - there is nothing to prohibit it. In complete equality with his British and United States colleagues, he cannot claim any right to a promotion. He does not think that such a right is his due.⁵¹ Moreover, he does not have an ex officio protector who would look for an opportunity to advance him, while he himself is bent over his desk, as the British civil servant has in his supervisors, and as the United States civil servant may happen to have in some agencies. This last fact, the lack of a protector, seems particularly to agree with the popular temper in Canada. The Civil Service Commission

49. C.S.C., a file of Departmental Correspondence.

50. Dr. O. E. Ault, "Executive Development in Canadian Government". Personnel Administration v. 17 No. 6 (November, 1954), 24-29.

51. The position in Great Britain was noted above, n. 43. The situation in the United States was well described in Bet. Govt. Pers. Evidence, p. 140. The feeling that such rights are not due, and, if given, constitute an unfair privilege, is well documented for Canada by the objections raised by the Civil Service Federation in 1935 to the passage in the poster advertising a Clerk Gr. 4, (Male), competition. This adverted that "Early opportunities may be expected, if satisfactory service is rendered, for promotion to Principal Clerkships.....and to higher grades in the Service." In the objection it said, "advertised vacancies have never been previously presented in such glowing terms." - (Source - a memorandum sent to the Ottawa daily papers on April 30, 1935, mentioned in the files of the Civil Service Commission.)

itself seems to have been repeatedly on the verge of reaching another position, one more likely to reflect the interests of the management. As early as 1934, in the course of planning the non-specialist university graduates' recruitment as Clerks Gr. 4, it was remarked that "the present system is noted principally for the lack of a comprehensive plan for providing officers adequately equipped to replace the senior officers of the Service as their positions fall vacant".⁵² Since then the effort to have the J.A.O. class and its sequels planned went on, and it is not yet over. In July 1956 one of the Civil Service Commissioners told the writer that the Commission is very deeply concerned with the planning of careers, including the major problems of promotions and transfers. There should not be a systematic advancement of mediocrity, he believed. The same note was prominently sounded again in the Conference of Senior Personnel Officers on May 20-21, 1957, referred to above. The Conference heard an eulogy of the Army practices, where the advancement of the officer is planned by his superiors.

On the other hand the mass of the employees must feel apprehensive of any planning of individual careers, lest it introduce inequity. When the administrative classes were reviewed in 1938, the enmity of the rank and file must have been considerable, for a proposal was raised to have the administrative trainees attached as understudies to senior officers, but not included in the establishments, so as to relieve the objections of staff who resented the prospect of having to contend with the newcomers for available vacancies.⁵³ In 1955 the Chairman of the Civil Service

52. Internal memorandum of March 2, 1934. The Secretary of the C.S.C. dissented from this passage when it was considered at that time.

53. Internal memorandum of February 2, 1938.

Commission asserted again that the J.A.O's

"do not, by the way, receive any advantage in promotion competitions - they have to earn advancement just like anyone else - but the record shows that they are fast-rising types..."⁵⁴

and the Summary of the Conference on May 20-21, 1957 expressed one of its findings in guarded language, saying that the government tends more and more to search internally for people to fill the senior posts - meaning, of course, to promote officers rather than advertise vacancies for competitions. In this effort the Civil Service Commission has to contend with the particularistic tendencies of departments as well, for these tend to direct the entrants in disregard of any master plans.⁵⁵

c Administrative Officers

The advancement of a Junior Administrative Officer is planned for the first two or three years. He comes in, is given a year's training while a probationer; then, if his appearance before the Annual Review Board is successful, his probation is over and he becomes an Administrative Assistant. After two years, and in exceptional cases after one year, he is promoted, if successful, to Administrative Office 1. From here on he must fend for himself, looking for vacated posts and competitions. In this he parallels closely the planned path of the J.M.A. and of the F.S.E.E. in the United States.⁵⁶ Indeed the plans of both general career groups, in the

54. C. H. Bland, Opportunities in Government Service.

55. A memorandum of April 10, 1956, contains instances of a departmental promotion in disregard of general rules laid down for JAO's, and a decision on training to be given to an officer, which deprived him of a promotion for which he was recommended.

56. cf. (1) Milton M. Mandell "The JMA Program" Public Administration Review, v. 13 No. 2 (Spring, 1953) 106-112. (2) Program for Recruitment and Training of FSEE Eligibles by the Civil Service Commission. Personnel Division, U.S.C.S.C. January 1956. 7 unnumbered pages, mimeo. p. 5.

United States and in Canada, fit exactly the apt description given to the merit system in Luther C. Steward's testimony before the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel in 1935.⁵⁷ One enters through a door of a stage setting - behind it one finds nothing. Only in some agencies of the United States' Government, notably in the Civil Service Commission itself, one finds elaborate promotion programs with appropriate devices.⁵⁸ The basic difference between these systems and the British one is too well known to require more than mere mention.

d Non-competitive Changes:
Re-classification and Transfer.

The two non-competitive ways of change in the position of a civil servant remain to be discussed, namely re-classification and transfer. Re-classification is the term given to a change in classification due to changes in the duties of a position, or to a mistake in the initial classification, discovered later. Technically this is done by abolishing the old position, creating a new one and appointing the incumbent to the new position. While historically it was not always a full promotion - for in the 1930's it often served in order to impose duties of a higher-paid post without awarding its salary - at present it is a form of advancement independent of establishment or vacancies. As such it may thrive only in systems where establishment is not regarded too seriously. In the civil service of Canada it became confused with promotion without competition, and established itself in areas of office work, where it clearly might subvert establishment. Nevertheless its main role lies in the scientific and professional classes, where strict establishment has little meaning,

57. Bet. Gov. Pers. Evidence, p. 64.

58. See Commission letter No. 57-40, June 25, 1957, with attachments.

for a scientist does advance and become more valuable with his accumulating experience, and he does develop and sometimes radically alter his position, in full independence from hierarchical status and establishment or salary. Such advancement can hardly be recognized in another way but some technique of re-classification, given the structure of job-oriented position classification. For normal promotion would have to remove him from the very spot where he contributed most and is expected to contribute more. Indeed most of the reclassification actions in Canada are concerned with scientists. Thus in 1950, for instance, they obtained about one half of all such advancements, while they constituted only between five and eight per cent of the civil service.⁵⁹ The civil service of the United States finds itself, understandably, in the same position vis-a vis the scientist, and resorts to the same technique.⁶⁰

Facilities for transferring employees between agencies or departments are desiderata hard to attain, even in the best conditions. The Royal Commission on Administrative Classification in 1946 found that higher personnel is often used in an inefficient way because of the lack of a way to arrange for an occasional transfer.⁶¹ The situation is not

59. Internal memorandum dated May 18, 1950. - Although many grades in the civil service should be excluded from this generalization, for they could not possibly claim re-classifications -, the proportion is nevertheless heavily weighted in favour of the scientific workers.
60. "A related kind of flexibility comes from the fact that an outstanding scientific or professional worker inevitably attracts to himself projects of progressively greater significance. As his job increases in this way, his classification can be adjusted accordingly. Thus the rank of the job grows with the increasing stature of the man." - Philip Young, in the address to the 16th Annual Conference of the Society for Personnel Administration: A Forward Look in Personnel Administration. Washington, May 16, 1956.
61. Royal Commission on the Administrative Classification in the Public Service, 1946. Report, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1946. p. 20.

much better now, for transfers may be effected only upon the authority of a deputy head, and, between various departments, upon the request of both deputy heads.⁶² In the United States the usual thing to do, in a situation where transfer would be indicated, is to resort to competition for another post, elsewhere. In Great Britain transfer became quite common during the war, when the technique helped to staff new departments.⁶³ But after the war the frequency must have decreased again, for lately opinions have been heard to the effect that the civil servant is rather a servant of a department than a member of a general civil service working staff, and that transfer is almost impossible because of the non-transferability of seniority-privileges.⁶⁴ Effective use of transfer involves a central personnel agency well acquainted with the staff in all departments and provided with considerable authority in management of personnel matters within the departments - something that contradicts efficient management and discipline within the departments. The closest approach to a desirable solution, would probably be informal meetings of personnel officers for the sake of exchanging information on such matters - a method used in some places in the British civil service.

MERIT FOR PROMOTION.

In the civil service and in the Civil Service Commission one finds the belief that a fair merit system is incompatible with the protection of

62. C.S. Act 1952, s. 50. This is a real obstacle to action in some cases. In the C.S.C. circles it is felt as such, and one of the Commissioners was quite outspoken in summer of 1956, when telling the writer how this condition, in conjunction with the re-acceptance by the Commission, led many times to total loss of potentialities for advancement, leaving people stranded in blind alleys.

63. The Reform of the Higher Civil Service, par. 57.

64. Gladden, Civil Service or Bureaucracy, pp. 97 ff.

the employee or the solicitousness for his sheltered career. The belief seems to be based on the assumption that office, that permanent public property, should be constantly open to the public. This means making the employee compete with the public for vacancies which might offer him promotion. On the other hand the Canadian is not a docile type, and a system requiring years of staying at one level of salary and in the same grade does not appeal to him. The reaction of the employee in the Federal civil service to the conditions he finds there is a fully adequate adjustment to his own needs and ambitions. He knows that he is expected to take advantage of the opportunities which are said to offer themselves throughout the vast area of the service, opportunities that come and go like flashes on a switchboard, and which are the prize of those alert and able enough to seize them. He knows that he will have only himself to blame for missed opportunities. He is on his guard. He is not set primarily on making progress by patient work of the best standard and awaiting the reward to come from above. He feels the urge to make his own opportunity, to be alert and quick rather than painstaking. Since an opportunity on the outside is not scorned, for it may indeed be even better than one inside-; since the service is not the only place for a planned life-time work - even the attitude to promotion is not as serious and deliberate as it might be in systems featuring life-time careers. It is widely recognized in the civil service that one who concentrates excessively at one's job is at a disadvantage as far as advancement is concerned, advancement, however, is not as crucial as it might seem, for there are opportunities everywhere. Accordingly the employee is encouraged, as noted above, to participate in as many competitions as he may:

"Announcements of vacant positions, setting forth the duties and qualifications required for the job, will be circulated from time to time. It is to your advantage to read each of them, study the duties and qualifications, and decide whether or not you can fill the bill. If you think you can, by all means apply for the position. You may enter as many competitions as you like - if you fail to qualify it is not held against you.....IN A FEW WORDS - PROMOTION IS UP TO YOU". 65

The position is essentially similar in the United States, where long tenure even at posts quite high in the hierarchy is rather an exception.⁶⁶

On the other hand the recognition is growing in the United States, that

"One of the most important incentives in any way of life is the knowledge that hard work and devotion to duty will produce a relatively orderly career development and the assurance of fair treatment." 67

The same feeling may be said to underlie the numerous expressions of concern with the attractiveness and the future of the British civil service career, that fill the Evidence and the Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55. And though, as it was noted, the practice in the North-American civil services brought about an adjustment on the part of the employee, which is oblivious to that theory and even contradicts it. This statement applies equally to the United States and to Canada. The opportunity-hunt may bring other advantages, not necessarily by way of a change of place of work. The employee who finds an opening elsewhere may use — and often does use — that fact as a point of leverage to achieve

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65. C.S.C. For Your Information As a Civil Servant. Ottawa, Kings' Printer, 1951. pp 16-17. Capitals in the original.
66. cf. F. G. Connor and R. H. Landis "The Federal Administrative Program" Personnel Administration v. 8 No. 4 (December, 1945), 11-14, - They report average length of tenure in government, reported by the interns, as 5 years 1 month; average tenure in present classification - 10 months; average age - 28.9 years.
67. U. S. Senate Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service, Administration of the Civil Service System, Report to the Committee. U.S.G.P.O. Washington 1957 (85th Congress, 1st Session, Committee Print No. 2.) p. 55. (Report of the Special Consultant.)

a promotion in his old place of work in the civil service.⁶⁸ This is institutionalized in Canada, in the Civil Service Act, s. 64, which permits extraordinary promotion within the department for employees who have won in an open competition for a higher class. This 'merit by opportunity-hunt' certainly contradicts merit by efficiency.

QUANTITATIVE PRESENTATION.

Due to the amorphous path of advancement found in the civil service of Canada any statistical presentations based on class-titles should be avoided in the treatment of the general service, for that criterion is due to chance and is, thus, arbitrary. Rather, all the incumbents of higher-salary positions in the general service must be treated as one homogeneous group. Separate treatment may be given the scientific and professional classes, and the Foreign Service Officers may be treated as representatives of a planned career service. The Junior Administrative Officers and Junior Officers - promotees from the ranks - may be regarded as a separate group, with the possible inclusion of the Administrative Assistants. They represent the planned and controlled part of the incipient general career service.

a Positions in higher salary ranges.

The register of recipients of a salary of \$7,500 and above p.a., maintained by the Civil Service Commission, and containing 863 separate personal histories, was used as the basis for study. Due to some overlapping and disparities in the numerous salary schedules a division by zones of \$1000 has been adopted instead of indications of grades or classes. No figures for participation in competitions could be ascertained.

68. In the files of the C.S.C. one finds references to requests for promotion of employees, who have been offered another job and whom their supervisors are loath to lose.

The number of promotions effected as a result of competition is given in Table No. 9.

TABLE 9. Number of successes in competitions of Officers in their several salary groups.

Salary in \$	Number of successes in competitions										Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
7500-8000	1			1								2
8001-9000	154*	53	24	34	24	15	10	4	2			320
9001-10000	115*	42	31	27	27	11	7	6	6	2	1	275
10001-11000	49	14	19	11	12	8	4	2	1			120
11001-12000	39	23	7	6	3	5	1	1				85
12001-13000	14	5	3	4	3	6		1				36
13001-14000	9				3	2				1		15
14001-15000	2	1	1		1	1						6
15001-16000	1											1
16001-17000	1			1								2
17001-18000												
18001-19000		1										1
Total	385	139	85	84	73	48	22	14	9	3	1	863

Notes: * Number includes 89 medical officers, who, in line with all the scientists and professionals, seldom take part in competitions, their usual manner of advancement being re-classification. It has been noted by the Civil Service Commission, that in 1950, for instance, scientific officers constituted only between 5% and 8% of the Civil Service, but received about 50% of all the re-classifications.

* Number includes 51 medical officers as above, and an uncertain number of other professionals.

Source: Civil Service Commission, personal records of federal civil service, senior personnel.

N.B. "Salary" is understood to mean the maximum of an individual's salary range. 69

No records are kept of the number of incumbents in the several classes or grades, therefore the total of incumbents in the several salary ranges, given in Table 9, will have to substitute for a presentation, which

69. The practice in the federal service is to define salary not at the actual rate of pay, but at the maximum of the range for that particular salary-class. It has been necessary to follow this as consistently as possible throughout the present study, for it was impossible to check every datum as to its actual momentary referent in dollars-and-cents paid-out. Nevertheless some inconsistencies are most certainly hidden in the records collected.

would otherwise entail the perusal of all the personal files of the individuals, both included in the table and not included, because of lower salary levels.- A corresponding presentation of the numbers of employees in the Federal civil service of the United States, by their G S grade, may be found in the Report of the Task Force on Personnel and Civil Service of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, February 1955, p. 161. Their median rate of advancement is given in the Annual Report of the U.S. Civil Service Commission for the year 1956, p. 59. The want of comparable records, however, has little meaning in the Canadian circumstances, for the number of incumbents at the several levels is incidental, in the absence of any factor regulating the relativities between classes. Not even the highest levels are subject to control, as the three 'supergrades' are controlled by statute in the United States.

b Administrative Officers

In the absence of any general service-wide records, a study of a departmental group of administrative officers employed by the Department of Trade and Commerce was made and used as a sample fairly representative of other such groups. It included forty individuals, classified in the Administrative or in a variety of other classes, but all employed at administrative office-work. The incumbents were rated by grades when in the Administrative series only, and by length of service - as an indicator of the rate of advancement.

TABLE 10. Officers on administrative work in the Department of Trade and Commerce, by class and length of service.

Class	Length of service (years)								Total
	0-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30+	
Jun. Admin. Off.									0
Admin. Assistant									0
Admin. Officer 1	2			3				1	6
Admin. Officer 2		2	1		1		1		5
Admin. Officer 3	1	1		2	2				6
Admin. Officer 4			2				1		3
Admin. Officer 5			2		1				3
Admin. Officer 6							1		1
Admin. Officer 7				1			1		2
Other Administr.								1	1
Other classes				6	5	1		1	13
Total	3	3	5	12	9	1	4	3	40

Source: Personnel records, Department of Trade and Commerce.

This table does not reveal anything beyond the operation of chance, as usual in the advancement of federal civil servants who are not within well-defined departmental planned services.

The division by number of competitions successfully undertaken in relation to the length of service is not more revealing.

TABLE 11. Number of administrative officers who successfully participated in one, two, or more competitions, in relation to length of service.

Number of successful competitions	Length of service (years)								Total
	0-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30+	
0	3	2	5	11	8	1	1	2	33
1				1	1		2	1	5
2		1					1		2
More than 2									0
Total	3	3	5	12	9	1	4	3	40

Source: Personnel records, Department of Trade and Commerce.

The division into directly recruited officers and promotees from the ranks is presented in table 12.

TABLE 12. Direct entrants and promotees in relation to length of service.

Category	Length of service (years)								Total
	0-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30+	
Promotees	1	3	2	12	9		4	3	34
Direct Entrants	2		3			1			6
Total	3	3	5	12	9	1	4	3	40

Source: Personnel records, Department of Trade and Commerce.

With the exception of the only officer recruited directly for administrative work in the group of 20-25 years of service, direct recruits are a strictly recent phenomenon.

On this point the Canadian Administrative Officer classes differ strongly from the United States' JMA's, for those were strictly entrants and recruits, no promotees from the ranks admitted. The situation in Canada resembles the British more in having classes open to promotees - who constituted over one half of the British Administrative Class in 1950,⁷⁰ not, however, in having introduced a class set apart for 'crown princes', which, indeed, has not been true even of the British Administrative Class for some time.

The data on the JMA in the United States show a clear pattern of advancement in that class, consistent with the length of service.⁷¹ The recent position has been described thus:

".....half of the group appointed in 1949 and 1950 are at GS-13 or higher and somewhat more than half of those appointed in 1951 and 1952 are at GS-12 and higher. Of the total group of 143 JMA's for whom the data are available, 132 are at GS-11 or higher."⁷²

70. The exact number is 1323 promotees as against 1290 direct entrants. The figures and their breakdown by grades in W.A. Robson, ed., The Civil Service in Great Britain and France, p. 103.

71. Milton M. Mandell "Evaluating the JMA Program" Personnel Administration v. 18 No. 3 (May, 1955), 7-10 & 22. Table on p. 8.

72. Milton M. Mandell, in a letter to the writer, dated June 27, 1957, for which due thanks are rendered here. Data pertain to Fall of 1956.

The lack of any general data on the Administrative Officers in the civil Service of Canada, and the smallness of the samples collected by the writer, would make any inference at the present stage as to the pattern of their career highly dubious. The pattern of advancement in the British Administrative Class is common knowledge. The inner distribution of its members as to their grades, however, might be of interest, for it reveals the sound relativities preserved within it, particularly in regard to the prospects of a new entrant. The following table shows the position as of 1956.

TABLE 13. Inner Composition of the Administrative Class in Great Britain by Grades. (Home Civil Service only.)

Grade	Total Number	Included private secretaries	Included Resident Clerks
Permanent Secretary	36		
Deputy Secretary	48		
Principal Under Secretary	1		
Under Secretary	185		
Assistant Secretary	619		
Principal	1213	18	
Assistant Principal	265	67	4
Grand total	2367	85	4

Source: C.S.C., The Administrative Class of the Home Civil Service.
London, Civil Service Commission. 1956.

No comparable numbers about the Executive classes are available.⁷³

c Scientists and Professionals.

No government-wide records of advancement and no numbers of incumbents at the several levels are available. Therefore some departmental groups of

73. This is a serious lack, for there are numbers available showing the promotions into the Administrative Class. If numbers were available to show out of what group these promotees came, an index of the worth of such prospect would become available.

scientific workers had to be studied. This was expected to permit judgment by analogy, on the assumption that live practice in the departments would have to follow some lines of similarity in consequence of the basic comparability of the nature of scientific work. Two groups were found to be represented in a shape consistent and clear enough for that purpose. These were the scientific employees of the Departments of Agriculture and of Trade and Commerce. Accordingly, a sample of 149 scientists employed by the Department of Agriculture (every third name on a list of them) and the entire group employed by the Department of Trade and Commerce, numbering 24, were studied by the writer.

The manner of their advancement was as follows:

Among the sampled records of 149 scientific employees of the department of Agriculture the author found only two (2) ascertained cases of promotion through competition, with a further two cases where competition might have been purely formal. Against this there was only one case - of an employee recruited with a doctor's degree in 1956, - when there had been no advancement in salary since entry, and, on the other hand, an immense number of reclassifications.

Among the 24 employees of the Department of Trade and Commerce only two did not receive any raise in salary - both were hired in 1957. The writer found in the records eighty cases of reclassification, none of competitive promotion. The numbers of reclassifications per person range from none to six each. Four employees received six reclassifications each, five persons had five each, three employees received four reclassifications per person.

Advancement by grades, as well as numbers of incumbents at the several grade-levels, are of no consequence for reasons of disparity, as noted above.

This situation is very different from the one prevailing in Great Britain, where, with the White Paper on the Scientific Civil Service and the introduction of central recruitment, an establishment has been developed, which is preserved as far as this is compatible with the specific character of scientific work.⁷⁴ The development in Canada does not seem to indicate any real need for a set establishment. In material points the progress is certainly great and encouraging, as for instance in the field of advancement, which has vastly improved since the Royal Commission of 1930 complained about the pathetic lack of promotion.⁷⁵

The findings in relation to Foreign Service Officers will be presented in the framework of the case study of the Department of Trade and Commerce, in Chapter Six.

RESUME OF PROBLEMS.

The classification plan of 1919 was supposed to assure that: a equal work carries equal compensation and b increased efficiency carries increased compensation, but c seniority advancement "out of all reason" is halted. These goals have not been fully achieved. At present equal class, which means equal title, carries equal compensation, but does not necessarily mean that work is equal. Higher class with higher salary does not necessarily signify higher efficiency. And advancement "out of all reason" might be possible.⁷⁶

74. The Scientific Civil Service, Reorganization and Recruitment during the Reconstruction Period, Cmd 6679, September 1945. The establishment developed is highly flexible, but definite enough in shape. See Cmd 9613, Evidence 16th day, qu. 2503-9, also Report, par. 534, - for a table of composition of the several grades.

75. Royal Commission on Technical and Professional Services, Report, February 1930. Ottawa, King's Printer, 1930.p. 15.

76. e.g. In one of the correspondence files, about ten years old, the

Advancement is hardly planned. The best specimens of a plan might probably be found in the careful and well reasoned opinions of the Annual Review Boards that pass upon Administrative probationers, but even this planning is for a short term only.⁷⁷ Some indications of a growing trend towards more extensive planning were found. These stress a more orderly promotion and one planned for longer periods ahead,⁷⁸ but not the closing of the civil service as a cadre with recruitment restricted exclusively to points of entry. It is realized that the civil service in Canada produces too few top rank administrators, and that this fact reflects upon recruitment and diminishes the attractiveness of the civil service career - thus creating a vicious circle.⁷⁹ The situation in Canada, compared with that in Great Britain, would probably present the most pronounced contrast precisely on this score. The career of a British civil servant is believed to be very attractive, for many candidates seek it, and they hope to attain in government what business does not usually offer - access to positions of managerial responsibility. The British civil service does aspire to a

76. (cont'd)

writer found a case of an Administrative Officer who was offered another job, and whom his superior wanted to keep. The superior was urging a promotion, which, in the words of one document, depended on whether a suitable title could be "dreamed up". There seem to be no reasons to be certain that this cannot happen under the present system.

77. Here is an example of this planning probably at its best:
 "The department's immediate plans for Mr.-- are to leave him in the Personnel Division and to develop him as a general Personnel Officer. They foresee an administrative career for him but they can also see him in positions such as that of Personnel Selection Officer in the C.S.C. where he would have to deal with large numbers of people in various departments and to exercise judgment in the selection of people....." (Excerpt from a report by an Annual Review Board in 1955. The finding endorsed by the Board. Quoted from the files of the C.S.C. by permission).

78. cf. Royal Commission on Administrative Classification, 1946, Report, p. 19 and passim.

79. See, e.g. Watters and Gow, loc. cit.

closed system, and does not favour mobility between itself and external employment.⁸⁰

On the other hand there are similarities in the working of the two systems. It has been noted that the highest echelons in Britain contain people recruited from the whole area of the civil service, which thus becomes unitary in a sense.⁸¹ This characteristic is pronouncedly present in the civil service of Canada as well. And the great number of increases in compensation and in classification, in comparison with the far smaller number of successes in competitions found in the records of some categories in the civil service proves that in some parts promotion comes often not through opportunity-hunt, but as recognition of a good claim - making it much closer to the British pattern, if more confused. A related problem is still perplexing; that is the question how to reconcile the need of some additional seasoned administrators at the top, with the undifferentiated recruitment and the amorphous structure of the service. For top-rank administrators are produced within some distinct group, such as an Administrative Class in Britain or a Senior Civil Service contemplated in the United States. The attempts at creating a series of Administrative Officer classes in Canada did not crystallize into the formation of any separate group, and such an idea

80. Cmd. 9613, 7th day, Memorandum par. 17; Report, par. 701; see also The Reform of the Higher Civil Service, par. 65, 67, 68, for the evaluation of the attractiveness of the service and for tabulation of the career patterns. That tabulation shows that the probability of consummation of a career at the Assistant Secretary level or better was, for the direct entrant to the Administrative Class, who obtained promotion to the rank of Principal - about 80.9% at the age of 41 or above, 41.3% at an age lower than 41 -. For the group studied as a whole - the probability was 60.4%. Promotees from the ranks had, respectively, that prospect in 39.5% for the older, 29.9% for the younger group, and for the promotees as one group 37.8%. It is not yet certain how much did the last ten years tarnish that reputation or permanently change the trends in the British public. The Annual Reports of the C.S.C. for the years 1955-6 and 1956-7 show a tone distinctly less gloomy than that of the Memorandum submitted to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service in 1955.

81. Sir Edward Bridges, "The Reforms of 1854 in Retrospect" The Political Quarterly, v. 25. No. 4. (October-December 1954) 216-222

is not yet current in the civil service. A separate group entails a planned career - which is another idea not yet acceptable on the North American continent. The British idea of a career brings to the mind the image of a runway, with a set course; the North American prefers the jumping-board.⁸²

A profound contradiction is concealed behind the notions underlying the North-American systems of structure and promotion. The recruit is selected mostly by a specific examination, for a definite and specialized job. But the structure does not offer him a long and clear line of promotion along a series of posts for which he is qualified, and which are set apart for him and protected from lateral entrants. The system of promotion would favour rather a candidate with multiple skills and great versatility. Those are exactly the people whom the present system of selection does not recruit. The operation of this contradiction does not favour the development of profound knowledge of one's field in the civil service; it does not produce top ranking men in any field.

A minor point, but one characteristic of Canada, is the prolonged effort on the part of the Civil Service Commission to please everybody, to the detriment of the clarity of system and ultimately leading to confusion. Nothing illustrates this inclination better than the following passage from the Annual Report for the year 1955 (p.20).

82. The question of personal rank looms large in this entire discussion. It attracts progressively more attention, and may in time bring about, as a preliminary step, some stiffening of the attitude to establishment and other elements of a more solid system. This point is significantly illuminated by the following fact. In 1949 a system of review boards was introduced in the scientific classes in Canada. The boards were charged with re-examining entrants at the end of their probation, in order to pass upon their fitness for permanency. When the system was reviewed in 1952, the Departments concerned showed a marked delight with the mere fact that there is a system, which can be consistently and strictly applied. (Source - C.S.C., files).

"It is a somewhat frustrating aspect of the Commission's classification function, however, that no matter how thoroughly and judiciously it is carried out there will always be a small number of aggrieved employees who are quite convinced that their services have been badly undervalued."

This sentiment must be held responsible for many unnecessary, even senseless complications in the structure of the civil service in Canada.⁸³ These blur and obstruct career, which must be plain and clear in order to be effective.⁸⁴ The change on this point seems rather slow in coming, for it touches upon a basic dilemma, that pertains equally to the classification system of the United States. The Report on Administration of the Civil Service System⁸⁵ brings the following observation of the Special Consultant, which applies with equal cogency to Canada: "In a sense it is a case of not being able to start a new plan because of not knowing how to let go of the old one".

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83. The story is well known of establishment of numerous classes, distinct only by title, or by a minute difference in compensation, but introduced in order to satisfy some request. Many of them longer on, as a glance at the Minutes of the Treasury Board (e.g. T.B. 519606 of July 5, 1957) will suffice to prove.
84. This point was extensively and forcefully discussed by Professor K. B. Callard in an unpublished Report on the civil service in Canada.
85. cit. supra, p. 56

CHAPTER FOUR

INCENTIVES.

A career in the civil service is not the most attractive one, for the majority of people prefer other occupations. The incentives offered by the civil service play, however, an important part in determining the attitude of the public, as well as of the employee. There is a great diversity in the value ascribed to the several rewards, stimulants and incentives as found in the civil service.¹ Nevertheless, the agreement about the identity of these incentives - as distinct from their relative importance - is considerable. These are believed to be the main ones:

Interest in the work; satisfaction with its social or public importance; security of tenure; pay; advancement; prestige; hours and conditions of work; "fringe benefits", such as pension, security of retirement and health; leave and holidays; training and education; work-relations and nature of supervision; travel opportunities; etc.

It is neither proposed to evaluate these incentives and to establish their order of importance, nor to lay down rules for their use. This study will rather attempt to ascertain the beliefs current in Canada, Great Britain and the United States about that use of the main ones, which would be most applicable to a career service. After this, it should be possible to compare the actual application of these incentives with the desiderata professed.

These desiderata are clearly implied in the concept of a career, as developed in Chapter One.

REMUNERATION.

The customary attitudes of the North American in ascribing values to these incentives make it preferable to start the discussion with the

1. See Kathleen Box, Recruitment to the Civil Service: an inquiry made by the Social Survey for H.M.'s Treasury, May to July, 1946. H.M. Stationery Office, New Series No. 80.

subject of compensation. Considerations of compensation condition, to a very great extent, the attitude to all other incentives, and often override other such considerations.² As noted above, when the expectation of long-term career connections with the employer are the accepted pattern, considerations of pay are less prominent.³ This applies particularly to immediate, initial salary at recruitment. It cannot, however, be stretched to imply that initial salary may be disregarded, even in most decisively career-orientated environments. This point was asserted by a witness before the Royal Commission on Civil Service, 1953-55, who said:

"The factory inspectorate.....has got itself into quite a shocking state. The Department will not pay professional salaries, so it just does not recruit professional people." ⁴

In Canada, where the prestige group is the one engaged in business, and the mobility is great, it has been found that, in order to attract the able and qualified to the government service, it is necessary to offer a salary "a bit above the going rate". This is the consensus of recruiters for most of the categories employed in the civil service and it recurs in their reports and memoranda over the years. A logical sequel is the concern for a comfortable salary over a period of time. This period is not very long in Canada - a few years at most, for the future of an employee cannot be calculated for longer. The situation is complicated by the very fast rate of change in the level of earnings and the standard of living in general.

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2. See supra, discussion of value of classes. cf. Bendix, op. cit. p.47.
 3. Compare the numerous paragraphs devoted to this point throughout the Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55, e.g. pars. 100, 162, 451-467, et. al. There is there a striking similarity to some of the proposals and arguments of the Royal Commission on the Administrative Classification, 1946, e.g. part 2 p. 25 of their Report.
 4. Cmd 9613, Evidence, 12-13 days, qu. 1889.

This throws out of focus any long-term planning and forces the service to plan for a short range only, with frequent adjustments and major changes. Combined with the high rate of turnover in some areas of work, it produces a constant race with the 'going rate', for any slowing-up would cause the recruitment to dry up and an increase in outflow would set in. Therefore, the salary ranges are short and shortlived.⁵ This expedient of momentary adjustments to a market price is not always accepted as an unmixed blessing, for the Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada complained repeatedly that the consideration paid to the recruit damages the morale of the existing staff who do not always receive a corresponding adjustment.⁶

The same practice of permanent adjustment to the current employment rate is adopted in the United States, where, for instance, the initial salary for engineers and physicists has been modified three times within one year, April, 1955 - April, 1956.⁷

The situation in an environment where a career setting is customary is different. The fact that civil service carries prestige in such an environment contributes markedly to that difference. In Great Britain the principles of salary policy at the recruitment level are to pay a rate comparable to external starting salary, and to provide for an adequate pay-scale along the ladder. A recruiting rate, lower than the external,

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5. For one illustration out of many, - a rate for the initial salary of graduates, set in the Fall of 1954, and still acceptable by January 1955, was found overtaken by external employers in Spring of 1955 - when the offers had to be made to the new recruits. In the Fall of 1955 the rate had to be set about 12 to 17 per cent. above the previous one. The same process goes on for many years. (Sources - various files and memoranda, especially - a memorandum of September 7, 1956.)
 6. The Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada: The Institute's Salary Brief, January 20, 1956, pp 5-6: Brief on the Need for Upward Revision of Salaries etc. February 6, 1957 pp.5-6.
 7. U.S.C.S.C. Release to the Press, April 3, 1956. See also U.S.C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1955. p. 76.

would denude the service of talent. A rate higher than outside would denude the open market and drain more than its share into the service-which would be unfair.⁸ The consideration of fairness to the employee in the civil service of Canada is necessarily and obviously present; that of fairness to the market and the competitor for manpower - absent. The writer directed a question to this effect to many officers of the Civil Service Commission, including its Secretary. The uniform answer was negative. This is most probably due to the fact that unfairness to the outside market is an academic consideration in an environment where most of the advantages lie with that market which commands both financial resources and reputation.

Initial salary may influence recruitment, but it does not, however, determine the future course of the employee. Whether this course will be that of a career service may depend, among many other considerations, upon two additional aspects of compensation. One is, whether it contributes to retaining the employee in service; the other is, whether its plan is such as to stimulate the development of the service relations in a manner characteristic of career services.

For retaining the employee, salary schedules must provide a decent standard of living at a reasonable income, enabling the employee to sustain a family when it grows.⁹ Such a salary must be comparable to those paid by good employers for similar work.¹⁰ Both the Canadian and the British civil services subscribe to these principles. In Great Britain, the recent Royal Commission on the Civil Services subjected to a searching scrutiny the

8. cf. Cmd. 9613, Report, pars. 100, 469, 538, 545, and passim:
Evidence - 3-4 days, p. 77, par. 7, 21-22 days, p. 95⁴ par. 51:
et al.

9. Royal Commission on Technical and Professional Services, Report.
February 1930. p. 16 chapt. 12.

10. A statement by the Prime Minister of Canada, December 22, 1948.

principles of compensation.¹¹ The civil service of the United States seems to accept, theoretically, the same principles, while following in practice what could be described as a "hand-to-mouth" policy of yielding when there is no other way, and adjusting the scales at the base of the lowest acceptable minimum. The statutory enactment of the compensation schedule, and its extreme rigidity make minor adjustments impossible. And, there is no discussion of principles there, only of rates. Apparently, they believe that it is possible to maintain the permanent harmony between the pay in the civil service and that outside through assigning the positions to grades with a proper salary, once they are recognized as basically right. Then adjustments would take place within the framework of the fixed pay-plan, through shifting the position to another salary bracket.¹²

The practice shows similarities in all three countries, with, however, different results. In all three, the lower salary levels are subject to continuous pressure, for they become unattractive as the cost-of-living rises, causing an increase in earnings outside the civil service, and a gap between these earnings and governmental salaries. The North American governments respond by raising lower salaries and recruiting at rates above the minimum. In Great Britain, the salaries of grades of entry are being raised. The resulting compression of scales causes an outflow

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11. Most of these accepted principles have been enounced in the Report of Transmission of 1919, as guiding rules for the Canadian system. As stated by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-1955, in Great Britain, the main principles are:
 a Horizontal comparability - (principle 3, p. 25 of the Report of Transmission)
 b Vertical relativity - (included in principle 2, p. 25, ibid.)
 Apart from these, the conception of fairness of salary is equal in both systems. See Cmd. 9613, Report, passim, and especially par. 95; see also Evidence, 1-2 days, qu. 57.
12. Compare L. DeWitt Hale, "Let's Rewrite the Classification Act". Personnel Administration. v. 8 No. 10 (June, 1946), 13-23.

from the civil service at intermediate and higher levels in the North-American countries, thus destroying the foundations of a career service. In Great Britain, the compression of the "concertina",¹³ as the recent Royal Commission expressed it, endangered these foundations and called forth the effort to remedy it by that Royal Commission. Its effort went in the direction of extending the "concertina", by widening the distances between the maximum of a grade and the minimum of the next one above. This restored the incentive value of a promotion, which used to bring a substantial increase in salary before the compression set in.¹⁴ In the civil service of Canada, as well as that of the United States, the whole schedule of scales went up uniformly, leaving the increase at promotion very small, often only at the amount of one increment.¹⁵ The continuous rise of absolute earnings, however, deprives these small amounts progressively of their previous effectiveness with the diminution of their relative value. This is the more pronounced the higher up the salary schedule is the promotion. A tacit admission that such increments are meaningless is given by the tendency, evident lately in Canada, to follow the British example and abolish increments at the highest levels of salaries, leaving them "broadbanded" at a few widely-spaced rates.¹⁶ In the United States, only

13. Cmd. 9613, Report. par. 338 et. al.

14. See for instance the proposed salary schedule for the Administrative Class. Cmd. 9613, Report. par. 421.

15. Aggravated by overlapping, see Appendix 3.

16. For this point the writer is indebted to Mr. J. A. Murray, Director, Organization and Classification Branch, Civil Service Commission, Ottawa. Mr. Murray gives the proposed amounts for broadbanding as \$12,000, \$13,500 and \$15,000. These arrangements were under consideration by the C.S.C. during the summer of 1957. If adopted they would include the three highest levels under the Civil Service Act, namely up to and including the Assistant Deputy Heads of Departments.

grade GS-18 has one rate of pay. The similarities between the developments in Canada and in Great Britain are, however, more apparent than real. For the principal consideration in Great Britain is the career value of salary, rather than merely the retention value. Since a career in the service implies continuous progress over a long period of time, the British system concentrates on making the advancement in service accentuated. The employee would have a period of rather slow advancement, comparable to that available in the civil service of Canada or the United States. The amount of yearly increment is not much different, its incidence - identical.¹⁷ But, unlike Canada, the British civil servant receives a substantial raise in salary upon promotion,¹⁸ and he does not have to compete for that promotion, thus depending for it on unforeseen and uncontrollable factors of luck and chance. These promotions, dependent on merit shown by the manner of work, its efficiency, devotion and responsibility, punctuate the orderly but moderate progress, bringing the successful up to a level where the modest affluence, combined with prestige and interesting work, amply reward the officer. In the highest salary brackets, another increment would not make any noticeable difference, and the reasons for awarding it would be hard to establish.¹⁹ These levels are "broadbanded".²⁰

The foregoing suggests a general observation. The salary generally attainable in the civil services of Canada, the United States and Great Britain is roughly comparable. At the top it amounts to \$15,000 in Canada, \$16,000 in

17. Only in the United States increments over \$200 are given every 78 calendar weeks, not every year. Federal Personnel Manual, p. Z 1-314, (e).

18. This is an avowed purpose and introduced with the express aim in mind. cf. Cmd 9613, Evidence, 1-2 days, qu. 276-7.

19. ibid. qu. 245.

20. ibid. Report par. 121.

the United States, and £ 6000.- (\$16,800) in Great Britain.²¹ At the bottom of the career grades it is \$4,050 in Canada (J.A.O.), \$3,670 to \$4,525 in the United States (F.S.E.), £ 575.- (\$1,610) in Great Britain (Assistant Principal.) The differences are minor, with a clear disadvantage to the beginner in Great Britain. The plan of advancement, however, in terms of salary is not comparable. In all three countries, the initial salary is regarded as attractive, in terms of the usual expectations of a graduate fresh from school. The top salaries are believed in all three countries to fall far behind the earnings attainable in business and industry. But here the comparability ends. The schedule of intermediate steps is much different. This line of intermediate steps is an almost continuous string of increments, densely spaced or overlapping in Canada and the United States. It is deprived of any striking changes in these civil service systems, but it does not, nevertheless, lead smoothly and monotonously up the slope. Broken up into short, fragmentary stretches, it does not automatically permit the passage from one section to another. Rather, it imposes densely-spaced hurdles, eighteen of them in the United States, and an undefinable number in the Canadian civil service. Each hurdle imposes a set of requirements, and opens a way for the incidence of chance and luck. Mapping a journey over such a road is a virtual impossibility.

The British system is quite dissimilar. In order to discuss this point adequately, one of the initial assumptions of this study has to be recalled. It was said in Chapter One, that, for a career in service to be meaningful, the point of admission should be placed within a reasonable distance from the summit of the service to permit a reasonable chance of consummation at a satisfactory level. One further assumption evidently underlies the present

21. The only post at £7,000 (Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) does not influence the general picture.

study, which is that in the British civil service 'reasonable distance' includes the whole of the Administrative, Executive and Scientific Officer classes, for, in them, the main lines of service culminate, and because the admission to these classes from other parts of the service is subject to specific safeguards. This last observation points up the difference between the British system and the others, referred to above.

One may, to be sure, run into hurdles in that system as well, but these are situated at the points of entry into the three classes discussed, and form, indeed, the very safeguard devices of that entry-point. The competitions lead to these well-defined and clearly-marked points of admittance.²² The employee, admitted to one of these classes, may be certain that, once he concludes his probation and is confirmed, the future advancement depends only on his merit and the availability of openings. The last factor is a more-or-less calculable one, while the employee's performance depends, to the greatest extent, on himself. Considerable differentials in salary as between the several grades make promotion a memorable event, and the careful preservation of internal complements of grades guarantees to each officer a modicum of advancement. The character of the salary-structure puts the stress upon the prospect and advancement, not upon the momentary pay. Combined with the prestige enjoyed by the civil servant, which is not worse than in any highly regarded occupation, plus the other incentives, it amounts to a strong inducement to a career in the civil service.

While no theoretical calculations of career prospects are possible in relation to the civil servant in Canada, the practical picture of the careers made in the service may be presented. In this presentation, however, two points must be clearly stressed. First- that the career in Canada cannot

22. An occasional competition for Principals does not yet affect the general truth of this statement.

be regarded as consummated upon the attainment of a class-title, for these are disparate. Therefore, the criterion of salary must be substituted. Secondly, that "in the Service we normally speak in terms of the maximum salary of man's range".²³ The presentations that follow show, consequently, the range of salary according to the maximum, not to the actually-paid rate. The tables are based on the same samples, which served for the presentation in Chapter Three.

Table No. 14 shows the level of salary attained by all recipients of salaries of \$7,500 and above in the Federal Civil Service of Canada, in relation to the length of their service. The situation is as of June, 1957.

TABLE 14. Number of officers at the several levels of salary related to the length of their service.

Salary in \$	Length of service (Years)								Total	L.of serv. unkn.	Gr. Total
	0-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30+			
7500-8000				1	1				2		2
8001-9000	42	44	68	34	41	18	17	35	299	21	320
9001-10000	18	20	54	49	37	18	25	35	255	19	275
10001-11000	2	10	19	25	21	8	11	9	105	15	120
11001-12000	3	2	22	16	15	5	4	8	75	10	85
12001-13000	3	1	5	9	9	1	4	1	33	3	36
13001-14000			1	3			3	3	10	5	15
14001-15000		1			3			1	5	1	6
15001-16000										1	1
16001-17000										2	2
17001-18000											
18001-19000					1				1		1
Total											863

Source: Civil Service Commission, personal records of federal civil service, senior personnel.

A critical perusal of the above table results in the following digest:

23. From a letter from the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to a professor who requested material for a paper on the civil service of Canada, October, 1952. Compare Report of Transmission, 1919, p. 31 ("Fourth.....").

DIGEST OF TABLE 14 Percentage of officers with various lengths of service at the several levels of salary.

Level of salary \$	Length of service (years)			Total
	0 - 10	10 - 30	over 30	
Below or at 10,000	44.2%	43.3%	12.5%	100%
Over 10,000	30.1%	60.3%	9.6%	100%

While not very striking, two features deserve careful note. First - only 9.6% of the recipients of higher salaries serve for very long periods, while 12.5% of the lower paid officers do so. This fact, however, should be less surprising than it might seem at first glance, for there was hardly any ambition to hire employees for any but an immediate job in the civil service until the mid-thirties, at least. In this sense, the category of 'over 30' in the above table has no more meaning than any other period of long service. Second - there is a very high concentration of higher-paid officers in the medium range of seniority. But any final inferences would have to be checked against the possible influences of the recent growth of the service which caused a heavy recruitment (and a corresponding inflation in the number of low-seniority officers) and of the policy of recruiting rather to low-salary ranks in the area of more advanced positions (and the corresponding concentration of the higher-salaried officers in the range of at least medium seniority).

Table No. 15 shows a similar computation for Administrative Officers.

The sample is the one used in Chapter Three, Tables Nos. 10-13.

TABLE 15. Number of administrative officers at the several levels of salary in relation to length of service.

Levels of salary \$	Length of service (years)								Total
	0-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30+	
4000-5000	2			2	1				5
5001-6000	1	3		4	2		1	1	12
6001-7000			4	3	3		1		11
7001-8000			1		1				2
8001-9000				1	1		2	1	5
9001-10000				2				1	3
10001-11000					1	1			2
Total	3	3	5	12	9	1	4	3	40

Source: Personnel records, Department of Trade and Commerce.

Apart from the operation of chance, Table 15 shows that no officer, with less than five years of service, attained to the level of salary over \$6000 p.a., and none with less than ten years of service receives more than \$8000. The smallness of the sample, however, makes any inferences risky.

In order to see the situation in regard to scientists in the Federal Civil Service, a study was made of the personal records of a sampling of scientific personnel. The group contained 479 serving scientists engaged in fundamental research, and was composed as follows:

In the employment of the Department of Mines and Technical

Surveys 222 (all)

In the employment of the Department of Northern Affairs

and National Resources 84 (all)

In the employment of the Department of Trade and Commerce 24 (all)

In the employment of the Department of Agriculture 149 (sample - every third name in a list)

The results are tabulated in the following table.

TABLE 16. Number of scientists at the several levels of compensation, in relation to length of their service.

Levels of Salary, \$	Length of service (years)								Total	L.of serv. unkn.	Grand Total
	0-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30+			
4000-5000	7			1					8		8
5001-6000	31	15	50	12	11	4	4	1	128		128
6001-7000	19	16	46	9	10	8	5	3	116	1	117
7001-8000	19	6	53	12	8	4	9	3	114		114
8001-9000	3	2	25	16	5	2	5	6	64		64
9001-10000	2	4	7	9	2		2	2	28		28
10001-11000			6	7	4	1	1	1	20		20
Total	81	43	187	66	40	19	26	16	478	1	479

Source: Personnel records, Departments of Mines and Technical Surveys, Northern Affairs and National Resources, Trade and Commerce, and Agriculture, Ottawa.

Table 16 shows three peculiarities: First - only slightly more than 3.3% of scientists have served for a very long period - over 30 years. Second-

39% of the entire sample are officers with between 5 and 10 years of service, and 64.7% of the sample have less than 10 years of service.

The third peculiarity is in the distribution of salary in relation to length of service. Taking the amount of \$7000.- p.a. as a divisive figure,²⁴ it will be found that, among the employees with less than ten years of service, 59.1% receive a salary below this level. Among the scientists of medium seniority and above - ten to thirty years of service - this ratio is 45.0%, while in the group of very long seniority - over 30 years of service, - the ratio is 25.0%. Evidently, long service brings a higher salary - which may be due to the operation of re-classification, considering the rarity of promotion competitions found in the records of these employees. The small number of employees in the long-seniority groups does not seem to indicate a great success on the part of management in retaining scientists and professionals for a long career; rather, those scientists, who were genuinely interested in serving the public or in their particular project or line of work, stayed on and eventually arrived at their still very modest salary.

It might be concluded that the possibilities of developing a salary policy which could help to stimulate the crystallization of a career in the civil service of Canada have not been explored so far.

24. This figure has been adopted on the consideration of the salary of scientists at the "working level". The "working level" is a description unofficially used in the Civil Service Commission to denote the fully professional level of work, where the scientist is supposed to be independent and more or less self-directed. This level is usually located at grade 3 in research lines (see the pilot plan for the Chemist Series developed in the Civil Service Commission offices in January, 1955, and superseded since, but providing still the guiding ideas). The salary for these grades, laid down in T.B. 517272, May 9, 1957, reaches slightly above the division line, namely to \$7,320. The average scientist is expected to reach this level as a matter of course.

SECURITY OF TENURE.

"The assurance of retaining one's job, receiving a fair salary in return for normal work and having the opportunity to pursue a career is a form of security which is basic to any personnel system." ²⁵

As far as security of tenure is concerned, the civil servant of Canada is safely protected. He can be dismissed only upon the authority of the Governor-in-Council.²⁶ Even the dangerous twilight of a semi-political post, namely a private secretaryship to a minister of the Crown, does not endanger the tenure of a permanent civil servant.²⁷ In this respect, the civil service of Canada offers a security relatively better than that of a British civil servant, who is believed by some to carry a risk not smaller than an industrial worker.²⁸ It gives, certainly, a better protection than the United States offers the government employees, who are protected neither from dismissal after a bone fide error,²⁹ nor from separation for reductions in force or other managerial reasons, beyond the control of the affected employees. Dismissal is possible when justified, but it needs a sufficiently weighty matter to justify it in Canada. Arbitrary dismissal does not endanger the career of a civil servant in Canada, if he, himself, has the intention of making the service his career.

INTEREST IN WORK AND ASSIGNMENT.

This is a potent incentive in any kind of work. It applies to a scientist as well as to an office - or a manual worker. As a morale-generating factor, it interlocks and interpenetrates with other incentives. It is, however, of an intensely personal, individual character, for uniform response

25. The administration of the Civil Service System, p. 54.

26. Civil Service Act, 1952. s. 52.

27. ibid. s. 61.

28. Cmd 9613, Evidence 7 day, qu. 970-2.

29. Better Govt. Pers. Evidence, Herbert Hoover's testimony, pp.469-478.

is hard to achieve on this point, even from homogeneous groups. One must, therefore, distinguish between the aspects of work that appeal to an administrator and those that appeal to a scientist, for these may be quite divergent.

The administrative officer, who is not a specialist would be more interested in work of variety, of scope, and one endowed with social significance, rather than a monotonous routine, or indeed an activity diverse and complex, but of little consequence. In appreciation of this fact, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission in 1955 described the attractions in the duties and assignment of administrative officers as consisting of (1) the feeling of being of service, (2) the wide scope of work and (3) the satisfaction of contact with first rate minds. "A person would have to be unimaginative indeed not to be stimulated by that kind of a challenge" - he observed.³⁰

In the daily practice, however, the vista tends to be obstructed by the prosaic task of momentary assignment to particular duties. Especially in Canada, as indeed in the United States, in which countries the horizon is further restricted by the traditional specialization of work in the civil service, one finds a recital of defined duties and processes wherever the assignments of administrative officers are considered.³¹ As if in response to the feeling of discrepancy on this point between the expectations and the practice, the idea of a Senior Civil Servant with a personal status and rank came up lately in Canada.³² For personal rank and status transcend the momentary assignment and its limitations. They point to the open space beyond the boundary of the allotted area and thus keep alive the feeling of

30. Bland "Opportunities in Government Service."

31. See Appendix 4 for examples.

32. Watters and Gow, loc. cit.

connection with the external events and the interest in them as in close possibilities.

Thus it seems that when an Assistant Principal is admitted to the service, he is accepted into a group of people all of whom are occupied in one wide field. It is true that arranging a transfer after the conclusion of probation is not a very easy matter, but it is still possible. And, in spite of his being practically a departmental servant rather than a roving all-government employee, the member of the Administrative Class may be requested at any time to transfer wherever his service is required.³³ Correspondingly, he has a personal rank.

The Administrative Officer on the North-American Continent is assigned to a position. He is not a member of a group, only an occupant of a place. His work may be very interesting, exacting or exciting; but there is no way of knowing this beforehand, and very little chance of developing a position following the temperament or interests of the incumbent. The cogent remarks of Everett Reimer, on the "conflict....between the idea of belonging and the idea of reward being contingent on personal output" should be recalled in this context.³⁴

The scientist or professional is influenced, in addition to the above, by some specific considerations. The interest evoked by the work is of a different character, for it consists of the appeal of a specialized line of study combined with the sense of its being done in the service of the community in the first place,³⁵ not as in industry, where the public benefit

33. C.S.C. The Administrative Class of the Home Civil Service, London, C.S.C. 1956, p. 4 par. 7.

34. Loc. cit. p. 163.

35. See Reinhard Bendix, op. cit. p 47,. Compare C. D. Ahlberg and J. C. Honey "The Scientist's Attitude Toward Government Employment". Science v. 113 (May 4, 1951), 505-510.

might often be only a secondary consequence of serving the concern. However, the principal allegiance of the scientist is probably given to his subject, and this is a source of difficulty in the senior ranks. The senior scientific officer might be necessarily spending an increasing proportion of his time in directing, supervising, or administering the work of his juniors, and thus lessening his own contact with actual scientific work. That not all scientists are prepared to undertake such assignments is not surprising. This point was mentioned before, as was the importance of another related point, namely, that of the personalities of prospective superiors and their standing in the world of science. For the reluctance of scientists to undertake supervisory duties reflects here on the readiness of others to join the service.

Understandably enough, the authorities in the civil services considered here are rather laconic on the subject of the nature of scientific assignments, which are determined by the requirements of the disciplines and not by an administrative fiat. Known to the scientists, they are meaningless to laymen, and therefore their publication is unnecessary.

The importance of assignment, even in systems where it does not attach a personal rank to the employee, is highlighted by some recent official remarks in the United States. These describe the havoc played by downgrading employees in the civil service of the United States even in cases where the financial loss is negligible.³⁶ The appeal of assignment, and especially the blow of downgrading, are addressed to the prestige and to the self-respect of the employee. This gives them a crucial importance.³⁷

TRAINING AND GROOMING

The opportunity for receiving a valuable training is an attraction of

36. Administration of the Civil Service System, pp. 56-60.

37. cf. Whyte, op. cit. p. 401.

the first order. The employee with some aspirations would see in it a great personal gain, in the widest sense, and a promise of greater abilities and possibly higher achievements in the future. Moreover, training may develop the employee into a person better attuned to his work and its purpose, and thus facilitate the attainment of a long-term successful career.³⁸ Such training would be less concerned with the immediate job, and more with the wider implications of the service in its social environment on the one hand, and the wider potentialities of the employee on the other. There is a considerable measure of agreement that both orientations in training are important and that both may contribute greatly to the development of a career service, each in its way. This is true of any work, whether one of high interest or routine. The routine work may be made more efficient, thus providing the employee with a feeling of greater usefulness and augmenting his self-respect and satisfaction. And the routine worker, too, may be made aware of the setting and meaning of his work, again to the end of increasing his satisfaction.³⁹ Lastly, training may be used for facilitating transition to new situations or to an anticipated future - an aspect of great allurements to the career servant.⁴⁰

In the Canadian civil service, training functions are a recent addition, for only the most elementary beginnings were visible one decade ago.⁴¹ Most of the training which is given in the service is of a departmental

38. cf. the conclusions of the Report of the Committee on the Training of Civil Servants, 1944, Cmd. 6525 pars. 118-119.

39. ibid. par. 16

40. See H. Laski: "The Education of the Civil Servant" Public Administration, v. 21 No. 1 (Spring, 1943), 13-23.

41. C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1955, p. 17.- Also - Royal Commission on the Administrative Classification in the Public Service, 1946, Report, p. 22.

character, and aimed at providing the skills called for in some position. Only the Administrative Officers are provided with a more extensive training, on two levels. The Junior Administrative Officer is required to complete successfully a course on administration, which takes one full week in September and another in April of his probationary year, and weekly sessions during the Fall-to-Spring period. This is a rather comprehensive course, and its students are rotated to various jobs during their probation and attendance at the course. The other course is intended for senior administrative officers; it is a residential arrangement, lasting for four five-day weeks in the Autumn. Since its introduction in 1953, it gained popularity and recognition. The curriculum is a general and comprehensive one, providing lectures and seminar groups on problems of the Canadian Democratic System, Canadian Government, Principles and Methods of Administration and related topics. Professionally conducted, it is being extended at present to the Atlantic Provinces and considered for wider use.

Some intermediate training is given at the Civil Defence College in Arnprior.

This resume covers all the formal training. The training given at work is necessarily variegated, and does neither create greater uniformity in the service, nor does it contribute much to the enlargement of scope or widening of horizons of the individual. Scientific employees do not receive any special formal training as such, except in disciplines peculiar to the government, such as meteorology or radio-operation, where the Civil Service Commission "is finding itself recruiting people who must be given extensive training....." ⁴² The civil servant may, nevertheless, obtain educational leave,

42. C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1955, p. 14.

with full, partial, or no pay, depending on the degree of interest the service has in his proposed education.⁴³

On this last point, the practice in Canada differs from that of the United States, where a perhaps-unconscious assumption is said to prevail, that the civil servant should come to the government fully trained for his job.⁴⁴ Repeated efforts aimed at securing legislation to permit the training of government employees at external facilities and institutions have failed until now to change the rule forbidding it.⁴⁵ The pressure for such a change is great, and the President added his voice to that of civil servants and their management in his Message to the Congress on January 11, 1955 (House Document No. 66, 84th Congress.) The facilities which are available are utilized to their limit, wherever possible. The highest effort in that direction is the Federal Administrative Intern Program, which is a course on lines similar to the one for senior administrative officers in Canada.⁴⁶

In-service training is provided, of course, in Great Britain as well, and there, too, most of it is departmental and job-orientated.⁴⁷ But the subject

43. Civil Service Regulations, s. 69 D.

44. Second Hoover Commission, Report, p. 46.

45. First Hoover Commission Task Force Report, brings the rule on p. 36. The last attempt to reverse it, made on February 23, 1956 (H.R. 9510, 84th Congress, 2nd Sess.) failed to obtain favourable attention.

46. First Internship Course described by Henry Reining, Jr. in "The First Federal In-Service Internship Program" Personnel Administration v.7 No. 4 (December 1944) 8-20. Official description in Guide For Internship Training in the Federal Service, U.S.C.S.C. Pamphlet 46, June 1952.

47. Described in a series of pamphlets under the inscription H.M. Treasury Civil Service Training and Education and the following individual titles and code-numbers:
Training in the Civil Service, August 1952, W.396-55.
Training for the Administrative Class (undated) W393-55, similar pamphlets for other classes, and Central Office of Information, London, The British Civil Service, 8 December 1955, R.3188 and other.

is not exhausted herewith. The recognition of the horizons which open themselves before a properly-trained civil service was noted above.⁴⁸ The Committee on the Training of Civil Servants, 1944, made numerous and carefully-considered suggestions, aimed at the development of the individual civil servant, at giving him the appreciation of his personal contribution to the service and his individual moral stand in the social context of the service.⁴⁹ Such an effort is more than training. In the British milieu a great proportion of the several classes comes to the service at a fairly standard educational level and consists of a more-or-less homogeneous type of person, with a similar background as far as school goes, at least. A vast effort at educating the entrant in a broadly-set way produces a group of great social and moral cohesion. Membership in it could be a stimulating experience which might account, in part, for the stability of that group.

The scientist in the civil service responds, particularly, to the factor of professional and scientific contacts with persons and organizations engaged in his line. The importance of freedom of such contacts, of opportunities to participate in discussions and colloquia, to publish the results of one's work etc. is hard to overestimate. In the civil service of Canada, these opportunities are not uniform. Some departments encourage contacts more than others, some publish their own periodicals, some send their employees to conventions and conferences and pay their expenses.⁵⁰ Many scientists would be encouraged to publish papers and scientific works not involving national security, while official secrecy requirements would be kept at a minimum.

48. See supra notes 38,39.

49. See Report, Cmd. 6525, pars. 14,15,25-27, 34,93,108-120, and passim.

50. J. C. Woodward, loc. cit.: also interview with Mr. J. Fred Dawe, C.S.C. Ottawa, July 8, 1957, to whom the writer is indebted for valuable information and for general support and assistance cordially given during his stay with the C.S.C. on a prolonged research visit.

The professional contacts, and the reputation that follows them, gained the civil service of Canada a rare distinction - namely "an embarrassing number of requests" from abroad for the services of Canadian experts in the field of technical assistance.⁵¹ While not very systematical, the attitude to the subject in Canada shows an awareness of its importance. This is in line with the feeling in Great Britain, as illustrated by the fact that of the six-and-a-half pages of the Report on The Scientific Civil Service published in 1945, over two pages are devoted to professional contacts and to relaxation of secrecy.⁵²

"FRINGE BENEFITS"

The customary use of the above term testifies to the belief that the benefits included are not major ones in their own right. This is not necessarily so, for, in some circumstances, they may become quite important, as would be a grant of leave to a scientist, for instance, who intends to write a book.⁵³

a Leave. Apart from statutory annual leave (fifteen days for employees working a 5-day week, 18 days for those on a six-day week) and from cumulative sick leave of equal duration, the civil servant in Canada may obtain special leave on sickness, maternity or important personal occasions. He may be granted educational leave with partial or full pay, and the government may

51. Address by the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent, then Prime Minister of Canada, to the Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada, Ottawa, February 23, 1957.

52. See Cmd. 6679 cited supra.

53. In the ill-defined term of "fringe benefits" one finds included benefits to the employee which are not immediate and regular cash-payments. In this study attention will center on leave, superannuation-pensions, and insurance, for these may have some bearing on a career-service.

even undertake to pay his tuition fees.⁵⁴ Numerous other facilities are extended to him to enable him to pursue his line of study if this may redound to the benefit of the service. This is an arrangement of considerable appeal to the young, and to people with ambitions to continue with their education. No such facilities are offered in the United States, where a slightly more generous annual leave is graded accordingly to the length of service. Thirteen days is the minimal leave there, and twenty-six days its maximal duration, for employees with over fifteen years of service. Apart from this, the law recognizes only leave without pay, or sick-leave.⁵⁵

The British system provides graded leave periods, but their length depends not only on the length of service but on the salary-status as well. Executive officers, and those within the same salary scales, are granted three weeks and three days of annual leave, which increases, gradually, to six weeks after thirty years of service. Employees within the salary bracket above that begin with four weeks and two days, and those within the brackets of the Administrative Class are granted five weeks initially. Six weeks is the common maximum.⁵⁶ This is a generous arrangement, attractive and encouraging to prolonged service, while offering an additional reward of promotion. Special leave, and educational leave - sometimes in the form of a sabbatical year's leave, may be arranged if necessary.⁵⁷ A significant feature is the extended sick-leave allowance given in Great Britain, for this may be six months in any period of twelve months with full pay, and a

54. Civil Service Regulations, s. 690 (3) (b).

55. Federal Personnel Manual, L-1-7, 8.

56. E. C. 28/56, dated June 25, 1956. Printed in the Whitley Bulletin, v. 36 No. 8 (August, 1956), 124-127.

57. See e.g. Cmd 9613, Report, par 223-240.

further period of six months on half pay.⁵⁸ Such arrangement, hardly matched on the outside, gives the servant a sense of security which is a potent bond with the civil service.

A furlough leave of thirty work-days, not charged against the employee's leave credit, is given in Canada after twenty years of service.

b Superannuation.

Superannuation in the Canadian civil service is contributory and obligatory. It is provided for in the Civil Service Superannuation Act, 1924, as amended. Retirement is statutorily compulsory at the age of seventy, while sixty-five is the retirement age laid down by the Governor-in-Council.⁵⁹ Permissive retirement benefits are provided for in case of earlier retirement with the exception of discharge for misconduct. In the latter case, the amount of his own contributions may be returned to the dismissed employee, without interest.

An employee may not contribute for longer than thirty-five years, and his retirement allowance is calculated at two per cent of his average salary over a period of ten consecutive years when it was highest,⁶⁰ multiplied by the number of years of service up to the maximum of thirty-five. His widow, if not re-married, and his minor children, receive a reduced annuity. The significant point, however, is that, whenever a civil servant decides to leave the service, he may receive all his own contributions as a lump sum, or, if he has more than five years' creditable service, he may elect a deferred annuity starting at sixty years of age, or a reduced annuity

58. The British Civil Service, R. 3188, p. 13.

59. Your Superannuation Plan, a pamphlet issued by the Superannuation Branch, Department of Finance, Ottawa, 1957. p. 18.

60. Ibid.

starting at the age of fifty. In the latter case, the annuity for dependents, in case of death, is not reduced.

These provisions differ only in minor details from the United States Federal Civil Service Retirement Law (Retirement Act of 1920), as amended.⁶¹

The case is greatly different in Great Britain. The purely financial side of superannuation there is probably the least significant, although the employee receives at retirement-, normally at the age of sixty and after not less than ten years' service, - a pension, and a single lump-sum, which is an additional allowance in the amount of a three years' pension.⁶² The rate of yearly allowance is rather less than in the United States, and markedly less than in Canada. The most significant attributes of the British scheme, however, are the facts that the pension plan is non-contributory and non-mandatory.⁶³ This is intended to make the grant of pension a payment ex gratia and, as such, contingent on meritorious service until the age of definite retirement, with the exception of compassionate cases, or of compulsory retirement.⁶⁴ This instrument, or rather weapon in the hands of the Treasury, is clearly effective as an inducement - sometimes a not-too-gentle one - to a continuation of a career when any length of time has been invested in it.⁶⁵ The very effectiveness, though, has been under repeated

61. The retirement system is described in Your Retirement System, pamphlet 18, of the U.S.C.S.C., July 1953. Recent amendments are listed in the U.S.C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1956, pp. 109-111.

62. Cmd. 9613, Report, par 690, table on p. 171.

63. Ibid. n. 1, p. 170.

64. Ibid. par. 694, 699-703. also Introductory Factual Memorandum on the Civil Service submitted by the Treasury, Dec. 15, 1953 pars. 123-127;

65. See Royal Commission on Equal Pay, 1945 - 6, Report, Cmd. 6937 par.48.

attacks by official bodies and interested persons. The Committee on the Political Activities of Civil Servants remarked that such a system of superannuation may result in keeping in the civil service unfit persons who should rather be out of it.⁶⁶ A similar remark in The Reform of the Higher Civil Service⁶⁷ with a recommendation to permit premature, voluntary retirement on reduced annuity stresses the realization that a system of this kind may be undesirable. It seems apparently adequate, justified and is tenaciously adhered to,⁶⁸ while it may, two-edged as it is, cause more harm than shows on the surface. On one point, however, the British government had to give in: this was the necessity of interchange of scientific personnel with universities and similar institutions. The Government Declaration in the White Paper on The Scientific Civil Service of 1945⁶⁹ had to announce their inclusion in the Federated Superannuation Scheme for the Universities, in order to remove all barriers on their free movement into the service and out again. In conclusion, it seems that the expedient used in Canada, of depriving the employee, who leaves the service prematurely, not of his entire expectations, but of a clearly-defined and unearned part of them, is less objectionable, if not absolutely proof against criticism on grounds of equity. As an inducement to a prolonged career, the effectiveness of such a course may be not less than that of the other.

c Insurance plans.

All three governments provide for a low-cost life insurance for their

66. Committee on the Political Activities of Civil Servants, Report, Cmd 7718, 1949. par. 47. cf. also Cmd. 9613, Report. par. 703.

67. op. cit. par. 76.

68. Cmd 9613, Report, par. 700; Evidence, 17th day, qu. 2574-2591.

69. Cmd. 6679, par. 7.

employees. Optional in the United States, the scheme is a compulsory one for married men in Great Britain. It had been introduced there in 1949 as a contributory plan.⁷⁰ But, although optional in the United States, the scheme attracted ninety-five per cent of the civil servants, when it was introduced in August, 1954.⁷¹ In Canada, it dates from the same time (1954) and is compulsory for all who are included in the Superannuation Act.⁷²

The net effect of these low-cost insurance schemes is hard to assess, for, in the North-American countries, the habit of carrying insurance is so common, that, probably, seldom is the government plan the only one. In Great Britain, the National Insurance pensions may have diminished the value of the life insurance to the old survivor.

STATUS AND RIGHTS.

a Political rights.

In all three countries, the civil servant is required, and assumed, to be a-political. In Canada, a Federal civil servant may accept any elective office in local government, if it does not carry a salary in excess of \$1000.⁷³ Participation, however, in partisan work connected with a federal or provincial election, or contribution to party funds or participation in dealing with party funds, are cause for dismissal, and for disqualification from competitions for civil service positions for a period of one year.⁷⁴

70. See Cmd. 9613, Report, p. 172 (8).

71. U.S.C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1955 p. 87.

72. Your Superannuation Plan, p. 27.

73. P.C. 1955 - 32/717, May 19, 1955. Previous limit was \$900.- as per P.C. 1380 of April 8, 1948.

74. Civil Service Act, 1952, s. 55. Civil Service Regulations, s. 114.

This latter restriction is believed to bar from appointment to the civil service "a person in whom the Government of the day has lost confidence"⁷⁵ The situation in Canada, in this respect, seems to be well-in-hand, for when the Government of Great Britain enquired of the Government of Canada at the time of the deliberations of the Masterman Committee, what are the rules in the Federal civil service and whether these are adequate, the Office of the Privy Council replied that the rules were quite adequate. This was also the stand of the Civil Service Commission, who was consulted. The same feeling prevails ever since.⁷⁶

The scene in the United States is slightly more complicated. The realization that a political involvement of the civil service might bring about its collapse is vivid enough among scholars, and among most practitioners.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the problem is still open, as shown by the "Willis plan" and by the Report on the Administration of the Civil Service System.⁷⁸

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75. From the submission by the C.S.C. to the Governor-in-Council, October 4, 1923. Until that date nothing was done to prevent this, "anomaly of a situation."
76. Watters and Gow, loc. cit. expressed concern, whether lack of any changes in the civil service with a change in the Government would not gloss over a built-in bias, that might, unnoticeably, frustrate the policies of the new administration. No indications of such a problem came to light, however.
77. See John D. Millet, op. cit. p.288; cf. L. D. White, Government Career Service, Ch. 5.-; Better Govt. Pers., Evidence, pp. 64-65, Steward's testimony on the destructiveness of political appointments to minor positions: (".....in many respects an unrestricted spoils system would be better, if it applied equally to all.")
78. Cit. supra. See pp.27 ff.
Was it pure coincidence that the "Willis plan" emerged shortly after the ominous remarks on the tendency to revert to patronage, sounded by H. Emmerich and G. L. Belsley in "The Federal Career Service - What Next?" (Cit. supra)

In Great Britain, the question was settled, at least for the time being, by restricting all the career classes, and including the Higher Clerical grade and above. Although the feelings there were far from calm after the Report on the Political Activities of Civil Servants (Cmd 7718, of June, 1949) and after the White Paper that followed,⁷⁹ the basic justice and good sense of the solution seem to be an accepted fact by now. There is little reason to doubt that strict reticence and self-denial in political matters are a basic condition of a career in the civil service.

b Civil rights.

All civil rights of the governmental employee are recognized in Canada, including the right to exploit inventions and patents, except those made in connection with one's work, which must be vested in the Crown. These may be released or abandoned by the Minister, or, if retained, an award may be paid to the inventor. Applications for patents, however, must disclose the fact that the applicant is a civil servant and, outside Canada, they may be submitted only with the consent of the Minister.⁸⁰ - Rights of publication and authorship are subject only to considerations of common discretion, if not dealing with the subject of one's official work. Rights of association are recognized, as far as membership in organized groups of civil servants is concerned.⁸¹ This is a standard set of rules, almost identically applying in the United States and Great Britain.

In one respect, Canada differs from both the United States and Great Britain, namely, in the attitude of the public to the civil servant in other words, in the prestige enjoyed by the service. /,

79. Political Activities of Civil Servants, Cmd 8783, March, 1953.

80. Public Servants Inventions Act, 1953-54.

81. For Your Information as a Civil Servant of Canada - a pamphlet of the Staff Training Division, C.S.C. p. 30.

c Prestige.

While not as low as the prestige of the civil servant in the United States,⁸² the status of the Federal civil servant does not match the respect enjoyed by his British colleague. In spite of the reported worsening⁸³ of this aspect of the service in Great Britain, the sheer prestige of some classes is believed to attract recruits to the ranks.⁸⁴ While such a statement might be impossible in a general relation to the civil service in Canada, yet some classes do enjoy high prestige, as for instance Trade Commissioners, Northern Affairs Officers, and Scientific and Professional Officers. The main difference, however, in comparison with Great Britain, is the absence of high regard of the general administrative officer in the government service of Canada.

SUMMARY.

The incentives applied in the civil service of Canada do not differ very widely from those in Great Britain or the United States. It is rather the use made of them that is different. A comparable level of salaries is put to a far cruder use than in either of the other two countries. Security of tenure is at least as good as there. Interesting work may be found here as well as in the other systems, but, owing to the style of a specialized service, that interest is often obscured. Training opportunities and assistance are comparable to the British, as are "fringe benefits" with the significant exception of sick leave. Superannuation is as good, at least, as elsewhere, but less authoritarian and less restrictive.

82. The lonely voice of L. D. White, when he extolled the high prestige of the Federal civil servant in the United States before the Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel (Evidence, pp. 40-41) seems to be inspired by sincere wishful thinking. cf. the testimony of Chester Rowell (ibid. p. 444.) See also R. Bendix, op. cit. p. 116, for his reference to "an atmosphere of suspicion and frequent defamation, which cannot make this 'second class citizenship' any easier to bear."

83. Cmd 7635 par. 19.

84. Mrs. Barbara Wootton, in questioning Mr. A. P. Sinker, Cmd. 9613, Evidence, 3-4 days, qu. 402. Also ibid., qu. 403-by Mr. Menzler.

CHAPTER FIVE

TENURE, CONTINUITY AND TURNOVER.

The achievement in developing a career service may be measured by the length of tenure in the organization; therefore, the average length of service becomes an important criterion. Although no numerical yardstick can be adopted as a definite measure, it seems reasonable to assume that, other things being equal, that organization in which tenure is longer has come closer to establishing a career service. It might also be assumed, that higher turnover, and the correspondingly shorter tenure, might indicate lesser satisfaction with the conditions in an organization - again, ceteris paribus, and thus to a lower appreciation of the career by the employees and a greater readiness to leave.

An attempt to study the average length of tenure and ratio of turnover in the civil service of Canada is, therefore, attractive. If these could be compared with external conditions - both in non-government employment at similar work in Canada and in government employment elsewhere - it might provide an aid in evaluating the career possibilities existing in the Federal civil service.

The difficulties of such a project are, however, immense. A reliable assertion of comparability is, in itself, a staggering undertaking. And the concept of turnover is less meaningful to-day than it used to seem in the past.¹ The scarcity of data, and the impossibility of adequate scrutiny of their sources, bases, and derivational procedures, makes any inferences from the available material doubtful, if not meaningless. The best that can be done in the present stage of knowledge is a bare presentation of available data.

1. See Geoffrey Y. Cornog, "The Personnel Turnover Concept: A Reappraisal". Public Administration Review, v. 17, No. 4 (Autumn, 1957) 247-255.

Observers have noted, nevertheless, some apparent features of the various civil services:

"One feature of the Canadian civil service is the number of people who enter and leave it at all levels.....it is normal in all forms of employment in Canada. A man in his late thirties and early forties who has not worked for three or four employers would be considered lacking in initiative and enterprise (in England he might be regarded as restless and unstable)." 2

This observation can be neither confirmed nor disproved by the material available to the writer. When the several categories of civil servants are considered separately, the picture is not clearer at all. The general strength of the classified Federal civil service does not fluctuate too greatly,³ but no overall numbers of class-totals exist to provide such a bird's-eye view in their particular cases. (Incidentally, such totals would not mean that there is little turnover or otherwise). Neither do general turnover statistics exist for the several classes, nor do comparable fragmentary studies. Various sources present differing numbers.⁴

2. C. J. Hayes, op. cit. p. 84.

3. The total strength varied during the year 1956 as follows:

January	143,558	July	143,849
February	144,058	August	144,364
March	145,083	September	144,301
April	142,811	October	144,937
May	143,070	November	145,501
June	143,502	December	145,815

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Federal Government Employment, Monthly Memoranda.

4. For instance: G. A. Blackburn gives the rate of turnover for professional engineers, including retirement, as below 5 per cent a year. ("Engineers in the Civil Service of Canada". Engineering Journal, May 1956). - The Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada reports an average rate of resignations of engineers in the Forestry Branch over the years 1951-1955 as 5.4%, exclusive of retirements, deaths, hirings and other changes usually included in turnover. (The Institute's Salary Brief, January 20, 1956 p. 12, table.)

As far as the senior echelons of the civil service are concerned, the writer found among the 863 officers in receipt of a salary of \$7,500 p.a., and above, the following distribution by length of service:

TABLE 17. Length of Service by numbers of Officers in Receipt of a Salary of \$7,500 p.a. and Over.⁵

Length of Service, yrs.	0-3	3-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	over 30	un-known	Total
Number	68	78	169	137	128	50	64	92	77	863

Source: Personnel Records, Civil Service Commission, Ottawa.

In the general service, turnover is believed to be of the order of ten to fifteen per cent annually.⁶ No breakdown of the numbers is available and, thus, no inferences can be drawn as to the share, in this turnover, of employees without any career intentions, such as girls who work for a while before marriage or clerks who take up an appointment pending a better opportunity in business. A study undertaken in the Fall of 1948 gave the general rate of turnover in 1947 as 20%, but this number apparently includes some seasonal workers.⁷ The impression created on an observer would lead to a belief that these numbers were low, and that real turnover was higher. This depends, of course, on the meaning of 'real turnover'. Since neither the manner of collection of data, nor the method of computation could be checked, the only basis for the said belief is an undocumented impression. But, in

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5. The breakdown of these numbers by levels of salary is given in Table 14, Chapter Four.
 6. G. A. Blackburn, The Role of the Vocational Guidance Counsellor in Staffing Civil Service Establishments. Also C.S.C. Annual Report for the year 1956, p. 5 - where the Separation Rate is given as 13.3% for 1955, and 14.9% for 1956. It is difficult to compare the two sources, and therefore no inferences are made.
 7. C.S.C. files, a study entitled "Report on Recruitment for the Civil Service", dated October 8, 1948.

the industrial sector of employment in Canada, one finds a very high rate of turnover, as shown in the following table, found in a publication of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics:⁸

Annual Labour Turnover Rates

Year ended February 28	Hiring Rate per cent	Separation Rate per cent
1948	105	100
1949	93	91
1950	82	81
1951	94	86
1952	94	90
1953	89	87
1954	82	83
1955	78	78
1956	82	77
1957	89	85

Apart from the striking disparity between the industrial data and the civil service ones, the civil service authorities in Canada seem to be conscious of a turnover the rate of which needs a defence, and that feeling seems hardly warranted in a service in which figures do not exceed the average in large organizations in the Western world.

This last statement calls for elaboration: A vague, but general enough, consensus would put the average turnover in large-scale organizations at about 12%.⁹ However, in spite of the fact that the civil service of Canada is said to show a turnover only slightly larger than that figure, one finds an apologetic attitude both in published papers¹⁰ and in the daily

8. Hiring and Separation Rates in Certain Industries, March 1955 to February 1957. p. 6.

9. Recognized as such by Mr. G. A. Blackburn in his paper The Role of the Vocational Guidance Counsellor in Staffing Civil Service Establishments.

10. To some degree ibid.; see also J. C. Woodward, loc. cit. The Annual Reports of the C.S.C. show continuous concern with turnover as well.

utterances of officers of the Civil Service Commission. In interviews with the writer, these officers stressed repeatedly, that the turnover in the Canadian civil service is not all loss. The government employment, they said, provides training and experience which serves the community, whether the employee stays in the service or leaves for a private job. Since education is the function of provincial governments, and many of them are too poor or too small to provide the necessary environment or facilities, the Federal civil service must step in, and the easiest way to do it legitimately is through the employment of the scientist, professional, or skilled worker in question. The writer thought the argument valid in itself, but hardly relevant to efficiency in the civil service, and wanting in express acceptance for what it is, namely - a diversion of the appropriation for civil service salaries and for programmes and undertakings to the use of education. The very emergence of the argument seemed to the writer significant. One possible explanation of this phenomenon might be that the reasoning, and the feeling of concern that seems to underlie it, are a transfer from the United States.¹¹

If this is really so, and assuming that the various statistics of turnover are collected by the same method so as to permit comparison, then the concern might possibly be more justified in the United States, where the annual turnover is said to be 27.3% in 1952, 26.4% in 1953, 27.9% in 1954 and 24.4% in 1955.¹² The figures, however, are not too consistent for the civil service of the United States as well. Mr. Philip Young gave the average

11. Compare W. S. Sayre "The Recruitment and Training of Bureaucrats in the United States." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, v. 292 (March, 1954) 39-44.

12. C.S.C. of Canada, Annual Report for the year 1955. table on p. 8. The figure for 1954 is said to include wage employees.

annual turnover rate as approximately 21%.¹³ The Annual Report of the U. S. Civil Service Commission for the year 1955 brings the rates of total separation alone as 25.4% in 1954, and 23.5% in 1955.¹⁴ This has to be interpreted to mean that the average tenure in government employment in the United States is about four years. - The civil service there is certainly "an episode rather than a career"¹⁵ to the civil servant.

In striking contrast, however, to the situation in North America is the small rate of turnover in Great Britain. The largest ratio is shown by the Scientific Officer classes, and the long tenure of scientists is believed to be less important than of administrative employees, due to their remoteness from political aspects of affairs.¹⁶ In these classes, turnover is encouraged by their inclusion in the Federated Superannuation Scheme for the Universities. The annual turnover is reported to have reached recently about three per cent in these classes. Of this about 2% go to industry, while one per cent turns to academic work.¹⁷ Wastage is very small from the Executive Class,¹⁸ and smaller still from the Administrative. The insignificant numbers do not lend themselves to a presentation on the basis of a percentage ratio. The warnings, that this should not lead to complacency, for the small wastage is due more to the peculiar skills acquired in the civil service, whose non-marketable

13. The Federal Personnel Program and Patronage, a speech at a breakfast meeting of the National Conference of Business Papers Editors in the Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C. on March 25, 1954.

14. p. 113.

15. Sayre, loc. cit.

16. Cmd 9613, Evidence, 23rd day, qu. 3443.

17. Ibid. 16th day, p. 752 par. 16.

18. Ibid, Report, par. 435.

character prevents defection, must be regarded as a weighty admonition as far as recruitment is concerned. However, these considerations do not diminish the stability of the career of an employee with some years of service.

To conclude, the ratio of turnover in the civil services of the North-American countries is so markedly different from that of Great Britain, as to make the difference not merely one of number, but of order. But there is, also, a difference in the ratio of general mobility of employment as between these countries. The data do not exist yet, to permit either a valid comparison or supportable tentative conclusions.

CHAPTER SIXCAREER GROUPS IN A DEPARTMENT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.A case study.

The customary career of the average civil servant in Canada differs from the careers of well-defined groups of civil servants. Such groups are the scientists and professional employees and some departmental service-groups. The findings concerning the scientific and professional groups were presented in parallel with those on the general service. For the study of a departmental service group, the Foreign Service Officers of the Department of Trade and Commerce were selected. This was prompted by three considerations: (1) The F.S.O.'s are a strictly-defined and identifiable group, whose career is expressly planned and regulated; (2) they are recruited by the general examination for university graduates only slightly modified - which could be assumed to mean that these people are not widely different from the general run of Canadians with university education, ergo, the personnel of other services or groups. Consequently, differences, if found, could be ascribed to treatment rather than to element; (3) the same Department employs general administrators and scientists and professionals, which groups could serve for a control in case of need.

This chapter will present and discuss the findings of that study, conducted in July and August 1957, and followed by a questionnaire distributed in the Fall. It will be concerned with the Foreign Service Officer group, using the other groupings only for an occasional reference, or control, if need be.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE.A. The group and its members.

The group comprised 122 officers on July 21, 1957. Of these, one or two might be assigned to purely administrative duties at the time; all,

nevertheless, were designated as Trade Commissioners - being the Department's title for its sector of what is referred to in the civil service by the generic term of Foreign Service Officer, and which includes officers of the Departments of External Affairs and Citizenship and Immigration as well.

The composition of the group is shown in table 18.

TABLE 18. The Group of Foreign Service Officers in the Department of Trade and Commerce: Composition by Age Group, Relative to Veteran Status, Education and Previous Experience. July 1957.

Age group	25 and under	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61 and over	Total
<u>Number</u> by age	1	18	16	25	21	11	13	11	6	122
<u>Veterans:</u>										
World War I								1	3	4
World War II			5	22	17	4	2	2		52
<u>Education:</u>										
High School				2	1					3
Some University	1	2		4	1	2	1		2	13
Bachelor's		11	11	14	15	8	9	6	4	78
Some Post-Grad.		1								1
Master's		4	5	5	3	1		5		23
Doctor's							1			1
Unspecified					1		2			3
<u>Previous Ex- perience, after school, in:</u>										
Business	1	1	1		4	2		1		10
Industry		2								2
Government		1	3		3	2		4	2	15
Other			2	1			1			4
Multiple			2		2		1			5
None		14	8	24	12	7	11	6	4	86

Source: Personal Records, Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa.

This table shows over 20% in the age-group of 35 to 40 years. Sixty-two officers are 30 to 45 years old (50.8%). Ninety-five per cent have received university education, and eighty-four per cent have graduated. Seventy per cent came to the Service with no other experience than their studies, twelve per cent previously held government positions, eight per cent had some business experience. To five officers, the Trade Commissioner service was their third choice.

B. The Personnel Practices applied to F.S.O's.

1. Recruitment: In recent practice, the candidates are university graduates, less than thirty-one years of age. The rather high age-limit is set in order to admit people with business or professional experience. They are sought and approached by the usual media of publicity. This initial contact is mostly the concern of the Department, whose recruitment efforts are directed to familiarizing the prospective applicant with the opportunities, the challenge and the attractions of the service of a Trade Commissioner who popularizes Canadian products abroad and serves the economy of his country. The high prestige of foreign trade, of industrial production, of the rugged pioneering trader dependent on his own counsel and initiative, is mixed in this publicity with references to the service rendered to the country as a feature that "raises the Civil Service a little above other vocations offering openings to young people about to embark on a career"¹ into a blend of great appeal. The duties of a Trade Commissioner and his initial training are skillfully presented as inducements.

The candidate participates in the general examination for university graduates, and writes in addition an essay paper and a special objective paper. The oral examinations for these candidates are separately held by a board on which the Department has two representatives, and which goes on a circuit to all the examination centres. Recruitment is open only to the entrance grade - F.S.O. 1, and only by open competition.

The results of recruitment drives over the post-war years are presented in table 19.

1. From the advertisement in the McGill Daily, January 21, 1955.

TABLE 19. Recruitment to the Trade Commissioner Service, 1943-1957.

Year of recruitment	Applicants total	Initial Competitors	Eligible	Offered appointment	Appointed	Refused
1943 (1)					9	
1944 (1)					16	
1945 (1)					5	
1946	297	255	21	13	11	2
1947	169	104	11	10	9	1
1948 (2)						
1949 (2)						
1950	182 (3)	103	9	7	5	2
1951 (1)						
1952 (4)	(190)	(81)	(21)	2	2	
1953 (5)	(169)	(160)	(39) 11	8	5	3
1954 (2)						
1955	223	167	36	19	19	
1956 (6)		118	30	13	12	1
1956 (7)		168		10		
1957		139	25	24	11	12 (8)

Sources: Data collected for the writer by Mr. G. S. Follis, of the C.S.C. Ottawa,² and Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa, Sixty-Fifth Annual Report, 1956, p. 21.

- Notes: (1) No data available, no record preserved.
 (2) No recruitment.
 (3) Approximate number.
 (4) Since only two appointments were intended, the candidates were taken from the competition for F.S.O., Department of External Affairs. Numbers in brackets refer to that competition.
 (5) Competition was common with the Department of External Affairs. Candidates were allowed to state their choice. 11 Eligibles listed choice of T. & C. Numbers in brackets refer to the common part of the competition.
 (6) Competition in January.
 (7) Additional competition in November. Data from the Sixty-Fifth Annual Report of the Department of Trade and Commerce, 1956, p.21.
 (8) No reply from one eligible.

If momentary fluctuations are disregarded, the table shows that over the years 1946-1957, the examinations sifted the candidates very thoroughly.

2. A study was undertaken, and data especially collected for this writer, by Mr. G. S. Follis, Civil Service Commission, Ottawa. The writer wishes to thank here Mr. Follis for the pains taken by him personally and for his kindness in making the help of his staff available. Thanks are due also to Miss Sims, on that staff.

The written examination, not itemized in the table, eliminated 65.2% of competitors, and the oral part selected only 42.6% of those who succeeded in the written test. The eligibles constituted only 14.8% of the initial competitors. One hundred and six were offered appointment. When the ten 1956 eligibles are excluded, whose reaction is not known, 77.1% accepted appointment, while 21.9% refused the offer.

2. Training.³ Initial training lasts usually one, or sometimes two, years. It consists mostly of a careful rotation of assignments, calculated to acquaint the officer with an "Area" of foreign trade and its problems, with the general working of the Department and its services, such as Transportation or International Trade Relations. Some assignments are included with the intention of familiarizing him with departmental and government policy and the activities of other Departments and government agencies associated with foreign trade work. At the end of his training period, the officer is sent for a tour of the country's industries and resources, which lasts two or three months, and familiarizes him with those sectors of the economy which will need his services and assistance in his later work. His first posting abroad follows immediately, and brings him to a position where he may ripen under the direction of a senior officer. Every three-and-one-half years he will return to Canada for a home-leave and refresher tour.

3. Promotion.⁴ There is neither promotion-competition for entry to the

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3. Data for the following description were collected from various sources, chiefly:
- a Posters, announcements and releases to prospective candidates, 1953-1957.
 - b Files of the Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa which the writer was permitted to read.
 - c Interviews with officers of that Department, arranged for the writer through the kindness of the Personnel Officer, Mr. L. J. Rodger, whom the writer wishes to thank here for a generous and well considered help in his study.

4. This section is based mainly on material supplied by Mr. L. J. Rodger
(cont'd)

Trade Commissioner Service, nor any competitions for promotion in the Service. Promotions are awarded on the basis of abilities and performance. They are planned and calculated in advance, and this is precisely the characteristic that distinguishes the Trade Commissioner Service from other groups in the civil service.

It would be false to conclude, though, that every step and turn of the career of a Trade Commissioner is set and arbitrarily prescribed. Neither the posting, nor the length of a term, not even the exact rate of promotion are known in detail in advance. Nevertheless guidelines are agreed and clearly formulated, and, so far as one would normally desire to forecast one's future, this is fairly possible in that service.

The guidelines for promotion are laid down in a formal statement, the "Schedule of Promotions for Trade Commissioner Service." This is a plan which provides for a normal average rate of promotion from any step of the scale to the next one. According to this plan, an average, normal officer would spend three years in grade One, three in grade Two, four in grade Three, five in grade Four, three in grade Five, and three in grade Six. The progression to the top of the Service would last, accordingly, about twenty-four years, counting the within-grade steps of grade Seven. The thirty-years-old entrant would know that he has a prospect of interesting assignments in foreign countries and at home, with rarely a period of "marking time" in respect to the variety of work as well as in advancement of rank and salary; that he may be certain of high rank and an influential position, with prestige and challenge, provided he continues to acquit himself well and to apply himself with

4. (Cont'd)

in interviews with the writer, and some information taken from the files of the Department in Ottawa. Due thanks are rendered here to the then Deputy Head and to Mr. L. J. Rodger.

sincerity and vigour, whenever need be; and that all this may be attained before old age frustrates the utilization of the fruits of his exertion.

The same Schedule of Promotions provides for an accelerated plan, which may guide the promotion of the outstanding, and foresees the attainment to the top in about sixteen years. A third alternative, for retarded promotion, does not put down any length of time, for this would depend on numerous circumstances.

While the said Schedule provides the guidelines, at each year's end detailed principles are formulated for the yearly promotion list. The weight accorded to seniority and age in junior grades is decided upon, and a list of candidates drawn up, showing the objective data in their cases, and their work history. This would serve as an aide-memoire when the promotions are considered.

The results of the application of the promotion policy are presented in the following tables.

TABLE 20. Promotion of Trade Commissioners Relative to their Age Groups. July 1957.

Age Group	Steps of Promotion ⁽¹⁾											Total
	0	7	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
25 and under	1											1
26-30	15	3										18
31-35	9	1	4	2								16
36-40		4	7	8	6							25
41-45		2	6	13								21
46-50		1	2	4		1	1	1	1			11
51-55		1		1			1	5	4	1 ⁽²⁾		13
56-60					1	2	3	4			1 ⁽²⁾	11
61 and over			1	1				3	1			6
Total	25	12	20	29	7	3	5	13	6	1	1	122

Source: Personal Records, Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa.

Notes: (1) Steps of promotion are counted from the entry into the Trade Commissioner Service, any previous positions are disregarded. Each consecutive step on the scale is counted, whether actually occupied or skipped, e.g. a promotion from F.S.O. 2 to F.S.O. 4 counts for two steps. No regard is paid to either the initial level, nor to the ultimate one. Thus, the table does not indicate the absolute rank. An officer who started at, say, grade 5 and

(cont'd)

was promoted to 6 and 7 is shown as having progressed two steps.

- (2) Steps 9 and 10 took these two officers out of the common rank to positions of Assistant Deputy Minister and Deputy Minister.

TABLE 21. Same Group. Promotion Relative to Length of Service, July 1957.

Recruited in the years	Length of service yrs. (Rounded)	Steps of promotion (1)											Total Number
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1955-1957	0-3	23											23
1953-1954	3-5	2	4										6
1948-1952	5-10		7	12	6								25
1943-1947	10-15			8	23	7							38
1938-1942	15-20		1				2						3
1933-1937	20-25						1		1				2
1928-1932	25-30							4	9	6	1 ⁽²⁾		20
1923-1927	30-35							1	3			1 ⁽²⁾	5
Total number		25	12	20	29	7	3	5	13	6	1	1	122

Source: Personal Records, Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa.

Notes: See Table 20.

TABLE 22. Same Group. Promotion Relative to Grade (Rank) as of July 1957.

Grade	Steps of Promotion											Total in Grade
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	25											25
2		8										8
3		2	17									19
4			2	26	1							29
5			1	2	6	1	4					14
6		2				1	1	12				16
7				1					6			7
8												
Directors						1		1				2
Deputies to Minister										1	1	2
Total	25	12	20	29	7	3	5	13	6	1	1	122

Source: Personal Records, Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa.

Note: Some cases in this table show promotional steps equal in number, or more numerous than, the grades the officers might have apparently passed in their advance along the scale, e.g. four officers in grade 5 show six steps of promotion each. This is due to the fact that, until January 1945, the scale was beginning with the positions of Junior Trade Commissioner and Assistant Trade Commissioner, above
(cont'd)

which only the numbered grades began.

Note 1 to table 20 applies to this table as well, except as to rank, which is clear from the table.

The systematically-planned and executed pattern of promotion is evident from these three tables. The rank of an officer is an orderly function of his abilities and seniority, and, consequently, it is related to his age.

4. Rank. The Trade Commissioner acquires a personal rank, which is his attribute and does not change with change of assignment. Only promotion effects a change in that rank which is expressed by the grade on the F.S.O. scale carried by the officer, not by his job. Apart from the personal rank, the officer carries an official title, dependent on both his rank and that of the post to which he is attached. Officers attached to Embassies are referred to as Commercial Secretaries or, in higher ranks- Commercial Counsellors. Those attached to Consulates, or to posts that substitute for Consulates or carry some consular duties, have various consular titles. In posts with purely trade functions, they are known under the titles of Trade Commissioners. Junior grades in all varieties are designated as Assistants.⁵

Assignment to a post of higher standing does not, however, confer a higher rank on the officer, though it may give him a higher title pro tempore. In July, 1957, of the thirteen officers assigned to posts which were meant for F.S.O. 7, five were in grade F.S.O. 6. Thus the rank is a genuinely personal attribute.

Rapid promotion and acquisition of rank is facilitated by the fact that the Service is not staffed to its full complement, showing about thirty vacancies in July, 1957. In consequence, there is considerable room for movement within the approved establishment.

5. Official Titles of Foreign Service Officers of the Department of Trade and Commerce. Undated memorandum including a full list of the titles. Files of the Department of Trade and Commerce.

5. Compensation and Benefits.

The schedule of compensation for the Foreign Service Officers of the Department of Trade and Commerce shows only one point of overlap, between grades 4 and 5.⁶ This largely eliminates promotion without an accompanying salary increase. In the personal histories of the officers, however, one finds many past promotions without any increase of salary, or with as little as \$20.- p.a. as an increase.⁷ That situation was in itself an improvement upon the preceding system which prevailed until about ten years ago, wherein the promoted officer had to go to the minimum of his new grade.⁸ In those days, salary steps showed overlaps, and a promotee had frequently to take a reduction in his salary upon promotion. The first step towards the reform of that faulty practice was the limitation of the period of reduced salary to one full day (!) after which the promotee could obtain a raise in salary. For the next few years, the promotee, who has been at the maximum of his grade for at least one year, would move up one increment-step at promotion. If the minimum of his new grade could not provide such a raise, he would be paid at the first within-the-grade rate which would provide the increment. Thus the career-considerations of salary would gradually assert themselves against abstract mechanistic principles. In the present situation, there is

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6. T. B. 518564 of June 17, 1957, includes the salaries of grades 1 to 6. T.B. 522734 of September 26, 1957, includes the salaries of grades 7 and 8. One position - unfilled so far - has been authorized at this latter grade. The actual rates of salary are shown in Appendix 3, (where all are collected for the sake of convenience.).
7. In most cases, nevertheless, there was a financial incentive and direct reward even in such promotions; for the living allowance - of which more will be said later - would be increased in the higher rank.
8. This discussion is based on the files of the Department of Trade and Commerce and on data supplied by Mr. L. J. Rodger in a series of interviews on July 19, 22, 23 and 24, 1957. Due thanks are rendered here to Mr. L. J. Rodger.

seldom a need to refer to the rule for providing an additional increment at promotion.

An officer, posted abroad, receives a living allowance, the amount of which depends on his rank and on the post. These are intended to provide the officer with a proper house, the means for an adequate education of his children, a fund for representation and entertainment, travelling expenses, cost of living differentials, etc. Costs of removal are provided by the Department.

In some cases, a Terminable Allowance is paid. This may serve as a compensation for extra duties which do not warrant promotion for any of a number of possible reasons. It may also compensate for the loss of a living-allowance due to a re-posting, in cases when such loss would unduly hurt an officer or severely reduce his accustomed standard of living. In these cases, it becomes a mark-time pay, reduced progressively with his consecutive increments or promotions. Allowances are non-taxable.

The Foreign Service Officers benefit from the superannuation plan, low-cost term-insurance, hospital-and-medical insurance, cumulative sick-leave and an annual leave. In addition, the officer posted abroad will be given a longer home-leave at intervals of from 2 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years - depending on the climatic conditions of his post. Transportation costs for himself and his family will be paid by the Department when home-leave is granted.

The set of distinct attitudes and rules applied to the group of Trade Commissioners aims at generating a feeling of coherence and distinctness within that group. In this, the management succeeded, as is evident even from external signs, such as the fact that the a Foreign Service Officer does not regard himself as a member of the civil service, but of the Trade Commissioner Service. In order to ascertain, however, whether the differences go deeper, and whether the career of a F.S.O. takes a course different in reality from

that of a regular civil servant, a study of the feelings, attitudes and responses of the officers had to be undertaken. This was done by the aid of a questionnaire sent to all Trade Commissioners in the Fall of 1957.⁹ An identical questionnaire was distributed to the Headquarters Staff of the same Department. This group, numbering eighty-eight persons, was composed of forty-three erstwhile Commodity Officers, and all the administrative, foreign tariff, technical and similarly employed officers, who profess membership in the civil service, and do not see themselves as a group apart. This was done so as to obtain a body of data from a control group, in case of need. For, while the work of some of them, such as former commodity officers, is similar to that of a F.S.O., the recruitment and other personnel techniques are those usual in the general civil service, and so are the attitudes and underlying principles. The results of this enquiry are as follows:

C. Results of direct enquiry.

Fifty-three usable replies were received from Trade Commissioners, and fifty-two from Headquarters Officers. The group of Trade Commissioners presents the following age distribution.

<u>Age-group</u> <u>(years)</u>	<u>Number</u>
21-25	1
26-30	4
31-35	10
36-40	17
41-45	5
46-50	3
51-55	4
56-60	4
Unspecified	<u>5</u>
Total	53

9. Distribution, and collection of replies, by the Personnel Officer, Department of Trade and Commerce. See Appendix 5 for the Questionnaire and Covering letter. The writer wishes to thank here again the Deputy Head of the Department as well as Mr. L. J. Rodger, the Personnel Officer.

There is a higher percentage of respondents within the age limits of 30 to 45 years, than in the group at large.

As for their education, there were 42 with Bachelor's degrees, 7 with Master's degrees and four did not specify. The percentage of graduates is also higher than in the entire group.

None of the respondents believed his work to be purely technical, twenty-three believed it to be administrative, while thirty thought it contained elements of both an administrative and technical character. Most of the officers had moderate seniority, thus:

<u>Years of service</u>	<u>Number</u>
0-5	10
6-10	15
11-15	17
16-20	1
21-25	2
26-30	4
31-35	3
Unspecified	<u>1</u>
Total	53

Only two officers interrupted their service: one of them twice - for a total of seven months; the other stayed out for three years. Both had more than twenty-five years of service with the government. Forty-nine of the officers reported satisfaction with their career, four were undecided, none felt it was completely unsatisfactory. As the advantages of their career, the officers mentioned.¹⁰

Interest in their work	52 cases (!)
Opportunity to serve their country and the community	34 cases
Good working conditions	29 "
Prestige enjoyed in their environment	28 "
Good social contacts	26 "
Security	26 "
Opportunity to improve education	25 "
Adequate salary	12 "
Opportunity for fast advancement	7 "
Opportunity for travel	7 "
Independence of action	3 "
Contact with strange countries and cultures	3 "
Variety in work	2 "

10. Most answers were multiple, on this point as well as on other ones.

In addition, one case each, of: absence of worries; opportunity of spreading Canadian culture; opportunity of building better international understanding; avoiding office routine; meeting interesting people; diplomatic immunity; pleasant housing and office accommodation.

Among the disadvantages they complained of:

Hardships of nomadic life on children and on their education	35	cases
Various standard civil-service complaints	25	"
Lack of permanent home	21	"
Separation from Canada, relatives and friends	13	"
Absence of feeling of belonging, rootlessness, strangeness, want of a place to retire to in old age	9	"
Specific complaints about Departmental administration	6	"
Financial sacrifices in continuous up-rooting of home	6	"
Damage to health in various climates	5	"
Early separation from children due to their educational needs	4	"
Disruption of family life	3	"
Rupture of children's, - especially girl's - allegiance to Canada and its culture	1	"

Twenty-three of the officers planned a career similar to the one pursued, and with fifteen it was an ambition since youth. In fifteen cases their choice was influenced by the wish to travel and do interesting work, sixteen took it up as an opportunity to work and earn a salary, nine were influenced by various accidental reasons, two responded to the example of friends and acquaintances, two sought escape from humdrum business work, two sought security in government employment, two were disappointed elsewhere, one was transferred at the request of the service, and one each responded to: desire to serve the country; urge to promote international trade for the advancement of peace; feeling of personal suitability; interest in international finance; quest for prestige; quest for income; and an unexpected success at the entry-examination.¹¹

11. A total of 34 officers responded to this question, many with multiple reasons.

Forty-three officers planned to continue at their present employment until retirement, while three planned to leave before. Seven were undecided. Eight of the officers would consider an alternative employment, viz; Four would go to private employment, of whom one considered, also, his own business and one - free practice of law. One would accept a teaching position, two would change to another public service, one would open his own business as a sole alternative. These plans are no idle fantasies, for only six persons in the group had no other offers of work, and four did not specify. The offers rejected by respondents were in many cases multiple, as shown below.

<u>Number of offers rejected</u>	<u>Number of officers</u>
0	6
1	4
2	8
3	16
4	3
5	6
6	1
"several"	3
more than ten	2
unspecified	4
	<hr/>
total	53

The respondents¹² reported the following as their motives for the rejection of these opportunities:

<u>Motive</u>	<u>Number of cases.</u>
Liking for their work and general satisfaction	27 cases
Sense of career, loyalty primarily to service etc.	7 "
Satisfaction with working conditions, security etc.	7 "
Desire to do independent work, and other characterological factors	3 "
Old age, inability to undertake change	1 "
Negative reasons - (lack of attraction in offer, lack of interest, disinclination etc.)	9 "

12. 44 Officers responded to this question, many with detailed accounts of each offer or multiple reasons. Of the remaining nine officers, six did not receive any offers. Three of these are new entrants, recruited within the last two years, and one seems to have avoided offers - his youth's-ambition was to become a Trade Commissioner.

Of these 53 officers, whose attitudes were tabulated above, thirty believed their advancement to be of average rate, eighteen believed it fast, four thought it slow, and one did not answer.¹³

Allowance should be made for the slightly greater ratio of young and vigorous people, and of graduates among the respondents, than found in the group at large. These factors might slightly color the response received. Nevertheless, the differentials seem not to be so striking as to cause a serious distortion of the picture. The group seems to contain a high proportion of people in their most active years who consciously pursue a line of work which attracts them and holds their loyalty and ambition. The attraction seems to be of a degree sufficient to make them reluctant to change their work to one with a salary decisively greater - at least in the immediate future. Since most of them complain about the low salaries in the upper rungs of their service, it is not the ultimate compensation hoped for in the government either that holds their allegiance. The disadvantages of their service are keenly felt, and many are of a genuinely serious character and great consequence. Some must become aggravated with the advancing age of the officer and his family, and the officers are certainly aware of this characteristic. It does not seem probable, either, that the interest in work alone induces them to sacrifice overmuch - such a motive, uncorroborated, would hardly outweigh family considerations and devotion to children.- In order to put the above findings in proper relief, and evaluate them with greater validity, a more detached point of view, and a standard of comparison is necessary. These might be found in considering the control group of Headquarters Officers.

13. This apparent departure from the position, taken in the previous chapters, of judging the advancement by the criterion of salary is necessary. In the case of these officers the salary does not mean much, for their compensation is determined to a large extent by their living allowances, and those are variable.

Among these 52 respondents one finds the distribution by age groups more even, with only twenty-seven officers in the group of 31-45 years old (50.0%, as compared with 60.4% among the Trade Commissioners). This characteristic, however, is probably of little consequence. Only thirty have a Bachelor's degree, five - Master's, and one - a doctorate. In all, 36 are graduates (69.2% as compared with 92.4% in the other group). The proportion of officers who regard themselves as administrators is lower as well (16 officers, being 30.7% as against 43.4% among F.S.O.), and five officers think of their work as purely technical. Two officers are professionals by their own description, twenty-eight find their work administrative and technical at once. One did not respond. However, these differences between the groups in toto should not be regarded as crucial. They seem rather incidental, at least to a certain degree. Their significance is subject to some doubt.¹⁴

There is no great difference in terms of length of service either as between the two groups. However, stability of work, as expressed by the number of interruptions in service, shows a striking difference, for ten Headquarters Officers have had some break of service, as against two Trade Commissioners. Nine officers have had one interruption each, ranging from ten to fifty-five months; one officer interrupted his service three times, for a total of nine years.

While satisfaction with the career is almost as general as among the Trade Commissioners, the reasons for it differ in some significant points. Most striking is the relative absence of the incentive of prestige in the career of an officer in the Headquarters. The F.S.O. enjoy a high prestige in the environment where they are posted, and considerable status and respect

14. For full tabulation of the response from the group of Headquarters Officers see Appendix Six.

at home. They are aware of this fact, and, while it has not induced them to embark on the chosen career, it certainly has contributed to their satisfaction in it and many have reflected on the number of employees positively-bound to the service.¹⁵ This is suggested by the fact that only four Headquarters Officers believe that prestige belongs to the advantages of their career, while twenty-eight F.S.O.'s mention prestige in this context. Closely related with prestige is the enjoyment of good social contacts, a point stressed by twenty-six mentions from Trade Commissioners as against eight mentions by Headquarters Officers. Significance may be found in the smaller number of Headquarters Officers who believe that advancement in service is fast (four, as against seven F.S.O.'s). On the other hand, the Officers at Headquarters stress the more-prosaic rewards, such as security, conditions of work, adequate salary.

Negatively, the Headquarters Officer's career does not present any of the long list of moving, and sometimes grave, disadvantages involved in the course of life of a Foreign Service Officer. And yet, only 17.3% of them planned this kind of a career, and only with 5.8% was it an ambition of youth. The corresponding ratios among Trade Commissioners were 43.4%, and 28.3%, respectively. Over a half of the group of Headquarters Officers took up the appointment for reasons not connected with the nature of the work, but rather on utilitarian grounds, as a means of earning.¹⁶ This is not true for the

15. Compare the number of Foreign Service Officers who declined offers of outside employment for reasons of liking their work etc. (27 cases) with the corresponding number of Headquarters Officers - (8 cases).

16. See in Appendix 6:

For work with salary	25 cases
Because of depression conditions	2 "
For security's sake	1 "
For lack of alternatives	1 "
Due to war dislocation	1 "
Total	30 cases - 57.6%.

(cont'd)

Trade Commissioners.

Equally revealing are the motives which caused the Officers at Headquarters to decline offers of outside employment. While on account of age, health or characterological reasons there is no difference as between the groups, all other reasons show a significantly disparate frequency. On the positive side, Headquarters Officers show 15 cases as against 41 cases among the Trade Commissioners, while on the negative, the Headquarters Officers mention 29 cases as against 9 among Foreign Service Officers.¹⁷

D Interpretation of the Findings.

In summing-up, the findings show two groups of almost identical number, employed by the same department on sometimes very similar work, canvassed at the same time by means of an identical questionnaire. These two groups show some dissimilarities so striking as to suggest that the respondents belonged to different orders of the service. The Trade Commissioners' career involves great and painful sacrifices, absent from the career of the other employees. In return, it offers a compensation substantially greater than that of an Officer at Headquarters, for it carries a living allowance. Nevertheless, the earnings are inferior by far to the income of trade or other business, of which the Trade Commissioner is certainly capable, as the very nature of his work shows. Judging by the response of the Foreign Service Officers, it is not the compensation that makes them undertake their career and continue in it. Something else must be their reward. Moreover, that reward is attractive

16. (Cont'd)

Among the F.S.O. the number is, at most, as follows:

For work with salary	16 cases
For security's sake	2 "
For prestige	1 "
For income	1 "
Total	20 cases - 37.7%

17. See Appendix 6, par. 17.

enough to induce people to plan this career, and to do so in youth, long before its inception. They are not motivated by a family tradition. When in the service, they experience a positive bond that keeps them in, and they are conscious of its strength when they refuse outside offers of employment. These characteristics are markedly less evident in the control group of employees and almost absent in some of the other categories in the civil service.

It seems plausible to look for the reasons for these differences in the factors peculiar to the Trade Commissioner Service. These may be said to consist in:

- 1). The enjoyment of prestige and respect. This is, in part, a result of the recognition of importance of the social function fulfilled by this Service. It is enhanced by the generally high prestige of trade. Good social contacts both contribute to the prestige and are stimulated by the high status of the officer on the scale of public respect.
- 2). Certainty of advancement and future. The advancement does not depend on chance, is not won by a special effort to be put into an attempt to win in a competition - conditions which make the advancement of a regular civil servant both incalculable and exhausting. Promotion comes as a result of a sustained, high level of service, which is, indeed, the condition of the very satisfaction one has at one's daily work, a condition even of continuation in the employment itself. Thus, advancement becomes an inseparable part of one's employment.¹⁸
- 3). Personal rank. This makes the level attained to in the service into a permanent attribute or asset of the person. Since, however, the level attained in the service is both the result and the index of one's success or recognition,

18. One of the most basic attributes of a career service. This point will be further developed in the last chapter.

such personal rank confirms one's self-evaluation and enhances one's self-respect.

The three factors enumerated above are decisively morale-generating. As such, they work in a mutually-reinforcing and permanent self-regenerating way. They are, certainly, not the only factors.¹⁹ Moreover, it would be fallacious to maintain that these factors, alone, might be relied upon to generate the character found in the Trade Commissioner Service. It is submitted, however, that neglecting these factors might make the creation of a career-service doubtful indeed.

The conclusion, that morale-generating factors are at a basis of the loyalty and devotion of the Foreign Service Officer in the Department of Trade and Commerce, could be supported by two findings. One, namely the high number of cases in which offers of outside employment were refused on positive grounds, was referred to above. The other is the extremely-small number of separations from the Service. Two average years, for which adequate records exist in that Department, were studied for data on separation. These were the years from April 1st, 1951, to March 31, 1952, and from April 1st, 1956 - to March 31st, 1957. In these years, separation from the Trade Commissioner Service was compared with that from the administrative and scientific classes employed by the same Department. The results are tabulated in Table 23.

19. Character traits, inclinations, propensities etc. might play an important role, not touched upon at all in the present study. Factors of a similar kind, accidental reasons and various incalculable influences complicate the situation even more.

TABLE 23. Separations from Some Services in the Department of Trade and Commerce.

Selected years: April 1, 1951 - March 31, 1952
April 1, 1956 - March 31, 1957

<u>Branch</u>	April 1, 1951 - March 31, 1952						
	Total	Died	Ret'd	Res'd	Transf.	Dism.	Tot.separ.
Administr.	156		2		3		5
Economic	32				1		1
(Scientific)							
F.S.O.	101	3					3

<u>Branch</u>	April 1, 1956 - March 31, 1957						
	Total	Died	Ret'd	Res'd	Transf.	Dism.	Tot.separ.
Administr.	152				1		1
Economic							
(Scientific)	40			6	2		8
F.S.O.	121		1	1 ⁽²⁾	2 ⁽¹⁾	1 ⁽³⁾	5

Source: Personnel Records, Department of Trade and Commerce, and Annual Reports of that Department, for the years 1951, 1952 and 1956.

Notes: (1) Includes: one transfer to another department, after 8 months' service, and one resignation in order to accept a post of Deputy Minister in one of the Provinces, after 20 years of service.
(2) Return to university after six months of service.
(3) Discharge for indiscretion and drunkenness, after 2 years and 7 months of service.

The table above shows practically no wastage from the Trade Commissioner Service, unless in exceptional cases or at the outset of career. The sample is admittedly too small for any inferences, but a perusal of the Annual Reports of the Department, (in which changes in the staff of the Trade Commissioner Service are scrupulously noted) will convince the reader that nothing might be gained by extending the survey.

The general experience with the Trade Commissioner Service is very satisfactory. This might be one of the reasons underlying the recent move to

re-cast the Commodity Officer class, along with some other classes, into a new class of Trade and Commerce Officers, recruited by the examination for university graduates and organized on the lines of a more-or-less distinct Service. This is expected to develop an esprit de corps and become a new career-group in the future.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

CONCLUSIONS.

The general aim of this paper was to study the efforts made by the management of the civil service of Canada towards the development of a core of career officers in the non-departmental classes.

In Chapter One an effort was made to show, that the need of such a nucleus of a career service is most widely recognized. This recognition was not evident in Canada when Sir George Murray wrote his Report in 1912, for then the need of careers was not pressing, and therefore his clear recommendations in regard of careers evoked no response. Even after the first world war there was no more pressing need, and therefore no more readiness to recognize the implications of a developing government service, destined to be subjected soon to the severe test of serving a rapidly expanding society in conditions of increasingly complex internal and international relations. That this was the situation is demonstrated by the fact, that no trace of the labours of Sir George may be found in the system approved and adopted, upon the recommendations of the firm of Arthur Young and Co.

Not until the early 'thirties could an interest be found in a general career service in the Federal government. At that time an identical interest was prompting experiments in hiring to the United States civil service.

The first practical results of that incipient interest took the form of a series of recruitment plans. Following the same line which has been adopted in the United States,¹ the Civil Service Commission of Canada turned

1. It is not the intention of the writer to imply that the Civil Service Commission of Canada followed the example of the United States. Rather the facts seem to prove that it was a simultaneous development in both countries, following their genuine internal needs. The simultaneousness of the process lent a valuable support to the plans of the Civil Service Commission of Canada. Nevertheless, no indications were found to suggest that the Canadian civil service was emulating the U.S.A.

to recruiting college and university graduates. The efforts in this direction were discussed in Chapter Two. However, the successful operation of a career service depends on much more than the recruitment of suitable candidates. As the consensus of opinions related in Chapter One shows, it depends most of all on the conditions within the service. These conditions must stimulate a continuous growth on the part of the employee, they must bind his loyalties to the organization he serves and induce him to commit himself to a lifetime of work within its apparatus.²

In the Canadian civil service such conditions do not yet prevail in the general service. Even the recruitment activity as such is not yet fully suited to the needs of the civil service in a core of career servants. On the part of the personnel agencies, - the Civil Service Commission and the Personnel Offices in the departments - the practice is not yet made consistent enough to provide uniformity over a long period, which is a necessary condition if a coherent service is intended to last for long and to provide an essentially continuous career for generations of civil servants. The practice of reliance on a "going rate" of pay for recruitment necessitates frequent adjustments of the salaries at the point of entry. The frequency of these adjustments, combined with their minute nature and the short ranges of salaries in the several classes fosters an attitude of momentariness, of stop-gap employment. In conditions in which change is rapid and limits of predictability are narrow - due to short scales of salaries and frequent

2. See H. M. Somers, "Some Observations on Tenure" in The Federal Career Service - A Look Ahead, Pamphlet No. 8, Society for Personnel Administration, 1954. On p. 46 Somers describes the necessary characteristics of a career service and its member. Cf. also Annual Report and Recommendations of the Chairman of the Joint Committee of Expert Examiners for the J.M.A. (referred to supra), p. 4: "We are in effect asking individuals to commit themselves to a lifetime of service with the Federal Government."

change of class at promotion - the entrant is bound to defer planning for any long-term career. At best, he will stay uncommitted, having decided to wait and see what future developments might bring. At worst, he would decide to accept an appointment as a momentary expedient, pending an opportunity for a more lucrative, or more stable arrangement. In such circumstances the annual recruitment--drives will feed into the civil service consecutive waves of entrants rather than a continuous stream.³

The recruit for a career service in the Federal government enters a class the structure of which does not serve the purpose of developing a career service. Many classes in the civil service of Canada are intended to constitute the links of some chain, the entirety of which has been planned as a career series. However, there is neither a safeguard to prevent the leakage out of such a series when an opportunity elsewhere in the service attracts an officer, nor is there any express and tried method of inducing him to plan his career within one series. Therefore there is little point in picturing a nucleus of general career classes in the Federal civil service. There are many career civil servants, and numerous individual careers, some of them strikingly successful.⁴ But the general career service

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3. The Civil Service Commission is aware of the fact that some recruitment practices operate contrary to the interests of the civil service. In the recent effort to improve the recruitment of Administrative Officers, referred to in Chapter Two, - namely the appointment of a committee of high ranking officers to consider that recruitment - one of the stated aims was to "take crisis-recruiting out of entrance to Administrative Classes."
 4. The writer found in the personnel records of the Civil Service Commission at least two cases of rise from the lowest subclerical position of office boy, one to a salary level of \$9000., the other to the secretaryship of an important agency in the Federal Government. Many less brilliant, still very considerable advancements could be cited.

classes are not identical with the cadres of general career officers. The members of these classes are often members pro tempore, and only seldom feel a special allegiance or an express loyalty to their class or series within the classification system. Moreover, one finds within the general career classes many employees who would not qualify as career officers within the meaning given to this term by the various authorities and practitioners quoted in Chapter One. Many of these enter the civil service at a late point in life, when a start of a new career is a doubtful undertaking, others conceive of their service as temporary. Therefore, while there are numerous career officers, and good career material may be found throughout the general classes, there is no identifiable career service in the general government personnel.

The factor of planned and predictable promotion, recognized as essential for the concept of career, is absent from the general service classes. There is advancement, and, as said, sometimes strikingly successful. But if promotion is taken to mean what the term implies, namely the initiative and responsibility of the management in promoting meritorious employees, this advancement is not promotion. It is achieved by the employee upon his own initiative and responsibility, in the manner in which an entrepreneur would be expected to advance his interest. It cannot be gained by exclusive and devoted concentration on one's work, for it depends upon the utilization of opportunities when these present themselves. The merit, in recognition of which advancement is awarded, is to be demonstrated by prowess in "opportunity-hunt" and in qualifying for a position different from the one to which original appointment was given. Since the necessary experience, believed to constitute the basis for promotion, cannot be gained through work in a different position, namely the one to which the candidate has been originally appointed; and since providing him with such experience

entails, practically, employment at a position to which he has not qualified in terms of his appointment; therefore theoretically, and on the basis of logical principle alone, the promotion of a civil servant, recognized to be an important factor in the system of the civil service, is possible only through means which conflict with the principles of recruitment to particular positions,⁵ which apply throughout the general civil service.

The use of incentives is not calculated in a fashion more suitable for a career service. The smooth and monotonous rate of salary increase, in which promotion does not introduce any greatly significant changes is a case in point. Both the small differences between the salaries of consecutive grades in a series, and the overlaps in their respective ranges, deprive promotion of the effect of an event which might attract by its prospect and lure the employee forward. The only genuinely attractive prospect is one of advancement through a competition to a position much higher in the ranks - and such prospects must necessarily be very tenuous.

Other incentives are not more potent, with the possible exception of educational leave. The attempt to induce the employee to a long service through the provision of a furlough after twenty years is a point worth noting, even though it seems a rather feeble effort. The realization of inadequacy of incentives must be keen enough, for it seems to prompt efforts to supplement them. Proposals of introduction of personal rank may be encountered lately in the civil service, and these might possibly spring from that realization.⁶

5. Frederick and Edith Mosher came to a similar conclusion about the civil service of the U.S.A. They remarked "In fact, it might almost be said that the success of such personnel programs depends primarily upon skill in side-stepping some of the precepts of the present system". - The Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige and Problems, p. 125.

6. See e.g. Watters and Gow, loc. cit.

The general picture is one of a service which grew unplanned, spontaneously, as did that of the United States.⁷ There have been sound efforts at recruiting capable career officers. These efforts have not been followed by internal developments and adjustments calculated to prepare a career environment capable of receiving the career entrants and providing them with a possibility to develop. Most serious were the difficulties caused by the immensely involved classification system, which does not suit a dynamic type of a general career service. This system attracted grave criticism on the part of the Royal Commission on Administrative Classification in the Public Service.⁸

This classification system cannot but reflect on the possibilities of introducing regularized promotion, sorely needed under present circumstances. The feeling of impossibility as to the adoption of such a solution is perceptible in the civil service. That impossibility is the result of two factors. One - the unmanageable classification system prevents any predictability of promotion. Two - the supposed aversion of the North-American to the operation of planned and closed groups or services is said to deprive the authorities of an argument which could possibly be invoked in case of the adoption of a decision to try to effect a change in the customary system. The outcome is a dilemma in which the Civil Service Commission cannot help being caught.⁹ The helplessness prompts a rationalization, widely current in the civil service, and popularly referred to as

7. "Since the enactment of the Civil Service Act of 1883, the growth of the civil service system has been largely the result of patchwork without benefit of a basic plan or clear purpose".
Administration of the Civil Service System, p. 10.

8. See Report, p. 15 and passim.

9. See the identical situation in the United States, referred to in Chapter Three, n. 85.

the "milk bottle approach". This has been discussed in Chapter Three.¹⁰ The habitual attitudes of the departments, which are conditioned to seeing every new entrant as a specialist, or at least as a candidate for immediate occupation of a defined position, contribute to the absorption of general career entrants into the specialized classes. This absorption, in turn, is being explained away by reference to the same image of a milk-bottle.

The study of a departmental career service, undertaken in Chapter Six, shows that a career service, closed and planned, is possible in the Canadian Federal civil service. When there is a clear conception of the need for such a career service, when its plan is conceived with a unity of purpose and based on a clear advantage derivable from its operation, its characteristics of a closed corps with a planned and regularized promotion do not evoke any unfavourable reaction. To the contrary, the Trade Commissioner enjoys a prestige in the community at home, to which the general civil servant did not attain. The personal rank of a Trade Commissioner is not viewed as evidence of conceit or as an undemocratic distinction, his strong allegiance to his service and his loyalty are not interpreted as a limitation of his freedom or a remnant of feudal ideas.¹¹

Such a development of the Trade Commissioner's career has been made possible through the undisputed necessity of a permanent service engaged in a function acceptable and understandable to all. Since this function was not subject to doubt, the steps necessary for the erection of a corps of functionaries to fulfil it were acceptable and unopposed. And the consistency of the purpose and its basic unity over two generations provided the service with a stabilizing principle, which substituted for an intentionally developed plan according to preconceived lines.

10. See there, and n. 32, ibid.

11. cf. The Federal Government Service, Its Character, Prestige and Problems, p. 160.

APPENDIX 1.

Samples of recommendations by Oral Examination Boards in competitions for Administrative Officers. Sample I comes from an open competition for Junior Administrative Officers in 1953. Sample II has been taken from a promotion competition for Junior Officers (candidates for Administrative Assistant) in 1955.

Sample 1

- A. Is 19 years of age and will receive a B.A. degree in June. An easy-going individual whose sense of responsibility does not seem to be highly developed. Unless he acquires more polish, he may find it difficult to obtain a position in keeping with his university training. Not recommended for appointment.
- B. A mediocre candidate who does not seem to have the courage of his convictions. The Board was left with the impression that he was not mentally honest in explaining his reason for failing his pre-medical year at Montreal University. Not recommended for appointment.
- C. Candidate leaves the impression of lacking in initiative and perseverance. He will be completing an Arts course in June, at the age of 21, and has no definite plans for further academic studies. However, he mentioned towards the end of the interview that he might be interested in becoming a Dental Surgeon, but he admitted that he had not enquired into the possibility of financing his studies at a university where he could obtain this degree. Fair knowledge of English. Not recommended for appointment.
- D. Will graduate from Oka Agricultural College in June. Obtained a B.A. degree from Sacred Heart College, Sudbury, after high school education at Iroquois Falls, Ontario. Preferred to specialize in Agriculture at Oka rather than at Guelph because he wished to improve his knowledge of French. At 25 years of age this candidate shows definite signs of maturity, which could probably be explained by the fact that he has worked every summer since 1941, and has taken an active part in college activities. On account of his training he would prefer an appointment with the Department of Agriculture but would not turn down an offer of employment with another department - Bilingual.

Sample II

- E. An easy-going uninteresting person who is content to move as someone else moves him. He has done very little for his own self-development. He thinks that he has a big job and has definite tendency to exaggerate it. The Board thought that he should not be put on the course, that his contribution would be negligible and he wouldn't get anything out of it.
- F. This man showed very high intellectual value, but under the factors of group leadership and participation he showed himself to be a lone worker. He is bright, intelligent, but his interests are focused. He has a preference for reading and writing rather than doing. The Board felt that he would do better in academic pursuits and research than in administration.
- G. A fast talking man who knows his own job and promotes things he finds interesting. However, he appeared to be naive and intellectually immature. The Board considered that he would be out of place on this course.
- H. This is a man quite small in stature who is embarrassed by this fact. He had difficulty in expressing himself in English. He had started other courses, but has lost interest in them and has dropped them. He seemed to think as a supervisor rather than as an administrator. His decisiveness, maturity and stability were doubtful. His articulation, naturalness and ability to inspire confidence left something to be desired.

Note: The reports have been selected with an eye to variety and many-sided presentation, so as to illustrate the range of qualities sought in applicants. Most striking is the quest for initiative, group values and leadership, perseverance and courage, clarity in thinking and convincing personal manner.

No motivation is given for favourable recommendation for promotion competitors, and one may estimate the motives only per contra. In Sample I a typical favourable opinion is included.

(To Tabl

1
Year of Competit
1946-7
(1947-8
1948-9
1949-50
1950-51
1951-2
1952-3
1953-4
1954-5
1955-6

SourcesNotes

1

2

3

4

APPENDIX 3.

Salary scales of various classes in the Administrative, Scientific and Foreign Service Officers in the Governments of Canada, Great Britain and the United States, showing the structure of the scales, and the mutual relations and points of overlap within the several series.

GENERAL NOTES:

- I. CANADA: Salaries in dollars, as revised in Spring and Summer 1957.
- II. GREAT BRITAIN: Salaries in £, as recommended by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55. The recent amendments, including those of May 17, 1957, did not change the essential picture, therefore it has been found permissible to disregard coherence of situation as at a defined point of time. (The most recent scales may be found in The British Civil Service, publication No. R. 3624 of the Reference Division of the Central Office of Information, London, May 31, 1957.)
- III. THE UNITED STATES: The scales are of the General Schedule (G.S.) Salaries in dollars, as of January 1958, i.e. the rates current since March 1955, with amendments (G.S. 17 & 18) of July 1956.

In all charts read from bottom upwards. Horizontal arrangement shows points of overlap.

I. CANADA.

c) Salary - Scales of Scientific classes in the civil service of Canada.

b Astronomer Series.

Class:	Astronomer 1	Astronomer 2	Astronomer 3	Astronomer 4	Astronomer 5	Dominion Astronomer
Salary in \$						
						11,000
						10,500
						10,000
					8,580	
					8,220	
				7,860	7,860	
				7,500	7,500	
			7,320			
			6,960	7,140		
		6,780		6,840		
			6,660			
		6,480				
			6,360			
		6,180				
		5,880				
	5,640					
		5,580				
	5,400					
	5,160					
	4,920					
	4,740					
	4,560					
	4,380					

Source: Treasury Board Minute No. T B. 516045 - May 9, 1957.

I. CANADA.

d) Salary - Scales of Scientific classes in the civil service of Canada.

c Chemists.

Class:	Chemist 1	Chemist 2	Chemist 3	Chemist 4	Chemist 5
Salary in \$					9,420
					9,060
					8,700
				8,580	
				8,220	8,340
				7,860	
				7,500	
			7,320		
			6,960		
		6,780			
			6,660		
		6,480			
			6,360		
		6,180			
		5,880			
	5,640				
		5,580			
	5,400				
	5,160				
	4,920				
	4,740				
	4,560				

Source: Treasury Board Minute No. T.B. 517272 - May 9, 1957.

I. CANADA.

- e) Salary - Scales of the Foreign Service Officer class, Department of Trade and Commerce, Government of Canada.

Class:	Foreign Service Officer 1	Foreign Service Officer 2	Foreign Service Officer 3	Foreign Service Officer 4	Foreign Service Officer 5	Foreign Service Officer 6	Foreign Service Officer 7	Foreign Service Officer 8
Salary in \$								13,000
							12,500	
							12,000	
							11,500	
						11,000		
						10,500		
						10,000		
					9,420			
					9,060			
					8,700			
				8,580				
					8,340			
				8,220				
				7,860				
				7,500				
			7,320					
			6,960					
			6,660					
			6,360					
		6,180						
		5,880						
		5,640						
	5,160	5,400						
	4,920							
	(4,740)							
	(4,560)							
	(4,380)							
	(4,200)							

Sources: Treasury Board Minutes Nos. T.B. 518564, June 17, 1957.
T.B. 522734, September 26, 1957

Note: Rates in brackets indicate the initial four half-yearly increments.

II. GREAT BRITAIN.

Scales of salary as recommended by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1953-55.

a The Administrative Class.

Grade	Assistant Principal	Principal	Assistant Secretary	Under Secretary	Deputy Secretary	Permanent Secretary	Permanent Secretary to the Treasury
Salary in £							
						6,000	7,000
				3,250	4,250		
			2,600				
			2,500				
			2,400				
			2,300				
			2,200				
			2,100				
			2,000				
		1,850					
		1,775					
		1,700					
		1,625					
		1,550					
		1,500					
		1,450					
		1,400					
		1,350					
		1,300					
	1,000						
	970						
	940						
	910						
	880						
	850						
	820						
	790						
	760						
	730						
	700 (x)						
	625						
	600						
	575						

Source: The Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55. Report
Cmd. 9613. par. 421. (The recommended scales)

Notes: Salaries shown are for men, London rate.

(x) The increment of £ 75 is given on conclusion of probation.

II GREAT BRITAIN

Scales of salary as recommended by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55.

b The Executive Class.

Grade:	Executive Officer	Higher Executive Officer	Senior Executive Officer	Chief Executive Officer	Senior Chief Executive Officer	Principal Executive Officer	Head of a Major Establishment
Salary in £							over 2,300
						2,300	
					2,000		
					1,900		
					1,800		
				1,750			
				1,700			
				1,625			
				1,550			
			1,450				
			1,400				
			1,350				
			1,300				
			1,260				
			1,220				
		1,160					
		1,120					
		1,090					
		1,060					
		1,030					
		1,000					
	950						
	Rising by 15						
	increments of £.30 each						
	500						
	460						
	420						
	380						
	340						

Source: The Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55, Report, Cmd. 9613. par. 468. (The recommended scales)

Note: Starting salary applies at the age of 18.

II. GREAT BRITAIN.

Scales of salary as recommended by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55.

c The Scientific Officer Class.

Grade:	Scientific Officer	Senior Scientific Officer	Principal Scientific Officer	Senior Principal Scientific Officer	Deputy Chief Scientific Officer	Chief Scientific Officer	Posts above Chief Scientific Officer
Salary in £.							Broadbanded on the span 3,500-6,000
						3,250 or 3,000	
					2,700 2,600 2,500 2,400		
				2,300 2,200 2,100 2,000			
			1,850 1,775 1,700 1,625 1,550				
			Rising by 5 increments of £ 50				
			1,300				
		1,275					
		Rising by 5 increments of £ 40					
		1,075					
	1,000						
	Rising by 10 increments of £ 30						
	700 (x)						
	625						
	600						
	575						

Source: Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1953-55, Report, Cmd. 9613, par. 553 (The recommended scales).

Note: (x) The increment of £ 75 is given on conclusion of probation.

III. THE UNITED STATES

The General Schedule Grades.

GS-1	GS-2	GS-3	GS-4	GS-5	GS-6	GS-7	GS-8	GS-9	GS-10	GS-11	GS-12	GS-13	GS-14	GS-15	GS-16	GS-17	GS-18
				(4885)					(7130)					(13,335)			16,000
				(4750)					(6995)					(13,120)			
				(4615)					(6860)					(12,905)			
				4480					6725					12,690			14,835
				4345				(6655)	6590					12,420			14,620
				4210					6455					12,150			14,405
			(4180)					(6520)	6320				(12,040)				14,190
			(4095)						6185					11,880			13,975
			(4010)	4075				(6385)	6115					11,610			
				3940				6250	6050					11,395			
		(3940)		3925					5915					11,180			
		(3855)		3840			(6185)		5845					10,965			
		(3770)		3805			(6050)		5710					10,750			
				3670			(5915)		5575					10,535			
		(3725)		3670					5440					10,320			
		(3640)		3600					5375					10,065			
		(3555)		3515			(5740)		5240					9850			
				3500			(5605)		5105					9635			
				3415			(5470)		4970					9420			
(3455)		3470							5335					9205			
(3370)		3385							5200					8990			
(3285)		3300					(5295)		5105					8860			
		3215					(5160)		4930					8645			
3200		3175					(5025)		4795					8430			
		3130							4660					8215			
3115		3045							4525					8110			
3030		2960							4485					7895			
2945									4350					7785			
2860									4215					7680			
2775									4080					7465			
2690														7250			
														7035			
														6820			
														6605			
														6390			

Source: U.S.C.S.C. Form 2968, August, 1956.

Note: Figures in brackets represent "Longevity rates". Arrows show points of correspondence between the segments of the chart.

APPENDIX 4.

Nature of Duties and Manner of Assignment in the Civil Services
of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. (Administrative Work.)

A. Great Britain: 1) General description of the Administrative Class

(Source: C.S.C. The Administrative Class of the Home Civil Service,
London, C.S.C. 1956, p. 1-2.)

1. Duties.

The Administrative Class is comparatively small (some 2,750 out of about 630,000 civil servants). Its members, under Ministerial direction, are responsible for the general organisation and control of the business of government. Their duty is to keep abreast of the day-to-day running of their departments, and to face each major problem that may arise - think round it, estimate the efficiency and the cost of solving it by one method or another, assess the effect on the public and on the work of other departments, or on other countries, and give their Ministers advice which is well balanced and complete. At any particular time some members of the class are closely concerned with legislation: working out details of Parliamentary Bills in consultation with other government departments or with public and other authorities and associations concerned, and helping to see the Bill through Parliament by providing the Minister with information and material for debate in the House or examination in Committee. Other work lies in gathering material and drafting papers for Cabinet committees, as a basis for decisions by Ministers on issues of broad policy. All members of the Administrative Class take part in a wide variety of meetings and conferences, and act from time to time as secretaries to committees; and many serve a term as private secretary to a Minister. Their work always entails the consideration of many facts and opinions, and indeed the distillation from these of workable and generally acceptable solutions is their daily task.

Perhaps the main characteristics of the work of the Administrative Class are complexity, wide scope and variety; it requires for its efficient performance integrity, intelligence, common sense, ability to deal with people and to carry responsibility, and the capacity to recognise quickly the essential points in a situation

2. Description standard in recruitment posters. (Source: A poster in the 1957 competition.)

Duties, Pay, and Prospects.

The members of the Administrative Class advise Ministers on the formation of policy and the preparation of legislation to give effect to

it, and, under their instructions, are responsible for the general directions to ensure that Government decisions are put into effect. They are the chief source of advice to Ministers on current Government business and assist them in their Parliamentary duties by preparing answers to their letters and to Questions asked in Parliament, as well as by providing material for use in Parliamentary debates.

They are responsible for the broad organization and direction of the business of Government and for managing the work of Departments. They are concerned, for example, with administering departmentally the various Acts of Parliament in so far as policy decisions are required from time to time on the working of these Acts.

Members of the Administrative Class represent the Minister or their Department in negotiations with other Governments, other Departments, outside interests, and members of the public.

In their first years, Assistant Principals will be mainly occupied in learning their jobs, being brought into touch from the outset with the policy questions of their Department. Much of their work will be on paper, and will consist of the writing of letters and memoranda, and generally "devilling" for their seniors. But they will also have plenty of opportunities for personal contacts, both with colleagues in their own and other Departments (e.g. when acting as secretaries at inter-departmental conferences), and with members of the public. They will be given every opportunity to put forward their own constructive proposals for action, and will be encouraged to take responsibility for decisions as soon as they have proved themselves fit for it. Assistant Principals also fill a number of the posts of private secretary to Ministers and senior civil servants, and those who occupy such posts are right at the hub of the Government machine.

In general, officers appointed to the Commonwealth Relations Service will spend their full working life in the Service alternately at home and in oversea posts including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the Republic of Ireland.

- B. CANADA: 1) General description of the Administrative officers class (series). (Source: C.S.C., Civil Service Careers for College Graduates. C.S.C. Ottawa, 1952, p. 26.)

ADMINISTRATION

Administrative Trainees

The purpose of this class is to provide for the annual entry into the Service of a small select group of young university graduates who show promise of developing into good senior administrators. These employees enter for a year of probation and training during which they are moved about within the employing department to gain a broad experience. Their early duties may include the preparation of correspondence and reports and assistance in investigations and research. They will also attend a course which includes a review of the functions of the Federal Service, a description of its

organization, and consideration of administrative principles and practices.

2) Descriptions in recruitment posters.

a: Source: General poster Rewarding Careers for Junior Administrative Officers, 1956 - 7.

The following is a quotation from a speech given by Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside, Director General, Technical Assistance Administration, United Nations and a former deputy minister in the federal government.

"The young Canadian.....should he enter the public service, will be selecting..... a vocational way of life as distinct and definite as that laid down for soldiers or clergymen or doctors..

But perhaps the most important attraction of the public service is psychological and arises from the fact that its members are engaged in the task of working for their country. They have the satisfaction of knowing that they are employed on work, that in great degree or small, will affect the lives and fortunes of all their countrymen and directly or indirectly, the future of the State itself".

If you are a university graduate under 31 years of age you are invited to consider the class Junior Administrative Officer. It is one of the most attractive avenues of entrance into the federal public service.

The starting salary for Junior Administrative Officers (Administrative Trainees) is \$3750 a year and there are numerous opportunities for advancement. To illustrate, three of the six who were recruited in 1946 are now earning between \$6000 and \$8000 a year while five of the eighteen assigned five years ago are now earning between \$5000 and \$6000 and one between \$6000 and \$7000. The starting salaries at that time were around \$2400.

During their first year of employment, Junior Administrative Officers receive on-the-job training in the department to which they are assigned and attend a formal course of administration given by the Staff Training Division of the Civil Service Commission. All Junior Administrative Officers report initially to Ottawa, but later on in their careers some may be offered field appointments. Candidates from all disciplines are invited to apply.

b: Source: A poster for a particular position of Adm. Off. 3, 1957.

DUTIES.

Under the direction of the Superintendent of Government Buildings (Administration) to be responsible for the provision of clerical and administrative services to the Division, including the Ottawa District; to establish procedures and delegate responsibilities to clerical and stenographic staff; to advise officers of the Division on all personnel matters and to make decisions on matters of a routine nature; to supervise staff of the Personnel Unit responsible for recording,

assignment, trade testing and pay of classified and prevailing rates staff; to direct the senior Clerk in charge of processing accounts and recording costs of work performed in the Division; to direct the senior Clerk in charge of staff engaged in the recording and control of requisitions and files; to maintain close liaison with the Officer-in-Charge of Ottawa Area Stores; to supervise the work of the Clerk in charge of a transcribing pool; to interview employees regarding personnel and career problems; to review and recommend changes in forms and procedures; to ensure adherence to Departmental directives governing policies and procedures; to carry out other related duties as required.

C. THE UNITED STATES:

- 1) General description of the Administrative Officers Class ("job briefs")

(Source: U.S.C.S.C. Federal Careers. A Directory for College Students.

Washington, U.S.G.P.O., 1956, p. 41.)

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Nature of Work: Because of the size and complexity of Federal operations and programs, the administrative problems involved in the management and control of a Federal agency are tremendous. Executives, therefore, require the help of administrative assistants in the management phases of their work. The assistant is typically concerned with management services in one or more of the following areas: Budgetary and fiscal, personnel, correspondence, organization, procedure, supply, or records. Many agencies conduct management-internship programs to train and develop employees for administrative work. Graduate study, or completion of a 6-year course of study leading to an LL.B degree may qualify applicants for a higher grade than GS-5. Jobs in this field are numerous and varied. Administrative positions exist in all government agencies, and range in grade from GS-5 through GS-18. Opportunities for advancement are excellent for persons who demonstrate ability to perform administrative duties effectively. Participation in an agency's management-internship program is a good method of embarking on a full management career.

- 2) Description in a recruitment poster (Source: Announcement No. 431, issued October 26, 1954, (no closing date) for positions of Organization and Methods Examiner and Budget Examiner. (Found to be "generalists" closely comparable to any administrative officers, see qualifications.)

The Duties of an Organization and Methods Examiner.....

include evaluating administrative systems and facilities for the management and control of governmental operations and developing new or improved procedures, systems, and organization structures. Organization and Methods Examiners may also analyze programs for the purpose of recommending ways of improving their execution; analyze problems of organization and methods, coordination, and planning, and report on the effectiveness and recommend improvements. They may work on systems of planning, scheduling, and reporting work, studying the relative advantages of mechanical devices and manual methods, and preparing procedural manuals and administrative orders to put new or revised systems into effect. They may also perform such specialized jobs as designing forms, reviewing and recommending new or revised methods of forms control, records management, or measuring and reporting work accomplished.

Graduate education in public administration, business administration, economics, government, political science, industrial engineering, or industrial management successfully completed in an accredited college or university may be substituted for this experience. Graduate study in other fields may also be substituted if the graduate work has included specialization in administrative activities such as public welfare administration, international organization, public health administration, the administration of economic regulatory programs, etc.

The successful completion of all the requirements for a master's degree in the above-named fields in an accredited college or university will satisfy the experience requirements for GS-7 positions (\$4,205 a year) and the successful completion of all requirements for a doctor's degree in these fields will satisfy the requirements for GS-9 positions (\$5,060) a year. For grades GS-11 (\$5,940) and GS-12 (\$7,040), additional experience is required.

Note:

In these excerpts two levels of information are illustrated: The general information available on a class (or series) and particular information connected with a competition. Compare the respective proportion of detail as between the general and the particular level, exhibited by the British, and the North American, system.

See also the following description of the Executive Class - where the general character is far less pronounced than in the Administrative. Even there the presentation bears witness to a broad approach, not congealed in separate

sets of duties.

General Description of the Assignments of the Executive Class in Great Britain. Source: C.S.C., Home Civil Service Executive Class. Recruitment Through the General Certificate of Education, 1956, pamphlet 532/56.

(Wording is identical in other competition-announcements.)

DUTIES.

Members of the Executive Class do a wide variety of interesting work and there is ample scope for many different kinds of ability and temperament. Within the limits of general government policy members of the class have to deal with the problems of people in all walks of life and with the affairs of all sorts of business and other concerns. Executive Officers can and should refer matters of special difficulty to their seniors, but their work is not routine and they have to use their discretion on matters calling for intelligence, judgment, and resource. About a quarter of the Executive Class handles figures, and a quarter has frequent contacts with the public and representatives of business, local authorities, etc. Individual work includes such things as granting licences (for building, exports, imports, new factories, etc.), awarding insurance benefits, assessing difficult taxation, checking purchase tax, handling confidential reports on staff, etc.; organising and managing work includes the control of a Department's registry and filing system, or of a section compiling statistics (food stocks, crops, savings, trade, wages, etc.), or of a self-contained office such as a small Employment Exchange. Work with figures may include accounting, auditing the expenditure of Government Departments or local Government contracts (for armaments, clothing, stores, equipment, vehicles, etc.), assessing death duties, provisioning ships, etc. Executive Officers may also be secretaries to Committees, legal clerks, assistants to Administrative Officers; some of the duties may be carried out in the High Commissioners' Offices in the Commonwealth. Organising and controlling the work of subordinate staff becomes more and more important as Executive Officers climb the ladder of promotion.

The Departmental Executive Classes include Assistant Auditors in the Exchequer and Audit Department, Assistant Examiners in the Estate Duty Office of the Inland Revenue, Higher Grade Tax Officers in the Office of the Chief Inspector of Taxes in the Inland Revenue, Actuarial Assistants in the Government Actuary's Department, Audit Examiners in the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Immigration Officers under the Home Office, and Grade 5 Officers in the Special Departmental Class of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, and Assistant Examiners in the Bankruptcy and Companies (Official Receivers) Service of the Board of Trade. In some cases members have the opportunity after entry of acquiring specialist qualifications, e.g. as auditors or actuaries.

APPENDIX 5.

- A Excerpt from a letter to the writer, October 25, 1957.
- B Covering letter to questionnaire
- C Questionnaire.

CANADA

A

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

Ottawa.

October 25, 1957.

.....

The enclosed is a copy of the questionnaire and memorandum distributed to staff at Headquarters. There were 88 questionnaires sent out. The memorandum to the staff in the field was precisely the same as the one herewith except that it was signed by the Acting Director of the Trade Commissioner Service. The same can be said of the questionnaire except where the words Civil Service appear in this questionnaire, these were replaced by Trade Commissioner Service.

We have asked that all returns be made to me in plain envelopes so as to preserve security and I will forward these to you in lots as they come in.

.....

L. J. Rodger,
Personnel Officer.

B

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

October 23, 1957.

The enclosed questionnaire is being distributed on behalf of a student at McGill University who is preparing a Ph.D. thesis on Careers in the Civil Service. The Civil Service Commission and the Department have been co-operating in providing statistical information and this questionnaire is an attempt to elicit more specific data in respect to the views of individual officers on the career prospects of the Civil Service.

There is, of course, no compulsion in this request but we feel that the whole study, of which this is a part, will provide useful information to the Department and the Commission.

No signature need appear on the questionnaire as no attempt will be made to identify the return with any individual officer. To ensure that no identification of individuals occurs, will you please enclose your return in a plain envelope marked "personal" for Mr. L. J. Rodger, Personnel Officer, Room 11, No. 1 Temporary Building.

LJR/IB

L. J. Rodger,
Personnel Officer.

Enc.

- 11) If not - do you plan to go into
_____ private employment
_____ own business
_____ free practice
_____ other public service
_____ teaching
_____ other
- 12) How do you estimate your rate of advancement in the Service until now?
average_____ fast_____ slow_____
- 13) Have you foregone opportunities of employment outside the Service?
how may? _____
What were your motives?

APPENDIX 6.

Tabulation of replies to a questionnaire, by 52 officers of the Department of Trade and Commerce, employed at the Headquarters in Ottawa.

(Significant points are related to the replies by Trade Commissioners, who responded to an identical questionnaire.) October 25, 1957 - January 31, 1958.

1. <u>Age:</u>	26 - 30 yrs.	8 officers
	31 - 35 "	8 "
	36 - 40 "	10 "
	41 - 45 "	9 "
	46 - 50 "	5 "
	51 - 55 "	4 "
	56 - 60 "	1 "
	61 - 65 "	3 "
	No answer	4 "
	Total	52 officers

2. <u>Education:</u>	Matriculation	4 officers
	Bachelor's degree	30 "
	Master's degree	5 "
	Ph.D.	1 "
	Not specified	12 "
	Total	52 "

3. <u>Nature of work:</u>	Administrative	16 officers
	Technical	5 "
	Adm. & Techn.	28 "
	Professional	2 "
	No answer	1 "
	Total	52 "

4. <u>Length of service:</u>	yrs. 0-5	17 officers
	6-10	8 "
	11-15	13 "
	16-20	3 "
	21-25	3 "
	26-30	6 "
	31-35	1 "
	36-40	1 "
	Total	52 "

5. <u>Number of interruptions in service:</u>	0 interruptions	42 officers	
	1 "	9 "	(F.S.O. - 1 (!))
	2 "	0 "	(F.S.O. - 1 (!))
	3 "	1 "	
	Total	52 "	

6. Range of interruptions - 10 months to 9 years, total.

7. Satisfaction with career.

Satisfied	45 officers
Not satisfied	1 "
Undecided	6 "
Total	52 officers

8. Advantages of career, as reported:

Nature of advantage		Trade Commissioners
Prestige in their environment	4	28 (!)
Interest in their work	52	52
Security	34	26
Satisfaction with working conditions	37	29
Good salary	19	12
Good social contacts	8	26 (!)
Opportunity to improve education	19	25
Opportunity for fast advancement	4	7 (!)
Opportunity to serve the community (and country)	27	34

9. Other advantages:

Absence of worries	4 cases
Variety at work	3 cases
Challenge at work	2 cases

And one case each of:

Advancement by merit, not by seniority; meeting interesting people; travel; absence of stagnation at work; real influence in formulation of government - and departmental policies; opportunity to express personal opinions; fairness of management; absence of extravagant salaries which distort sense of proportion (?!).

10. Disadvantages of the career:

Standard civil service complaints 71 cases
(includes: "too much security" - one case, poor public attitude and lack of prestige - four cases)
Complaints about departmental management 9 cases

11. Was career planned before its inception?

Yes -	9 officers	(17.3%; - among F.S.O. 43.4% (!))
No -	43 officers	

Total 52 officers

12. Was this career a youth's ambition?

Yes - 3 officers (5.8%; - among F.S.O. 28.3% (!))
 No - 48 officers
 no answer - 1 officer

Total 52 officers

13. The inducement to the choice of this occupation was:

Family tradition in 3 cases (among F.S.O. 0)
 Opportunity to work
 and earn salary in 25 cases (48%, among F.S.O. - 30.2%)
 Disappointment else-
 where in 3 cases (among F.S.O. 2)
 Accidental reasons
 in 7 cases
 Interest in work in 6 cases
 Depression cond-
 itions in 2 cases
 and in one case each: a desire to help in war effort; a quest for
 a civil service career; a desire to serve the country; a craving
 of security; suitability of previously-acquired education, according
 to plan; lack of alternatives in Ottawa; war dislocation; experience
 of a summer's employment in the civil service.

(N.B. "Interest in work" is not compared with the figure given by
 F.S.O.'s (FSO-15. H.Q. Off. - 6) for the F.S.O's might be primarily
 interested in travel, a factor largely absent in the work of the
 other officers.)

14. Planned continuation of service until retirement:

Yes 44 officers
 No 1 "
 undecided 7 "
 Total 52 officers

15. Officers would consider alternative employment:

Private employment - 2 officers
 Other public service - 1 "
 Teaching - 1 " (one of the two who might
 consider private employment)
 Unspecified - 2 "
 Total number of cases 5

16. Offers of other employment were obtained by officers, thus:

Number of offers	Number of cases.
1	4
2	9
3	10
4	1
5	1
"very few"	1
"several"	3
"many"	2
None	2
no answer	<u>19</u>
Total	52 officers

17. The motives for rejecting these offers were:

Liking for work and general satisfaction	8	(among F.S.O. 27 (!))
Sense of career, loyalty primarily to service	3	(among F.S.O. 7 (!))
Satisfaction with working conditions	4	(among F.S.O. 7 (!))
Characterological reasons	3	(among F.S.O. 3)
Age or health condition	1	(among F.S.O. 1)
Negative reasons (lack of attraction in offer, lack of interest, disinclination)	29	(among F.S.O. 9 (!))

18. Rate of advancement was believed:

average	22	slow	5
fast	22	no answer	3

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