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THE EFFECTS OF ETHNICITY AND GENDER ON OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT: THE CASE OF QUEBEC TEACHERS

by

Cynthia Guénette

A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies at the University of Ottawa
for a Master of Arts degree
in Sociology.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the patterns of gender and ethnic inequality in the positions and salaries of secondary school teachers in Quebec during the mid 1960's with particular attention to the experience of women from different ethnic groups. Education in Quebec is provided by three ethno-religious groups and this thesis studies whether social closure based on gender is operating within one or all of the ethno-religious groups.

The first chapter examines three theoretical perspectives which offer explanations for the presence of gender and ethnic inequalities in paid employment. A description of the educational system in Quebec, outlining the major developments in its administrative and financial organization, as well as a brief overview of the educational credentials of teachers is presented in Chapter 2. The third chapter's focus is on the hypotheses which will be tested with data collected during the 1965-1966 school year on the achievement, personal and contextual characteristics of teachers. The fourth chapter reports the findings of a series of statistical analyses which are performed on the data. These findings are interpreted in Chapter 5, with a focus on the support which they offer for an explanation of the allocation of teachers' positions and salaries on the basis of achievement or social closure. Finally, a concluding statement summarizes the utility of an achievement or social closure model for the study of teachers' positions and salaries.

CHAPTER 1 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

A. The Functional Theory of Stratification

1. General Arguments

Davis and Moore (1945) were the first to propose a functional theory of stratification. They argued that a complex structure of occupations representing the functional needs of society has evolved in modern society. The functional needs of society are directly related to societal preservation and survival. Stratification, seen by Davis and Moore as a universal phenomena, is essential in order to ensure that the needs of society are met by its members.

The Davis and Moore theory describes the occupational structure as a system of positions which are distinguished by varying functional importance, scarcity of personnel and unequal rewards. Each position has some degree of functional importance for society's survival; some serve more important functions than others. Furthermore, certain positions serving important functional needs have complex skill requirements and must be performed by qualified and educated individuals. Davis and Moore suggested that talents and training were unevenly distributed among the population. Consequently, unequal rewards such as occupational prestige and income are "built into" positions of high functional importance and difficulty, in order to attract or motivate individuals to qualify for them by entering long and expensive educational programmes. In this way, an adequate supply of qualified individuals is available to fill the more functionally important, skilled positions.

Unequal rewards, however, may not be directly related to a position's functional importance, since only rewards which are suffi-

cient to attract qualified individuals to occupy them are necessary. For example, low rewards can be attached to positions of high functional importance if there is an ample supply of qualified individuals to fill them. The highest rewards are attached to positions of high functional importance where qualified personnel are scarce. Davis and Moore (1945) state:

> [f]unctional importance is, therefore, a necessary but not a sufficient cause of high rank being assigned to a position (370).
>
> But if skills required are scarce by reason of the rarity of talent or the costliness of training, the position, if functionally important, must have an attractive power that will draw the necessary skills in competition with other positions. This means, in effect, that the position must be high in the social scale, must command great prestige, high salary, ample leisure, and the like (371).

Tumin (1953) criticizes the notion put forth by Davis and Moore that talent and skills are unevenly distributed among the population by arguing that parental wealth provides the necessary financial support for long and expensive training programmes for a minority of the population. Individuals with financial means are able to take advantage of training programmes in order to seek high rewards, whereas financially poor individuals are unable to become qualified. He criticizes the assumption, made by Davis and Moore's theory, of the operation of a neutral system for distributing positions, stating that their system of distribution is not really neutral. Tumin adds that intrinsic rewards such as job satisfaction and self-interest rather than financial rewards or occupational prestige may attract individuals to positions requiring high educational qualifications.

Criticizing the concept of functional importance, Tumin argues that a position's functional importance is merely a representation of the values of a particular culture rather than a societal need for survival. A position's functional importance is thought to be determined by the evolution of society when, in fact, culture decides its importance. Tumin (1953) suggests that:

> [o]ften enough, these judgements involve the use of value-laden criteria, or, at least, criteria which are chosen in preference to others not for any sociologically systematic reasons but by reason of certain implicit value preferences (379).

High rewards, seemingly attached to functionally important positions, do not ensure society's survival by placing qualified members into important positions. Instead, they support the maintenance of the status quo. Functional importance and unequal rewards are cultural "necessities" contributing to the survival of a culture rather than universal "necessities" essential for society's preservation.

> Social stratification systems function to provide the elite with the political power necessary to procure acceptance and dominance of an ideology which rationalizes the status quo, whatever it may be, as "logical", "natural" and "morally right" (Tumin,1953:385).

Consequently, the functional importance of positions and unequal rewards are culturally determined, he argues, and their alleged necessity for societal preservation is a reflection of cultural values only. Financial rewards are merely resources used by advantaged groups within a given culture. Therefore, stratification is not an "unconsciously evolved device" but a cultural device representing the values of a particular culture.

Huaco (1966) summarizes the debate between Davis and Moore, and their critics, including Tumin. He examines the empirical evidence supporting the concepts of functional importance, scarcity of personnel and unequal rewards. Huaco claims that there is no empirical evidence proving that different positions have correspondingly different functional importance for society's preservation. There is evidence, however, that unequal rewards, acting as positive and negative reinforcements attached to positions, attract and motivate individuals to acquire the educational qualifications needed for high paying jobs. Also, empirical evidence proves that the scarcity of personnel does necessitate the specificity of financially unequal rewards attached to positions, but that there is a range of rewards rather than rigidly defined ones. As well, Huaco identifies evidence of the family's role in partially determining one's occupational prestige.

2. The Functional Theory of Gender Stratification

The functional theory of stratification has focused primarily on the differences in the positions and income of individuals irrespective of their gender. Empirical evidence, however, has often been gathered from the male labour force with little comparison or concern for the female labour force. It has been assumed that the female labour force operates in the same way as the male labour force. Also, the occupational status of the male worker was assumed to determine his family's social status, including his wife's, even though she might have had her own occupational status. Female participation in paid employment has been perceived as temporary, less important than

male participation, and an extension of women's traditional family roles of wife, mother and unpaid domestic.

Traditional perceptions of women's participation in paid employment have been largely developed by Parsons (1956). Parsons examined the actual situation of women in the family and the workplace and perceived their domestic role as the only functional one for society rather than their work role. Beechey (1978) paraphrases Parsons' description of the roles of women and men in the family and in the labour force.

> While it is in principle possible for either men or women to hold expressive or instrumental roles, Parsons argues that men fulfill instrumental ones while women fulfill expressive ones. The reason he gives is that women are involved in the bearing and early nursing of children, and are therefore best adapted to performing internal expressive roles, while the absence of men from these activities makes them best adapted to instrumental ones. Since the tension between the kinship system and the occupational system requires a clear segregation of sex roles, the man is ascribed the instrumental roles while the woman is removed from competition within the occupational system by her confinement within the family (Beechey, 1978:1601).

Unconsciously, Parsons (1956) trivialized women's participation in paid employment by perceiving it as temporary and secondary to their primary responsibilities in the family. Furthermore, he stated that women's occupational status is "of a qualitatively different type and not a status which seriously competes with that of her husband as the primary status-giver or income-earner" (Parsons, 1956:14).

Comparisons between a husband and wife's occupational status, or between single and married women's occupational status have been very difficult (Delphy, 1981:123). The fact that some researchers determine a married woman's occupational status by her husband's

occupational status, while others give a married woman in the labour force her own occupational status ignores the importance of married women's participation in paid employment, and makes comparisons between married women and men in the labour force impossible. In addition, comparisons between single and married women in the paid labour force are deceiving due to the fact that single women are given their own occupational status, but married women are given either their husband's occupational status or their own occupational status.

Both unemployed married women and married women who are not actively looking for work are often given the occupational status of their husbands. The practice of giving unemployed women, including women working without pay in the home, their husbands' occupational status disregards an economic dependence of women on men. Delphy (1981) explains:

> [i]n systematically attributing to a woman without an occupation the occupation of her husband, an essential dichotomous variable, that of the presence or absence of economic independence, is obscured. The consequence of this is that a woman who has an occupation, generally of a lower status than that of her husband, is put in a lower social class than the woman with the same husband but without an occupation (and who is, therefore, put in the same social class as her husband). More particularly, a woman who works, generally in a job of lower status than that of her husband, is considered to be more socially distanced from her husband than a woman who does not work outside the home. The fact that a woman is comparable to her husband from the point of view of economic independence distances her from him in sociological terms. Putting a non-employed woman into her husband's social class does not obscure this fact, it completely reverses its meaning (123).

Delphy suggests that stratification theorists must devise occupational status measures which conceptually distinguish the occupational status

of employed married women, unemployed married women, and married women who work in the home, from the occupational status of their husbands.

For functionalist theorists, women's traditionally unpaid domestic labour is perceived as being a handicap for married women seeking employment. It is a significant determinant of women's level of participation in paid employment, their occupational segregation and their low salaries (Gunderson, 1976:93). For Gunderson, writing about Canadian women, the effects of women's unpaid domestic labour on their paid labour resulted in their having restricted career opportunities, few decision-making positions, and jobs which are extensions of domestic labour. According to Gunderson, women's unpaid domestic labour restricts their job choices. Due to these added responsibilities, women accept jobs in the paid labour force which have low responsibilities and, therefore, low earnings. Thus the sexual division of labour in the home creates the sexual division of labour in the occupational structure because of the "load imposed on women" of the double work day. Gunderson (1976) explains:

> [m]arriage has a positive effect on the labour market behaviour of men, and the opposite on that of women, illustrating clearly the impact of household responsibilities on women. Marriage increases labour force participation and earnings and decreases unemployment for men, but has the opposite effect for women. Marriage has typically been associated with one particular division of work responsibilities, with females responsible for household work and males for labour market work. Even though married women are increasingly engaged in labour market activities, they still retain many of their household responsibilities, and this influences their occupational choices as well as their labour market productivity and hence earnings. Responsibility for the care of children, for example, gives rise to shortened or intermittent stays in the labour force. This in turn reduces earnings and limits occupational choices to

> those compatible with household work. In fact, the occupations that females enter are often an extension of their household activities, which implies that changes in household responsibilities will have to accompany changes in the labour market behaviour of women. To a certain extent, changes in household responsibility will come about because of changes in female labour market activity. Yet full equality of opportunity will not occur without more changes in household responsibilities. To put it more strongly, equal pay and equal employment opportunity are not possible without an equitable division of labour in the household (128).

Thus, for women, marriage, and the domestic responsibilities accompanying marriage are detrimental to their labour force participation, occupational distribution, occupational status and earnings.

Guppy and Siltanen (1977) focus on the prestige hierarchy of Canadian occupations and the concentration of women in occupations of low prestige to explain women's generally lower occupational prestige than men's. They suggest, in a rather circular argument, that women's segregation in occupations with low prestige leads to all women being given a low status, which causes them ,in turn, to be placed in less prestigious occupations:

> [f]irst, females are known to predominate in lower status occupations, therefore, the greater the concentration of females the lower the occupational prestige. Secondly, the greater the concentration of females in an occupation the more likely the occupation is to be sex-typed as a 'female' job. The sex-typing of an occupation as appropriate for male or female workers provides a reference point for the evaluation of esteem (Guppy and Siltanen, 1977:328).

Even women who have "crossed-over" the segregation barrier and occupy positions in male-dominated occupations have a lower occupational prestige and receive less income than male incumbents because of the "inappropriateness" of their positions in male-dominated occupations.

Men in female-dominated occupations also have a lower occupational prestige than female incumbents because of their "inappropriateness". Nevertheless, their incomes are not lower than those of their female colleagues.

Blishen and Carroll (1978) examine the gender differences in Canadian occupations using education and income as indicators for women's and men's occupational rank. These researchers conclude that women are concentrated in occupations which have higher educational prerequisites while men are concentrated in occupations requiring lower educational qualifications. Education is a better predictor of women's occupational rank than men's. Also, women earned lower incomes than men regardless of whether they were in female or male-dominated occupations. In female-dominated occupations, three times as many men as women earned higher salaries. However, the women in male-dominated occupations earned little more than the women in female-dominated occupations.

Marsden, Harvey and Charner (1975) conclude that higher education has done little to change Canadian women's occupational rank. Women must achieve higher grades than men, preferably in a high status subject, in order to attain the same occupational status as men. Among men, the demands of the labour market have the largest effect on their occupational status, while academic performance has the largest effect on occupational status for women. Open competition paths are better than sponsorship paths for women but not for men, although even in open competitions, women must achieve at a much higher level than men. Men tend to have more direct paths to high occupational prestige than women. Marsden, Harvey and Charner (1975) found that

"fewer tracks and a harder race emerge as the essential properties of female mobility and occupational attainment" (403).

Functionalist theorists explain women's lower positions and lower earnings by using the traditional attitudes which focus on the primary role of women in the family as the cause of their differences in personal motivation, achievements and work experience. Women's low occupational prestige and earnings are the result of the sexual division of labour in the family, women's job choices, and employer discrimination. The demands of domestic responsibilities on women cause them to seek certain types of jobs which are characterized by low prestige and earnings. Also, employer discrimination on the basis of stereotypes, cultural norms and values and traditional attitudes have decreased the demand for labour by women, and, in turn, lowered the price of female labour.

3. The Functional Theory of Ethnic Stratification

Cultural values have been used as explanations for occupation and income differences among ethnic groups. Breton (1977) summarizes the individual competition approach including the part ethnicity plays in determining an individual's set of personal resources. Ethno-cultural values affect individual achievements, experiences and goals through child-rearing practices, religious values, family habits and attitudes. Thus, an individual's personal resources are determined by his/her ethno-cultural background.

Differences in the positions and income of ethnic groups are the result of the personal resources of individual members which have been determined by ethno-religious, linguistic, or cultural values.

Members of a particular ethnic group may not meet the requirements of certain jobs in competition with members of other ethnic groups if cultural values have an effect on their achievements, personal abilities or motivation. Breton (1977) summarizes the effect of ethnicity on occupations:

> [t]hus, in a perfectly competitive system, if different ethnic groups are allocated differently, it is in part because they are unequal in their competitive ability either in terms of taking advantage of existing opportunities or in terms of performance on the job (Breton, 1977:6).

On the other hand, employers often discriminate against potential employees who are not of the same ethno-cultural background. Therefore, each member of the ethnic group may adopt individual strategies or a group strategy for eliminating ethno-cultural differences between themselves and potential employers.

Taylor (1964) has applied the cultural difference theory to explain the lower economic position of French Canadian businesses compared to the English Canadian businesses within the province of Quebec in the mid-fifties. Studying male small business owners' attitudes and values, Taylor concluded that French Canadians valued small businesses whereas English Canadians valued business growth. The cultural values of each ethnic group laid the foundation for the type of business organization which characterized that group.

French Canadian businesses were family-owned and run, remaining small if the family size was small. Taylor felt that this was due to the high value French Canadians placed on family relations. French Canadian owners valued family security over business expansion, and this led them to conservative decision-making and policy orienta-

tions. They valued personal relations, hiring family friends and maintaining business transactions with personal acquaintances. All of these French Canadian values, Taylor concluded, were detrimental to French Canadian businesses in competition with English Canadian businesses. French Canadian businessmen did not value business expansion, growth or competition for increased profits as English Canadian businessmen did, and French Canadian cultural values produced "non-rational patterns" of business management lacking capitalistic goals. Taylor (1964) described the origin of the French Canadian businessmen's values:

> [t]he spirit of independence and self-sufficiency, the emphasis on the personal element in relationships, the importance of the family as the focus of activities and aspirations, the security complex, all reinforced through generations of peasant life in the small world of the parish, show themselves plainly in the responses of present-day French Canadians in situations very different from that in which these characteristics were established (273).

On the other hand, English Canadian small business owners in Quebec valued business expansion and growth. They chose employees on the basis of their achievements and experience rather than on the basis of any prior knowledge of personal or familial relationships with the employees. Their business policies and decision-making were directed towards organizing their businesses for added profits which had been developed from a history of participation in profit-making ventures.

Taylor's use of cultural differences to explain economic inequalities between the French and English business communities in Quebec has been criticized as being to historically specific by Murphy (1981). Murphy argues that Taylor's theory and, for that matter, any theory of cultural difference lacks reference to the historical,

economic and political situation of ethnic groups. Murphy cites empirical evidence that indicated French Canadian businesses expanded just after the period studied by Taylor. Murphy also points out that if cultural differences are at all meaningful for determining individual work attitudes, then they should affect each and every member of the ethnic group in question in the same ways, i.e., French businessmen as well as French students. Offering empirical evidence to the contrary for French students, Murphy notes that French students valued work and a career. Theories based on cultural differences are unable to predict changes in cultural values or the development of new attitudes which affect one's participation in employment.

Theories of cultural difference blame the culture of the group for its occupational segregation and economic disparity (Murphy, 1981). Hence, French Canadian values are to blame for the lower economic position of French Canadian businessmen. Similarly, women's domestic responsibilities are to blame for the occupational segregation and lower earnings of women.

B. The Class Theory of Stratification

1. General Arguments

In Marxist class theory, classes depict the position of individuals in relation to others within the social organization of production. Overall, two antagonistic classes - the bourgeoisie and the proletariat - are present in capitalist society. These classes have developed from historically specific situations where there has been a change in the society's mode of production. Cottage industries and agriculture controlled by individual families had been the most

important means of production until they were almost completely replaced by industrial production and technology.

The bourgeoisie or capitalists are the owners of the factories, machines and raw materials. On the other hand, the majority of the population sell their labour for a wage. The proletariat or wage earners are the factory workers and machine operators. They are propertyless, owning neither factories nor machines or raw materials. However, they do possess their own labour power. Marx explains:

> [t]he bourgeoisie itself, with its conditions, develops only gradually, splits according to the division of labour into various fractions and finally absorbs all propertied classes it finds in existence (while it develops the majority of the earlier propertyless and a part of the hitherto propertied classes into a new class, the proletariat) in the measure to which all property found in existence is transformed into industrial or commercial capital (quoted in Giddens and Held, 1982:20).

The capitalist mode of production is characterized by the separation of the means of production from labour. All individual labour becomes wage labour sold to capitalists for a price. Capitalists exploit labour when they collect profits from wage labour. Profits are collected when capital pays a lower price for wage labour than its worth for the number of hours worked. Giddens and Held explain:

> [I]n a working day of ten hours, if the cost of paying the worker is recovered after six hours' work, the remaining four hours' production is appropriated by the capitalist as surplus value. Surplus value is the source of profit, the key element in a capitalist economy, since production for profit is the driving force of capitalist enterprise (1982:5).

This practice of exploitation characterizes the capitalist mode of production. The ways in which people participate in labour or the social relations of production are the driving force of capitalism characterizing all institutions within capitalism. Marx explains:

> [i]n the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness (quoted in Giddens and Held, 1982:37).

Classes are formed on the basis of common economic situations as classes become differentiated in the economic organization of production. Classes develop different economic interests and, correspondingly, different political interests. For example, capitalists want to increase their profits by exploiting the labour of their workers while, on the contrary, the workers want to increase their wages and to share in the profits created by their labour. Classes become political forces with interests in either preserving or eliminating the social, economic and political institutions. The economically dominant class is also the politically dominant class. The ideas of the ruling class are transformed so that they appear to be ideas of both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Marx states that:

> [i]nsofar as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of other classes, and put them in hos-

> tile opposition to the latter, they form a class (quoted in Giddens and Held, 1982:26).
>
> The separate individuals form a class only insofar as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors. On the other hand, the class in its turn achieves an independent existence over against the individuals, so that the latter find their conditions of existence predestined, and hence have their position in life and their personal development assigned to them by their class, become subsumed under it. This...can only be removed by the abolition of private property and of labour itself (quoted in Giddens and Held, 1982:20).

Capitalists maintain the exploitive and oppressive character of the social relations of production by perpetuating ideologies and controlling their transmission through economic, social and political institutions.

2. Gender and Class

Gender has been disregarded in most theoretical discussions of class because it is not a basis for class formation. However, Marxists argue that it has been used to divide the interests of the working class. Several feminist class theorists have focused on women working in the home and the important part that plays in supporting capitalism by providing free domestic labour as well as a cheap labour force during times of capital expansion. However, Smith (1975) and Beechey (1979) also analyze women's subordinate positions in paid labour and their low wages.

Smith (1975), a marxist feminist theorist, bases her analysis of women's segregation in lower positions in the teaching profession upon Marx's concept of ideology as extended by Althusser (1974). Marx's concept of ideology has been extended by Althusser to include

ideologies of the state which are produced from outside of workers' everyday relations rather than only those developed from within workers' everyday relations. Each of these ideologies makes an important contribution to the reproduction of capitalism by legitimizing and sanctioning the social relations of production.

Althusser (1974) argues that the conditions for capitalist production are reproduced through a series of ideological institutions such as religious institutions, the school system, the institution of the family, the political organization, the system of labour unions, the media network, and the cultural institutions of the arts which represent and support the ideology of the state (339-40). The process by which a system of ideas is produced is unique to each historical period of capitalist development.

Smith (1975) argues that the ideologies which organize and reproduce the capitalist social relations of production are created and distributed by a minority of men. Men are not only the controllers of the means of capitalist production but they are also the controllers of the means of mental production or the system of ideas and images which govern and organize the social relations of production. Women have been excluded from the process of creating those ideologies which support capitalist production, although individual women have been admitted into ideological discourses at certain periods during history on certain subjects only. According to Smith (1975),

> [t]hroughout this period in which ideologies become of increasing importance first as a mode of thinking, legitimating, and sanctioning a social order, and then as integral in the organization of society, women have been deprived of the means to

> participate in creating forms of thought relevant or adequate to express their own experience or to define and raise social consciousness about their situation and concerns. They have never controlled the material or social means to the making of a tradition among themselves or to acting as equals in the ongoing discourse of intellectuals. They have had no economic status independent of men. They have not had until very recently access to the educational skills necessary to develop, sustain, and participate in it. The scope of their action has indeed over time been progressively narrowed to the domestic (354).

Within the ideological institution of education, according to Smith, men occupy and control all of the positions which are directly related to decision-making and policy-making. Men occupy the positions of power in the educational hierarchy, as well as the other ideological institutions. Men govern, administer and manage, in effect, the capitalist society, as well as distribute the images and ideologies which contribute to its reproduction. Thus, a minority of men create, develop or perpetuate the social relations of production. She concludes:

> [i]t is now clear that the class basis of ideology is articulated yet further to a sex basis. For it is men who produce for women, as well as for other members of the society, the means to think and image. In the various social apparatuses concerned with the production and distribution of ideas and images, or with the training of people to participate in and respond to these forms of thought, it is men who occupy the positions of authority, men who predominate in the production of ideas and social knowledge, and men who control what enters the discourse by occupying the positions which do the work of gatekeeping and the positions from which people and their 'mental products' are evaluated (Smith, 1975:357).

In this way, women who are authorities in specific areas of knowledge have not been included in public, academic or political discourses. Instead, they have been excluded, repressed and, some-

times, even killed for claiming, either publicly or privately, their right to speak as authorities (Smith, 1975:354). Smith (1975) examines the nature of men's authority and how it permeates all social relations:

> [m]en are invested with authority as individuals not because they have as individuals special competencies or expertise but because as men they appear as representative of the power and authority of the institutionalized structures which govern the society. Their authority as individuals in actual situations of action is generated by a social organization (362).

Thus, this special group of men give other men authority, and the authority that men have is implicitly, if not explicitly, presented in ruling ideologies that sanction all social relations between genders.

Turning to income differences between women and men, Beechey (1979) examines why women's wages are lower than most men's despite often identical jobs. Marx's concept of surplus value is important for understanding the different prices of male and female labour. Beechey argues that the organization of the capitalist mode of production is based on the cost of male labour power and the price of male labour determines the lower price of female labour. The male wage is determined by the owners of the means of production and the socially and historically determined value of men's labour. Capitalists succeed in establishing profits by paying labour less than its value as Beechey explains in the following passage.

> Marx's analysis of the capitalist labour process must be located in his theory of capital accumulation and the contradictions to which the process of accumulation gives rise. According to Marx the object of capitalist production is the extraction of surplus value by capital through the employment of labour power in the capitalist labour process.

> In the surplus-value producing process, the wage labourer sells her/his labour power to the capitalist in exchange for a wage. The wage, however, does not represent payment for the entire time worked, but rather corresponds to what Marx calls the value of labour power. This is equivalent to the costs involved in the production and reproduction of labour power as a commodity which, in Marx's view, corresponds to the costs of reproducing the worker (Beechey, 1979:49).

The price of male labour includes the cost of producing and reproducing male labour within the family. This includes the cost of food, shelter and clothing for men as well as the means of subsistence for their spouses and children. Capitalists assume that all women are economically dependent upon a male wage i.e. husband's or father's wage. Therefore, the costs of producing and reproducing female labour are included in the price of men's labour, leading capital to pay lower wages to women. Beechey (1979) suggests, however, that single or married women in the paid labour force without fathers or husbands suffer the consequences of the assumption that male wages cover the total cost of producing and reproducing female labour. The lower cost of female labour compared to men's labour demonstrates the use of female labour by capital to maintain profits (Beechey, 1977:59). Thus, within the working class women are differentiated from men by the price of their labour. Their economic dependence on men's wages, legitimizes their low wages in paid labour. Moreover, female wages reduce male wages or, at least, stop them from increasing, because the male wage is no longer the only wage meeting the subsistence needs of the family.

3. Ethnicity and Class

Ethnicity is not a basis of class formation but is used by the dominant economic class to create divisions within the working class. Ethnic divisions, through historical accidents, may coincide with economic classes. The fundamental conflict between ethnic groups does not, however, originate from ethnic differences but rather from class positions in the social organization of production. Within the working class, conflicts between ethnic groups are the result of capitalists' successful attempts to divide the economic interests of the working class. Often, ethnic conflicts camouflage class conflicts.

Bonacich (1979) argues that ethnic conflict within the working class is perpetuated by different prices of labour. A split labour market is one which contains owners and expensive labour who are, coincidentally, of a common ethnicity, and cheaper labour of another ethnicity. Conflicts arise between owners and expensive labour over the use of cheap labour. Capitalists use cheap labour to arrest continuous wage increases of expensive labour, whereas expensive labour tries to limit the competition from cheap labour by either incorporating these workers into their own expensive ranks or else by keeping them from entering any desirable occupation. Bonacich (1979) explains the use of ethnicity as well as other characteristics in a split labour market:

> [s]plit labour market theory tries to show that the "race" question is really a class question in that racially oppressed groups typically mark "cheap labor". I do not mean to suggest that this is the only issue involved in "racial" oppression, but that it is an important one. I would like to re-emphasize that "race" is not the only line along which a division in the working class, based on the price of labor differences, is drawn. Sex and

> nationality mark other important instances. The dynamic is a class dynamic. Race, sex, and nationality become the symbolism in which the conflict is expressed, but they are not in themselves its cause. Nor is it inevitable that race, sex, etc., should mark a price of labor distinction. When there is no split in the labor market along these lines, I would predict a decline in racism, sexism, etc., and the emergence of a united proletariat. "Race" is important only so long as it is rooted in class processes (34-5).

Bernier (1978) suggests that capitalists can differentiate the working class into different prices of labour using other characteristics besides ethnicity or gender. Ethnicity, language, religion, and class situation as well as gender can be used by capital to differentiate the working class and justify higher wages paid to one group than another. Using any criterion that differentiates the working class, cultural or gender discrimination serves capitalists' interests for cheaper labour. Theories of cultural difference, as part of the dominant ideologies produced and perpetuated by the capitalist class, are merely used to legitimate capitalists' exploitation of the labour of particular ethnic groups. Bernier (1978) argues that theories based on such differences cover up the true situation of classes in capitalist society:

> [c']est-à-dire la lutte des classes dans laquelle les capitalistes tentent de maintenir les conditions de l'exploitation et d'augmenter l'accumulation et les prolétaires de se soustraire à l'exploitation. En effet, en insistant sur tous les critères possibles de division (la race, la nationalité, mais aussi le sexe, la qualification, et dans le cas des sous-prolétaires, les conséquences mêmes de leur situation misérable), l'idéologie dominante masque les intérêts communs de l'ensemble du prolétariat. Par ce moyen, la classe dominante divise le prolétariat selon ses couches (employés, ouvriers qualifiés, spécialisés, manoeuvres, chômeurs) et selon d'autres facteurs (ethniques, religieux, sexuels), en insistant sur des différences qui,

> bien que réelles, n'en sont pas moins secondaires par rapport aux intérêts communs de l'ensemble du prolétariat. L'insistence sur ces différences a aussi servi à maintenir des réserves de main-d'oeuvre, ce qui a eu pour effet une dégradation des conditions générales de travail pour l'ensemble du prolétariat (même si certaines couches en ont obtenu certains avantages) (48).

He notes that the theory of cultural difference has been applied to French Canadians in Quebec in past years for the purpose of legitimating their subordinate economic position. Culture, religion, language and economic situation had all been used to differentiate French Canadians from English Canadians, justifying lower wages for French Canadians. Bernier suggests that minority ethnic groups within the working class are the most discriminated against because of the ease of applying ethnicity as a criterion of difference.

As can be seen from the above discussion, class theory formulates its explanation of gender and ethnic differences in occupational positions and income as a part of the primary class struggle - between capitalists and the working class. It is impossible to apply class theory to a discussion of gender and ethnic differences without reducing these differences to a discussion of class interests. Status group theory offers a much wider range of theoretical possibilities for explaining gender and ethnic inequalities, incorporating class as one basis of status group formation.

C. The Theory of Status Groups and Social Closure

1. General Arguments

Weber (1968) was the first to develop a theoretical framework of status groups. Status groups develop as a result of competition over scarce resources. They can form on the basis of a common situa-

tion, education, class, occupation, or culture, and monopolize scarce resources by limiting access to them to those who are within the status group boundaries and thus excluding others. Parkin (1979) states that Weber's notion of status groups is built on a concept of social closure. For Parkin (1979), social closure is a:

> process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles. This entails the singling out of social or physical attributes as the justificatory basis of closure. Weber suggests that virtually any group attribute ... may be seized upon provided it can be used for the "monopolization" of specific, usually economic, opportunities (44).

Status groups form boundaries, which fluctuate, to ensure their monopoly over scarce resources.

Parkin has distinguished three types of social closure that are used by groups to establish their boundaries. These are exclusionary closure, usurpationary closure and dual closure. Exclusionary closure is a process that maintains the dominant group's position by creating a group of subordinates. Thus, exclusionary closure entails an aspect of exploitation argues Parkin (1979):

> [C]ollective efforts to restrict access to rewards and opportunities on the part of one social group against another, including one group of workers against another, can be regarded as inherently exploitative even though the relationship is not one of surplus extraction deriving from property ownership. Relations of dominance and subordination between Bourgeoisie and Proletariat, Protestants and Catholics, whites and blacks, men and women, etc., can all be considered as exploitative relationships in the neo-Weberian sense (46).

Moreover, in most cases exclusionary closure is usually enacted against groups who have previously been denied access on a legal or political basis to scarce resources (Parkin, 1979:95-6).

Usurpationary closure is the orientation frequently adopted by excluded or subordinate groups in order to gain access to scarce resources monopolized by dominant status groups. It is a reaction to exclusionary closure and a form of action adopted by subordinate status groups upon their exclusion. It has little of the legal or institutional support of exclusionary closure (Parkin, 1979:75). Usurpationary closure is an "attempt to mobilize power against a legally-defined and state-supported dominant group" (Parkin, 1979:85). Women, minority ethnic groups, and the working class are excluded groups that must resort to usurpationary closure in order to gain even limited access to scarce resources.

Dual closure entails exclusionary and usurpationary closure which are adopted simultaneously by the subordinate status group. The subordinate group, having been excluded from full access to scarce resources by the dominant status group, in turn excludes other groups from access to its limited resources. Consequently, a hierarchy of subordinate groups is created by excluded groups who are also effecting exclusionary closure. Dual closure offers the theoretical possibility of exclusion on the basis of gender and exclusion on the basis of ethnicity.

Collins (1971,1979) suggests that status groups can be formed on the basis of shared, common educational credentials. These status groups monopolize positions and rewards which are attached to these positions by restricting access to them to individuals who have specific educational credentials. Educational credentials can be a "cultural basis of group formation" in occupations, and can also be used as sources for normative control over status group members.

Dominant status groups formed on the basis of educational credentials are oriented towards closing off resources to a specific group rather than improving productivity. Collins (1979) refers to the political labour performed in occupations for the purpose of developing policies of exclusion, structures of gatekeeping, career paths, and income ladders:

> [b]ut the work that is done and the way it is divided up are not the neutral bases of positions and structures rather they are to be appropriated or shunted off to others as power resources permit (51).

Thus, positions become property for those who occupy them, and struggles between status groups are competitions for monopolies over a wider range of occupational positions and the resources accruing to those positions (Collins, 1979:54).

Breton (1979) argues that the degree of internal organization of a group is crucial for its success in gaining access to monopolized resources. Its "organizational capacity for collective action" is the subordinate group's most important resource. Subordinate groups must organize individual members towards collective goals; use their resources effectively; maintain an information network and decision-making structure; and enact internal normative control over group behavior. Usurpation as well as closure depends on the group's ability to mobilize collective assets for collective purposes. As well, its success depends upon the organizational capacities of other groups which are collectively organizing to gain access to scarce resources.

2. Social Closure Based on Gender

Following a cross-cultural examination of the position of women in economic production and their relative power over their life situation, Blumberg (1978) argues that economic power is the most important resource necessary to gain access to other scarce resources. Economic power, that is, the control over the means of production and the allocation of scarce resources, can be important in gaining access to political resources and in furthering group interests. Women have a certain amount of control over the means of production if their position in the economy is indispensible, irreplaceable and, therefore, strategic. Blumberg says that it is impossible for women to be effective in furthering their own interests without, at least, limited access to economic resources. However, access to economic resources is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for women to further their own interests.

Denis (1981) argues that males form a dominant status group in contemporary society because males have had access to economic resources whereas women's access has been limited. Women have been prevented from gaining access to economic resources by laws and customs imposing legitimate boundaries on women's economic independence (Denis, 1981:5). Women working in the home have difficulty forming a status group based on gender because of their past and present economic dependence on men. They have fewer individual resources available for collective use than women working in the paid labour force. Women in paid labour also have few collective resources. Their occupational segregation coupled with low earnings make it very difficult for them to develop any organizational capacity for even weak collective action. Denis argues that the ideology perpetuating the role of women in providing "free family support systems"

forces most women into economic dependence. Moreover, the double workday for women in paid employment reduces the amount of time and energy available to devote to organizing for collective action. Finally, women in paid employment and women in domestic unpaid labour are isolated from each other within their own realms of labour, making it difficult for them to organize effectively for collective action within each realm.

3. Social Closure Based on Ethnicity

Weber (1968) argues that status groups can be formed on the basis of communal and associative relationships. Neuwirth (1969) adds that either communal or associative relationships may coincide with ethnic group boundaries. Also, Neuwirth suggests that the formation of status groups on the basis of ethnicity may not be voluntary in the sense that exclusion of subordinate groups by a dominant status group on the basis of ethnicity may force excluded groups to select ethnicity as a basis on which to form subordinate status groups. Subordinate groups must then impose boundaries upon themselves if they are to collectively organize for access to the monopolized resources. On the other hand, excluded groups may be unable to gain even limited access to resources because of the strength of the boundaries created by the dominant group. Also, excluded groups may have low capacities for collective action, brought about by the dominant group's attempts to arrest the usurpationary powers of the subordinate status group, thus making it difficult for them to usurp resources monopolized by the dominant status group. Dominant status groups may actively prevent excluded groups from forming subordinate status groups.

Breton (1979) argues that ethnicity can be used as a basis upon which groups organize for collective action. Some subordinate ethnic groups have developed effective collective organizations through religious institutions, cultural organizations, and the media system of communication. Breton states that even if ethnicity has been used as a preliminary basis for collective organization, other bases of organization which may be effective, may replace it in due course. The occupational segregation of ethnic groups develops as groups formed on the basis of ethnicity have become effective in monopolizing certain occupational resources.

CHAPTER II GENDER AND ETHNICITY IN THE QUEBEC SECONDARY SCHOOL SYSTEM

A. Administrative Structures (1875-1965)

Between 1875 and 1960, the administrative structure of Quebec's educational system had remained unchanged (Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in Quebec[1]; 1963-1966). Catholic and Protestant education were administered and financially controlled by two confessional committees, the Catholic committee and the Protestant committee. All Catholic bishops in Quebec were automatically members of the Catholic committee and the administrators of Protestant education were members of the Protestant committee. These committees together made up the Council of Education which was presided over by the Superintendent of Education responsible for the co-ordination of educational services. The role of the Council of Education was to co-ordinate the Catholic and Protestant systems of education. However, the Council met only once between 1908 and 1960. Lack of contact between the committees on Catholic and Protestant education had created differences between Catholic and Protestant educational systems. The Parent Commission (1963) described the educational systems which had developed as a result of the autonomy given to the Catholic and Protestant committees.

> From then on, each of the two systems, Roman Catholic and Protestant, operated more or less independently. This separation grew even more rigid throughout this period and extended from local school boards to the highest level of provincial school administration. A similar separation

1. The Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in Quebec will be referred to as the Parent Commission.

> also became apparent in the field of private education, which was undergoing rapid change. Among the Protestants, secondary instruction was given in the public schools, whereas among Roman Catholics, it remained almost entirely the responsibility of the classical colleges operated by the clergy. In just the same way, Laval University and McGill and Bishop's Universities developed within their two independent spheres-Laval with its traditional faculties of theology, law and medicine and the classical colleges which made up its faculty of arts; McGill and Bishop's with their undergraduate and professional faculties. Such an arrangement offered little opportunity for the exchange of ideas or for co-operation between two entirely distinct cultural communities. (Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in Quebec, 1963, Vol. I:16).

Since the Quebec legislature did not involve itself in the political control of education, Catholic and Protestant groups had the right to use their financial and administrative resources autonomously to design and build educational systems which met their needs. The majority of the Catholic population was of the French language, although there was a substantial English Catholic population, while the overwhelming majority of the Protestant population was of the English language. The average income of English-speaking workers was greater than that of the French-speaking workers. Thus, the Catholic and Protestant committees not only developed different systems of education, but they did so on the basis of each group's unequal share of economic resources.

Prior to 1960, school commissions had been the local administrators of Catholic and Protestant education operating as financially autonomous educational administrative organizations. The school commissions were decentralized organizations which maintained control over the collection of school taxes, the construction of

school buildings, the design of school curricula, and the employment of teachers. English Catholics were given autonomy within the Catholic educational system. In geographic areas where English Catholics were concentrated, they maintained schools by electing English Catholic school commissioners who, in turn, hired English Catholic teachers. The organization of school curricula and the content of school courses had to be approved by the Catholic committee. The English Catholic system of education was not a copy of the Protestant system nor a translated version of the French Catholic system (Wilson, 1965).

> English Catholics unlike minority French Canadians in other provinces had had little to be unhappy about with regard to the teaching of and the teaching in English, since, where English Catholics were in the majority in a school municipality, their schools were entirely English, and where they were in a minority position, they had the official support of the Superintendent of Education as far as their rights to have instruction in their language were concerned. Discontent arose rather because of the restricted ends which the public secondary schools were designed to meet. The dominant role played by the College Classique and the consequent de-emphasis of preparation for university entrance in the public secondary schools was an educational policy which was satisfactory for many years to French Catholic parents in Quebec, but which profoundly displeased English Catholics who did not share the same devotion to classical education and were wanting to prepare their children for entrance to the English language universities and the Bachelor of Arts degree. When English Catholics finally asked for their own curriculum, it was in order that they might tailor it to meet the needs of a community which shared more the educational aims and outlooks of the English Protestants than those of the French language co-religionists (Wilson, 1965:2-3).

Thus, the curriculum in English Catholic schools was more similar to the curriculum in English Protestant schools than French Catholic schools.

During the 1960's, Quebec's educational system adopted a new direction, undergoing major legislative change. The new Education Acts passed between 1960 and 1962 established the fundamental principles for a new education system. The reforms proposed by the new Education Acts were so vast and fundamental that they became known as the "Magna Carta of Education". Examples of these wide ranging reforms were the extension of the compulsory school age to 15, free access to public secondary education, and the availability of secondary education throughout the province for Catholics and Protestants.

> Ce que l'on appele "la grande Charte", est un ensemble de lois adoptées par la Legislature: gratuité scolaire jusqu'à la fin du cours secondaire; système de subventions pour les parents dont les enfants fréquentaient des institutions secondaires indépendantes; hausse de l'âge de fréquentation scolaire obligatoire à 15 ans; droit accordé aux parents de participer aux élections des commissions d'écoles; système de financement des commissions scolaires par des subventions statutaires et recherche de modalités pour établir un début de péréquation. (Rocher and Monroe, no date:5)

> It can be said that this legislation constitutes an important stage in the democratization of education. The fact is that the legislation viewed from this angle ensured the generalization of secondary school education by requiring school commissions to provide instruction through the 11th year; it encouraged the formation of regional school boards; it made it possible, through a system of grants, for independent schools to avoid, in spite of a rise in their expenses, too great increases in fees; it established a system of bursaries to allow teachers to improve their professional qualifications; it extended the system of bursary loans to a large number of students who did not receive the benefit of free tuition; it fixed at fifteen years

> the age of compulsory school attendance; it recognized more clearly than before the rights of parents by granting to the father and mother of a child under eighteen years of age the right to vote at school board elections (Superior Council of Education, 1964-5:14).

Reforms proposed in the "Magna Carta of Education" were part of a new provincial policy of education which emphasized the accessibility of free education to all Quebeckers independent of financial resources, and the availability of primary and secondary education to all capable individuals who wished it, regardless of race, colour, gender, religion or geographic location.

The Parent Commission, was instrumental in completely changing the administrative and financial structure of Quebec education. The objective of the Parent Commission was to study all aspects of the organization of the Quebec educational system. Of particular concern were the administration of a unified educational system and the equalization of financial resources between Catholics and Protestants. Many of the recommendations of the Parent Commission were implemented, including the creation of the Ministry of Education in 1964. The Ministry of Education incorporated the duties and responsibilities of the Superintendent of Education and the Ministry of Youth.

The Superior Council of Education was created at the same time as the Ministry of Education to act as a consultative bureau for the Ministry and the legislature. The former Council of Education was replaced by the Superior Council of Education. Recommendations made by the Superior Council of Education to the Ministry or Legislature were not implemented without the approval of the Ministry of

Education. Twenty-four members representing the various school and non-school organizations were appointed to the Superior Council of Education by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. Its president and vice-president were also the chairpersons of the Catholic and Protestant committees.

The reorganized Catholic and Protestant committees as well as four other committees operated under the auspices of the Superior Council of Education. Nine to fifteen members were selected from church, school, parent and teacher organizations by the Superior Council of Education for each of the six committees. The new Catholic and Protestant committees now acted mostly as advisors on moral and religious education, although they still kept some legislative power to recognize and ensure the confessionality of each school. They also approved the employment of new teachers, since teachers had to provide evidence of their confessionality when applying for employment to school commissions (Hurtubise, 1966:68). The other four committees of the Superior Council were in charge of studying and advising the Council on subjects dealing with elementary, secondary, professional, technical and higher education. The presidents of each of these four committees were also members of the Superior Council of Education. Parent associations, church organizations, professional associations and voluntary associations were encouraged to submit their concerns about the educational system to these six committees for study, and these six committees, in turn, were obliged to keep the Superior Council of Education informed of their activities.

The Ministry of Education replaced the Ministry of Youth and the Superintendent of Education in order to expedite the provision of added services to meet the increased demand for education. The Ministry of Education was organized into six departments which were responsible for short and long term planning, programmes of study and examinations, school organization, school equipment, school financing and higher education. The most important activities of the Ministry during its first year of operation in 1965 were related to the reorganization of secondary schools and the financial control of school board revenues and expenditures. School commissions became the policy administrators for the Ministry of Education, instead of the policy-makers of the former Catholic and Protestant Committees (C.E.Q., 1967:29-30). The responsibilities of the school commissions and their authority over the administration of education were drastically reduced by the Ministry of Education.

In 1963, school commissions numbered 1,631 of which 1,421 were Catholic and 210 were Protestant (Hurtubise, 1966:81-86). In 1962-3, 480 of the Catholic school commissions were supplying educational facilities to less than 200 students in each school commission (Rocher and Munroe, no date:30). A reorganization of school commissions on a regional basis, proposed by the Ministry of Youth, was implemented by the Ministry of Education in 1964-5. This large scale operation was known as Operation 55 and, by the end of April 1965, 55 regional Catholic school commissions had been established and 9 regional Protestant school commissions were proposed. Most French and English Catholic and English Protestant administrators were unhappy

with Operation 55 because of their loss of administrative control over their local and regional school commissions. French and English Catholic, and English Protestant curricula were made similar in order to meet new Ministerial standards.

B. School Finances

The economic structure of Quebec society, prior to 1960, was dominated by the English who had effected exclusionary closure over economic resources on the basis of language. Although the French were the dominant status group in the political arena (Denis, 1977:12), their access to economic resources was limited. The Catholics and Protestants, however, had been allowed to develop separate systems of education financed by the school taxes collected from their co-religionists within the municipalities under the school commission's jurisdiction. The Protestants, who were overwhelmingly of the English language, had greater access to financial resources than the Catholics. Also, they had a different educational philosophy, developing a system of free primary and secondary education for the general Protestant population. On the other hand, the Catholics were largely French-speaking and an economically subordinate group. Their educational philosophy was to provide free primary education to the majority of the Catholic population, but only limited, fee-paying secondary education to a minority of Catholics who showed potential for further training. School commissions had the responsibility for establishing the rate of the school tax, collecting the school tax, and levying a supplementary tax if additional monies were required.

The Parent Commission (1965) describes a few of the major differences between the French and the English groups' access to resources and the ensuing consequences.

> The English speaking population, as a consequence of the interest it showed in public schools and because of the enterprise it demonstrated in this field, succeeded, despite all the difficulties that attended the beginnings of the school system, in maintaining and developing with a certain degree of continuity a system of English-language public schools. This it sometimes accomplished only by assessing itself to meet financial burdens which the French population often resisted, whether because of its poverty, or because it saw less clearly the advantages of a good education, or because it was unaccustomed to democratic institutions (Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in Quebec, 1965, Vol.III:90).

> Without pretending to deal with all the factors explaining this disparity, a certain number of them may be mentioned. Some of these are tied to history or the conditions of life in Quebec. The English language Protestant schools often preceded the Roman Catholic schools of the French majority in the evolution of the public education system. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the English-speaking Protestants were thus the first to make use of state subsidies, particularly within the framework of the Royal Institution, against which the French-Canadian clergy was opposed for fear of assimilation. Only after more than twenty years did the French-speaking Canadians begin to make use of scholastic institutions dependent for their support on local responsibility. Ever since, this tradition has been developed with a certain continuity on the English side, whereas among French Canadians, particulary during certain periods, it encountered popular resistance against school taxes. It must be noted that English-speaking Canadians - generally better trained in business arrived here after the conquest with the intention of organizing commerce and industry, and influenced both by the tradition of British liberalism and by the example of American democracy and its educational institutions - were without doubt better prepared than the French-speaking Canadians to take into their own hands responsibility for the local organization of education (Royal Commission of

Inquiry on Education in Quebec, 1965, Vol.III:94-95).

English Protestants as well as many French Catholics opposed the new politico-administrative authority of the Ministry of Education over their educational structures and the loss of financial control over their systems of education.

The department of finance of the new Ministry of Education caused much concern among the Catholic and Protestant school commissions, teachers and taxpayers, as it developed a central control over local school finances. Building on equalization policies, the finance department developed a programme of complete control over the financial resources and expenditures of school commissions. The first phase of the equalization programme was the reform of the school tax giving the department of finance control over the source of school commission finances. In 1964, the department of finance standardized the rate of the school tax across the province so that all taxpayers, whether Protestant or Catholic, paid the same rate of school tax. School commissions were forced to levy a uniform school tax, abolish school tuition fees and declare any revenues from the rental of school property. The second phase of the equalization programme was a system of grants given to Catholic and Protestant school commissions to ensure that each had the same amount of money to spend on the provision of education relative to its needs. Total government expenditures for Quebec education increased from 194 million dollars in 1954 to an estimated 950 million dollars in 1965 (Ministry of Education, 1964-5:45-7). Two thirds of the finance department's budget for education went towards school board grants.

The Ministry of Education's finance department developed a system of grants to school commissions which included statutory grants, budget-balancing grants and construction grants. The statutory or standard government grants were always given to every school commission in an amount dependent upon the number of pupils, teachers, classes and schools under each school commission. Budget-balancing grants, a second type of grant, were given to school commissions when school tax revenues and statutory grants were insufficient to meet government-approved expenditures for school commissions. Construction grants were given to school commissions upon their request and after study by the department of finance. The Ministry of Education was now able to control school commission expenditures, by estimating school commission revenues and by granting monies approved for spending on certain expenditures only.

The uniform rate of the school tax and the government grant system were implemented on the basis of the Ministry of Education's policy of providing a rational and equitable system for financing Catholic and Protestant education. Catholic and Protestant school commissions were forced to submit annual budget forecasts and financial statements. If school commissions incurred expenses inadmissible for approval of budget-balancing grants, they were allowed to levy a small supplementary school tax. This supplementary tax was particularly important and necessary for school commissions that were paying teachers' salaries above the standard set by the Ministry. Teachers' salaries were not admissible school commission expenditures, to be

covered by statutory or budget-balancing grants, if they were over the standard scale set by the Ministry in 1964.

C. Teachers' Qualifications

Catholic and Protestant teachers were required to complete grade 11 in order to meet the admission requirements of Normal School in 1960, after the Education Acts were introduced. Four years of Normal School qualified teachers with a "Class I" or "A" teaching certificate which entitled them to teach in secondary schools. Students in the Bachelor of Education Programmes at English or French Universities were automatically given the teaching certificate of "Class I" or "A", and students who had completed the four years of study at French Catholic or English Normal Schools were given a Bachelor of Education degree. English Protestants received their permanent teaching certificate after two years of probationary teaching. Students with a Bachelor's degree in a subject other than education were required to attend Normal School for the equivalent of one year in order to receive their Class I certificate.

There were three English non-confessional and co-educational Normal Schools educating teachers for elementary and secondary school, under the auspices of McGill University, Bishop's University and Sir George Williams University. The English Catholic co-educational Normal School was St. Joseph's College, which educated teachers for secondary school while its affiliates educated teachers for elementary school only. All English Normal Schools charged tuition fees as they received little financial assistance from the government.

French Catholic Normal Schools were gender-segregated. Normal Schools for men were public, government-operated schools while Normal schools for women were fee-paying and operated under the auspices of religious orders. The fees for female French Catholic Normal Schools were established by the Superintendent of Education. Most male French Catholic Normal Schools offered secondary school teaching certificates only and these schools had the largest enrolments. There were more than six times as many French Catholic Normal Schools for women (72) than for men (12) and three times as many women (9,500) than men (3,000) enrolled in French Catholic Normal Schools (Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in Quebec, 1964, Vol.II:262-263). Only half of the female Normal Schools offered training for secondary school teaching, and only about half of the women in these Normal Schools were enrolled in the secondary school teaching certification program. French Catholic women were denied access to education for secondary school teaching because of the Normal School tuition fees and the lack of Normal Schools offering secondary school teaching certificates.

Education reforms, during the 1960's, increased government grants to French Catholic female Normal Schools and to English Normal Schools. Tuition fees were introduced into male French Catholic Normal Schools and government grants and bursaries were given to students wishing to attend Normal School. Normal Schools were subsequently replaced by other post-secondary institutions during the reorganization of the educational system by the Ministry of Education in the late sixties.

D. Teachers' Positions and Salaries

All teachers were hired by the school commissions on yearly contracts which expired at the end of each school year. School commissioners were able to renew or not renew teachers' contracts at will and teachers whose contracts were not renewed had no legitimate channels of recourse for action until the 1960's. Catholic and Protestant provincial teachers' associations, which were established in the 1920's, began negotiating with the representatives of individual school commissions for the fair and equal treatment of all teachers in regards to positions and salaries in the 1940's. Separate agreements were often drawn up between the provincial teachers' associations and the school commissions. These separate negotiations which occurred up until 1965, were successful, however, in increasing teachers' salaries to satisfactory levels throughout the province (Boivin, 1975:77). Reasons for the success of the negotiations included the fact that representatives of teachers' associations were more familiar with negotiating tactics and arbitration hearings than school commissions representatives. The latter bargained individually with teachers' associations, often changing after school commission elections. Towards the end of the 1950's, teachers were given the right to strike, and between 1960 and 1965 collective agreements included grievance procedures, rights to compulsory arbitration, sick leave, holidays and seniority, but lacked maternity leave (Boivin, 1975:78-79). Boivin (1975) suggests that arbitration judges were also sympathetic to teachers' demands for higher salaries. Also, militant teachers' unions were able to force school commissions to accept their

demands by closing schools for teachers' study days. Furthermore, school commissions, prior to their loss of administrative authority over their finances to the Ministry of Education, were able to raise the rate of the school tax or levy a supplementary tax in order to pay their teachers higher salaries. Finally, secondary school teachers were able to apply to several school commissions, seeking jobs with wealthy school commissions known to pay higher salaries.

Upon its creation in 1964, the Ministry of Education immediately introduced a new province-wide salary scale listing the minimum and maximum salaries which could be paid to the teachers by the school commissions. Teachers with four years of Normal School or a Bachelor of Education and no teaching experience were to earn between $4,400 and $4,600 annually. Annual increases of between $200 and $300 were given for each year of teaching experience, and these same amounts were given for each year of education above the minimum qualifications. Heads of departments received an additional $300 and principals received an additional $1,000 (Ministry of Education, 1964-5:89). This new salary scale was designed to encourage teachers to continue their education. Also, it allowed the Ministry of Education's finance department to further extend its control over school commission expenditures because the Ministry financed teachers' salaries through statutory grants to school commissions according to its new salary scale.

The average salaries of lay teachers in Catholic and Protestant schools during the school year of 1964-5 were in descending order: Protestant men $7,283; Catholic men $6,520; Protestant women

$5,419; and Catholic women $4,051 (Parent, Vol.5, 1966:52). The Ministry had made no provisions for equalizing already existing differences in the salaries of Catholic and Protestant teachers or differences in the salaries of women and men teachers. Previous collective bargaining agreements had been successful, however, in eliminating some of the salary differences between the genders and between rural and urban teachers.

Up until 1962, female teachers in the Catholic educational system, except for those in private, single-sex schools, were unable to advance into positions of responsibility nor were they able to earn salaries equal to male teachers because of their gender. Women had a history of being excluded from teaching positions, from advancing in the teaching profession, and from earning salaries equal to men by the Montreal Catholic school commission - the largest employer of Catholic teachers . Married women were specifically excluded by a resolution adopted by the Montreal Catholic school commission in 1925 which stated that female teachers were automatically dismissed from any teaching position and their teaching contract immediately invalidated upon marriage (Thivierge, 1982:256-262). The argument used to support this resolution was that married women did not need money because their husband's wage was the family wage and, besides, women's primary work role was the maintenance of her husband and children within the domestic setting. The school commissions were more concerned with married women's traditionally unpaid domestic role than with the quality of teaching given to the students. Thivierge (1982) outlines

the contradiction of values perpetuated by the school commissions when hiring unqualified, single women over qualified, married women:

> Le mépris de la diplômée mariée, en cette circonstance, qui sert d'exemple d'autres missives semblables, démontre la profondeur du sentiment du rôle de la femme mariée: dans une situation où la qualité de l'enseignement est en cause, la préférence est donné au principe du rôle traditionnel de femme plutot qu'au principe, pourtant si cher aux inspecteurs, de l'efficacité et de la qualité du personnel enseignant (258).

The school commissions continued hiring single women over married women up until the 1940's. As the inexperience of these teachers and those lacking teaching qualifications placed a strain on student learning and the reputations of school commissions, qualified married women were given greater access to teaching positions in difficult subjects and classes during the 1940's and 1950's. However, right up until 1958, these teaching positions were preferentially given to married women who were financially destitute or whose husbands' salaries were inadequate for family support.

> A cette date, la commission croit encore bon d'engager des femmes mariées pour combler les postes que la pénurie constante a libérés, sous de vocables humanitaires: on engage la veuve, la divorcée et la separée pour protéger l'orphelin; on engage celles dont le mari est aux études, malade ou pauvre, toujours pour protéger les enfants et on garde les nouvelles mariées comme on engage plusieurs institutrices compétentes n'entrant pas dans les catégories de déshéritées pour protéger la qualité de la commission scolaire. Quelques institutrices semblent avoir caché aux commissions scolaires leur état de femmes mariées. Elles ont ainsi pu continuer à enseigner en taisant leur nouvel état civil et en n'enfantant pas (Thivierge, 1982:261).

In 1959, the Montreal Catholic School Commission began hiring married women teachers as regular teachers, eliminating the special category

assigned to them, and began paying married women starting salaries equal to those of male teachers without considering their husbands' salaries. At the beginning of the 1960's, the status of qualified, married women teachers was still lower than the status of qualified, single women. In 1962, the Montreal Catholic school commission recognized the competence of married women teachers by giving them the same privileges accorded to single teachers: permission to be rehired for the same position in another school commission, annual personal work evaluation, and access to promotions. These were all essential for career development. Marriage, however, and the presence of small children were still factors excluding women from higher positions.

> Si elle se marie, la femme enseignante se retire souvent de la profession parce que les possibilités de travail à temps partiel sont très restreintes ou parce qu'il lui est difficile de trouver une gardienne pour ses enfants. Si elle se retire de l'enseignement pour quelques années, la femme enseignante doit renoncer à certains droits comme le droit d'ancienneté qui constitue l'un des critères de sélection les plus importants lors d'un concours de promotion (L'Alliance des Professeurs de Montréal, 1968:5).

Catholic lay women, generally, were gaining more access to higher positions and salaries with the expansion and reorganization of the Catholic school system in the 1960's because of the lack of qualified male teachers to meet the demands of the increasing student populations (Thivierge, 1982:271-2). There is little information available concerning the situation in the Protestant educational system.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

A. Statement of the Problem

The thesis proposed here is that status groups formed on the basis of gender existed within status groups formed on the basis of ethnicity. This will be tested by a study of female and male secondary school teachers in Quebec who taught within the French Catholic, English Catholic and Protestant school systems during the 1965-66 school year. The application of the theory of social closure will be tested by seeing whether female secondary school teachers had restricted access to decision-making positions and high salaries, and whether this pattern existed within each of the ethno-religious groups under scrutiny. The applicability, in this situation, of status group theory will be contrasted with that of the functional theory of stratification which posits that education and experience were the most important factors associated with teachers' positions and salaries regardless of the teachers' gender and/or ethnicity.

The class theory cannot be used because of the focus of the study on a single occupation - secondary school teachers - and because of the type of data which has been collected from the teachers. However the notion put forth by Smith (1975) of women's exclusion from the decision-making positions within the educational hierarchy and thus from the organization of knowledge which is transmitted through the educational system remains important when looking at gender differences in secondary school teachers' positions. Also, the concept of a family wage and its ramifications for salary differences between women and men in the labour force, as described by Beechey (1978),

remains important when looking at salary differences between women and men in the teaching profession.

B. The Sample

The data used for the present statistical analysis of Quebec secondary teachers were collected by Dr. Raymond Breton (1972) as part of a national study of career aspirations of Canadian youth. Three separate questionnaires were distributed to students, teachers and principals, respectively, in Quebec secondary schools during the 1965-1966 school year. The data from the teachers' questionnaire, made available by Dr. Raymond Murphy of the Department of Sociology at the University of Ottawa, are used for the present analysis of gender and ethnic variations in the positions and salaries of Quebec secondary school teachers. The teachers' questionnaire included data on their education, work experience, age, marital status and gender, as well as school location and size.

Breton's stratified sample included French and English Catholic public secondary schools, English Protestant public secondary schools, private French Catholic classical colleges (secondary grades only) and government-operated French trade schools. A total of 106 or 5.4 percent of Quebec secondary schools were sampled. From these schools, 1,930 secondary school teachers completed the questionnaire (1,922 when weighted). Only lay teachers were selected for the present analysis, reducing the weighted sample to 1,374 teachers. The decision to exclude teachers who were members of the religious orders from the present analysis was made because of their atypical positions

and salaries which arose, in part, from the organization of religious communities during this period. Part-time teachers were included in the present analysis because they made up less than one percent of all lay teachers.

C. The Variables and their Operationalization[1]

Ten variables were used in the statistical analysis of the sample of Quebec secondary school teachers. The two dependent variables were teachers' positions and salaries. The most important independent variables for the analysis were gender and ethnicity representing two bases of social closure which have been found to exist in other occupations as well as in teaching. Six other independent variables which have been found to have significant effects on position and salary are introduced into the analysis as control variables. These independent variables were grouped into three major categories: achievement, personal characteristics and contextual variables. The achievement variables included education, experience and when examining salary, position. Their use for the allocation of positions and salaries indicates the operation of the egalitarian system posited by functionalist theory. Personal characteristics, gender, age and marital status are ascribed characteristics whose use would indicate the implementation of exclusionary closure by status groups. The variables, size of school and size of community in which the school is located, are contextual factors which influence both the position and

1. See also Appendix II.

salary, independent of the achievement and personal characteristics of the teaching population. The independent variables were operationalized in the following manner:

1. Gender

Gender was measured by the variable of sex.

2. Ethnicity

Ethnicity was operationalized by school system. The French Catholic school system included public secondary Catholic schools, classical colleges (secondary grades only) and government-operated trade schools which operated in the French language only. The English Catholic school system and the English Protestant school system included public Catholic and Protestant secondary schools, respectively, all operating in the English language. The schools had been recoded into these categories by Murphy (1981). The English Catholic school system operated semi-autonomously under the auspices of the Superior Council of Education's Catholic committee. Few French Catholic teachers taught in English Catholic schools and vice versa[1], while Catholic teachers were barred from teaching in Protestant schools and vice versa.

At confederation, legislation in the field of education had established the autonomy of two school systems in Quebec, separated on the basis of religion. As the majority of the Catholics were French-speaking and almost all of the Protestants were English-speaking,

1. Fewer than 1 percent of all lay teachers declared themselves able to speak a second language without difficulty.

religious closure as well as defacto language closure were institutionalized. However, within the auspices of the Catholic educational system, an English Catholic educational system grew because of the demand of a substantial minority of English Catholics among the Quebec population. Thus, the two legally autonomous, parallel, and mutually exclusive school systems were differentiated into three school systems, with a high degree of closure.

3. Teacher's Education

This variable was created by assigning a value to each category of education listed in the questionnaire in order to create an ordinal measure which differentiated levels of education. Six levels of education are distinguished within the sample: completion of secondary school[1]; completion of secondary school and normal school; completion of a bachelor's degree; completion of a bachelor's degree and normal school; completion of an M.A. or Ph.D.; and completion of an M.A. or Ph.D. and normal school. Although the minimum qualification required for secondary school teaching was the completion of secondary school and normal school, the completion of a bachelor's degree and normal school was fast becoming the norm especially after the publication of the Parent Commission.

4. Teacher's Experience

Teaching experience was coded by individual years and also into categories of two years or less, three to six years, seven to 13

1. Those who completed technical school are also included here.

years, and 14 years and over. Teaching experience included the sum of both the number of years spent teaching in another school (past teaching experience) and the number of years spent teaching in the present school (present teaching experience).

5. Age

There are seven categories of age, grouped by five year categories from 25 to 39 and by ten year categories from 40 to 60. They are: under 25 years of age; 25 to 29; 30 to 34; 35 to 39, 40 to 49; 50 to 59; and 60 years or more. These divisions were established by Breton (1972).

6. Marital Status

Marital status is a dichotomous variable with single and married categories. Separated, widowed and divorced teachers are included in the single category.

7. School Size

School size is determined by the number of classes in each school. There are four categories: 10 classes or less; 11 to 20 classes; 21 to 30 classes; and 31 classes or more. These divisions were established by Breton (1972).

8. Community Size

The variable of community size is measured by the number of inhabitants living in the community where the school is located, and is coded into five categories: 4,999 inhabitants or less; 5,000 to 9,999 inhabitants; 10,000 to 39,999 inhabitants; 40,000 to 499,999

inhabitants; and 500,000 or more inhabitants. These divisions were established by Breton (1972).

9. Teacher's Position

There are three categories of position: unspecialized; specialized; and director. Specialized teachers include guidance counsellors, while directors include departmental assistants, department heads and assistant principals. These categories were established by Breton (1972).

10. Teacher's Salary

There are nine salary levels separated by increments of $1,000 except at the extremes. In ascending order these are: $0 to $2,999; $3,000 to $3,999, $4,000 to $4,999; $5,000 to $5,999; $6,000 to $6,999; $7,000 to $7,999; $8,000 to $9,999; $10,000 to $11,999; and $12,000 or more. These divisions were established by Breton (1972).

D. The Hypotheses

1. Teachers' Positions

a. Gender Differences

The segregation of women in the lower positions of all occupations, including teaching, has been noted and described by Armstrong and Armstrong (1978) for the period 1941 to 1971. In particular, the general pattern of exclusion of women from decision-making positions has been cited by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970). This means that women in the teaching occupation are unlikely to occupy secondary school teaching positions in the first place, and, secondly, if they are secondary school teachers, they are not likely

to occupy the department head or assistant director positions. This is exemplified in Reich's study of secondary school teachers in Ontario (1976) where women were discouraged from applying for supervisory positions because of their family responsibilities. As a result of the absence of women from higher teaching and administrative positions and of their concentration in the lower levels of teaching, women have little power to change the organization of education systems or to contribute to the knowledge that is transmitted through it (Smith, 1975).

In the Quebec educational system, few policies were established by the school commissions concerning the employment of teachers and their placement in unspecialized, specialized or director positions prior to the creation of the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, an employment policy based on achievement criteria was not immediately created by the Ministry. Although most teachers bargained collectively with school commissions for teaching positions from the 1940's until the 1967 teachers' strike, and although union representatives focused on pressuring school commissioners to take teachers' education and experience into account when employing them in certain positions, school commissioners had the final authority to choose teachers for higher positions on the basis of gender if they wished to. They availed themselves of this choice in favour of male teachers.

This empirical evidence lends support to the contention that a status group model of stratification based on gender rather than a functional model of stratification based on achievement was operating

in the Quebec secondary school system. A functional model is characterized by the employers' use of achievement-based criteria to employ, evaluate and reward an individual's job performance and competence. However, when gender or other personal characteristics are more important predictors of position and salary than achievement measures, achievement is not the main basis of evaluation. If gender is important as a basis for evaluation, this is an indication of gender-based social closure. For the reasons outlined above, one would expect little support for an achievement-based model in the distribution of teachers' positions between women and men. It is, therefore, hypothesized that:

> male teachers were more likely to occupy specialized and director positions than female teachers, even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, school and community size, and school system are introduced (H.1).

Few studies have been completed which examine the distribution of women and men of the same ethnic origin among occupational positions. Denis (1981) examined the distribution of women from various ethnic groups among the major occupational groupings for Quebec and Ontario. In Quebec, she found that the differences in the occupational distribution between French and British women were not the same as the differences in the occupational distribution between French and British men. Similar findings appear in Reitz et al's study of the distribution of women and men of various ethnic origins among occupations in Toronto (1976) where women were found to occupy lower positions within occupations compared to their male counterparts.

There is no indication in the literature of any policies or practices adopted by the Catholic or Protestant committees or by the school commissions themselves outlining the criteria to be used for the employment of teachers. Nor was there any policy established by the Ministry upon its creation. It is, therefore, hypothesized that:

> within each of the French Catholic, English Catholic and Protestant school systems, male teachers were more likely to occupy specialized and director positions than female teachers, even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, school and community size are introduced (H.2).

b. Ethno-Religious differences

There is no information available regarding the policies governing the organization of positions within the three school systems. Therefore no hypotheses are formulated specifically to predict the presence and nature of ethno-religious differences on teachers' positions. Any important findings which may appear in the examination of this material will however be reported.

2. Teachers' Salaries

a. Gender Differences

There is extensive documentation of a pattern of exclusion of women from high incomes in all occupations throughout Canada during the 1960's and 1970's, even when controls for such functionally relevant variables as education, experience and position, etc., are introduced (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978; Ostry, 1968; Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970). Within the teaching profession and among secondary school teachers specifically, women have been found to earn

less than their male counterparts (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978).

In addition, few policies had been established by confessional committees, school commissions, or the Ministry of Education to create gender equality on teachers' salaries, even though legislation had been passed under the Labour Code prohibiting discrimination on the basis of gender in 1964. The Ministry of Education designed and implemented a province-wide salary scale which was to be applied to new teachers in the 1964-65 year. However, the province-wide salary scale was applied to new teachers only and no other additional guidelines were introduced to reduce already-existing salary differences between women and men. Thus, one would expect to find evidence in teachers' salaries of social closure based on gender. It is, therefore, hypothesized that:

> male teachers were more likely to earn high salaries than female teachers, even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, school and community size, and school system are introduced (H.3).

Few studies document a pattern of exclusion of women, who are also members of specific ethnic groups, from high salaries. A study of the average incomes of Francophone and non-Francophones in Quebec was conducted by Bernard et al (1979) although they were unconscious of the pattern of gender inequality evident in the presentation of their data. After studying the incomes of Francophone and Anglophone women across Canada, the Federation des Femmes Canadiennes Françaises (1981) concluded that Francophone and Anglophone women earned lower salaries than their male counterparts. The Parent Commission Report (1963-66: Vol.5) presented data on Catholic and Protestant teachers'

salaries in the Quebec educational system, which showed that female teachers in both the Catholic and Protestant elementary and secondary schools earned at least $2,000 less than their male counterparts.

Furthermore, when the newly created Ministry of Education published its province-wide salary scale, it was based upon unclear criteria and no further policies regarding gender equality were established by the confessional committees or the school commissions themselves. This empirical evidence suggests that one would expect to find evidence of social closure based on gender within each of the school systems. It is, therefore, hypothesized that:

> within each of the French Catholic, English Catholic and Protestant school systems, male teachers were more likely to earn high salaries than female teachers, even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, school and community size were introduced (H4).

b. Ethno-Religious Differences

There is extensive documentation, based on average incomes within major occupational categories which suggests that the English earned higher salaries than the French. In Canada, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1970: Vol. III) found this for the men, and the Federation des Femmes Canadiennes Françaises (1981) found this for the women and the men. In Quebec, this pattern of exclusion of Francophones from high salaries is shown by Bernard et al (1979) and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1970).

New policies were in the process of being implemented in the Quebec educational system to reduce salary differences between the

teachers in the Catholic and Protestant school systems. These included the standardization of the school tax rate, increased funding to the Catholic school commissions, and the province-wide salary scale for new teachers. However, the English-Catholic school system maintained differences from the French Catholic school system due to its concentration in the one geographical area of Montreal. Furthermore, even though the English Catholic school system was under the auspices of the Catholic educational administration which was primarily of the French language, the English Catholics were given a great deal of autonomy in developing their own school system. The English Catholics were allowed to participate in the administration of their schools by electing English Catholic representatives to school commissions, and by hiring English Catholic teachers. Prior to the standardization of the rate of school tax, they had established the rate of school tax and had collected school taxes from co-religionists. The English Protestants and Catholics had been the economically dominant group up until the 1960's. Thus, one would expect continued residual salary differences among the three school systems until the new structures which were put into place by the Ministry of Education, especially the province-wide salary scale, reduced French-English or Catholic-Protestant differences. It is, therefore, hypothesized that:

> English Protestant teachers were more likely to earn high salaries than the English or French Catholic teachers, and the English Catholic teachers were more likely to earn high salaries than the French Catholic teachers, even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, gender, school and community size are introduced (H.5).

c. Gender and Ethno-Religious Differences

There are a few studies (Bernard, 1979; Parent, 1963-66) presenting data on income in relation to both gender and ethnicity. All show greater gender differences in salary than ethno-religious differences in salary. In the Parent Commission Report, which refers specifically to Catholic and Protestant teachers in the Quebec educational system, gender differences in the salaries of Protestant teachers were about $2,100 but $2,500 for the Catholic teachers. On the other hand, ethno-religious differences in men's salaries ($760) were smaller than ethno-religious differences in women's salaries ($1,100). It is, therefore, hypothesized that:

> ethno-religious differences in salary were greater for female teachers than male teachers (H.6).

Also the salary differences between French Catholic men and English Protestant women ($1,400) were greater than the differences in men's salaries among the ethno-religious groups. The greatest difference in salary was between the English Protestant men and the French Catholic women. The pattern emerging from the Parent Commission Report is one where: English Protestant men earned higher salaries than French Catholic men; French Catholic men earned higher salaries than English Protestant women; and English Protestant women earned higher salaries than French Catholic women. This is the same ranking order found in Bernard et al (1979) for a wider cross-section of occupations in 1971 and 1976, with comparisons between the francophone/non-francophone groups.

Within the Quebec educational system, the elimination of existing ethno-religious differences was the priority of the Ministry of Education and policies were implemented which centralized control over the funding of the two educational systems in order to achieve this goal. With the introduction of the province-wide salary scale, budget-balancing grants, and the knowledge of the revenues and expenditures of each school commission, the Ministry of Education was probably able to reduce most of the ethno-religious differences in salaries. However, no such policies were introduced to correct past anomalies based on gender. Furthermore, the province-wide salary scale was introduced to equalize all salaries for new teachers which would eventually reduce the salary differences between women and men. However, there were no immediate provisions to reduce existing gender differences in salary. It is, therefore, hypothesized that:

> gender differences in teachers' salaries were greater than ethno-religious differences in teachers' salaries (H.7).

CHAPTER IV GENDER AND ETHNIC VARIATIONS IN TEACHERS' POSITIONS AND SALARIES

The statistical analysis of the sample of lay teachers in Quebec secondary schools begins in Part 1 with a description of the achievement, personal and contextual characteristics of the teachers. Gender and ethno-religious variations will be explored using chi-square and t-test measures for significant differences. The second half of the chapter (Part II) will analyze the effects of the achievement, personal and contextual variables on teachers' positions and teachers' salaries using gamma, correlation and regression measures of association.

Part I A Description of Teachers' Characteristics

A. Frequency Distributions and Chi-Square Levels of Significance

The frequency distributions for female and male teachers are shown in Table 1. Table 2 presents the frequency distributions for the French Catholics, English Catholics and English Protestant teachers on the achievement, personal, contextual and dependent variables as well as the distributions for women and men within each of these ethno-religious groups. Chi-square tests of significance, which measure the differences in the observed and expected cell frequencies, are included in Table 1 to compare distributions between female and male teachers. In Table 2, chi-square tests show the significance of differences between female and male teachers within each ethno-religious group; differences among the three ethno-religious groups; and differences among the ethno-religious groups for women and for

men. All differences reported in the following discussions are significant below the .01 level at least. The chi-square levels of significance refer to the data as it is presented in the tables, although the categories of some variables are grouped for the ease of discussion.

1. The Total Sample

The frequency distributions for the total sample on the independent and dependent variables are presented in the right hand column of Table 1. The minimum educational qualifications required by the Quebec Ministry of Education for secondary school teaching were the completion of secondary and normal school. Almost all of the teachers in the sample had achieved the minimum educational qualifications. On the other hand, teachers tended to be inexperienced: almost half of the teachers had six years or less teaching experience. As well as being relatively inexperienced, the majority of teachers were young, more than half were married, two-thirds were men, and 80 percent taught in the French Catholic school system. Only 15 percent of the teachers in the sample worked in large schools and about one quarter worked in small schools under 10 classes. The remainder was distributed between the other two school sizes. In addition, about twenty percent taught in small communities of under 5,000 inhabitants, while another twenty-five percent taught in communities of between 10,000 and 39,999 inhabitants, and one-third taught in large communities of over 500,000 inhabitants. Finally, two-thirds of the teachers in the sample occupied specialized positions, and two-thirds earned between $5,000 and $7,999 annually.

2. Gender Variations

There were significant gender differences on all variables in Table 1 except for experience. Considering the achievement variable of education, significant below the .001 level, the male teachers had completed higher levels of education than female teachers. Twice as many female teachers (68%) as male teachers had completed the minimum educational qualifications only, whereas close to two-thirds of the men had completed a bachelor's degree or higher levels of education. Although no significant gender differences appeared in teaching experience, the ages of female and male teachers were significantly different, below the .001 level. Female teachers were younger than their male colleagues. For example, almost half of the women but only one-quarter of the men were under 25, although 80 percent of the men were under 35. Furthermore, the marital status of women and men was significantly different, below the .001 level: more women than men were single.

Turning to the contextual variables of school and community size which both had significant gender differences below the .001 level, more women than men taught in small schools and in either very small or very large communities. Almost two-thirds of the women taught in schools of under 20 classes, while only 45 percent of the men taught in such schools. Another 40 percent of the men taught in medium-sized schools, with between 21 and 30 classes. Considering community size, 30 percent of the women worked in the smallest communities and another 40 percent in the largest communities. In comparison, only about 30 percent of the men taught in the largest communities while another

third taught in communities between 10,000 and 39,999 inhabitants. Gender differences in school system, significant below the .001 level, indicated that more men than women taught in the French Catholic school system, whereas women and men were evenly distributed in the two English school systems.

Gender differences on position and salary were both significant below the .001 level. More male teachers occupied high positions, and earned high salaries than the female teachers. Virtually none of the women were directors in contrast with 5 percent of the men. In addition, just over a quarter of the men, but almost half of the women occupied unspecialized positions; and slightly more than half of the women, yet two-thirds of the men occupied specialized positions. Considering salary, three times as many male (18%) as female teachers earned more than $8,000 annually, while only 8 percent of the men, but half of the women earned salaries under $5,000 annually. Finally, less than half of the women, yet about three-quarters of the men earned between $5,000 and $7,999 annually.

Female teachers were partially excluded from occupying specialized and director positions, and partially excluded from earning salaries over $5,000. If the school systems were using achievement-based criteria in their evaluation of teachers, then this partial exclusion of women from higher positions and salaries could be due to their lower educational qualifications. This possibility will be examined later in the analysis.

3. Ethnic Variations

The frequency distributions of the three ethno-religious groups of teachers are presented in Table 2 together with the distributions of female and male teachers within each of the ethno-religious groups. The chi-square tests of significance for the school systems are the result of the comparison of the three groups of teachers, that is, French Catholics, English Catholics and English Protestants on each of the variables. There were differences among these three ethno-religious groups in their distributions on education, experience, age, gender, position, salary, and on school and community size, all significant below the .001 level. There were no significant ethno-religious differences on marital status. For the sake of discussion, French and English Catholic teachers are often referred to as the Catholic teachers when their distributions are similar, and similarly English Catholic and Protestant teachers are often referred to as the English teachers. As has already been stated, however, chi-square tests of significance apply to differences among all three of the ethno-religious groups.

There were significant differences in education among the three ethno-religious groups. Overall, the two English groups of teachers had completed higher levels of education than the French teachers. Almost half of the French teachers had completed the minimum qualifications of secondary and normal school, whereas 80 percent of the English Protestants and almost 70 percent of the English Catholics had attained a higher level of education than this. However, the two English groups differed from each other too. Only one-third of the

English Catholics but half of the English Protestants had completed bachelor's degrees and normal school, yet twice as many English Catholic teachers as English Protestants had completed M.A.'s or higher levels of education.

The two Catholic groups of teachers differed somewhat in their teaching experience, even though the Protestant teachers had more extensive teaching experience than they did. Thirty-six percent of the Protestant teachers but only 17 percent of the English or French Catholic teachers, respectively, had 14 or more years of teaching experience. As well as being less experienced, the two groups of Catholic teachers were younger than the Protestant teachers. Almost two-thirds of each of the Catholic groups of teachers were under 29 compared with only forty percent of the Protestant teachers. Finally, there were significantly more male teachers than female teachers in the French Catholic school system compared with either of the two English school systems.

Turning to significant differences in school size among the three ethno-religious groups, the Protestant teachers generally taught in larger schools than the Catholic teachers. Close to 60 percent of the English Protestants worked in the largest schools while only 5 percent of the English Catholic teachers and 14 percent of the French Catholic teachers worked in schools of this size. The two groups of Catholic teachers also differed from each other on school size, as over half of the English Catholic teachers taught in schools of between 21 and 30 classes and forty percent taught in the smallest schools. About one-third of the French Catholic teachers taught in

schools of between 11 and 20 classes, and in schools of between 21 and 30 classes, respectively. Considering the significant ethno-religious differences in community size, the majority of English Catholic and Protestant teachers were working in the largest communities. This reflected the ecological distribution of English and French groups in Quebec during this time period: the English Catholic and Protestant populations were very concentrated in the metropolitan centres of Montreal and to a lesser extent, Quebec City.

An examination of the significant position and salary differences among the ethno-religious groups shows that more teachers in the two English systems were directors compared with the French school system, although two-thirds of the French teachers held specialized positions. Regarding salary, twice as many Protestant teachers (32%) as either group of Catholic teachers earned more than $8,000; and twice as many French teachers (26%) as either group of English teachers earned under $5,000. Seventy-three percent of the English Catholic teachers earned between $5,000 and $7,999 compared with 63 percent of each of the English Protestants and the French Catholics.

It is unclear whether ethno-religious differences on the independent and dependent variables were predominantly linguistic or religious in nature. The French teachers were generally less educated than the English teachers. They were more likely to be male and they taught in smaller communities. Also, the French teachers were concentrated in specialized positions. The English Catholic teachers had a very similar education to the English Protestants, and these two English groups were concentrated in the largest communities. However,

the English Catholics were less experienced, younger, and taught in smaller schools than the English Protestants. Thus, at this point in the discussion, it is difficult to determine whether differences in the positions and salaries of the ethno-religious groups are due to past financial inequalities in the funding of Catholic and Protestant school systems or else to differences in the achievement, personal and contextual characteristics of the ethno-religious groups. Further attempts will be made to answer these questions when t-tests are examined, but first, the frequency distributions of women and men within each ethno-religious group will be presented (Table 2).

4. Gender Variations Within Each of the Ethno-Religious Groups

Within the French Catholic system, significant gender variations were found on all variables, except for experience. Considering gender differences on education, significant below the .001 level, French men had completed higher levels of education than the women. Most of the women had completed only the minimum educational qualifications (84%), while 60 percent of the men had completed a bachelor's degree or higher levels of education.

Although there were no significant gender differences on experience, age variations between the French women and men were significantly different below the .001 level. French Catholic women were younger than the men: half of the women but only one-quarter of the men were under 25 years of age. They also had differences in marital status, significant below the .001 level. About two-thirds of the French women were single, while the same percentage of men were married.

Furthermore, there were gender differences on school and community size both significant below the .001 level. The French women taught in smaller schools and communities than the French men. Whereas almost half of the women taught in schools of between 11 and 20 classes, about the same percentage of the men taught in schools of between 21 and 30 classes. Considering community size, close to 40 percent of the French women taught in the smallest communities, while the same percentage of men taught in communities of between 10,000 and 39,999 inhabitants.

In addition, position and salary variables both exhibited gender variations, significant below the .001 level. The French men occupied higher positions than the women: almost half of the women compared with one quarter of the men occupied unspecialized positions. Just over half of the women, but three-quarters of the men occupied specialized positions. None of the women were directors compared with 3 percent of the men. French men also earned higher salaries than their female colleagues. Close to two-thirds of the women earned less than $5,000, while only 8 percent of the men earned this amount. Finally, just over one-third of the women but three-quarters of the men earned between $5,000 and $7,999; and less than 1 percent of the women, yet 16 percent of the men earned more than $8,000.

Thus, the distributions of French women and men on all variables, except for experience, were significantly different. Clearly, the women were less educated, younger, and more apt to be single than the French men. They taught in smaller schools and communities, occupied lower positions, and earned much less than the men. The

French Catholic women exhibited similar patterns of distributions on independent and dependent variables to those displayed by the total sample of the female teachers. Most importantly, they were absent from higher positions and salaries. Although their absence may be due to their lower educational qualifications compared with French men, this can only be determined after an examination of the effects of achievement, personal and contextual characteristics on teachers' positions and salaries.

Within the English Catholic school system, the only significant gender variation was on position, significant below the .01 level. Whereas half of the women and half of the men occupied unspecialized positions, almost all of the remaining women were specialized teachers while 16 percent of the men were directors. Turning to the English Protestant system, there was only one significant gender difference, age, significant below the .01 level. Twenty-two percent of the women were under 25 and a further 30 percent were over 50, whereas 80 percent of the men were between the ages of 25 and 50.

Thus, from this discussion of significant gender differences within each ethno-religious group, it is evident that the French Catholic teachers had many more significant gender differences than either of the two English groups. The French women differed significantly from the men on almost every variable, whereas the English Catholic and Protestant women each differed from their male counterparts on a single variable. At a first glance, it appears that the French women were the only group excluded from higher positions and salaries.

Before turning to the second half of this chapter, a final examination of Table 2 will be presented which describes ethno-religious differences among female teachers and male teachers, respectively. Following this, t-tests will be presented in order to clarify the true nature of ethno-religious differences, that is, whether they are primarily linguistic or religious differences.

5. Ethno-Religious Differences Among the Female Teachers

Focusing on the female teachers only now (Table 2), there were significant ethno-religious variations on all of the independent and dependent variables except for marital status. Again for the simplicity of presentation, female French and English Catholic teachers are often referred to together as the Catholic women, and female English Catholic and Protestant teachers, as the English women, even though chi-squares refer to differences among the three ethno-religious groups of women. Considering education, the two groups of English women (even though they differ somewhat) had attained higher levels of education than the French women, significant below the .001 level. Morever, the Protestant women had more teaching experience than either group of Catholic women, significant below the .001 level. Almost half of the Protestant women had more than 14 years of experience, in contrast with less than 20 percent of either group of Catholic women. Ethno-religious variations in the ages of women, significant below the .001 level, indicated that, as well as being less experienced, the Catholic women were younger than the Protestant women. Almost three-quarters of the French Catholic women and 60 percent of the English Catholic women compared with 40 percent of the

English Protestant women were under 30. All of these differences were significant below the .001 level.

Turning to the contextual variables, there were ethno-religious differences for women on school and community size, both significant below the .001 level. More of the women in the two Catholic groups taught in smaller schools than the Protestant women. Almost three-quarters of the French women, about 40 percent of the English - Catholic women, and 20 percent of the Protestant women taught in schools under 20 classes. The majority of English women - Catholic or Protestant - were located in the largest communities.

Finally, there were ethno-religious differences on position, significant below the .001 level, and on salary, significant below the .01 level. More Protestant women occupied unspecialized positions than either group of Catholic women, and more women in the two Catholic groups occupied specialized positions than the Protestant women. However, only 1 percent of either group of Catholic women were directors in contrast with 7 percent of the Protestant women. Concerning salary differences, both groups of English women earned higher salaries than the French women. Close to two-thirds of the French women earned under $5,000, while about 20 percent of each group of English women earned this amount. However, more English Catholic women than Protestant or French women earned between $5,000 and $7,999. Finally, 30 percent of the English Protestant women earned more than $8,000 but only 11 percent and 1 percent of English and French Catholic women, respectively, earned this amount.

Thus, the three ethno-religious groups of female teachers were significantly different in their distributions on all variables except for marital status. The French women were generally the least educated. The Catholic women were the least experienced, and the youngest of all of the women teachers. More Catholic women taught in small schools, and more English women taught in large communities. The French women earned the lowest salaries. The French women were found to have quite different characteristics from the two groups of English women. In the preceeding section on gender differences within ethno-religious groups, they were also found to be quite different from the French men.

6. Ethno-Religious Differences Among the Male Teachers

Turning to ethno-religious variations among the male teachers, there were differences on education, age, school and community size, position, and salary significant below the .001 level. Ethno-religious differences on experience and marital status were not significant for men.

On education, about 60 percent of the French men, 70 percent of the English Catholic men, and 85 percent of the Protestant men had completed more than the minimum teaching qualifications. However, twice as many men from each of the Catholic groups as Protestant men had completed M.A.'s or higher levels of education.

Although there were no significant differences in experience among the ethno-religious groups of men, there were significant ethnic variations in age. The Protestant men were older than either group of Catholic men. Close to two-thirds of each of the Catholic groups of

men were under 29, while only about 40 percent of the Protestant men were in this age range.

Turning to the contextual variables, there were significant ethno-religious variations on school and community size for the men. The Protestant men taught in larger schools than either group of Catholic men. Fifty-five percent of the Protestant men in contrast with none of the English Catholic men and 13 percent of the French men taught in the largest schools. Another 40 percent of the English Catholic men and 60 percent of the French men taught in schools between 21 and 30 classes in contrast with only 22 percent of the Protestant men. Furthermore, the majority of both groups of English men taught in the largest communities compared with one-quarter of the French men.

There were significant ethno-religious differences on position and salary for men, below the .001 level. Just over half of the men in each English group occupied unspecialized positions. Three-quarters of the French men occupied specialized positions. In director positions, 2 percent of the French men were found, in contrast with 15 percent of the men in each of the English groups. Virtually none of the men in any of the ethno-religious groups earned less than $5,000. Three-quarters of the men in each of the Catholic groups, and almost 60 percent of the Protestant men earned between $5,000 and $7,999. Almost twice as many Protestant (35%) men as either group of Catholic men earned more than $8,000.

Thus, the Catholic men were generally younger, and they taught in smaller schools than the Protestant men. The English men

taught in the largest communities. French men were different from their English male colleagues on education, position and salary.

From what has been said up to this point, women and men differed significantly on most of the independent and dependent variables. However, many of these gender differences were only evident within the French Catholic system. In addition, there were significant ethno-religious differences independent of gender. However, the two English groups showed similarities in educational attainment and community size, while the two Catholic groups exhibited similar age and school size distributions. Men's positions and women's salaries were distributed in similar patterns in the two English groups, while women's teaching experience and positions, and men's salaries had similar distributions in the two Catholic groups. T-tests will draw a clearer picture of the nature of the ethno-religious differences by demonstrating whether these differences were of a religious or linguistic nature.

B. T-Tests

Tables 3 to 6 present the t-test levels of significance for the various groups under scrutiny. T-tests compare the distributions of two groups on a single variable in order to determine whether there is a significant difference between their distributions[1]. T-tests differ from chi-squares as t-tests measure distributional differences between paired groups whereas chi-squares measure the differences

1. Nie, Norman H., SPSS: Statistical Package of the Social Sciences. USA: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

between the observed and expected cell frequencies of two or more groups. The importance of the t-test for the present analysis is its ability to specify significant gender and ethno-religious differences on independent and dependent variables, and to determine whether differences between two groups are based on religious rather than linguistic differences, or whether some differences are gender-specific.

Beginning with gender differences, one can see from Table 3 that female and male teachers had significantly different distributions below the .001 level on all variables, except community size which was significant below the .01 level, and experience and age which were not significant. These results confirm the initial findings of the chi-square levels of significance between the genders, except for the variable of age, which was not significantly different with t-tests, although there were significant differences in age between the genders with the chi-squares. Female teachers had completed less education than male teachers, they were more apt to be single, and they taught in schools of different sizes in communities of different sizes than male teachers. Proportionately more female teachers taught in the two English school systems than the French school system, while female teachers occupied lower positions, and earned lower salaries than male teachers.

Table 4 presents the significance levels of t-tests performed between gender groups within each of the ethno-religious groups. Confirming the findings already presented in the discussion of chi-square levels of significance, all of the variables except experience

had different distributions, significant below the .001 level, between women and men in the French Catholic school system. In contrast, few variables had significantly different distributions between women and men in the English Catholic or the Protestant groups. Only gender distributions on marital status were different within all three ethno-religious groups, significant below the .01 level. Salary distributions between women and men were significantly different within the two Catholic groups but not in the Protestant group. All other variables had significant gender differences within the French Catholic group only. Thus, it is not accurate to state that women and men had different characteristics: in fact it is only French women and men who largely had different characteristics. One can state with certainty now that French women were, in fact, less educated, less experienced, younger, and more apt to be single than French men. They did teach in smaller schools and communities and they did occupy lower positions and earn smaller salaries. On the other hand, English Catholic and Protestant women were more likely to be single too, and English Catholic women did earn lower salaries than their male colleagues.

It was initially found in the chi-squares that there were significant differences among the three ethno-religious groups. The t-tests in Table 5 compare the distributions of only two of the ethno-religious groups at one time. Hence, pairs of ethno-religious groups are examined for significant differences between their distributions on the independent and dependent variables. The two English groups of teachers were found to be the most similar of the three pairs of

ethno-religious groups compared, differing only on the three variables of experience, age and school size, all significant below the .001 level. The two Catholic groups differed on four variables, education, gender, community size and salary. The differences on education were significant below the .01 level, while differences on the other three variables were significant below the .001 level. Finally, the French Catholic and English Protestant groups had the greatest number of differences in their distributions: all of the variables had significant differences below the .001 level, except for marital status and position.

By comparing those significant differences found between the French and English Catholic teachers with the significant differences between the French Catholic and English Protestant teachers, one can see that the French and English teachers were significantly different in their distributions on education, gender, community size and salary, irrespective of their religion. In addition, a comparison of the significant differences found between the English Catholic and Protestant teachers with the significant differences between the French Catholic and English Protestant teachers showed that significant differences existed between the Catholic and Protestant teachers on experience, age and school size, regardless of their language. The variables of marital status and position were not significantly different between either language or religious groups. Thus, one can conclude that the French and English groups of teachers each had a unique set of characteristics. Looking back to the discussion of frequency distributions and chi-square levels of significance, one can confirm that the two English groups of teachers had higher levels of

education than the French teachers, and there were proportionately more women teachers in the two English school systems than the French school system. Also, the English teachers taught in larger communities, and earned higher salaries than the French teachers. One can also confirm that Protestant teachers were more experienced, older, and taught in larger schools than the Catholic teachers. Overall, there were greater linguistic than religious differences among the teachers. This clarifies the linguistic and religious nature of the significant differences among the three ethno-religious groups.

In Table 6, one can see whether religious, linguistic or gender-based differences are maintained, when one examines the ethno-religious differences for each gender group. Generally, there were fewer ethno-religious differences for men than for women. French and English men differed significantly on community size only: French men taught in smaller communities than English men. French and English women differed on education and salary as well as community size. The two English groups of women had completed higher levels of education, and they earned higher salaries than the French women. Also, the English women taught in larger communities than the French women. In addition, Catholic and Protestant men differed in age and school size, and so did Catholic and Protestant women. Protestant men and women were older, and taught in larger schools than Catholic men and women. Catholic and Protestant women also differed in teaching experience. Protestant women had more teaching experience than either group of Catholic women.

Thus, differences in education and salary which appear significant between French and English teachers are specific to the female teachers only. Similarly, differences in teaching experience are specific to Catholic and Protestant women. The differences in French and English women's education can be explained by the exclusion from higher education that French women had suffered before 1965 because of the lack of female Normal schools offering secondary school teaching certificates, and the greater financial burden placed on women than on men attending the French Normal Schools. The differences in Catholic and Protestant women's teaching experience may reflect the increased importance of female lay teachers, in the Catholic school system, during the educational expansion of the school systems brought about by legislation which raised the minimum school-leaving age and grade during the 1960's. Finally, differences in salary which were specific among the women, but only existed between the French and English women and not between the Protestant and Catholic women indicate one of two things: either the allocation of women's salaries on the basis of achievement within each school system, or the presence of a male status group, which is effecting gender-based closure within the French Catholic school system.

T-tests have shown that there were more gender differences than ethno-religious differences among the teachers, and these gender differences were concentrated within the French Catholic school system. Also, there were more ethno-religious differences among the female teachers than among the male teachers. This suggests that French Catholic women had been subjected to a greater degree of

closure than other women in the other ethno-religious groups. The greater gender differences between the French Catholic teachers compared with the other ethno-religious groups also suggests that there was a greater degree of social closure based on gender within the French Catholic school system. Even though religious closure between the Catholic and Protestants was institutionalized through education legislation, fewer differences were evident in 1965 between these religious groups or between the language groups than between gender groups. It appears that the equalization policies for the funding of the Catholic and Protestant educational systems in the early 60's were effective in eradicating financial inequalities once suffered by the Catholic school system. This concludes the first part of this chapter describing the sample of teachers and teachers' characteristics. From what has been said, one can begin to see indications of the presence of social closure on the basis of gender but this can only be confirmed after examining the effects of achievement, personal and contextual characteristics on position and salary for each of the gender and ethno-religious groups.

PART II The Effects of the Achievement, Personal and Contextual Variables on Teachers' Positions and Salaries

A. The Measures of Association

The following section deals exclusively with the dependent variables of position and salary and the effects which the independent variables have upon them. These relationships between the independent and dependent variables will be examined using gamma, correlation and regression analysis.[2]

Gamma measures the order of individual cases on two variables. The value of gamma equals the number of matching pairs (i.e., an individual places high on both variables) minus the number of unmatched or discordant pairs (i.e., individual places high on one variable and low on another) divided by the total number of pairs. The value of gamma is positive if pairs are matched or concordant, for example, if teachers with a low education earn low salaries, whereas the value of gamma is negative if pairs are not matched or are discordant, for example, if teachers with a low education earn high salaries. Finally, gamma values of .01 to .25 indicate weak relations and gamma values of .26 to .50 indicate moderate relations, while fairly strong gammas have values of .51 to .75 and very strong gammas have values of .76 to .99. These divisions of gamma values have been defined specifically for this analysis and they do not reflect a standard grouping. Gamma has a value of +1.0 or -1.0 when all of the pairs are concordant or discordant, respectively. Zero-order gammas

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2. Loether, Herman J. and Donald G. McTavish, Descriptive and Inferential Statistics: An Introduction. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, 1980.

are gammas without control variables while first and second-order gammas are calculated after one and two control variables, respectively, have been introduced.

Bivariate correlations produce Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients (Pearson's r) which summarize the relationship between two variables. Pearson's r indicates the strength of association between two variables, as well as the degree of variation or changes in one variable caused by change in another variable. Pearson's r was a measure of the "goodness of fit" of the regression line. If r=0 then no linear relationship exists and if r = +1.0 or -1.0 then a perfect fit between two variables was present. Pearson's r squared (r^2) indicates not only the strength of a linear relationship, but also measures the proportion of "explained" variance in the dependent variable by the independent variable. Partial correlations identify spurious relationships between independent and dependent variables by introducing up to 5 control variables.

Regression analysis describes the percentage of variation in the dependent variable that is explained by an independent variable when all other independent variables have been held constant. Salary will be the only dependent variable examined in this way and education, experience (individual years), age, marital status, gender, school and community size will be the independent variables analyzed by regression because with this statistical technique, all of the variables must be measured at the interval level. Therefore, neither position nor school system are included in regression analysis.

B. Teachers' Positions

1. Gammas

The data produced by zero-order gammas were presented in Table 7, and first and second-order gammas were presented in Table 8. First-order gammas control for gender and ethno-religious differences separately, and second-order gammas control concurrently for variations on both of these variables. An examination of the zero-order gammas for position in Table 7 showed that, except for gender, school size and school system, the independent variables were only weakly associated with position for the total sample.

The two achievement variables of education and experience had negligible associations with position for the total sample. However, education had a moderate relation for French women (G=.34) and a weak negative association for the English Catholic women (G=-.18). Thus, highly educated French women had a tendency to occupy specialized positions, while similarly educated English Catholic women were more likely to occupy low positions. When ethno-religious differences in education were controlled (see Table 8), education became weakly associated with position (G=.15) for the total sample, but in the second-order gamma (when gender and ethno-religious variations were controlled concurrently) this association was negligible, as it was in the first order gamma controlling for gender.

Turning to experience, it was most strongly associated with position for the Protestant men (G=.54). The association for the Protestant women and the English Catholic women and men were all weak with gammas between .15 and .25. Experienced Protestant men were more

likely to occupy specialized or director positions. However, when gender and/or ethno-religious differences on experience were controlled, for the total sample, the association of experience with position remained negligible, as it was in the zero-order gamma.

The personal characteristics of age and marital status were weakly associated with position for the total sample, but for English Catholic and Protestant men, age had a moderate relation with position (G=.35 and G=.41, respectively). This suggests that age, for the English men only, was an important factor in determining their positions. The association of age with position for the total sample remained weak when gender and ethno-religious differences in age were controlled with first and second order gammas. Considering marital status, single women but married men were likely to occupy specialized and director positions (G=-.31 and G=.30, respectively), especially single women and married men in the French school system, and single women in the English Catholic school system. Gender differences in marital status did not reduce the association of marital status with position. Although no significant ethno-religious differences in marital status were found in earlier analyses, there was a very moderate increase in the association of marital status with position, from G=.16 to G=.21, when ethno-religious differences in marital status were controlled. However, the second-order gamma had about the same value as the zero-order gamma. Finally, gender had a moderate association with position (G=.37) which remained in the French group (G=.45) only. Thus, men were more likely to obtain specialized and director positions than women, especially men in the French Catholic system. When the dif-

ferences in the distribution of female and male teachers in each ethno-religious group were controlled, gender became more strongly associated with position (G=.44) for the total sample.

Considering the contextual variables, school size had a weak relation with position for the total sample (G=.22), and a moderate association for the women (G=.39), the Protestants (G=.45) and the Catholics (G=.30). The strongest relationship was found for the French women (G=.54). All of these groups tended to occupy specialized positions in larger schools. On the other hand, there was a negative association for English Catholic men (G=-.28) indicating they were more likely to occupy specialized and director positions in small communities. The association of school size with position was reduced from G=.22 to G=.16 when gender differences in school size were controlled. Thus, the association between school size and position was partially due to the unequal distribution of women and men among the schools of various sizes. When ethno-religious differences in school size were controlled, school size became more closely associated with position (G=.30), although in second-order gammas this relationship was reduced to its zero-order gamma level.

Even though community size was weakly associated with position for the total sample, it had a very strong relation for the Protestants (G=.76) - both the women (G=.77) and the men (G=.74) - and a strong association for English Catholic women (G=.71) and men (G=-.63), although the association for all English Catholics was moderate. The weak effects of community size on position for the total sample were almost completely eliminated when gender differences

in community size were controlled, indicating that the distribution of women and men teachers among the various sizes of communities created the association between community size and position for the total sample. On the other hand, when ethno-religious differences in community size were controlled, community size became moderately associated with position (G=.22) although when both gender and ethno-religious differences were controlled, the second-order association was the same as the zero-order association. Finally, school system had a moderately negative association with position for the total sample (G=-.24) and for the men (G=-.29). Even after the different gender distributions among the school systems were controlled, more French Catholic teachers than teachers in the other school systems occupied high positions.

2. Correlations

To continue the analysis of the effects of the independent variables on position, the results of correlations and partial correlations were presented in Table 9. Correlation matrices were presented in Appendix 1 for the total sample; for women and men teachers separately; for each of the three ethno-religious groups; and for the women and men within each ethno-religious group. Correlations together with their levels of significance will help to confirm the relationships discovered by gamma. Also, partial correlations are used to locate spurious and hidden relationships. They allow for the control of up to five variables, whereas gamma measures of association are only able to control for a maximum of two variables. The effects of the achievement, personal and contextual variables on position are

analyzed in successive stages because of the constraints placed upon the partial correlation analysis by the maximum of five control variables. When more than five variables were significantly correlated with position, the first stage entailed examining the partial r's within the three groupings of teachers' characteristics (i.e. achievement, personal and contextual variables). Within each grouping, the effects of each of the significant variables were controlled separately and concurrently by the other significant variables. After the series of "Separate Partial r's" were completed, the remaining significant achievement, personal and contextual variables were combined into a single set of significant variables, where the effects of each of the significant variables were controlled separately and concurrently by other significant variables regardless of whether they were achievement, personal or contextual variables. However, if more than five significant variables remained at the end of the first phase, the significant achievement variables were analysed first in conjunction with the significant personal variables, then with the significant contextual variables, and, finally, the significant personal and contextual variables were considered together.

As Table 9 shows there were significant correlations between most of the independent variables and position for the total sample. Confirming the findings of gammas, gender and school size had the highest correlations with position. Although both were less than or equal to r=.20, they were each significant below the .001 level. When partial correlations were calculated within each separate group of variables, the effects of marital status and community size on posi-

tion were reduced to insignificance. When the five remaining significant variables were controlled by each other in groups and then all together, gender (r=.16), school size (r=.16) and school system (r=-.11) remained correlated with position, each significant below the .001 level. Thus, men were more likely to occupy specialized and director positions than women even when the effects of their education, experience, age, marital status, school and community size, and ethno-religious group were controlled. In addition, larger schools offered higher positions to teachers than smaller schools even when the effects of the other significant variables were controlled. Finally, the French Catholic teachers had greater access to specialized positions than the English teachers even after controlling for the effects of the other significant variables.

For women, only three variables had significant effects on position and these were marital status (r=-.15), school size (r=.28) and community size (r=.15) which were all significant below the .001 level. The effects of community size on position were reduced to insignificance when the other significant variables were controlled. Marital status and school size remained significantly correlated with position even when they were controlled by each other. Thus, single women were more likely to occupy specialized positions even when all other significant variables were controlled. Also, larger schools offered women greater access to higher positions even when all other significant variables were controlled.

Different variables were correlated with position for men and women. For men, age, marital status and school system had sig-

nificant correlations with position (r=.12, r=.15 and r=-.12, respectively) below the .001 level. Marital status and school system remained significantly correlated with position after they were controlled by each other, and age. Age's correlation, however, was reduced to insignificance. Thus, married men were more likely to occupy specialized and director positions even when other significant variables were controlled. Also, men in the French Catholic system were more likely to occupy high positions when all other significant variables were controlled.

Turning to the significant relations found between the independent variables and position within each of the school systems, the greatest number of independent variables correlated with position were found within the French Catholic school system. Gender, school and community size were correlated with position (r=.23, r=.20, and r=.17, respectively), each significant below the .001 level. After controls for all other significant variables were introduced, gender (r=.20) and school size (r=.17) both remained significantly correlated with position below the .001 level. Thus, men in the French Catholic school system were more likely to occupy specialized and director positions than women. Also, the French teachers in larger schools had greater access to specialized and director positions.

Of the four variables significantly correlated with position for French Catholic women, school size had the strongest correlation (r=.35) and this remained the case when controls were introduced. The partial correlations for education (r=.13), marital status (r=-.18) and school size (r=.33) remained virtually unchanged and significant

after partial correlations, while the correlation for community size was insignificant. Thus, school size had the most important association with position for the French women. Larger schools offered the French women greater access to higher positions. Education and marital status were also factors associated with the French women's positions, although they were not as important. Highly educated French women were more likely to occupy specialized positions, as were single French women.

In contrast, only two independent variables, marital status (r=.16) and school size (r=.10) were correlated significantly with position for the French men, below the .001 level and the .01 level, respectively. These variables remained significant when partial correlations were calculated. Therefore, married French Catholic men were more likely to occupy specialized and director positions than single French Catholic men, and larger schools offered greater access to higher positions for the French men.

For the English Catholics, community size was the only variable which was significantly correlated with position (r=-.26) below the .01 level, indicating that English Catholics were more likely to occupy specialized and director positions in smaller communities. This association only existed for the men and, for them, it was of greater importance (r=-.47 significant below the .001 level) than for English Catholics in general.

For the English Protestant teachers, experience (r=.28) and age (r=.24) were correlated with position, significant below the .01 level. While the correlation for school size (r=.33) and community size

(r=.36) were significant below the .001 level, when the partial r's were calculated, no variable remained significantly correlated with position. For the men only, experience and age were significantly correlated with position (r=.43 significant below .001, and r=.36 significant below .01). School and community size were significantly correlated with position for both the women and men but these correlations were only significant below the .01 level. No associations with position remained significant once controls were introduced.

Overall, the factors associated with the distribution of teachers in unspecialized, specialized and director positions were not represented by the variables in this study. As the gammas and correlations have shown, few of the independent variables have strong or significant effects on position, even after controls are introduced.

The gammas have shown that, of all the independent variables, gender had the strongest association with position. Partial correlations have confirmed this relationship as well as determined its significance. However, gender's association with position was present within the French Catholic school system only.

Teaching in a large school also had one of the most important associations with high position, and this relationship was confirmed by partial correlations. School size was most importantly associated with position for the women, the French Catholic teachers, and the French Catholic women. This association may be related to the expansion of the public secondary school system during the 1960's.

Marital status was found initially, through gammas, to have an important association with position for the women and men, espec-

ially the French Catholic women and men. This was confirmed by partial correlations. The relationship between marital status and position, however, went in opposite directions for each gender. For women, being single was an important factor associated with occupying higher positions, whereas being married had this effect for men. There had been restrictions placed on the employment and promotion of married women in the French Catholic school system during the late '40's and early '50's. It appears from this data that there still existed a partial exclusion of married women from higher positions in the French Catholic school system. For men, their ethno-religious group was also an important factor associated with position: more men in the French Catholic system occupied specialized and director positions.

Community size was negatively associated with position for the English Catholics, and more specifically, just for the English Catholic men. It was established that small communities offered significantly greater access to high positions for these men after other variables were controlled.

These were the only significant relationships arising from gamma and partial correlation analysis for the groups under scrutiny. None of the variables were significantly associated with position for the English Catholic women or the English Protestant women and men, after controls were introduced.

C. Teachers' Salaries

1. Gammas

The salaries of the teachers will now be examined. The gammas shown in Table 7 for salary indicated that for the total sample, most of the independent variables had strong associations with salary, especially education, experience, age, marital status and gender. School and community size, and position (an achievement variable for the analysis of salary) were moderately associated with salary, while school system was weakly associated with salary.

Both of the achievement variables were strongly associated with salary for the total sample. Education's strong association (G=.53) indicated that highly educated teachers were more likely to earn high salaries. This association was moderate for all of the women and men, for each of the ethno-religious groups, and for the women and men within each of the ethno-religious groups, except for the French Catholic women where it was weak (G=.18). The relationship between education and salary is partially due to women's and men's different education. The association of education with salary was reduced by controls for gender differences in education (G=.53 to G=.45) (see Table 8). It was not affected by the introduction of controls for ethno-religious differences alone. When gender and ethno-religious differences in education were simultaneously controlled, education's association with salary stayed the same, as with controls for gender alone.

Turning to the effects of experience on salary, they were strong for the total sample and for the women (G=.54) and this

association was even stronger among the men (G=.69). Strong gammas for experience and salary were evident too for each of the ethno-religious groups, and for the women and men within them, especially the English Protestant and French Catholic men (G=.76 and G=.70, respectively). The effect of experience on salary was unchanged when controls for school system were introduced, yet it became stronger when controlling for gender differences in experience (G=.66), and for gender and ethno-religious differences combined (G=.68).

Position and salary were moderately associated for the total sample (G=.28) but weakly associated for each gender.[3] This relationship was the strongest for the English Protestants (G=.46), especially for the men (G=.56), and for the English Catholic men (G=.41). Also, for the English Protestant women there was a moderate relationship between position and salary (G=.35). The effect of position on salary was substantially reduced when controlling for gender differences in position (G=.18), and for gender and ethno-religious differences (G=.13) while control for ethno-religious differences had no effect.

Thus, of the achievement variables, experience was the most important factor associated with teachers' salaries, and education followed closely behind. Although the school systems may have been using achievement-based criteria in the allocation of salary, they may have emphasized certain achievement characteristics more than others for specific gender groups. However, generally speaking, highly

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3. See Graphs 1 to 3 for the salary distributions of women and men within each of the school systems.

educated teachers, and experienced teachers were more likely to earn high salaries.

Considering the effects of the personal characteristics for the total sample, there were strong associations between salary and age, salary and marital status, and salary and gender (G=.63, G=.51 and G=.64, respectively). Although one might expect to find similarities between experience and age associations with salary, this was not true for the total sample (G=.54 for experience versus G=.64 for age), and especially not true for the English Catholic men (G=.59 for experience versus G=.85 for age). The association of age with salary was strong (above or equal to G=.60) for all groups. It was stronger for the men, the English Catholic teachers, and the men within each of the ethno-religious groups (above or equal to G=.70, respectively) and very strong for the English Catholic men. The effect of age on salary became stronger with controls for gender differences in age (G=.69), and gender and ethno-religious differences combined (G=.69), although ethno-religious controls alone had no effect. Thus, older women and men in each of the ethno-religious groups were more apt to earn high salaries.

Turning to the effects of marital status on salary (G=.51), its effects were moderate for the women (G=.39) and for the English Catholics (G=.26), and weak for the Protestants (G=.16). The association between marital status and salary was strongest (G=.57) for the French Catholic teachers with both women and men having strong and positive associations (G=.52). Marital status was not associated with salary for the English Catholic women but a negative and weak associa-

tion existed for the English Protestant women and, for their male counterparts, the association was moderate (G=.38 and G=.46, respectively). Thus, married women in the French Catholic system earned higher salaries than single women, but single women in the English Protestant system tended to earn higher salaries than married women. These single women may have belonged to the group of older women who were present in the English Protestant system. The effects of marital status on salary were not reduced when controlling for gender differences in marital status (G=.48). On the other hand, its effects were strengthened when controlling for ethno-religious differences in marital status (G=.57). Thus, married teachers in each of the ethno-religious groups earned higher salaries. Gender had the strongest association with salary for the total sample (G=.64) and this relationship remained very strong for the French Catholics (G=.78), but was moderate for the English Catholics (G=.36) and weak for the English Protestants (G=.18). The effects of gender were even stronger after controlling for gender differences within each ethno-religious group (G=.77), indicating that the men teachers from each of the ethno-religious groups earned higher salaries than the women teachers. The personal characteristics strongly competed with the achievement characteristics as important determinants of salary. Both experience and age had equally strong associations with salary after gender and ethno-religious differences were controlled, followed by marital status and education. However, of all of the achievement and personal variables, gender had the strongest association with salary, after ethno-religious differences were controlled.

Turning to the contextual effects on salary, there were moderate associations between salary and school size, community size, and school system (G=.41, G=.29 and G=.21, respectively). For women, school size had a stronger association with salary (G=.54) than for men (G=.34). School size had the weakest association with salary within the English Catholic system (G=.16), especially for the English Catholic women (G=.09), but the strongest association with salary for the French Catholic women (G=.62). Most of the women and the English Protestant men had greater access to high salaries in large schools. The effect of school size on salary stayed the same for the total sample after controlling for gender and ethno-religious differences on school size.

Community size was moderately associated with salary for the total sample, strongly associated with salary for the women (G=.49), and weakly associated for the men (G=.18). Although there was a strong relation between community size and salary for the English Protestant men (G=.56), its effect was moderate and negative for the English Catholic women (G=.-33). The English Catholic women were the only teachers, besides the English Catholic teachers in general, who were more likely to earn high salaries in small communities. The effects of community size on salary were partially reduced by controls for gender differences, and for gender and ethno-religious differences combined.

Finally, school system was weakly related to salary for the total sample (G=.21), although its effects were strong for the women (G=.61) but negligible for the men (G=.08). When the differences in

women's and men's distribution within each school system were controlled, school system had a stronger though still moderate effect on salary (G=.26).

Thus, among the contextual variables, school size had the strongest association with salary for the total sample after gender and ethno-religious differences were controlled separately and concurrently. Overall, the contextual variables had less important associations with salary than the achievement and personal variables did, even after gender and ethno-religious differences on these variables were controlled. Gender, age, experience, marital status, education and school size had the strongest associations with salary after gender and ethno-religious differences were controlled.

2. Correlations

a. The Total Sample

The data presented in Table 10 shows the correlations and partial correlations between the independent variables and salary for the total sample and all of the subgroups under scrutiny. All of the achievement, personal and contextual variables were significantly correlated with salary below the .001 level. The correlations for all of the variables except position and school system were above r=.30. Confirming the findings of gamma analysis for the total sample, experience (r=.57), age (r=.55), education (r=.50) and gender (r=.49) had the most important associations with salary and all of these associations were significant below the .001 level.

Little change occurred in the correlations of the achievement variables with salary for the total sample when controls were

introduced. However, when the effects of the achievement variables on salary were controlled by the personal characteristics (shown in Table 10 under the column heading Combined "A" partial r), there were some reductions in the effects of education (r=.50 to r=.43), the effects of experience (r=.57 to r=.36), and the effects of position (r=.23 to r=.15). Nevertheless, all of the achievement variables remained significant below the .001 level.

All of the personal variables were significantly correlated with salary and each had a correlation of r=.40 or more. However, the effects of age were substantially reduced (r=.55 to r=.16) by controls for the achievement variables, and the effects of marital status were substantially reduced (r=.40 to r=.13) when the other significant personal variables were controlled. Gender remained significantly correlated with salary (r=.44) after other significant personal, achievement and contextual variables were introduced as controls.

Although the effects of school size, community size and school system on salary were significantly correlated below the .001 level for the total sample, these correlations were somewhat reduced by controls for the other significant contextual, personal and achievement variables. Overall, for the total sample, male teachers, educated teachers and experienced teachers were more likely to earn high salaries.

b. Gender Variations

All of the variables were significantly correlated with salary below the .001 level for the women. As well, all of these

correlations were equal to or greater than r=.44 except those for position and marital status. The effects of education on salary remained constant and significant below the .001 level, after the other significant achievement, personal and contextual variables were controlled. The effects of experience on salary were reduced from r=.62 to r=.37 by the significant personal and contextual variables, and the effects of position were reduced to insignificance. Thus, of the achievement variables, only education and experience had significant effects on salary for the women.

Of the two personal variables which were significantly correlated with salary for the women, only age remained significant when controls were introduced, and its effect on salary was considerably weakened (r=.57 to r=.24).

School size, community size and school system were significantly correlated with salary below the .001 level for women (r=.50, r=.46 and r=.44, respectively). The effects of school size and school system on salary were reduced to r=.36 and r=.26, respectively, when all of the other significant variables were controlled, and the effect of community size was reduced to insignificance.

Overall, for the women, education was the most strongly associated with salary when controls were introduced followed by experience, school size, school system and age. Thus, more women with high education were earning high salaries, and more women with greater years of teaching experience earned high salaries. As well, women working in large schools or the English Protestant system earned

higher salaries. Finally, older women were more likely to earn high salaries.

For the men, significant correlations below the .001 level with salary above r=.30 were found for experience (r=.64), age (r=.61) education (r=.42), and marital status (r=.35). Position, school size and community size had correlations with salary, significant below the .001 level while the correlation between school system and salary was not significant.

The effect of education on salary stayed the same when controls for other significant achievement, personal and contextual variables were introduced. However, the effect of experience was reduced by about half to r=.32 by controls for personal variables, although it remained significant below the .001 level. The effect of position on salary was unchanged by controls, remaining one of the least important correlations with salary for the men.

Each of the personal variables were significantly correlated with salary for the men. The correlation for age was, however, substantially reduced (to r=.16) by controls for the achievement variables although it remained significant below the .001 level. Similarly, marital status was reduced by half (to r=.17) when controls for the achievement variables were introduced. Of the two contextual variables significantly correlated with salary, school size was the only one whose correlation remained significant with salary after personal and achievement variables were introduced as controls.

Overall, for the men, education and experience were the most strongly associated with salary, remaining significant after other

achievement, personal and contextual variables were introduced as controls. Position, age, marital status, and school size remained significantly correlated with salary but had weaker associations. Thus, educated men and experienced men were more likely to earn high salaries whereas those in high positions were not as assured of high salaries.

c. The French Catholic Teachers

Within the French Catholic school system, all of the independent variables had correlations equal to or above r=.45, and were significant below the .001 level, except for position, school and community size which had correlations below r=.40, although they were significant below the .001 level. The correlation of the two achievement variables of education and experience were reduced somewhat to r=.37 respectively, although they both remained significant below the .001 level, when the personal variables were introduced as controls. The effect of position on salary was also reduced although it, too, remained significant below the .001 level.

The personal variables of age (r=.52), marital status (r=.45), and gender (r=.59) were closely associated with salary, remaining significant below the .001 level, for the French Catholic teachers. However, the effects of age on salary were substantially reduced when the achievement variables were introduced as controls. The effects of marital status were also reduced by over half to (r=.16) by controls for other significant personal variables. On the other hand, the significant correlation between gender and salary was little changed when controls for other significant personal, achieve-

ment, and contextual variables were introduced.

The two contextual variables, school size and community size, were correlated significantly with salary (r=.39 and r=.32, respectively) for the French Catholic teachers. The effects of school size on salary were somewhat reduced to r=.22, significant below the .001 level, by controls for achievement variables. The effects of community size on salary were substantially reduced, (to r=.11) significant below the .001 level, when personal variables were introduced as controls.

Overall, for the French Catholic teachers, gender had the strongest association with salary, always having a correlation above r=.50 significant below the .001 level after the other significant variables were controlled. The other two important associations with salary for the French Catholic teachers were education and experience. Thus, more male teachers in the French Catholic system earned high salaries than female teachers, and highly educated, and experienced teachers earned high salaries.

For the French Catholic women, experience, school size and age had correlations above r=.45, significant below the .001 level. The remainder of the independent variables had correlations below r=.40, but were also still significant below the .001 level. Of the three achievement variables, experience was the most strongly associated with salary for the French women (r=.60) and, although this correlation was reduced somewhat to r=.41 when all of the significant variables were controlled, it remained significant below the .001 level. The effect of education on salary, (r=.22 significant below the .001

level), stayed the same when all other significant variables were introduced as controls. The effect of position on salary was reduced to insignificance by controls for the other significant achievement variables.

Of the two personal variables significantly correlated with salary, age was the only one to remain significantly correlated below the .001 level after controls, although its effects on salary were reduced by about half to r=.22 when all of the other significant variables were introduced as controls. Similarly, of the two contextual variables significantly correlated with salary, school size was the only one to remain significantly correlated with salary below the .001 level after controls. Its correlation with salary was little changed (r=.47).

Overall, for the French Catholic women, experience and education were most strongly associated with salary followed by age. Thus, experienced women in the French Catholic school system were more likely to earn high salaries, as were highly educated women.

For the French Catholic men, correlations of more than r=.40 with salary, significant below the .001 level, were found for experience (r=.63), age (r=.58), and education (r=.43). Marital status, school size and community size had correlations significant below the .001 level, but with correlation values below r=.40, while the correlation between position and salary was not significant for the French Catholic men.

Of the significant achievement variables of education and experience, education's correlation with salary stayed the same when

controls for other significant achievement, personal and contextual variables were introduced. The effect of experience, on the other hand, was reduced by about half to r=.30 after controls for the personal variables were introduced, although it remained significant below the .001 level. In addition, the insignificant correlation between position and salary became significant when the other achievement variables were introduced as controls (r=.10).

The effect of age on salary (r=.58, significant below the .001 level), was substantially reduced when marital status and either the achievement or the contextual variables were introduced as controls. The effect of marital status on salary was reduced by half to r=.18 by controls, although it remained significant below the .001 level. Of the contextual variables significantly correlated with salary, only school size remained significantly correlated with salary, with its correlation reduced slightly after controls (r=.22).

Overall, for the French Catholic men, education and experience were the most strongly associated with salary, followed by school size, marital status, age and position. Thus, educated men in the French Catholic system were more likely to earn high salaries. This was also true for experienced French Catholic men.

d. The English Catholic Teachers

For the English Catholic teachers, significant correlations with salary below the .001 level were found for age (r=.62), experience (r=.55) and education (r=.42). The other two significant correlations, for gender and position, each about r=.25, were only signifi-

cant below the .01 level. The remainder of the independent variables were not significantly correlated with salary.

The effect of education on salary stayed the same, and significant below the .001 level, when other significant variables were introduced as controls. On the other hand, the effect of experience was reduced substantially (to r=.34) by controls for the personal variables, although its effect remained significant below the .001 level. The effects of position on salary were reduced to insignificance by controls for personal variables.

The effects of age on salary were reduced by half to r=.30 when achievement variables were introduced as controls. Gender became more strongly associated with salary (r=.35) when control variables were introduced and its level of significance decreased from .01 to .001. None of the contextual variables were significantly correlated with salary for the English Catholics.

Overall, for the English Catholic teachers, education, experience, gender and age were the most strongly associated with salary. Thus, highly educated teachers in the English Catholic school system were more likely to earn high salaries, as were experienced teachers. More men in the English Catholic system earned high salaries than women, and older teachers were more likely to earn high salaries as well.

For the English Catholic women, experience and age were both significantly correlated with salary below the .001 level each with correlations of r=.56. The only other variable correlated with salary for the English Catholic women was education (r=.39) significant below

the .001 level. With controls, education and experience were still correlated with salary (r=.47 and r=.40, respectively) and remained significant below the .001 level. The effect of age was reduced to insignificance. Thus, highly educated English Catholic women were likely to earn high salaries, as were experienced women.

On the other hand, for English Catholic men, age (r=.74), experience (r=.59) and education (r=.42) were significantly correlated with salary below the .001 level, while position (r=.33) was significantly correlated with salary below the .01 level. After the controls of other significant variables were introduced the correlations between education and salary, and position and salary, stayed the same, significant below the .001 and .01 levels, respectively. However, the correlation for experience was reduced to insignificance, and the correlation for age was substantially reduced (to r=.41 significant below the .01 level only). Education, age and position remained as the variables with the strongest associations with salary after controls were introduced. Highly educated men, and older men were more likely to earn high salaries. Furthermore, men in specialized and director positions in the English Catholic school system were more likely to earn high salaries.

e. The English Protestant Teachers

For the English Protestants, correlations with salary above r=.60, significant below the .001 level, were found for experience (r=.64) and age (r=.65). Education, position, school and community size were correlated, significant below the .001 level, with salary: these correlations are all below r=.45. The effect of education on salary

increased when control variables were introduced (r=.54), and remained significant below the .001 level. The effect of experience on salary was substantially reduced (to r=.37) by controls, while the effect of position on salary was reduced somewhat to r=.31, significant below the .01 level only.

The effect of age on salary for the English Protestants was substantially reduced though still significant below the .001 level when the achievement variables were introduced as controls. Gender became significantly correlated with salary (r=.29) when controls for other personal and achievement variables were introduced. The significant effects of school size and community size on salary were reduced to insignificance by each other.

Overall, for the English Protestant teachers, education had the strongest association with salary followed by experience, position, age, and gender. Thus, highly educated teachers in the English Protestant system were more likely to earn high salaries, as were experienced teachers. Also, teachers in specialized and director positions, older teachers, and men were more likely to earn high salaries.

For the English Protestant women, experience (r=.63) and age (r=.64) were significantly correlated with salary below the .001 level. The other significant variables (below the .01 level respectively) were education (r=.40), position (r=.35), and school size (r=.40). When controls were introduced, the effect of education on salary increased to r=.69, significant below the .001 level. The effect of experience was reduced to insignificance, and the effect of position stayed the same

(r=.38) remaining significant below the .01 level. The effect of age was reduced somewhat to r=.43, significant below the .01 level only. The correlation between school size and salary stayed the same. Thus, for the English Protestant women, education was the variable most strongly associated with salary, followed by age, position and school size. Highly educated and older women were both more likely to earn high salaries. Women who occupied specialized and director positions were also more likely to earn high salaries as well as women who taught in large schools.

For the English Protestant men, experience (r=.73), age (r=.72), and position (r=.50) were significantly correlated with salary below the .001 level. The remaining independent variables were significantly correlated with salary below the .01 level and all of these correlations were less than r=.40. However, the effect of education on salary increased to r=.43, significant below the .001 level, when controls were introduced. The effect of experience on salary was somewhat reduced (to r=.54), but remained significant below the .001 level when controls were introduced. Also, the effect of age was substantially reduced (to r=.38) and its significance level increased to .01 after controls. Thus, experience and education were the variables most highly associated with salary followed by age. Experienced men and highly educated men were more likely to earn high salaries in the English Protestant system, as were older men.

f. Overview of Correlations With Salary

The variables chosen for this study are more adequate for the analysis of salary than for the analysis of position. As the gammas have shown, there were more independent variables associated with salary than with position, and as well the associations were much stronger with salary than with position. The correlations between the independent variables and salary have confirmed the associations found through the gammas, and they have shown that the majority of these relationships were significant, even after controls were introduced.

The gammas have shown that gender, age, experience, marital status, education and school size had important associations with salary for the total sample. Partial correlations have confirmed the significance of these relationships for the total sample. In addition, correlation analysis has shown that, after controls, education, experience, school size, school system and age were significantly correlated with salary for the women, whereas education, experience, position, age, marital status and school size were significantly correlated for the men.

Experience, education and age were significantly correlated with salary for the French Catholic women, while education, experience, school size, marital status and position were significantly correlated after controls for the French Catholic men. For the English Catholics, education, experience, gender and age were significantly correlated with salary. Education and experience were the only variables remaining significantly correlated with salary after controls for the English Catholic women, while education, age and position

were significantly correlated with salary for the English Catholic men after controls were introduced. For the English Protestants, education, experience, position, age and gender were significantly correlated with salary after controls. Education, age position and school size were significantly correlated with salary after controls for the English Protestant women, while experience, education and age were significantly correlated with salary after controls for the English Protestant men.

3. Regressions

As a final step in the analysis of salary, stepwise regression was carried out. The results are presented in Table 11 for each of the groups under scrutiny. Stepwise regression is used to show the amount of variance in salary which can be explained by the independent variables. All of the independent variables were included in the regression equations except for position and school system which were unsuitable for this kind of analysis. The possibility of multicollinearity between age and experience must be addressed due to their high correlations. These correlations ranged from r=.60 for French Catholic women to r=.88 for English Protestant women. In general, for women, age has not been a satisfactory proxy for experience due to their often interrupted career patterns. Furthermore, an examination of the frequency distributions for age and experience suggests that teaching was not the sole career for a number of teachers, most notably for the English Protestant men. In correlation analysis, it was found that in those groups of teachers where age and experience had low correlations, experience had a more important effect on salary

after controls for some, while age had a more important effect after controls for others. For this reason both age and experience were retained in the regression analysis, but three separate stepwise regressions were performed on each of the subgroups under scrutiny because of the strong but differing correlations between age and experience for certain groups. The first stepwise regression included all of the independent variables; the second one included the independent variables except for age; and the third one included the independent variables except for experience. Only the first series of stepwise regressions which included all of the independent variables is presented in Table 11, as the results of the other two stepwise regressions were not substantially different. Only the variables which resulted in an r^2 change of at least .03 are presented as, after this point, additional changes were negligible.

Correlation and regression results may differ because position and school system were included in the correlation analysis but not in the regression analysis. Another factor contributing to possible differences is that there can be no more than five control variables in correlation analysis, whereas there is no limit to the number of possible variables included in regression analysis. Also, in correlation analysis, specific groups of variables were chosen as control variables, whereas, in regression analysis, the variable which explained the most variance in salary was automatically introduced into the regression equation as the first step, and all subsequent variables were introduced by the SPSS stepwise regression program if they produced an increase in the amount of variance explained.

For the total sample, experience, gender, education and school size together explained 66 percent of the variance in teachers' salaries when all of the independent variables were introduced into the regression equation. Although gender was found to be the most strongly associated with salary from the gammas and correlations, this was not the case from the regression, although it was the second most important explanatory variable. Thus for the total sample, a mixed model of achievement, personal and contextual variables combined to explain 66 percent of the variance in salary.

For the women, 62 percent of the variance in salary was explained by experience, education and school size. This concurs with the results from correlation analysis. However, in that analysis, school system was also significantly correlated with salary. For the men, 54 percent of the variance in salary was explained by experience, education and marital status. These results also confirm the findings of correlation analysis. For both women and men, experience was the most important factor in explaining salary, and it explained the same amount of variance in salary for women as for men. Finally, after experience and education had explained more than 50 percent of the variance in salary, the third most important explanatory variable was school size for women, which added another 16 percent to the explained variance, and marital status for men which added another 3 percent to the explained variance. Thus, an achievement-based model was operating in the distribution of salaries within the subgroups of women and men.

Within each of the three ethno-religious groups, between 58 and 69 percent of the variance in salary was explained, but by differing sets of variables. Gender, experience, education and school size together explained 69 percent of the variance in salary for the French Catholic teachers. These same variables also had significant correlations with salary. Similarly, for the English Catholic teachers, age, education, experience, and gender together explained 58 percent of the variance in salary. These same variables had been significantly correlated with salary. When age was not included in the regression equation, experience replaced age as the first variable introduced into the regression, explaining the same amount of variance as age (41%) had explained. Age, education, community size and gender were found to be the most important variables for the English Protestant teachers, explaining 69 percent of the variance in their salaries. On the other hand, in correlation analysis, after the introduction of controls, experience was important for English Protestant teachers while community size was not significantly correlated with salary. When age was not included in the regression equation, experience replaced it as the first variable introduced into the regression, explaining a little less of the variance in salary than age did (32% and 38% respectively).

Overall, gender had an influence on salary within each of the school systems. It was the most important explanatory variable of salary within the French Catholic school system and it was the fourth most important variable in the two English school systems. Also, each unit of gender produced the greatest amount of change in salary (Beta=.38) of

any explanatory variable in the French Catholic system, whereas it produced a much smaller amount of change in salary for the English Catholics (Beta=.19) and English Protestants (Beta=.21). Age had the most important influence on salary within the two English systems explaining about 40 percent of the variance for each group. A greater change in salary per unit of age occurred, however, for the English Protestants than for the English Catholics (Beta=.41 versus Beta=.28 respectively).

The second most important variable for the French Catholic teachers was experience, which explained another 24 percent of the variance in salary compared to the 5 percent it added as the third most important explanatory variable in the English Catholic school system. Education was the second most important explanatory variable for the two groups of English teachers, adding 16 percent to the explained variance in salary for the English Protestants, but 10 percent for the English Catholics and 7 percent for the French Catholics. School size added 2 percent to the already explained variance in salary for French Catholic teachers and community size added 9 percent to the already explained variance in salary for the English Protestant teachers.

Thus, the three school systems had mixed models of personal, achievement and contextual variables to explain salary. For each of the school systems, personal variables explained the most variance in salary (i.e. gender in the French Catholic system and age in each of the two English systems). In the two Catholic school systems, the achievement variables of education and experience followed as the second and third most important explanatory variables, while education

and community size followed as the second and third most important explanatory variables in the English Protestant system. Gender explained the most variance in salary in the French Catholic system (35%) but little in the English Catholic (5%) or English Protestant School systems (3%).

Within the French Catholic system, about 55 percent of the variance in both women's and men's salaries was explained by experience, education and school size. These same variables were significantly correlated with salary after controls were introduced for both women and men. Experience explained the same amount of variance in salary (about 40%) for both the women and men. In addition, school size explained the second largest amount, another 15 percent, of the variance in salary for the women, whereas, for the men, it explained only 3 percent, and it was the third variable introduced into the regression equation. On the other hand, education explained another 12 percent of the variance in salary for men but only 4 percent for the women. Thus, achievement variables explained about half of the variance in salary for the men. On the other hand, for the women, only one achievement variable, experience, explained a total of 40 percent of the variance in salary with school size following experience as the second most important explanatory variable.

Within the English Catholic school system, education and experience explained 49 percent of the variance in women's salaries, while 68 percent of the variance in men's salaries was explained by age, education, marital status and experience. These findings concur with the results of correlation analysis, although marital status and

experience were not significantly correlated with salary after controls for the men. For the women, experience explained 33 percent of the variance in salary and education explained a further 16 percent. On the other hand, for the men, education and experience, added together, only explained another 8 percent of the variance in salary after age had already explained 55 percent. Thus, an achievement-based model was evidently applied to the allocation of women's salaries in contrast to a personal model based mostly on age for the men.

Within the English Protestant system, 81 percent of the variance in women's salaries is explained by experience, education, community size and age. These findings only partially concur with the results from correlation analysis where experience and community size were not significantly correlated with salary, whereas position and school size were significantly correlated with salary. For the men, 69 percent of the variance in salary is explained by experience, education and age. This concurs with the findings from correlation analysis. According to the results from the regression analysis, an achievement-based model was operating in the distribution of both women's and men's salaries in the English Protestant system. Although experience was the first explanatory variable for both the women and men, it explained a larger proportion of the variance for the men (53%) than for the women (39%) and there was a greater amount of change in salary per unit of experience (Beta=.43) for the men than the women (Beta=.15). On the other hand, education was a more important explanatory variable for the women, explaining 26 percent of the variance in salary, whereas, for the men, it explained 11 percent only.

Community size explained only another 6 percent of the variance in salary for women, although the amount of change in salary per unit of community size was quite large (Beta=.41). Similarly, age explained another 10 percent of the variance in salary for women, and the amount of change in salary per unit of age was very large (Beta=.71). For the men, age explained another 5 percent of the variance in salary, and the amount of change in salary per unit of age was also quite large (Beta=.35). Thus, for the women and men in the English Protestant system, achievement variables explained over 60 percent of the variance in salary.

CHAPTER V DISCUSSION OF THE ALLOCATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS' POSITIONS AND SALARIES ON THE BASIS OF AN ACHIEVEMENT OR SOCIAL CLOSURE MODEL

A. Teachers' Positions

1. Gender Differences Among Teachers' Positions

> Male teachers were more likely to occupy specialized and director postions than female teachers, even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, school and community size, and school system are introduced (H.1).

Initially, chi-square analysis established significant differences between women and men's positions and the significance of these associations were later confirmed by t-tests. In gamma analysis, gender was found to have a moderate association with salary (G=.44) after ethno-religious differences between the genders were controlled, which indicated that more men than women occupied high positions. Correlation analysis confirmed the significance of the association between gender and position, and, through partial correlation analysis, gender remained significantly correlated with position even after controlling for the other significant variables. School size and school system also remained significantly correlated with position. The partial exclusion of women from specialized and director positions was not, therefore, due to their lack of educational credentials and teaching experience. Nor was it due to the organizational context in which they were teaching. Rather, gender served as the criterion for differential access to specialized and director positions. Smith's (1975) observation that, at all levels of the

educational hierarchy, men occupied the decision-making positions, diffusing and perpetuating the ideologies which supported women's exclusion from them is confirmed for Quebec secondary school teachers in the mid 1960's.

The achievement model, therefore, is rejected as an explanation for the presence of fewer women than men in decision-making positions, since women with the same level of education and years of teaching experience as men were not given identical positions. School commissioners were practicing gender discrimination by hiring or promoting more men than women to decision-making positions. Attempts made by teachers' unions to negotiate with School Commissioners for the allocation of teachers' positions on the basis of teachers' education and experience had not fully succeeded. Prior to the creation of the Ministry of Education, no employment policies, outlining the teaching credentials and experience required for unspecialized, specialized and director positions, had been established by the confessional committees or the school commissions. The new Ministry of Education did not introduce any major employment policy, but it did require that secondary school teachers have at least completed secondary school and Normal School. From the data reported in this study, only a small minority of teachers - 7 percent of the men and 4 percent of the women - did not yet have the minimum qualifications. Finally, the 1964 Labour Code legislation prohibiting discrimination on the basis of gender in the workplace was not immediately incorporated into the development of policies governing the employment of teachers. Thus, during the period of this study, the 1965-66 school

year, male teachers had greater access to decision-making positions and all of the rewards and benefits of prestige, and the powers of influence accruing to these positions.

> Male teachers were more likely to occupy specialized and director positions than female teachers within each of the French Catholic, English Catholic and English Protestant school systems, even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, school and community size were introduced (H.2).

Although chi-square tests established that there were significant differences between women and men's positions in both the French and English Catholic school systems, t-tests confirmed a significant gender difference among teachers' positions in the French Catholic school system only. No significant differences between women and men's positions in the English Protestant school system were established by either chi-square or t-tests. Gamma measures indicated that, for the French Catholic teachers, gender had the strongest association of all the independent variables with position (G=.45) whereas no associations between gender and position were found for either of the English Catholic or Protestant teachers. The significance of the association between gender and position for the French Catholic teachers was confirmed by correlation analysis. Gender and school size were the only two variables which remained significantly correlated with position after controls were introduced on these and the other significant variables. There were no significant correlations found between gender and position for either of the English Catholic or Protestant teachers. Community size was the only variable significantly correlated with position for the English Catholics.

None of the variables which were significantly correlated with position for the English Protestant teachers remained significant after controls were introduced.

Thus, only within the French Catholic school system did gender serve as a criterion for differential access to decision-making positions. More men than women in the French Catholic school system were given specialized and director positions by French Catholic school commissioners even when women had the same education and teaching experience as men. Achievement characteristics were not important for allocating positions among the French Catholic teachers or, for that matter, among either of the English Catholic or Protestant teachers. However, it cannot be determined from available information why the French Catholic women experienced partial closure from decision-making positions, whereas neither of the English Catholic nor Protestant women experienced partial closure.

Prior to the expansion of secondary education, brought about by the Education Acts in the early 1960's, French Catholic women had had very restricted employment opportunities. Most of the secondary schools had been segregated by gender, and teachers belonging to religious orders had held the majority of the decision-making positions. In addition, the classical colleges had been fewer in number for women than for men. Consequently, French Catholic men had occupied the majority of teaching positions up until the expansion of public secondary schools, as fewer female teachers had been required. With the expansion of the public secondary school system, and the fact that religious orders were no longer able to supply the educational

services required by an enlarged student population, French Catholic lay women were given greater access to teaching positions. However, according to the results of this study, French Catholic men still occupied the majority of specialized and director positions after the public secondary schools had initially expanded.

Furthermore, few policies to increase the number of the female teachers in the French Catholic system had been established by the Catholic confessional committee, the French Catholic school commissions or the Ministry of Education. Perhaps, the English teachers' unions, which had proportionately more female members than the French teachers' unions, had been better able to bargain with their school commissions for an equal distribution of positions between the genders.

2. Ethno-Religious Differences Among Teachers' Positions

Significant differences in the distribution of teachers' positions among the school systems were established by chi-square analysis but the significance of these differences was not confirmed by t-tests. Gamma measures showed a negative association between school system and position (G=-.24) which indicated that more of the French Catholic teachers than either of the English teachers occupied specialized and director positions. Correlation analysis confirmed the significance of this association. School system remained negatively and significantly correlated with position even after controlling for the other significant variables. However, the association between school system and position was established for the

men only. Partial correlations showed the significance of this association persisted for the men even after controls for the effects of the other significant variables were introduced. No relationships were found to be strong or significant for the women. Thus, more men in the French Catholic school system than men in either of the English Catholic or Protestant school systems occupied specialized and director positions. This relationship was evident when looking at the distributions, as the French Catholic men were overwhelmingly concentrated in specialized positions. No explanation for this association can be given.

3. Gender and Ethno-Religious Differences Among Teachers' Positions

Women who taught in large schools, and who were single had greater access to specialized and director positions even after controlling for the effects of the other significant variables. On the other hand, men who taught in the French Catholic school system, and who were married had greater access to these positions after controlling for the effects of the other significant variables. For the French Catholic women, school size, marital status (a negative association) and education were significant factors associated with position after controls. Although both a contextual and personal characteristic were important factors for French Catholic women's access to decision-making positions, education was becoming an important factor as well, reflecting perhaps the introduction of achievement as an evaluative criterion for the youngest and newest group of secondary school teachers.

The French Catholic women had had difficulties obtaining secondary school teaching certificates prior to the creation of the Ministry of Education. Due to the lack of female French Catholic Normal Schools offering secondary school teaching certificates and the tuition fees at these schools (male French Catholic Normal Schools were public), French Catholic women had been formally excluded from access to secondary school teaching credentials. The effects of these factors were evident in the small percentage of women teachers in the French Catholic school systems compared with the two English systems. Also evident is the fact that the French Catholic women who had obtained secondary school teaching certificates were less educated and younger than the women in the two English school sytems or the French Catholic men. That corrective reforms including grants to female students attending French Catholic Normal schools were beginning to take effect was shown by the youth of the French Catholic female teachers.

The policies which governed the employment of married women in the French Catholic secondary schools in Montreal up until the early 1960's were a factor in the absence of women from specialized and director positions. The French Catholic School Commission of Montreal was the largest employer of female teachers in the entire province of Quebec. Policies of the Montreal Catholic School Commission stated that married women were not to be employed except under extraordinary circumstances and, if they were to be employed, they were not to be promoted. Even though this policy was longer in effect by the 1960's, French Catholic women were still being partially

excluded from decision making positions on the basis of marital status. The results have shown that more single than married women occupied specialized and director positions.

French Catholic school commissions were following the general trend which was evident within other occupations during the 1960's where married women's absence from decision-making positions was encouraged because of their family responsibilities. With the lack of shared family responsibilities between the husband and wife in most families during the 1960's, women's dual work responsibilities were the principal reasons adopted by employers to discriminate against women. However, it is still unclear why it was only in the French Catholic school system that fewer women occupied specialized and director positions.

For the French Catholic men, marital status (a positive association) and community size were significantly correlated with position after the effects of the other significant variables were controlled. For the English Catholic men, community size was the only variable significantly and negatively correlated with position. None of the independent variables included in this study were significantly correlated with position for the English Catholic women. Similarly, there were no variables which remained significantly correlated with position for the English Protestant women and men.

Thus, weak models have been developed for explaining the distribution of positions among teachers. A model of partial social closure based on gender is supported for the total sample and the French Catholics, and a contextual model based on the organizational

characteristic of community size is supported for the English Catholics, but no model can be developed for the English Protestants. The achievement-based model, the social closure model based on personal characteristics, and the contextual model based on organizational characteristics have little utility for explaining the distribution of positions among Quebec secondary school teachers. Gender and possibly community size would be the only variables to be retained for future analyses.

B. Teachers' Salaries

1. Gender Differences in Teachers' Salaries

> Male teachers were more likely to earn high salaries than female teachers, even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, school and community size, and school system were introduced (H.3).

Initially, chi-square analysis established significant differences between women and men's salaries and this was confirmed by t-tests. Gamma analysis indicated that of all the independent variables, gender had the strongest association with salary (G=.64) for the total sample, and partial correlations confirmed the significance of this association even after all of the other independent variables were controlled. The results of regression showed that gender explained 22 percent or the second largest amount of variance in salary for the total sample after the effects of the other variables were controlled. Experience explained the most variance in salary (32%). Although an achievement characteristic was the most important variable associated with the distribution of teachers' salaries, gender, a personal characteristic, still explained a sub-

stantial proportion of the variance, and experience in conjunction with gender explained over half of the variance in salary after controls. Thus, although teachers with experience were more likely to earn high salaries, fewer women than men with the same education, experience and position earned high salaries. The dearth of women earning high salaries was not due to their lack of educational credentials, experience, position, age, marital status, or the organizational context in which they were teaching: rather their gender was the criterion for differential access to high salaries. Thus, hypothesis 3 has been confirmed.

Prior to the creation of the Ministry of Education, collective bargaining between the school commissions and representatives of teachers' unions had focused on negotiations for the distribution of salary based on education and experience. Evidently, they were successful in agreeing on experience as the most important criterion for evaluating the competence of teachers. Gender inequality had not, however, been a primary issue in these negotiations. The province-wide salary scale, introduced by the Ministry, was based on education and teaching experience, but it was applied to new teachers only. No salary policies were established by the school commissions or the confessional committees prior to or after the creation of the Ministry of Education to reduce existing gender inequalities. Nor were there any salary policies introduced to eliminate gender-based discrimination. Such policies would have conformed with the provisions of the new Labour Code legislation, which prohibited discrimination on the basis of gender at the workplace.

Perhaps the concept of the family wage, as described by Beechey (1978), which assumed that women's primary means of subsistence was not from her own paid labour but from her husband or father's paid employment, was applied, to the detriment of female teachers, by school commissioners. In addition, prior to the creation of budget-balancing grants, when the amounts of school revenues were less certain, school commissioners probably accepted female teachers as a source of cheap labour. This practice of paying female teachers less than male teachers, even though their education, experience and position were the same, remained in force as there were no policies introduced to counteract it.

The dearth of women earning high salaries in the Quebec educational system was part of a general pattern of women's exclusion from high salaries in all occupations in Canada during the 1960's. That male teachers did exercise partial closure on the basis of gender in the Quebec educational system is indicated by the fact that more male teachers than female teachers earned high salaries even after the effects of the other significant variables were controlled. Thus, the achievement model is partially rejected as an explanation for the distribution of salaries between women and men and a model of social closure based on gender is partially supported.

> Male teachers were more likely to earn high salaries than female teachers within each of the French Catholic, English Catholic and English Protestant school systems, even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, school and community size are introduced (H.4).

Initially, chi-square analysis established significant dif-

ferences in the distribution of salary between women and men within the French Catholic school system only. T-tests confirmed this association, and showed a weakly significant difference in salary between English Catholic women and men. Gamma analysis indicated a strong association between gender and salary for the French Catholic teachers (G=.78), a moderate association for the English Catholic teachers (G=.36), and a weak association for the English Protestant teachers (G=.18). Correlation analysis confirmed the significance of each of these associations. The results of regression analysis demonstrated the importance of gender in the French Catholic system as gender explained the largest amount of variance in French Catholic teachers' salaries after controls (35%). Gender added only small amounts to the explained variance in salary for the English Catholics (5%) and the Protestants (3%) after controls.

Gender had the most important influence on salary for the French Catholic teachers, whereas it had a lesser influence on salary for the English Catholic and Protestant teachers. Gender was the first variable brought into the regression equation and it alone explained 35 percent of the variance in salary for the French Catholic teachers, followed by experience which explained one quarter of the variance. Experience taken together with education (the third variable brought into the regression equation) explained 31 percent of the variance in salary. This was still a lesser amount than the variance explained by gender alone. Thus, an achievement model for explaining the distribution of salary among French Catholic teachers is only partially supported. On the other hand, the model of social

closure based on gender is quite strongly supported. characteristic such as genden were used as an evaluative criterion for differential access to high salaries. That male teachers in the French Catholic system formed a status group on the basis of gender is suggested by the fact that fewer French Catholic women than men with the same education, experience and position earned high salaries.

An achievement-based model of stratification is also rejected for the English Catholic teachers where only 15 percent of the variance in English Catholic teachers' salaries was explained by education and experience together. The largest amount of variance was explained by age (38%). However, age and experience were highly correlated for the English Catholics and when experience replaced age in the regression equation, experience explained the same amount of variance as age had explained. Gender had a small influence on salary, adding only 5 percent to the explained variance.

A similar pattern was evident among the English Protestant teachers where age explained the largest amount of variance in teachers' salaries (41%) while education explained the second largest amount (16%). However, age and experience were again highly correlated for the English Protestants and when experience replaced age in the regression equation, experience explained the same amount of variance in salary as age had explained. Gender also had a small influence on salary contributing 3 percent to the explained variance.

From the available information no explanation can be found for why gender was used as a primary criterion for evaluating teacher's competence in the French Catholic school system but not in

the two English school systems. Also, little information can be offered to explained why age was so important as a criterion of evaluation in the two English systems. Perhaps the multicollinearity present between age and experience caused age to be chosen over experience in the regression equations performed for each of the English school systems. There was a social closure model based on gender, however, within the French Catholic school system. Thus, gender inequalities in salary were maintained within the French Catholic school system only. Gender was a much less important factor within both of the English school systems.

2. Ethno-Religious Differences in Teachers' Salaries

> The English Protestant teachers were more likely to earn high salaries than their English or French Catholic counterparts; and English Catholic teachers were also more likely to earn high salaries than their French Catholic counterparts even after controls for education, experience, age, marital status, gender, school and community size were introduced (H.5).

Significant differences in the distribution of salaries among teachers from the three school systems were established by chi-square analysis. T-tests confirmed the significance of the differences between French and English Catholic teachers' salaries, and between French Catholic and English Protestant teachers' salaries. There were no significant differences between the English Catholic and English Protestant teachers' salaries. Thus, hypothesis 5 is only partially confirmed. Gamma analysis showed a weak relationship between school system and salary (G=.21) and correlation analysis confirmed the significance of this relationship. Thus, more teachers in the two

English school systems earned high salaries than the French Catholic teachers even after controlling for the significant effects of the other variables.

Historically, the English had a disproportionately large share of the financial resources of the province, and this was reflected in the property holdings of its members. The differing educational philosophies had resulted in different tax rates being established by the Protestant and Catholic school commissions. For both these reasons the Catholic and Protestant school commissions had had differing amounts of revenue collected from school taxes to use in the development of their school facilities, and to meet the costs of teachers' salaries. As a result, English Protestant teachers had earned, at one time, higher salaries than the French Catholic teachers.

With the revised Education Acts of the early 1960's and the Ministry of Education's new financial policies, which were designed to reduce differences in school revenues, all of the Catholic and Protestant school commissions were forced to levy a standard rate of school tax on property owners. Also, a series of budget-balancing grants were made available to school commissions that were unable to meet their increased expenses. As the results reported in this study show, salary differences remained between the English and French teachers even after the effects of the other variables had been controlled. These linguistic-based differences probably reflected residual differences which occurred during this period of change in the financial structure of Quebec education. In addition, remaining sal-

ary differences between the French and English teachers rather than the Catholic and Protestant teachers indicate that although the English Catholic school system was formally under the broader Catholic administration, the English Catholics continued to enjoy a certain level of autonomy.

> Ethno-religious differences in salary were greater for female teachers than for male teachers (H.6).

Chi-square tests established significant ethno-religious differences in women's salaries, and t-tests confirmed the significant difference in salary between the French and English Catholic women, and between the French Catholic and English Protestant women. It was established that the significant ethno-religious differences among women were based on language rather than on religious divisions. Through gamma analysis, a strong relationship between school system and salary was found for the women (G=.61), and correlation analysis confirmed the significance of this relationship. Although ethno-religious differences in salary were established by chi-square tests for the men, they were not confirmed by the other tests of association. Thus, more women in the two English school systems earned high salaries than the French Catholic women even when differences in their distribution on education, experience and position were controlled. It was not known, however, why this linguistic-based difference was present for the women but not for the men.

> Gender differences in teachers' salary were greater than ethno-religious differences in teachers' salaries (H.7).

Chi-square tests established significant differences between women's and men's salaries for the total sample, and for the French

Catholic teachers. In contrast, chi-square analysis established significant ethno-religious differences in teachers' salaries for the total sample, for the women and for the men.

In addition, t-tests established the significance of the differences between women's and men's salaries for the total sample, the French Catholics and the English Catholics. On the other hand, t-tests confirmed the significance of salary differences between the French and English school systems for the total sample, and for the women but not for the men.

Gamma analysis established a strong association between gender and salary for the total sample (G=.64), whereas a much weaker association is established between school system and salary (G=.21). Within each of the school systems gender had an association with salary ranging from a very strong (G=.78) association in the French Catholic system to a weak association (G=.18) in the English Protestant system. A strong gamma (G=.61) was established between school system and salary for the women, while this association was negligible for the men.

Correlation analysis confirmed the significant associations between gender and salary for the total sample, and for all of the school systems, although the English Protestants had only a weakly significant association, when controls for the other significant variables were introduced. On the other hand, correlation analysis confirmed the significance of the association between school system and salary for the total sample, and for the women but not the men. Regression analysis confirmed the important association of gender with

salary for the French Catholic teachers and its rather small association for the English Catholic and Protestant teachers. The variable of school system was not included in regression analysis so no comparison can be made. However, overall, significant gender differences in salary were evident for the total sample, and for the French Catholic teachers generally, whereas significant ethno-religious differences in salary were evident for the total sample and for the women, but not for the men.

In examining the median salary for the female and male teachers separately within each of the school systems, the median salary for the men in each the three school systems was about $6,500 while the median salary for the French Catholic women was about $4,500, and it was $5,500 for the English Catholic and for the Protestant women. The difference in median salary between the women and men in the French Catholic system was about $2,000, whereas the difference between the women and men in both the English Catholic and the Protestant systems was about $1,000. Thus, gender differences in salary were greater within the French Catholic system than in either the English Catholic or Protestant systems. On the other hand, the difference in the median salary for the women among the three school systems was $1,000 and there was no difference in the men. Thus, there were ethno-religious differences in salary for the women only. Finally, the difference in the median salary between the French Catholic men and the English Protestant women was about $1,000, and the difference between the English Protestant men and the French Catholic women was $2,000. Thus, the hierarchical pattern of salary distrib-

ution among teachers was probably one where the English men earned the highest salaries, followed by the French men and the English women, while the French women earned the lowest salaries. These results are similar to the findings of Bernard et al (1979) where non-francophone men earned higher incomes than francophone men, and non-francophone women earned more than francophone women in Quebec. Also, they confirm a similar pattern established by the Fédération des Femmes Canadiennes-Françaises across Canada for Anglophone and Francophone women.

The differences in the median salary between female and male teachers within each of the ethno-religious groups was never less than $1,000. In addition, the difference in the median salary between women and men from different ethnic groups never dropped below $1,000. The highest difference in the median salary for the ethno-religious groups was $1,000, and this was for the women only: there was no difference for the men. Overall, gender differences in salary were greater than ethno-religious differences. Gender had a stronger basis for differential access to high salaries than ethnicity.

3. Gender and Ethno-Religious Differences in Salary

For women and men, separately, experience and education explained over half of the variance in their salaries. Experience explained the largest amount (40%) for both the women and men, while education added only a small amount to the explained variance for each gender. Achievement characteristics were used as evaluative criteria for differential access to salary within each gender even after the other significant variables had been controlled. For the French Catholic women and men, experience explained about 40 percent of the

variance in their salaries followed by school size (15%) for the women, and education (12%) for the men. Achievement characteristics were more important for the French Catholic men than women, as experience and education together explained half of the variance in French Catholic men's salaries. For the English Catholic women, achievement characteristics were the most important factors explaining their salaries. Experience and education together explained half of the variance in their salaries. However, this is not the case for the English Catholic men, where age explained 55 percent of the variance in their salaries. For the English Protestant women, achievement characteristics were important factors explaining salary. Education and experience together explained 65 percent of their salaries. Similarly, this same amount of variance in English Protestant men's salaries was explained by achievement characteristics.

CONCLUSION

The study of social closure based on gender and ethnicity, and the presence of social closure based on gender within three ethno-religious groups was the subject of this thesis. A representative sample of secondary school teachers in the Quebec public educational system during the 1965-66 school year was used as the data base for this study. The Quebec secondary school system was chosen due to its three autonomous and mutually exclusive school systems, the French Catholic, English Catholic, and English Protestant school systems, which were representative of social closure based on ethnicity. The social closure model and the achievement model were tested for their utility in explaining the differences in the allocation of teachers' positions and salaries between women and men within each of the three ethno-religious groups.

The achievement model was rejected as an explanation for the absence of women in decision-making positions within the French Catholic school system. Gender was used as a basis of social closure in the French Catholic school system. This confirms the notion put forth by Smith (1975) of the exclusion of women from decision-making positions which organize the transmission of knowledge, and perpetuate the organization of social relations supporting gender inequality. None of the achievement, personal or contextual variables included in the study provided a good model for explaining the differences in teachers' positions within the two English school systems. Community size, a contextual variable, was the only important variable affecting

teachers' positions within the English Catholic school system, and none of the achievement, personal or contextual variables were important for explaining the differences in teachers' positions within the English Protestant school system.

A much more successful model was developed for explaining the differences in teachers' salaries, for the total sample, as 66 percent of the variance in salary was explained by the achievement, personal and contextual variables. Social closure based on gender was evident within the French Catholic school system as gender explained the largest proportion (35%) of the variance in teachers' salaries after controls. The notion of a family wage described by Beechey (1978) may have been applied as a justification for closure on the basis of gender within the French Catholic school system. Gender inequalities were not as important in the two English systems as they were in the French Catholic school system.

For the French Catholic men, an achievement model was supported for explaining the differences in their salaries as education together with experience explained half of the variance in salary after controls. A mixed achievement and contextual model was supported for explaining the differences in French Catholic women's salaries as experience (36% explained variance) together with school size (15% explained variance) explained half of the variance in their salaries. On the other hand, an achievement model was supported for explaining the differences in each of the English Catholic and Protestant women's salaries as experience together with education explained 49 percent and 65 percent of the variance in their salaries,

respectively, after controls. For the English Catholic men, a social closure model based on age was supported as 55 percent of the variance in salary was explained by age after controls. An achievement model was supported for the English Protestant men as experience and education together explained 64 percent of the variance in their salaries after controls. Clearly, the specific nature of the explanatory models varied by gender and school system which leads to the conclusion that there were multiple rules used by school commissioners for evaluating teachers' qualifications, and for allocating financial rewards on the basis of them.

Finally, the unequal distribution of salary among secondary school teachers in Quebec followed a pattern which was fundamentally based on gender rather than ethnicity. The differences in the salaries of female and male teachers in Quebec secondary schools during the 1965-66 school year were greater, both within ethno-religious groups and between ethno-religious groups, than the ethno-religious differences among the men or among the women. This pattern confirms the findings of Bernard et al (1981), The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and the Federation des Femmes Canadiennes-Françaises (1981).

TABLE 1

Percentage Distribution on Independent and Dependent Variables for Female and Male Teachers and the Total Sample

Variables	Females (N=488)	Males (N=886)	Total Sample (N=1374)
EDUCATION	%	%	%
Secondary School	4.4	7.3	5.6
Secondary School and Normal School	68.1	31.0	44.1
B.A. university degree	5.4	11.5	9.3
B.A. university degree and Normal School	18.7	24.5	22.4
M.A. or Ph.D.	1.1	11.5	7.8
M.A.or Ph.D. and Normal School	2.3	15.2	10.6
Total	100.0 (467)	100.0 (854)	100.0 (1321)
	X^2=.0000		
EXPERIENCE			
2 years or less	23.1	22.1	22.5
3-6 years	31.4	32.2	31.9
7-13 years	27.7	26.0	26.6
14 years or more	17.8	19.7	19.0
Total	100.0 (483)	100.0 (871)	100.0 (1353)
	X^2=n.s.		
AGE			
under 25 years	44.8	26.3	32.9
25-29 years	22.1	33.6	29.5
30-34 years	7.3	18.2	14.3
35-39 years	9.4	9.5	9.4
40-49 years	9.3	7.0	7.8
50-59 years	5.9	4.6	5.1
60 years or more	1.2	0.9	1.0
Total	100.0 (487)	100.0 (886)	100.0 (1373)
	X^2=.0000		

NOTE: Total N's vary because of the number of non-respondents

Variables	Females	Males	Total Sample
MARITAL STATUS			
single	62.0	34.7	44.4
married	38.0	65.3	55.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(488)	(886)	(1374)
	X^2=.0000		
GENDER			
Female			35.5
Male			64.5
Total			100.0
SCHOOL SIZE			
10 or less classes	27.1	22.3	24.0
11 to 20 classes	35.3	23.1	27.4
21 to 30 classes	18.8	39.5	32.1
31 or more classes	18.9	15.1	16.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(476)	(874)	(1350)
	X^2=.001		
COMMUNITY SIZE			
4,999 or less inhabitants	30.2	17.3	21.9
5,000-9,999 inhabitants	15.2	4.1	8.0
10,000-39,999 inhabitants	6.9	33.0	23.8
40,000-499,999 inhabitants	8.1	16.2	13.3
500,000 or more inhabitants	39.6	29.4	33.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(476)	(874)	(1350)
	X^2=.001		

Table 1 (cont'd)

Variables	Females	Males	Total Sample
SCHOOL SYSTEM			
French Catholic system	73.7	84.5	80.7
English Catholic system	13.3	7.7	9.7
English Protestant system	13.0	7.8	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(488)	(886)	(1374)
	X^2=.0000		
POSITION			
unspecialized	45.5	28.3	34.5
specialized	53.5	67.0	62.2
directors	1.0	4.7	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(471)	(847)	(1318)
	X^2=.0000		
SALARY			
$0- $2,999	3.9	0.6	1.8
$3,000- $3,999	13.6	1.0	5.5
$4,000- $4,999	34.0	6.4	16.2
$5,000- $5,999	22.9	24.9	24.2
$6,000- $6,999	14.5	25.7	21.7
$7,000- $7,999	5.4	23.7	17.2
$8,000- $9,999	4.8	16.6	12.4
$10,000- $11,999	0.9	0.9	0.9
$12,000 or more	-	0.2	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(486)	(885)	(1371)
	X^2=.0000		

- = 0

Table 1 (cont'd)

TABLE 2

Percentage Distribution on Independent and Dependent Variables for French Catholic, English Catholic, and English Protestant Women and Men

Variables	French Catholic System			English Catholic System			English Protestant System		
	Females (N=359)	Males (N=749)	Total (N=1108)	Females (N=65)	Males (N=68)	Total (N=133)	Females (N=64)	Males (N=69)	Total (N=133)
EDUCATION	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Secondary School	4.7	7.0	6.3	5.5	1.2	3.3	1.5	3.9	2.8
Secondary School and Normal School	83.5	33.2	49.4	29.7	28.6	29.1	21.8	11.0	16.0
B.A. university degree	1.8	10.0	7.3	12.1	17.6	14.9	18.7	21.0	19.8
B.A. university degree and Normal School	8.7	22.0	17.7	42.2	24.3	32.9	50.0	50.3	50.4
M.A. or Ph.D.	0.4	11.7	8.1	3.0	16.7	10.1	3.2	3.8	3.5
M.A. or Ph.D. and Normal School	0.8	16.0	11.1	7.6	11.6	9.6	4.8	10.0	7.5
Total	100.0 (342)	100.0 (717)	100.0 (1059)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (131)	100.0 (61)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (130)
Female vs. male within each system	X^2=.0000			X^2=n.s.			X^2=n.s.		

3 Systems X^2=.000
3 Female groups X^2=.001
3 Male groups X^2=.001

NOTE: Total N's vary because of the number of non-respondents

- = 0

Variables	French Catholic System			English Catholic System			English Protestant System		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total
EXPERIENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
2 years or less	25.2	23.2	23.9	20.0	22.4	21.2	14.3	10.4	12.2
3-6 years	31.2	32.0	31.8	39.4	31.9	35.5	24.4	33.9	29.2
7-13 years	30.7	25.6	27.3	21.4	29.5	25.6	16.9	27.2	22.6
14 years or more	12.9	19.2	17.1	19.1	16.2	17.6	44.3	28.5	36.0
Total	100.0 (356)	100.0 (733)	100.0 (1099)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (131)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (132)
Female vs. male within each system	X^2=n.s.			X^2=n.s.			X^2=n.s.		
3 Systems X^2=.0000 3 Female groups X^2=.001 3 Male groups X^2=n.s.									
AGE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
under 25 years	49.7	27.6	34.8	39.2	26.1	32.4	22.3	12.9	17.3
25-29 years	22.8	34.1	30.4	20.7	36.6	28.9	19.9	24.6	22.2
30-34 years	6.7	18.6	14.8	10.3	14.1	12.2	7.9	17.2	12.7
35-39 years	10.2	8.6	9.1	11.7	13.6	12.7	2.6	15.1	9.2
40-49 years	7.5	5.8	6.4	12.7	6.7	9.6	16.1	19.6	18.3
50-59 years	3.1	4.4	4.0	5.1	1.2	3.1	22.3	10.3	16.0
60 years or more	-	0.9	0.6	0.4	1.7	1.1	8.9	0.4	4.4
Total	100.0 (359)	100.0 (749)	100.0 (1108)	100.0 (64)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (132)	100.0 (64)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (133)
Female vs. male within each system	X^2=.0000			X^2=n.s.			X^2=.01		
3 Systems X^2=.0000 3 Female groups X^2=.001 3 Male groups X^2=.001									

Table 2 (cont'd)

Variables	French Catholic System			English Catholic System			English Protestant System		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total
MARITAL STATUS	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
single	64.9	35.2	44.8	55.7	33.0	44.0	52.0	31.1	41.0
married	35.1	64.8	55.2	44.3	67.0	56.0	48.0	68.9	59.0
Total	100.0 (359)	100.0 (749)	100.0 (1108)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (133)	100.0 (64)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (133)
Female vs. male within each system	X^2=.0000			X^2=n.s.			X^2=n.s.		
3 Systems X^2=n.s.									
3 Female groups X^2=n.s.									
3 Male groups X^2=n.s.									
GENDER			%			%			%
Female			32.4			48.7			47.9
Male			67.6			51.3			52.1
Total			I00.0			I00.0			I00.0
3 Systems X^2=.0000			(II08)			(I33)			(I33)

Table 2 (cont'd)

Variables	French Catholic System			English Catholic System			English Protestant System		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total
SCHOOL SIZE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
10 or less classes	28.1	20.6	22.6	38.0	40.4	39.2	5.4	16.8	11.3
11 to 20 classes	44.5	25.7	32.4	3.0	-	1.5	14.8	5.7	10.0
21 to 30 classes	13.8	40.4	31.5	48.6	59.6	54.2	19.7	22.3	21.1
31 or more classes	13.7	13.3	13.5	10.4	-	5.1	60.0	55.2	57.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(359)	(749)	(1108)	(65)	(68)	(133)	(64)	(69)	(133)
Female vs. male within each system	X^2=.001			X^2=n.s.			X^2=n.s.		
3 Systems X^2=.001									
3 Female groups X^2=.001									
3 Male groups X^2=.001									
COMMUNITY SIZE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
4,999 or less	37.9	16.6	23.8	-	-	-	5.4	14.9	10.3
5,000-9,999	19.8	3.1	8.4	7.0	19.9	13.6	-	-	-
10,000-39,999	7.1	39.7	29.2	-	-	-	13.9	4.3	8.9
40,000-499,999	10.6	19.5	16.4	3.0	-	1.5	0.9	1.4	1.2
500,000 or more	24.6	21.1	22.2	90.0	80.1	84.9	79.7	79.4	79.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(359)	(749)	(1108)	(65)	(68)	(133)	(64)	(69)	(133)
Female vs. male within each system	X^2=.001			X^2=n.s.			X^2=n.s.		
3 Systems X^2=.001									
3 Female groups X^2=.001									
3 Male groups X^2=.001									

Table 2 (cont'd)

Variables	French Catholic System			English Catholic System			English Protestant System		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total
POSITION	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
unspecialized	44.6	23.8	30.6	45.4	51.3	48.5	51.0	53.7	52.6
specialized	55.4	73.2	67.4	53.5	33.2	43.1	42.0	33.3	37.2
directors	-	2.9	2.0	1.0	15.5	8.4	7.0	13.0	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(350)	(714)	(1064)	(64)	(67)	(131)	(58)	(66)	(124)
Female vs. male within each system	X^2=.0000			X^2=.01			X^2=n.s.		
3 Systems X^2=.0000									
3 Female groups X^2=.0000									
3 Male groups X^2=.0000									
SALARY	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
$0- $2,999	5.2	0.7	2.2	*	-	*	-	-	-
$3,000- $3.999	17.4	1.0	6.3	*	-	*	5.7	2.6	4.1
$4,000- $4,999	40.5	6.7	17.7	18.3	5.0	11.5	12.6	4.0	8.1
$5,000- $5,999	20.1	24.5	23.0	30.1	21.9	25.9	31.5	32.5	31.9
$6,000- $6,999	11.6	25.9	21.3	28.5	35.1	31.8	16.4	14.1	15.6
$7,000- $7,999	4.6	25.3	18.5	11.8	18.4	15.2	3.6	12.1	8.0
$8,000- $9,999	0.5	15.5	10.6	10.4	18.4	14.5	23.0	26.9	24.9
$10,000- $11,999	-	0.2	0.1	0.3	1.3	0.8	7.0	7.7	7.5
$12,000 or more	-	0.2	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(359)	(747)	(1106)	(65)	(68)	(133)	(63)	(69)	(132)
Female vs. male within each system	X^2=.0000			X^2=n.s.			X^2=n.s.		
3 Systems X^2=.0000									
3 Female groups X^2=.001									
3 Male groups X^2=.001									

Table 2 (cont'd)

TABLE 3

T-Test Significance Levels of Gender Comparisons on Independent and Dependent Variables

Variables	Women-Men
education	.001
experience (indiv. yrs)	n.s.
age	n.s.
marital status	.001
school size	.001
community size	.01
school system	.001
position	.001
salary	.001

TABLE 4

T-Test Significance Levels of Gender Comparisons on Independent and Dependent Variables within Each of the School Systems

Variables	French Catholic Women-Men	English Catholic Women-Men	English Protestant Women-Men	
education	.001	n.s.	n.s.	
experience (indiv. yrs)	.01	n.s.	n.s.	
age	.001	n.s.	n.s.	
marital status	.001	.01	.01	(G)
school age	.001	n.s.	n.s.	
community size	.001	n.s.	n.s.	
position	.001	n.s.	n.s.	
salary	.001	.01	n.s.	

(G) indicates a significant difference between genders within each school system

n.s. = not significant

TABLE 5

T-Test Significance Levels of Comparisons between School Systems on Independent and Dependent Variables

	Total Sample			
Variables	French Catholic English Catholic	English Catholic English Protestant	French Catholic English Protestant	
education	.01	n.s.	.001	(L)
experience (indiv. yrs)	n.s.	.001	.001	(R)
age	n.s.	.001	.001	(R)
marital status	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
gender	.001	n.s.	.001	(L)
school size	n.s.	.001	.001	(R)
community size	.001	n.s.	.001	(L)
position	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
salary	.001	n.s.	.001	(L)

(L) indicates a significant difference between the French and English

(R) indicates a significant difference between the Catholics and Protestants

n.s. = not significant

TABLE 6

T-Test Significance Levels of Comparisons between School Systems on Independent and Dependent Variables for Women and for Men

Women

Groups / Variables	French Catholic English Catholic	English Catholic English Protestant	French Catholic English Protestant	
education	.001	n.s.	.001	(L)
experience (indiv. yrs)	n.s.	.01	.001	(R)
age	n.s.	.001	.001	(R)
marital status	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
school size	n.s.	.001	.001	(R)
community size	.001	n.s.	.001	(L)
position	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
salary	.001	n.s.	.001	(L)

Men

Variables	French Catholic English Catholic	English Catholic English Protestant	French Catholic English Protestant	
education	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
experience (indiv. yrs)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
age	n.s.	.001	.001	(R)
marital status	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
school size	n.s.	.001	.001	(R)
community size	.001	n.s.	.001	(L)
position	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	
salary	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	

(L) indicates a significant difference between the French and English

(R) indicates a significant difference between the Catholics and Protestants

n.s. = not significant

TABLE 7

Zero-Order Gammas of Independent Variables With Position and Salary for Gender and Ethnic Groups

	French Catholic System			English Catholic System			English Protestant System			All Systems		
	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males	Total
POSITION												
education with position	.34	-.03	.15	-.18	.02	-.04	.08	.06	.06	-.10	-.02	-.08
experience with position	-.08	-.01	.01	.15	.24	.20	.25	.54	.33	.03	.08	.07
age with position	.04	.11	.12	.14	.35	.25	.13	.41	.27	-.07	.15	.14
marital status with position	-.34	.34	.21	-.45	.24	-.05	-.03	.22	.09	-.31	.30	.16
gender with position			.45			-.03			-.01			.37
school size with position	.54	.10	.30	-.01	-.28	-.15	.41	.49	.45	.39	.08	.22
community size with position	.20	.09	.21	.71	-.63	-.31	-.74	.77	.76	.21	-.01	.12
school system with position										-.02	-.29	-.24
SALARY												
education with salary	.18	.45	.55	.41	.39	.41	.38	.33	.36	.56	.43	.53
experience with salary	.61	.70	.53	.58	.59	.60	.62	.76	.66	.52	.69	.54
position with salary	.15	.10	.28	.08	.41	.27	.35	.56	.46	.12	.19	.28
age with salary	.62	.70	.61	.61	.85	.70	.60	.74	.66	.63	.71	.63
marital status with salary	.52	.52	.57	.03	.38	.26	-.14	.46	.16	.39	.50	.51
gender with salary			.78			.36			.18			.64
school size with salary	.62	.35	.44	.09	.30	.16	.47	.38	.41	.54	.34	.41
community size with salary	.35	.17	.29	-.33	.00	-.17	.47	.56	.50	.49	.18	.29
school system with salary										.61	.08	.21

TABLE 8

First and Second Order Gammas of Independent Variables with Position and Salary for the Total Sample

	0-Order Gamma	1st-Order Gamma (Gender)	1st-Order Gamma (System)	2nd-Order Gamma (Gender & System)
POSITION				
education with position	.08	-.00	.15	-.00
experience with position	.07	.08	.01	.01
age with position	.14	.13	.13	.11
marital status with position	.16	.14	.21	.18
gender with position	.37		.44	
school size with position	.22	.16	.30	.20
community size with position	.12	.05	.22	.12
school system with position	.24	-.22		
SALARY				
education with salary	.53	.45	.55	.43
experience with salary	.54	.66	.53	.68
position with salary	.28	.18	.28	.13
age with salary	.63	.69	.62	.69
marital status with salary	.51	.48	.57	.51
gender with salary	.64		.77	
school size with salary	.41	.39	.44	.40
community size with salary	.29	.25	.29	.21
school system with salary	.21	.26		

TABLE 9

Partial Correlations of Independent Variables with Position for Gender and Ethnic Groups

	Total Sample			Women		Men	
	R	Separate Partial R	Combined Partial R	R	Partial R	R	Partial R
education with position	.08^{x}	.08^{x}	n.s.	.09 n.s.	-	-.00 n.s.	-
experience with position	.07 n.s.	n.s.	-	.05 n.s.	-	.07 n.s.	-
age with position	.10^{xx}	.07^{x}	.06^{x}	.03 n.s.	-	.12^{xx}	n.s.
marital status with position	.10^{xx}	n.s.	-	-.15^{xx}	-.16^{xx}	.15^{xx}	.15^{xx}
gender with position	.20^{xx}	.17^{xx}	.16^{xx}				
school size with position	.16^{xx}	.14^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.28^{xx}	.27^{xx}	.06 n.s.	-
community size with position	.10^{xx}	n.s.	-	.15^{xx}	n.s.	.03 n.s.	-
school system with position	-.09^{xx}	-.12^{xx}	-.11^{xx}	.00 n.s.	-	-.12^{xx}	-.12^{xx}

	French Catholic System		English Catholic System	English Protestant System	
	R	Partial R	R	R	Partial R
education with position	.11^{xx}	n.s.	-.01 n.s.	.13 n.s.	-
experience with position	.01 n.s.	-	.11 n.s.	.28^{x}	n.s.
age with position	.08^{x}	n.s.	.19 n.s.	.24^{x}	n.s.
marital status with position	.12^{xx}	n.s.	.03 n.s.	.06 n.s.	-
gender with position	.23^{xx}	.20^{xx}	.09 n.s.	.03 n.s.	-
school size with position	.20^{xx}	.17^{xx}	-.13 n.s.	.33^{xx}	n.s.
community size with position	.17^{xx}	n.s.	-.26^{x}	.36^{x}	n.s.

$x = p < .01$
$xx = p < .001$

- = not included in calculations

	French Catholic Women		English Catholic Women	English Protestant Women	
	R	Partial R	R	R	Partial R
education with position	$.18^{xx}$	$.13^{x}$	-.11 n.s.	.09 n.s.	-
experience with position	-.01 n.s.	-	.19 n.s.	.12 n.s.	-
age with position	-.03 n.s.	-	.15 n.s.	.13 n.s.	-
marital status with position	$-.17^{x}$	$-.18^{xx}$	-.20 n.s.	.03 n.s.	-
school size with position	$.35^{xx}$	$.33^{xx}$	.01 n.s.	$.33^{x}$	n.s.
community size with position	$.15^{x}$	n.s.	.28 n.s.	$.37^{x}$	n.s.

	French Catholic Men		English Catholic Men	English Protestant Men	
	R	Partial R	R	R	Partial R
education with position	-.02 n.s.		.02 n.s.	.16 n.s.	-
experience with position	.01 n.s.		.05 n.s.	$.43^{xx}$	n.s.
age with position	.09 n.s.		.23 n.s.	$.36^{x}$	n.s.
marital status with position	$.16^{xx}$	$.13^{xx}$	.16 n.s.	.14 n.s.	-
school size with position	.08 n.s.		-.23 n.s.	$.34^{x}$	n.s.
community size with position	$.10^{x}$	$.08^{x}$	$-.47^{xx}$	$.37^{x}$	n.s.

Table 9 (cont'd)

TABLE 10

Partial Correlations of Independent Variables with Salary for Gender and Ethnic Groups

Total Sample

	R	Separate[1] Partial R	Combined "A"[2] Partial R	Combined "B"[3] Partial R	Combined "C"[4] Partial R
education with salary	.50^{xx}	.51^{xx}	.43^{xx}		.48^{xx}
experience with salary	.57^{xx}	.58^{xx}	.36^{xx}		.56^{xx}
position with salary	.23^{xx}	.22^{xx}	.15^{xx}		.20^{xx}
age with salary	.55^{xx}	.54^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.52^{xx}	
marital status with salary	.40^{xx}	.13^{xx}	.15^{xx}	.14^{xx}	
gender with salary	.49^{xx}	.49^{xx}	.44^{xx}	.49^{xx}	
school size with salary	.37^{xx}	.25^{xx}		.30^{xx}	.16^{xx}
community size with salary	.32^{xx}	.16^{xx}		.15^{xx}	.15^{xx}
school system with salary	.14^{xx}	.09^{xx}		.10^{xx}	.10^{xx}

Women

	R	Separate Partial R	Combined[5] Partial R
education with salary	.45^{xx}	.50^{xx}	.42^{xx}
experience with salary	.62^{xx}	.64^{xx}	.37^{xx}
position with salary	.16^{xx}	.13^{x}	n.s.
age with salary	.57^{xx}	.53^{xx}	.24^{xx}
marital status with salary	.24^{xx}	n.s.	-
school size with salary	.50^{xx}	.28^{xx}	.36^{xx}
community size with salary	.46^{xx}	n.s.	-
school system with salary	.44^{xx}	.27^{xx}	.26^{xx}

Men

	R	Separate Partial R	Combined "A" Partial R	Combined "B" Partial R	Combined "C" Partial R
education with salary	.42^{xx}	.43^{xx}	.43^{xx}		.40^{xx}
experience with salary	.64^{xx}	.63^{xx}	.32^{xx}		.62^{xx}
position with salary	.15^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.13^{xx}		.16^{xx}
age with salary	.61^{xx}	.55^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.52^{xx}	
marital status with salary	.35^{xx}	.20^{xx}	.17^{xx}	.19^{xx}	
school size with salary	.28^{xx}	.24^{xx}		.27^{xx}	.17^{xx}
community size with salary	.18^{xx}	.12^{xx}		n.s.	n.s.
school system with salary	.05 n.s.	n.s.		-	-

^{x} = $p < .01$

^{xx} = $p < .001$

\- = not included in calculations

1. Correlations with salary controlling concurrently for all other variables in the same category(i.e. within the achievement, personal or contextual variable categories).

2. Correlations with salary controlling for all other significant achievement and personal variables.

3. Correlations with salary controlling for all other significant personal and contextual variables.

4. Correlations with salary controlling for all other significant achievement and contextual variables.

5. Correlations with concurrent controls for all other achievement, personal and contextual variables.

French Catholic System	R	Separate Partial R	Combined "A" Partial R	Combined "B" Partial R	Combined "C" Partial R
education with salary	.51^{xx}	.50^{xx}	.37^{xx}		.47^{xx}
experience with salary	.55^{xx}	.55^{xx}	.37^{xx}		.56^{xx}
position with salary	.21^{xx}	.21^{xx}	.11^{xx}		.15^{xx}
age with salary	.52^{xx}	.47^{xx}	.09^{x}	.46^{xx}	
marital status with salary	.45^{xx}	.17^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.16^{xx}	
gender with salary	.59^{xx}	.56^{xx}	.51^{xx}	.54^{xx}	
school size with salary	.39^{xx}	.30^{xx}		.35^{xx}	.22^{xx}
community size with salary	.32^{xx}	.20^{xx}		.11^{xx}	.17^{xx}

French Catholic Women	R	Separate Partial R	Combined Partial R
education with salary	.22^{xx}	.26^{xx}	.25^{xx}
experience with salary	.60^{xx}	.62^{xx}	.41^{xx}
position with salary	.14^{xx}	n.s.	-
age with salary	.46^{xx}	.38^{xx}	.22^{xx}
marital status with salary	.33^{xx}	n.s.	-
school size with salary	.53^{xx}	.43^{xx}	.47^{xx}
community size with salary	.37^{xx}	n.s.	-

French Catholic Men	R	Separate Partial R	Combined "A" Partial R	Combined "B" Partial R	Combined "C" Partial R
education with salary	.43^{xx}	.42^{xx}	.39^{xx}		.39^{xx}
experience with salary	.63^{xx}	.62^{xx}	.30^{xx}		.60^{xx}
position with salary	.07, n.s.	.10^{xx}	.10^{xx}		.10^{xx}
age with salary	.58^{xx}	.52^{xx}	.12^{x}	.12^{x}	
marital status with salary	.37^{xx}	.22^{xx}	.18^{xx}	.18^{xx}	
school size with salary	.28^{xx}	.27^{xx}		.22^{xx}	.22^{xx}
community size with salary	.17^{xx}	.14^{xx}		n.s.	n.s.

Table 10 (cont'd)

English Catholic System

	R	Separate Partial R	Combined "A" Partial R	Combined "B" Partial R	Combined "C" Partial R
education with salary	.42^{xx}	.52^{xx}	.46^{xx}		.52^{xx}
experience with salary	.55^{xx}	.60^{xx}	.34^{xx}		.60^{xx}
position with salary	.24^{x}	.26^{x}	n.s.		.25^{x}
age with salary	.62^{xx}	.63^{xx}	.30^{xx}	.62^{xx}	
marital status with salary	.17 n.s.	n.s.	-	-	
gender with salary	.26^{x}	.32^{xx}	.32^{xx}	.35^{xx}	
school size with salary	.12 n.s.	.21^{xx}		n.s.	n.s.
community size with salary	-.09 n.s.	n.s.		-	-

English Catholic,Women

	R	Partial R
education with salary	.39^{x}	.47^{xx}
experience with salary	.56^{xx}	.40^{xx}
position with salary	.09 n.s.	-
age with salary	.56^{xx}	n.s.
marital status with salary	.03 n.s.	-
school size with salary	.08 n.s.	-
community size with salary	-.11 n.s.	-

English Catholic Men

	R	Partial R
education with salary	.42^{xx}	.43^{x}
experience with salary	.59^{xx}	n.s.
position with salary	.33^{x}	.33^{x}
age with salary	.74^{xx}	.41^{x}
marital status with salary	.27 n.s.	-
school size with salary	.20 n.s.	-
community size with salary	-.02 n.s.	-

Table 10 (cont'd)

English Protestant System

	R	Separate Partial R	Combined Partial R
education with salary	.39^{xx}	.53^{xx}	.54^{xx}
experience with salary	.64^{xx}	.68^{xx}	.37^{xx}
position with salary	.43^{xx}	.31^{x}	.32^{xx}
age with salary	.65^{xx}	.66^{xx}	.33^{xx}
marital status with salary	.13 n.s.	n.s.	-
gender with salary	.15 n.s.	.26^{x}	.29^{x}
school size with salary	.33^{xx}	n.s.	-
community size with salary	.30^{xx}	n.s.	-

English Protestant Women

	R	Partial R
education with salary	.40^{x}	.69^{xx}
experience with salary	.63^{xx}	n.s.
position with salary	.35^{x}	.38^{x}
age with salary	.64^{xx}	.43^{x}
marital status with salary	.10 n.s.	-
school size with salary	.40^{x}	.35^{x}
community size with salary	.30 n.s.	-

English Protestant Men

	R	Separate Partial R	Combined Partial R
education with salary	.36^{x}	.45^{xx}	.43^{xx}
experience with salary	.73^{xx}	.70^{xx}	.54^{xx}
position with salary	.50^{xx}	n.s.	-
age with salary	.72^{xx}	.68^{xx}	.38^{x}
marital status with salary	.31^{x}	n.s.	-
school size with salary	.32^{x}	n.s.	-
community size with salary	.35^{x}	n.s.	-

Table 10 (cont'd)

TABLE 11

Stepwise Regression Coefficients for each of the Subgroups

	Multiple r	r^2	r^2 change	Beta
Total Sample				
Experience	.57	.32	.32	.32
Gender	.73	.54	.22	.32
Education	.79	.63	.09	.26
School size	.81	.66	.03	.15
Women				
Experience	.63	.40	.40	.36
Education	.75	.56	.16	.29
School size	.79	.62	.16	.18
Men				
Experience	.63	.40	.40	.37
Education	.72	.51	.11	.30
Marital Status	.73	.54	.03	.14
French Catholics				
Gender	.60	.35	.35	.38
Experience	.77	.59	.24	.32
Education	.81	.66	.07	.22
School Size	.83	.69	.02	.18
French Catholic women				
Experience	.60	.36	.36	.38
School size	.72	.51	.15	.40
Education	.74	.55	.04	.21
French Catholic men				
Experience	.62	.38	.38	.38
Education	.71	.50	.12	.30
School size	.73	.53	.03	.16

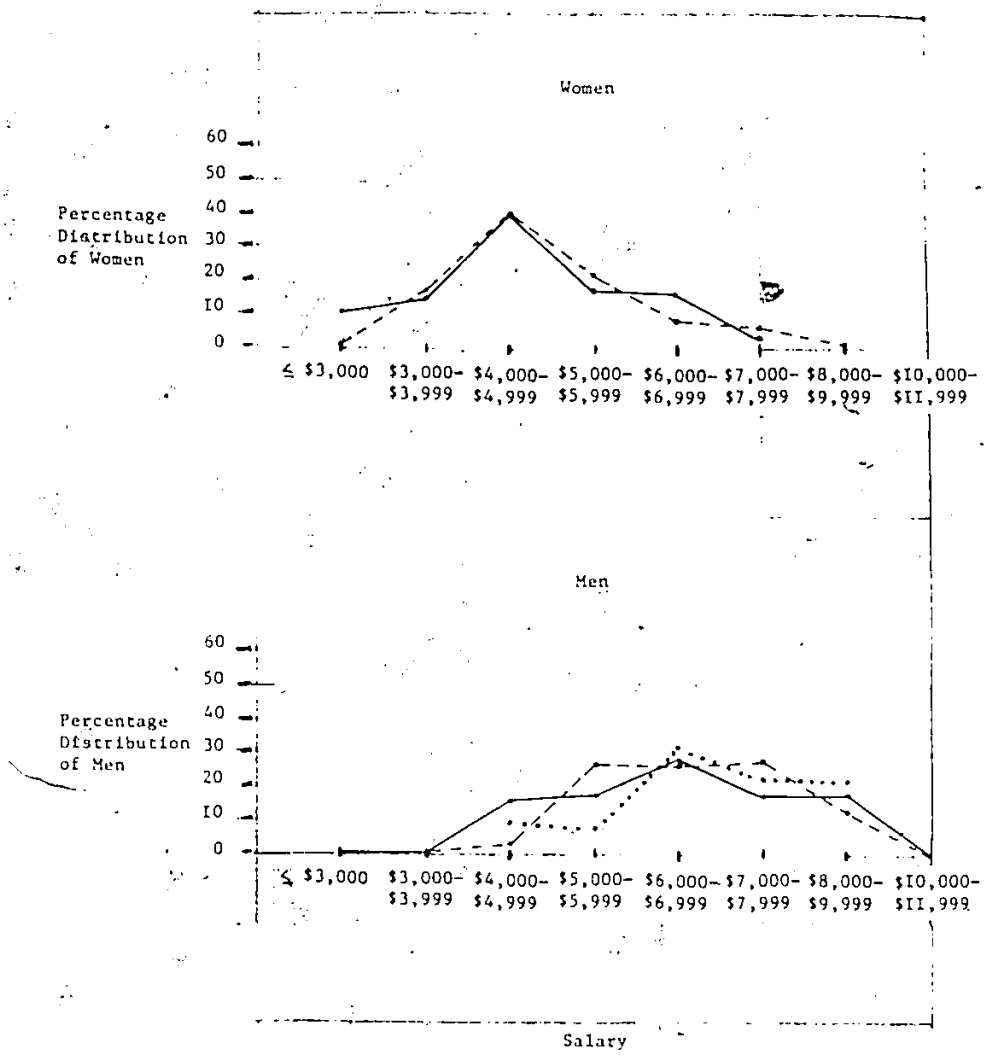
	Multiple r	r^2	r^2 change	Beta
English Catholics[1]				
Age	.62	.38	.38	.28
Education	.69	.48	.10	.36
Experience	.73	.53	.05	.36
Gender	.76	.58	.05	.19
English Catholic women				
Experience	.57	.33	.33	.57
Education	.70	.49	.16	.40
English Catholic men[2]				
Age	.74	.55	.55	.43
Education	.77	.60	.05	.35
Marital Status	.80	.65	.05	.24
Experience	.82	.68	.03	.25
English Protestants				
Age	.64	.41	.41	.41
Education	.76	.57	.16	.34
Community Size	.81	.66	.09	.26
Gender	.83	.69	.03	.21
English Protestant women[3]				
Experience	.63	.39	.39	.15
Education	.81	.65	.26	.36
Community size	.84	.71	.06	.41
Age	.90	.81	.10	.71
English Protestant men[4]				
Experience	.73	.53	.53	.43
Education	.80	.64	.11	.27
Age	.83	.69	.05	.35

1. correlation between age and experience ($r = .71^{xx}$)
2. correlation between age and experience ($r = .71^{xx}$)
3. correlation between age and experience ($r = .88^{xx}$)
4. correlation between age and experience ($r = .69^{xx}$)

Table 11 (cont'd)

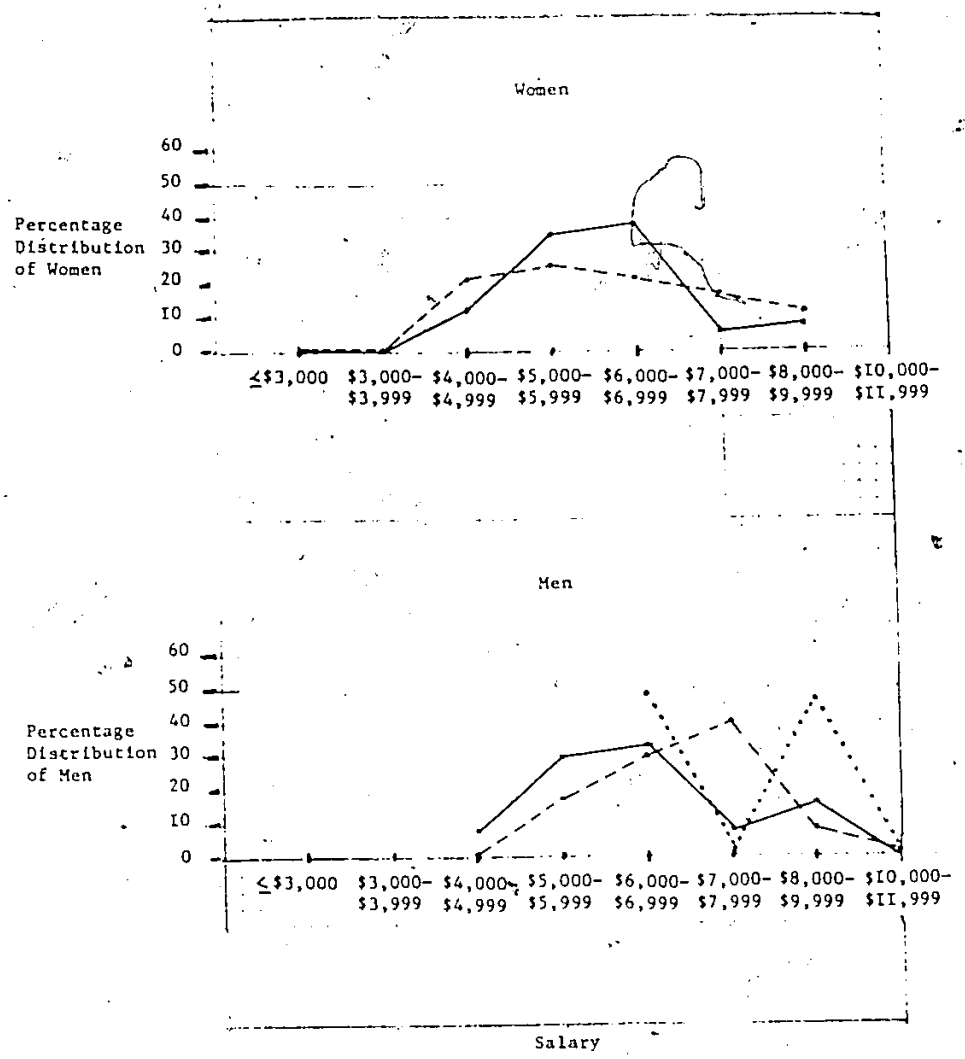
GRAPH I

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AND MEN'S SALARIES FOR EACH POSITION CATEGORY IN THE FRENCH CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM



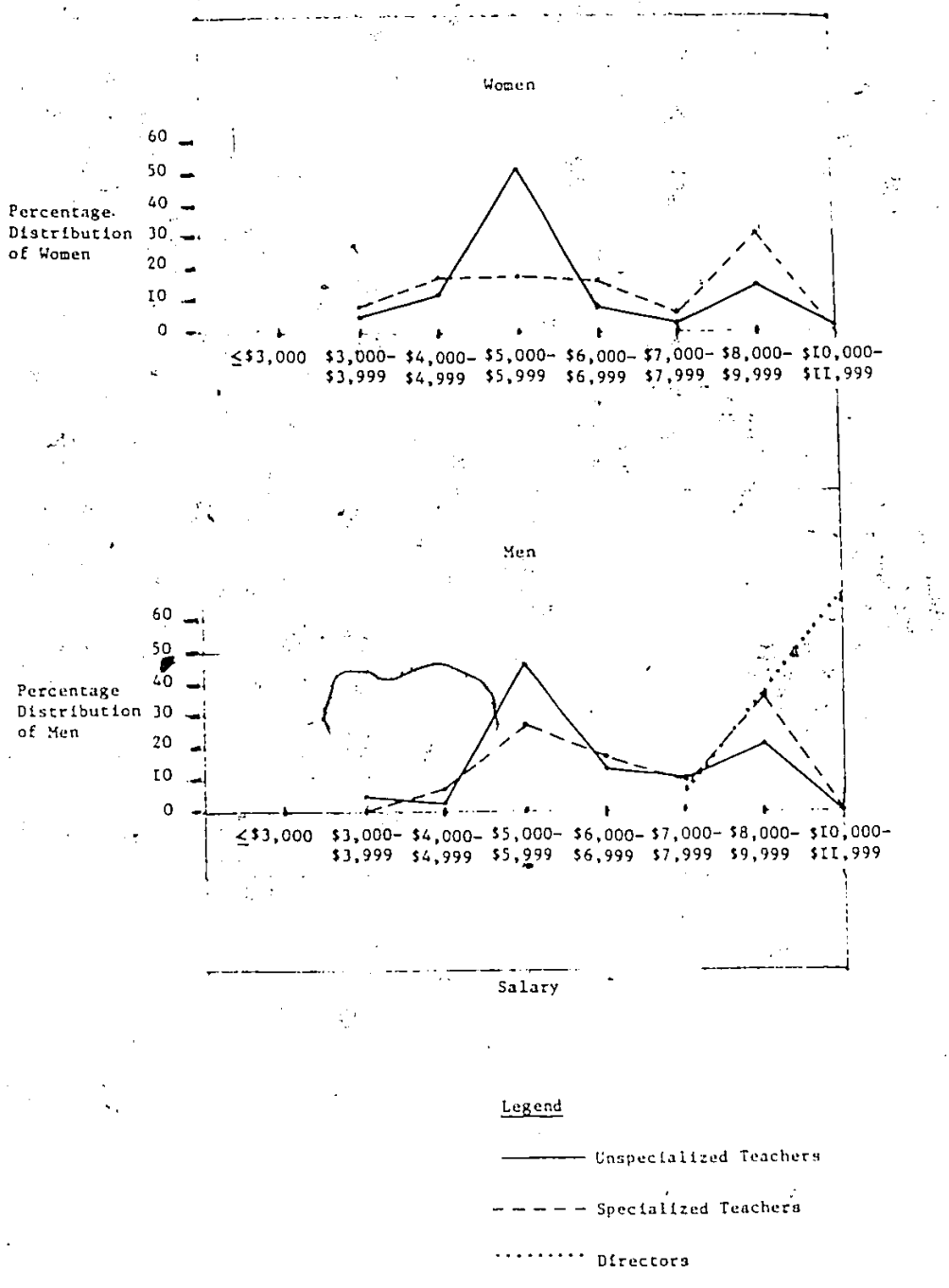
GRAPH II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AND MEN'S SALARIES FOR EACH POSITION CATEGORY IN THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM



GRAPH III

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AND MEN'S SALARIES FOR EACH POSITION CATEGORY IN THE ENGLISH PROTESTANT SCHOOL SYSTEM



Appendix I

Correlation Matrices of Independent and Dependent Variables for Gender and Ethnic Groups

Total Sample

	experience	age	marital status	gender	school size	community size	school system	position	salary
education	.14^{xx}	.17^{xx}	.15^{xx}	.32^{xx}	.26^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.13^{xx}	.08^{x}	.50^{xx}
experience		.77^{xx}	.27^{xx}	.04 n.s.	.18^{xx}	.18^{xx}	.15^{xx}	.07 n.s.	.57^{xx}
age			.36^{xx}	.08^{x}	.15^{xx}	.14^{xx}	.20^{xx}	.10^{xx}	.55^{xx}
marital status				.28^{xx}	.05 n.s.	.04 n.s.	.05 n.s.	.10^{xx}	.40^{xx}
gender					.10^{xx}	.10^{xx}	-.11^{xx}	.20^{xx}	.49^{xx}
school size						.42^{xx}	.20^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.37^{xx}
community size							.33^{xx}	.10^{xx}	.32^{xx}
school system								-.09^{xx}	.14^{xx}
position									.23^{xx}

Women

education	.09 n.s.	.14^{x}	-.00 n.s.	.31^{xx}	-.32^{xx}	.49^{xx}	.09 n.s.	.45^{xx}
experience		.71^{xx}	.19^{xx}	.26^{xx}	.20^{xx}	.29^{xx}	.05 n.s.	.62^{xx}
age			.40^{xx}	.17^{xx}	.07 n.s.	.31^{xx}	.03 n.s.	.57^{xx}
marital status				-.07 n.s.	-.06 n.s.	.12^{x}	-.15^{xx}	.24^{xx}
gender					.66^{xx}	.36^{xx}	.28^{xx}	.50^{xx}
school size						.46^{xx}	.15^{xx}	.46^{xx}
community size							.00n.s.	.44^{xx}
school system								.16^{xx}
position								

Men

education	.15^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.10^{x}	.22^{xx}	.09 n.s.	.06 n.s.	.00 n.s.	.42^{xx}
experience		.81^{xx}	.31^{xx}	.13^{xx}	.17^{xx}	.07 n.s.	.07 n.s.	.64^{xx}
age			.33^{xx}	.12^{xx}	.19^{xx}	.14^{xx}	.12^{xx}	.61^{xx}
marital status				.04 n.s.	.07 n.s.	.01 n.s.	.15^{xx}	.35^{xx}
gender					.24^{xx}	.12^{xx}	.06 n.s.	.28^{xx}
school size						.26^{xx}	.03 n.s.	.18^{xx}
community size							-.12^{xx}	.05 n.s.
school system								.15^{xx}
position								

x = p <.01
xx = p <.001

- = not included in calculations

French Catholics

	experience	age	marital status	gender	school size	community size	school system	position	salary
education	.17^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.20^{xx}	.39^{xx}	.26^{xx}	.13^{xx}		.11^{xx}	.51^{xx}
experience		.77^{xx}	.35^{xx}	.10^{x}	.14^{xx}	.17^{xx}		.01 n.s.	.55^{xx}
age			.43^{xx}	.15^{xx}	.11^{xx}	.12^{xx}		.08^{x}	.52^{xx}
marital status				.31^{xx}	.10^{xx}	.09^{x}		.10^{xx}	.45^{xx}
gender					.17^{xx}	.22^{xx}		.20^{xx}	.59^{xx}
school size						.36^{xx}		.16^{xx}	.39^{xx}
community size								.10^{xx}	.32^{xx}
school system									
position									.21^{xx}

French Catholic women

education	-.02 n.s.	.02 n.s.	-.10 n.s.	.12 n.s.	.07 n.s.	.18^{xx}	.22^{xx}
experience		.60^{xx}	.35^{xx}	.27^{xx}	.19^{xx}	-.01 n.s.	.60^{xx}
age			.55^{xx}	.12 n.s.	-.05 n.s.	-.03 n.s.	.46^{xx}
marital status				.01 n.s.	-.14^{x}	-.17^{x}	.33^{xx}
school size					.69^{xx}	.35^{xx}	.53^{xx}
community size						.15^{x}	.37^{xx}
position							.14^{x}

French Catholic men

education	.18^{xx}	.14^{xx}	.13^{xx}	.25^{xx}	.05 n.s.	-.02 n.s.	.43^{xx}
experience		.84^{xx}	.33^{xx}	.08 n.s.	.14^{xx}	.01 n.s.	.63^{xx}
age			.35^{xx}	.07 n.s.	.18^{xx}	.09 n.s.	.58^{xx}
marital status				.07 n.s.	.12^{xx}	.16^{xx}	.37^{xx}
school size					.12^{xx}	.08 n.s.	.28^{xx}
community size						.10^{x}	.17^{xx}
position							.07 n.s.

Appendix I (cont'd)

English Catholics

	experience	age	marital status	gender	school size	community size	school system	position	salary
education	-.01	.19 n.s.	-.12 n.s.	.13 n.s.	.11 n.s.	-.01 n.s.		-.01 n.s.	$.42^{xx}$
experience		$.71^{xx}$	-.03	-.02	$.24^{x}$	.19 n.s.		.11 n.s.	$.55^{xx}$
age			.08 n.s.	-.02	.16 n.s.	.07 n.s.		.19 n.s.	$.62^{xx}$
marital status				.20 n.s.	-.20 n.s.	$-.34^{xx}$		.03 n.s.	.17 n.s.
gender					-.06 n.s.	-.17 n.s.		.09 n.s.	$.26^{x}$
school size						$.49^{xx}$		-.13 n.s.	.12 n.s.
community size								$-.26^{x}$	-.09 n.s.
school system									$.24^{x}$
position									

English Catholic women

	experience	age	marital status	school size	community size	position	salary
education	-.02 n.s.	.11 n.s.	-.05 n.s.	.21 n.s.	-.16 n.s.	-.11 n.s.	$.39^{x}$
experience		$.70^{xx}$	-.17 n.s.	.11 n.s.	.17 n.s.	.19 n.s.	$.56^{xx}$
age			.01 n.s.	.05 n.s.	.08 n.s.	.15 n.s.	$.56^{xx}$
marital status				-.29 n.s.	-.29 n.s.	-.20 n.s.	-.03 n.s.
school size					$.35^{x}$	.01 n.s.	.08 n.s.
community size						.28 n.s.	-.11 n.s.
position							.09 n.s.

English Catholic men

	experience	age	marital status	school size	community size	position	salary
education	.01 n.s.	.27 n.s.	-.23 n.s.	.05 n.s.	.11 n.s.	.02 n.s.	$.42^{xx}$
experience		$.71^{xx}$	.12 n.s.	$.37^{x}$	.22 n.s.	.05 n.s.	$.59^{xx}$
age			.16 n.s.	.28 n.s.	.06 n.s.	.23 n.s.	$.74^{xx}$
marital status				-.09 n.s.	$-.35^{x}$	.16 n.s.	.27 n.s.
school size					$.61^{xx}$	-.23 n.s.	.20 n.s.
community size						$-.47^{xx}$	-.02 n.s.
position							$.33^{x}$

Appendix I (cont'd)

English Protestants

	experience	age	marital status	gender	school size	community size	school system	position	salary
education	-.05 n.s.	.00 n.s.	-.05 n.s.	.12 n.s.	.23^{x}	.19 n.s.		.13 n.s.	.39^{xx}
experience		.80^{xx}	.08 n.s.	-.15 n.s.	.11 n.s.	.08 n.s.		.28^{x}	.64^{xx}
age			.21 n.s.	-.07 n.s.	-.01 n.s.	-.06 n.s.		.24^{x}	.65^{xx}
marital status				.20 n.s.	-.13 n.s.	-.10 n.s.		.06 n.s.	.13 n.s.
gender					-.11 n.s.	-.10 n.s.		.03 n.s.	.15 n.s.
school size						.88^{xx}		.33^{xx}	.33^{xx}
community size								.36^{xx}	.30^{xx}
school system									
position									.43^{xx}

English Protestant women

education	-.13 n.s.	-.18 n.s.	-.09 n.s.		.53^{xx}	.50^{xx}		.09 n.s.	.40^{x}
experience		.88^{xx}	-.04 n.s.		-.08 n.s.	-.24 n.s.		.12 n.s.	.63^{xx}
age			.14 n.s.		-.19 n.s.	-.35^{x}		.13 n.s.	.64^{xx}
marital status					-.16 n.s.	-.16 n.s.		-.04 n.s.	-.10 n.s.
school size						.89^{xx}		.34^{x}	.40^{x}
community size								.37^{x}	.30 n.s.
position									.35^{x}

English Protestant men

education	.05 n.s.	.20 n.s.	-.07 n.s.		.09 n.s.	.04 n.s.		.16 n.s.	.36^{x}
experience		.69^{xx}	.27 n.s.		.24 n.s.	.30^{x}		.43^{xx}	.73^{xx}
age			.34^{x}		.14 n.s.	.16 n.s.		.36^{x}	.72^{xx}
marital status					-.07 n.s.	-.03 n.s.		.14 n.s.	.31^{x}
school size						.87^{xx}		.34^{x}	.32^{x}
community size								.37^{x}	.35^{x}
position									.50^{xx}

Appendix I (cont'd)

Appendix II

The following questions, taken from the questionnaire distributed to secondary school teachers in the province of Quebec by Breton (1972), were used in this study. A concise explanation of how each variable was recoded for use in statistical analyses is also included.

Gender

Question 10. Sexe:

Homme 1
Femme 2

The female category of teachers was recoded as 1 and the male category of teachers was recoded as 2.

School System

The school systems had already been coded by Murphy (1981) from the school identification codes into three ethno-religious systems.

French Catholic school system 1
English Catholic school system 2
English Protestant school system 3

Teacher's Education

Question 4. Indiquez les écoles où vous avez obtenu un certificat ou un diplôme?

Ecole secondaire: cours général ou scientifique	1.-42
Ecole secondaire: cours commercial	1.-43
Ecole de métiers ou école d'agriculture	1.-44
Collège commercial ou école d'agriculture	1.-44
Ecole normale ou Institut de pédagogie	1.-46
Institut de technologie où autre institut d'enseignement technique	1.-47
Collège ou université: niveau du baccalauréat	1.-49
Université: niveau de la licence, de la maîtrise ou du doctorat	1.-51
Grand Séminaire ou Scolasticat	1.-53
Autre	1.-54

Since multiple responses were given for education, each level of education was given a value unable to be factored by a common denominator. These numbers were then added together so that patterns of teacher's education were derived. Of the combination of levels of education, the most important level of education for teaching was used in order to recode the levels of education into six categories. Teachers who had completed 'école secondaire-cours général ou scientifique', 'école secondaire-cours commercial', 'école de metiers ou école d'agriculture', or some combination of these were recoded into the category "completed secondary school". Teachers who had completed 'collège commercial ou école d'affaires' or 'institut de technologie ou autre institut d'enseignement technique' were also recoded into the category "completed secondary school" on the assumption that they had completed secondary school. Those who had some combination of secondary school and normal school with or without technical training were recoded into the category "completed secondary school and normal school". Teachers who had checked the 'collège ou université-niveau de

baccalauréat' category of education remained as one category, and all of those who had checked some combination of secondary school or technical school and 'collège ou université' were recoded as "completed a bachelor's degree". This same process was followed for teachers who checked 'Université: niveau de la licence, de la maîtrise ou du doctorat': all were recoded as "completed graduate degree". Teachers in the 'Grand Séminaire ou Scholasticat' category were recoded into the 'Université: niveau de la licence' category. There was also a distinction made between teachers who "completed a bachelor's degree with normal school" and "completed a graduate degree with normal school". Those who had checked 'other' only were recoded as missing values.

Teacher's Experience

Question 12. Pendant combien d'anneés avez-vous enseigné?

	dans cette école-ci	dans d'autres écoles
un an ou moins	1	1
2-3 ans	2	2
4-5 ans	3	3
6-10 ans	4	4
11-15 ans	5	5
16-20 ans	6	6
21-25 ans	7	7
26 ans ou plus	8	8

The categories of years of experience 'in this school' were given values of 1 to 8, and the categories of years of experience 'in another school' were given values of 10 to 80. These scores were then added together giving a score which both included and distinguished between past and present teaching experience. For each score, the minimum and maximum

possible number of years of teaching experience were calculated and the midpoint between them was taken as the total number of years of teaching experience. Half years were rounded up.

Age

Question 7. Quel âge avez-vous?

moins de 25 ans	1
25 à 29 ans	2
30 à 34 ans	3
35 à 39 ans	4
40 à 49 ans	5
50 à 59 ans	6
60 où plus	7

These categories were unchanged for statistical analyses.

Marital Status

Question 8: Quel es votre état civil?

Célibataire	1
Marié(e)	2
Veuf(ve)	3
Séparé(e) ou divorcé(e)	4

Widowed, separated and divorced were recoded as single.

School Size

The number of classes taught in each school was taken as the measure of school size.

10 or less	1
11 - 20	2
21 - 30	3
31 - 40	4
41 - 50	5
51 - 60	6
61 - 70	7
71 - 80	8
81 - 90	9
91	0

There were no schools that had 41 classes or more in this study.

Community Size

Community size was measured by the size of community in which the school was located.

less than 1,000	1
1,000 - 4,999	2
5,000 - 9,999	3
10,000 - 39,999	4
40,000 - 69,999	5
70,000 - 99,000	6
100,000 - 249,000	7
250,000 - 499,999	8
500,000	9

The first two categories were recoded into one category. There were very few communities of 40,000 to 249,000 inhabitants so categories 5, 6, 7 and 8 were recoded together making a total of 5 categories, coded 1 to 5.

Teacher's Position

Question 2. Quel poste occupez-vous dans votre école?

Directeur adjoint	1
Chef de section ou département	2
Adjoint au chef de section ou département	3
Professeur non spécialisé	4
Professeur spécialisé	5
Conseilleur d'orientation	6

Categories 1, 2 and 3 were recoded into a single category of directors. The few guidance counsellors were recoded as specialized teachers.

Teacher's Salary

Question 11. Quel est votre salaire annuel?

$3,000 ou moins	0
$3,000 à 3,999	1
$4,000 à 4,999	2
$5,000 à 5,999	3
$6,000 à 6,999	4
$7,000 à 7,999	5
$8,000 à 9,999	6
$10,000 à 11,999	7
$12,00 ou plus	8

These categories remained unchanged for the statistical analyses.

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