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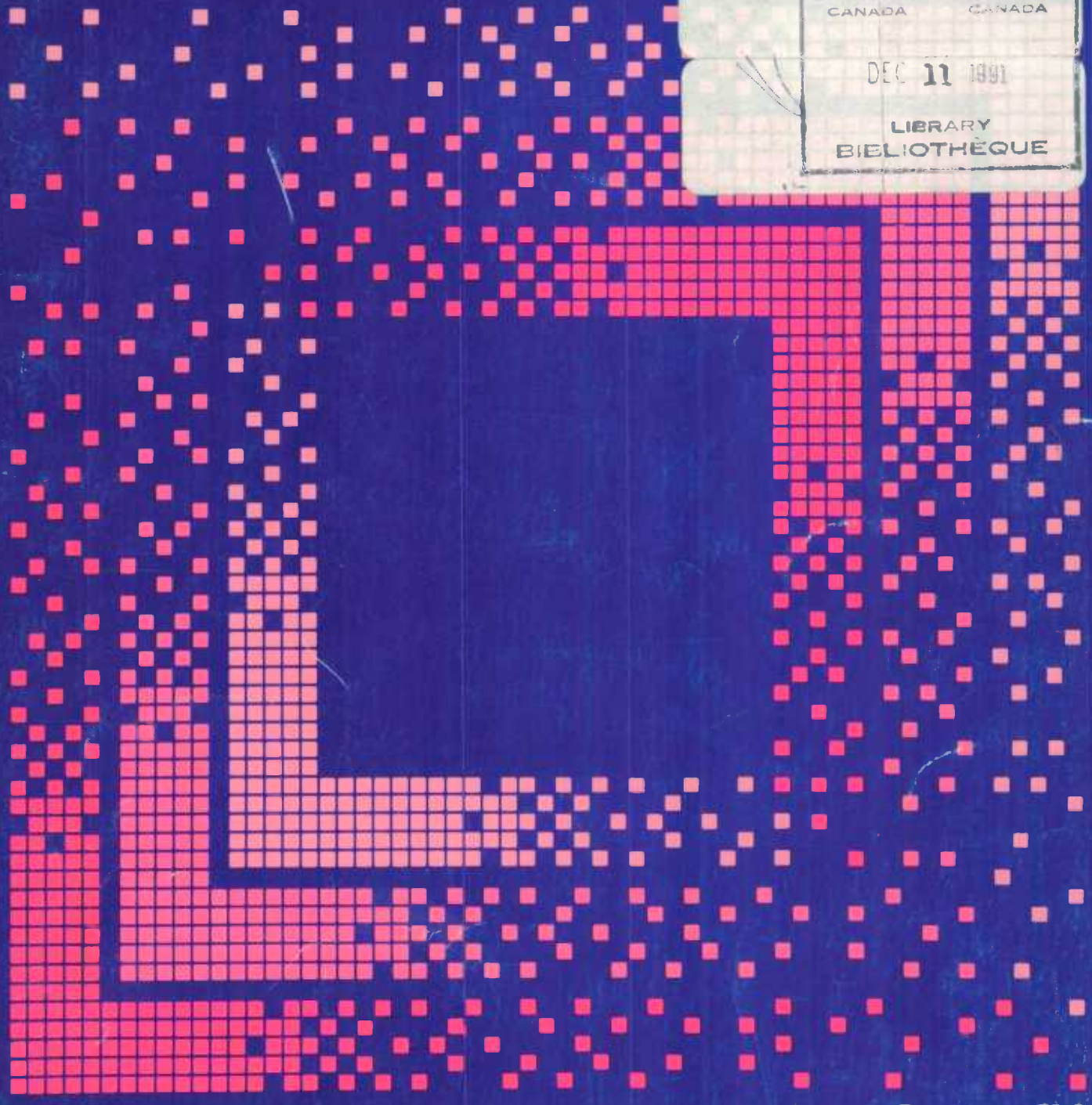
Ups and downs on the ladder of success: Social mobility in Canada



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Ups and downs on the ladder of success: Social mobility in Canada

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PREFACE

The General Social Survey has two principal objectives: first, to gather data on social trends in order to monitor changes in Canadian society over time, and second, to provide information on specific social issues of current or emerging interest.

The second annual cycle of the General Social Survey, which collected data during November and December of 1986, concentrated on time use, social mobility and language knowledge and use. A data file from this survey was released in December 1989 and a number of articles based on the data have been published in **Canadian Social Trends**. This report provides a more detailed analysis of the survey data on social mobility.

The study of social mobility is concerned with the relationship between parents' education and occupation and those of their children, as well as the relationship between a person's first job and subsequent jobs. Social mobility has been a topic of academic research in Canada and many other countries although, in Canada, a national social mobility survey had not been conducted since 1973. In response to the demands of researchers for more current data, Statistics Canada added several questions on the subject to its 1986 General Social Survey (GSS). This report, which Statistics Canada is pleased to publish as part of its series on the analysis of GSS data, presents the results of analysis carried out by Gillian Creese, Neil Guppy and Martin Meisner of the University of British Columbia.

In recognition of the broad scope of the data being produced by the General Social Survey, as well as the wide range of expected users from governments, universities, institutes, business, media and the general public, the project has placed particular emphasis on access to the survey database. The public use microdata file allows researchers to carry out their own analysis of this rich database. Copies of this microdata file can be obtained by contacting the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada. Ghislaine Villeneuve was the manager for the 1986 General Social Survey.

Ivan P. Fellegi
Chief Statistician of Canada

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

HIGHLIGHTS

The second General Social Survey, carried out in November and December of 1986, collected information on time use, social mobility and language knowledge and use. The sample covered the non-institutionalized population, 15 years of age and older, throughout the 10 provinces of Canada. The data were gathered by telephone with an overall response rate of approximately 79%.

The 1986 General Social Survey collected information on time use (what each respondent did, for how long, with whom and where, for a 24 hour period running from 4:00 a.m. one day to 4:00 a.m. the next), inter-generational and intra-generational mobility, personal well-being, and language knowledge and use. Some of the language variables refer to past periods in the respondent's lifetime, such as, the languages spoken at home in childhood and adolescence, while many of the variables deal with the use of languages at the time of the survey.

This document covers only the social mobility portion of the survey. The time use and language information are presented in separate reports.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

- Most Canadians experience occupational mobility in comparison to the occupations of their fathers (inter-generational mobility). Only 12% of women and 26% of men experienced no mobility at all.

- Occupational inheritance is most common among men whose fathers are in the professional classes, the upper white-collar sector, and in farming. Women experience little occupational inheritance between themselves and their fathers.

- Canadians are more likely to experience upward rather than downward inter-generational mobility. Forty-eight percent of women and 39% of men moved upward in the occupational hierarchy. Most of this occupational mobility was short range in nature.

- Women also experienced higher rates of downward mobility than men, in comparison to their fathers' occupations (40% compared with 36%).

- Ethnicity, as indicated by first language spoken, had opposite effects on the inter-generational mobility patterns of men and women. Men, whose first language was neither English nor French (allophones), had the highest rates of upward occupational mobility and the lowest rates downward. Allophone women had the lowest rates upward and the highest rates downward.

- Nativity, as indicated by whether the respondent and both parents were born in Canada, had opposite effects on the inter-generational mobility patterns of men and women. Among men, the highest levels of upward occupational mobility and the lowest rates downward were among those who were not Canadian-born or whose parents were not Canadian-born. Among women, the lowest rates up and the highest rates down were found among those not Canadian-born.

- Most Canadians experienced no occupational mobility in their own working life (intra-generational mobility). Women were more likely to stay at one occupational level than men (56% compared with 49%, respectively).

- Men experienced more upward intra-generational mobility than women (32% compared with 24%, respectively), and were much more likely to experience long range upward mobility.

- Patterns of intra-generational mobility vary with age, but in opposite ways for men and women. Older men experienced more upward mobility, while older women experienced more downward mobility.

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND EDUCATION

- There has been substantial upgrading of educational levels between generations: 48% of parents, but only 14% of their children have not gone past Grade 8. Only 16% of parents have had at least some postsecondary education compared with 43% of their children. Canadians, who are 65 or older, are four times more likely to have no more than a Grade 10 education than people under age 40.

- About half of the educational mobility (i.e. excluding cases where the parents' and children's education level is the same) is "structural", due to overall upgrading, and half is "circulation" mobility.

- The chances of attaining a postsecondary education (at least some college or university) are twice as great for people whose parents had postsecondary education as for people whose parents did not go beyond Grade 10.

- In comparison to older Canadians, younger Canadians

have attained a higher level of education and are more likely to have exceeded their parents' level of education.

- Generally, the gender of the respondents or their parents accounts for little difference in educational mobility. One exception is that the son of a parent with Grade 8 or less has more of a chance of attaining a university degree than does a daughter. A second exception is, that in each age category, women are more likely to inherit the educational status of their mother.

- The chance of a woman being a full-time homemaker is higher if a woman's mother also was a full-time homemaker than when her mother had a job in the paid labour force.

STATUS ATTAINMENT

- Canadian-born women and men in the labour force come from similar socio-economic backgrounds, whereas in the early 1970s, women in the labour force were from higher socio-economic backgrounds than were men.

- Foreign-born women and men in the labour force come from higher socio-economic backgrounds than do Canadian-born women and men in the labour force.

- Women in the labour force, both Canadian- and foreign-born, have a higher average number of years of schooling than do men.

- Women's initial jobs in the labour market average slightly higher socio-economic status than do the first jobs of men.

- Men experience more upward mobility than do women, despite the fact that men average fewer years of schooling than women.

- Father's education and occupation has a stronger effect on the education levels and first jobs of men than of women.

- There is a stronger link between first job and current job of women than of men.

- Young, foreign-born women experience the least amount of upward mobility, and their occupational destinies are strongly influenced by their father's occupation and education.

- The higher the level of education and the greater the socio-economic status of a person's father, the more years of schooling people are likely to complete.

- A person's first job in the labour market is principally influenced by their level of education, and parental education and occupation have little direct effect on labour market entry.

- People's current jobs are influenced most by their starting positions in the labour force, and not by their level of schooling.

- Anglophone men experience more upward, intra-generational mobility than do francophone men, and anglophone women experience more upward, intra-generational mobility than do francophone women.

- The mobility experiences of francophones are more influenced by family origin and subsequent educational and first job attainments than is the case for anglophones. This suggests a slightly more open opportunity structure for anglophones.

OVERVIEW

OBJECTIVES

The General Social Survey was initiated by Statistics Canada in order to reduce gaps in the statistical information system, particularly in relation to socio-economic trends. Many of these gaps could not be filled through existing data sources or vehicles because of the range or periodicity of the information required, or the lack of capacity of relevant vehicles.

The General Social Survey has two principal objectives: first, to gather data on trends in Canadian society over time, and second, to provide information on specific policy issues of interest. To meet these objectives, the General Social Survey was established as a continuing program with a single survey cycle each year.

CONTENT

The General Social Survey (GSS) gathers a wide variety of data to meet different kinds of needs for a very broad spectrum of users. To achieve the objectives outlined above, the GSS has three components: Core, Focus and Classification.

Core content is directed primarily at monitoring long-term social trends by measurement of temporal changes in living conditions and well-being. Main topics within Core content include health, personal risk, work, education, family and social support. As all Core content topics cannot be treated adequately in each survey cycle, a single cycle covers a specific topic, which recurs on a periodic basis. The Core content of the 1986 General Social Survey, the second cycle, was on time use and social mobility. The topics covered were daily activities done on own and with others, inter-generational and intra-generational mobility and personal well-being.

Focus content is aimed at meeting the second objective of the General Social Survey, namely, to provide information touching directly on a specific policy issue or social problem, such as youth unemployment. In comparison to Core content, Focus is more specific to immediate policy issues. For the second cycle of the General Social Survey, a consortium of clients sponsored language knowledge and use as the topic for Focus content.

Classification content provides the means of delineating population groups and is used in the analysis of Core and Focus data. Examples of classification variables are age, sex, education and income.

This report covers only the social mobility component of the survey. Separate publications cover time use and language data.

SAMPLE DESIGN

The target population of the 1986 General Social Survey consisted of all persons 15 years and over living in the 10 provinces of Canada, with the exception of full-time residents of institutions.

The population was sampled using random digit dialling techniques and interviewed by telephone, thus excluding from the sample those persons living in households without telephones. These households account for less than 3% of the target population. The sample was allocated to provinces in proportion to the square root of the size of their populations, and to strata (geographic areas) within provinces in proportion to their population.

There were two samples selected for Cycle 2 of the General Social Survey - the core sample and the focus sample.

The core sample consisted of approximately 12,500 households across 10 provinces. Persons in this sample were asked questions on time use (i.e. daily activities), social mobility, language use and classification information (e.g. demographic information). A response was obtained from 9,946 of these households.

An additional sample of approximately 9,500 households was interviewed by telephone during the same period in order to collect adequate language data in bilingual areas. Although similar questionnaires were used, the section on daily activities was excluded to reduce response burden. In total, 16,390 responses were obtained for the language and social mobility data.

Appendix I contains additional information on the sample design and estimation procedures.

DATA COLLECTION AND FORMS

Three questionnaires were used to conduct the interviews: the selection control form (GSS 2-1), and two versions of the main questionnaire (GSS 2-2 and GSS 2-2A). The GSS 2-2 and GSS 2-2A are identical except that the GSS 2-2A does not have the section on time use. The latter was used for respondents in the additional sample. Copies of the questionnaires used are shown in Appendix II.

Interviewing for the survey was conducted by telephone

in two phases. The first phase consisted of screening telephone numbers and selecting a household respondent. It took place during the period October 25th to November 21st, 1986. The second phase consisted of interviewing the selected respondent using the main questionnaire and took place from November 22nd to December 22nd, 1986. All telephone interviewing took place from centralized telephone facilities in Statistics Canada's regional offices. No proxy responses to the questionnaires were accepted.

DATA PROCESSING AND ESTIMATION

Data capture personnel in Statistics Canada's regional offices keyed data directly from the survey questionnaires into minicomputers. These data were then transmitted electronically to Ottawa. All survey records were subjected to an extensive computer edit. Partial non-responses and flow pattern errors were identified. Missing or incorrect data were recoded as "unknown", or in a very few cases, imputed from other areas of the same questionnaire.

Each person in a probability sample can be considered to represent a number of others in the surveyed population. In recognition of this, and utilizing sample design information, each survey record was assigned a weight that reflected the number of individuals in the population that the record represented. These weights were adjusted for non-response and for the differences between the target population and the surveyed population using population counts for the target population, as well as to equally represent each day of the week for the main sample. The estimates presented in this report were calculated using the adjusted weights for the total sample. More information on the sampling and estimation procedures can be found in Appendix I.

DATA LIMITATIONS

It is important to recognize that the figures which appear in this report are estimates based on data collected from a small fraction of the population (roughly one person in 1,200 for social mobility) and are subject to error. The error can be divided into two components: sampling error and non-sampling error.

Sampling error is the difference between an estimate derived from the sample and the one that would have been obtained from a census that used the same procedures to collect data from every person in the population. The size of the sampling error can be estimated from the survey results and an indication of the magnitude of this error is given for the estimates in this report. Figure A shows the relationship between the size of an estimate and its sampling error (expressed as the coefficient of variation: the ratio of the standard deviation to the estimate). If the estimated sampling error is greater than 33% of the estimate, it is considered too unreliable to publish and the symbol '--' is printed in table cells where this occurs. In terms of Figure A, all population estimates below point (A) on the estimate axis (population or incident) fall into this "unreliable" category. Although not considered too unreliable to publish, estimates with an estimated error between 16.5% and 33% of the related estimate should be "qualified" and used with caution. All estimates between points (A) and (B) on the estimate axis of Figure A fall into this "qualified" category.

All other types of errors, such as coverage, response, processing, and non-response, are non-sampling errors. Many of these errors are difficult to identify and quantify.

Coverage errors arise when there are differences between the target population and the surveyed population. Households without telephones represent a part of the target population that was excluded from the surveyed one. To the extent that this exclusion differs from the rest of the target population, the estimates will be biased. Since these exclusions are small, one would expect the biases introduced to be small. However, since there are correlations between a number of questions asked on this survey and the groups excluded, the biases may be more significant than the small size of the groups would suggest.

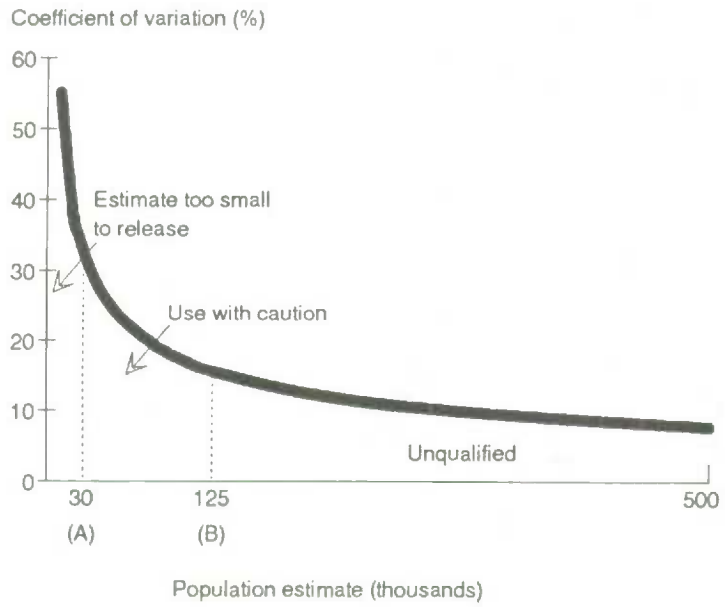
Individuals residing in institutions were also excluded from the surveyed population. The effect of this exclusion is greatest for persons 65 years and over, where it approaches 9% of this age group.

Similarly, the estimates will be biased to the extent that the non-responding households and persons differ from the rest of the sample. The overall response rate for the survey was over 79%. Non-response could occur at several stages in this survey as there were two stages of information collection: at the household level and at the individual level. For most questions, the response rate was high and, in tables, the non-responses are excluded.

While refusal to answer specific questions was very low, accuracy of recall and ability to answer some questions completely can be expected to affect some of the results presented in the subsequent chapters. Awareness of exact question wording (Appendix II) will help the reader interpret the survey results.

Figure A
Estimated sampling variability by size of estimate, Canada

Core sample, Persons 15 years and over



Note: Only coefficients of variation (c.v.) applicable to estimates for Canada as a whole are shown in Figure A. The difference between the true population size and the estimated population size (expressed as a percentage of the estimate) will be less than the c.v. 65% of the time, less than twice the c.v. 95% of the time and less then three times the c.v. 99% of the time.

General Social Survey, 1986

CHAPTER 2
WHY STUDY SOCIAL MOBILITY?

WHY STUDY SOCIAL MOBILITY?

Social mobility is about movement within a society. People moving up or down between social strata or social positions are socially mobile. In the imagery of our title, social mobility is movement along a ladder of success. In comparison to geographic mobility, where reference is to movement from place to place, social mobility implies movement through a social hierarchy.

Both types of mobility, geographic and social, focus on people who move (movers) and people who stay put (stayers). For analysts of social mobility, movers are individuals who are either upwardly or downwardly mobile, while stayers are people who remain in one social stratum over time.

The phrase "social mobility" is awkward in this sense, since it highlights movers and ignores stayers. It is useful to remember that the study of social mobility incorporates both those who change social positions and those who do not (good treatments of the vast social mobility literature can be found in Boyd et al., 1985; Matras, 1980; and Porter, 1968).

Some people, although few, start life very poor and work their way up the social ladder to hold secure, well-paying jobs (i.e. the "rags to riches" metaphor). Others begin in circumstances of wealth and find themselves falling to more humble positions, although again, the numbers are few. Both situations illustrate long-range movements – one upwardly mobile, the other downwardly mobile.

For the vast majority of Canadians, life brings little social mobility. The changes in social position that people experience are generally modest, any movement being up or down a rung or two on the ladder of success. Very few people experience large changes, either upward or downward, in social position.

One reason for studying social mobility is to determine exactly how much movement there is in Canada. How many Canadians experience upward and downward social mobility, and how much of that movement is of long versus short range?

Not everyone, as stated, is socially mobile. Some people remain or continue in a particular social position for extended periods of time. The converse of the question "how much mobility" is also of interest -- " how many Canadians experience no mobility or are socially immobile?" For those who are mobile, movement implies an origin and a destination. In studies of social mobility, origin is usually determined by either a person's family background (their parents' social position) or by their own education or first job. Destination is typically measured as the social position a person now occupies, often captured as either their current job or level of education.

The terminology used to discuss social mobility stresses the study of changes in social position across one's own lifetime or in comparison with one's parents. These two perspectives are labelled, respectively, intra-generational mobility and inter-generational mobility. To study the mobility experiences of individuals, during their time in the work force, is to study intra-generational occupational mobility or career mobility. Inter-generational mobility examines changes that occur between generations, typically between parents and their offspring, although one Canadian study has actually charted mobility across four generations (Goyder and Curtis, 1977).

In certain societies, we would expect no mobility even over four generations. In the European feudal period, for example, if you were a child of peasant farmers or the landed aristocracy, your fate was decided at birth since there was no mobility between these two distinct strata. Family origin determined personal destination, opportunities for advancement (or slippage) were almost non-existent. Almost everyone was a stayer, almost no-one was a mover.

In Canada, the tie between origin and destination is now much looser than in feudal societies. Today, a person's chances in life are less tied to the circumstances of one's birth.

A second theme in social mobility research is, therefore, a focus on equality of opportunity -- the degree to which individuals from all social positions have access to all other social positions. These are issues of life chances. Just how equal are the chances or opportunities that people face -- is the deck stacked against people from some social strata and does fortune smile most on those born to affluent parents?

Equality of opportunity is also discussed in relation to the "openness" or "fluidity" of society. In an open or fluid society, there is only a modest association between a person's social origin and their destination. A society is fluid if there is a lot of movement, if access to social positions does not depend on the social class into which you were born. Mobility, under these circumstances, is termed "circulation mobility". The greater the amount of individual or circulation mobility, the more open is the society.

This raises the question of the causes of mobility. Why are people mobile? Is it a function of a person's skills and ambitions, should we understand the occupational mobility process as resulting from a competitive process where talent and effort determine who gets what jobs? Conceiving of mobility in this manner stresses ideas of "circulation" or "exchange" -- people rise and fall in the occupational structure as a consequence of their individual abilities and ambitions.

An alternative, and generally more powerful reason why people are socially mobile, has to do with changes in the occupational structure of a society. In the wake of economic and technological changes have come requirements for new skills and knowledge, while demand for other existing abilities has waned. These changes in requirements have opened and closed available occupational possibilities. In 1901, for example, about 40% of Canadians worked in agriculture, while now it is less than 5%. Many of us had grandparents who were farmers, but fewer of us have parents who farmed, and still fewer Canadians are farmers now. This means that relative to our parents and grandparents, many of us had to be mobile -- many people have had to move off the farm to find work.

Given this changing distribution of jobs in the labour market, there is now more demand for people with non-manual skills, especially skills required in the expanding service industries. Compared to a previous generation, some individuals have had to be socially mobile simply because the distribution of jobs has changed. Since this mobility is forced because of changes over time in the occupational structure, it is referred to as either "forced" or "structural" mobility.

The contrast between "circulation" and "structural" mobility highlights a third theme in mobility research. How much inter-generational mobility is a consequence of the changing distribution of jobs? That is, how many movers had to change positions because of shrinkage in the positions their parents occupied, compared to those who moved through dint of their own efforts?

This contrast between structural and circulation mobility is especially important for the issue of the openness or fluidity of society. If all mobility were found to be a consequence of changes in the distribution of jobs, then the concept of mobility due to individual initiative and ability would be less salient. Movement on the ladder of success would be more attributable to changes in the ladder itself (e.g. more rungs higher up, fewer lower down), and less to the skills and efforts of people on the ladder.

Nevertheless, even if all mobility were structural, it would still be important to determine which individuals take advantage of openings that materialize. Are the relative mobility chances of individuals from all social positions equal, or do some groups have a greater likelihood than others of taking advantage of job openings?

For example, would individuals whose parents held labouring jobs in a local plant and individuals whose parents were supervisors in the same firm, have an equal chance of finding work in the expanding occupations of banking, teaching, or medicine? That is, would the relative mobility chances of people from two different backgrounds be equal? Many would say no, the chances would not be equal. They would point not to equality of opportunity, but to equality of condition as the key. The argument would be that the resources which each family could offer to their offspring would differ both materially (e.g. income) and socially (e.g. networks).

Others would make reference to education and suggest that our system of schooling acts to even up the mobility chances of people from all social strata. Schooling is free, resources are relatively equal across school districts, and school personnel are taught to be sensitive to the needs of students from divergent backgrounds. For these and other reasons, education has been added as a central component of mobility research. This allows a test of the claim that education acts to equalize relative mobility chances.

One manner in which this has been done is to ask if there is equality of educational opportunity, or conversely, does family background play a major role in shaping the educational attainment of children? Phrased slightly differently, how much educational mobility has there been -- is the educational level of parents related to the educational level their children attain?

Another way of examining education has been to ask whether it is family background or education that plays a more important role in influencing the occupational destinies of people. If education is an equalizer in the sense of providing equivalent opportunities to all, then level of schooling ought to be more important to finding secure, well-paying employment than should family background.

Popular, or conventional, opinion holds that schooling does provide for equality of opportunity. Boyd et al. (1985: 5) put this assumption as follows: "educational achievement reflects ability and assures a maximal fit between the talent demands of the occupational structure and the talent outputs of the educational system." A central motive behind mobility research has been to

examine whether such conventional views of Canadian society are, in fact, congruent with observations of the patterns of social mobility.

One of the principal ways of incorporating education into the study of mobility came with the path-breaking work of Blau and Duncan (1967) in the United States. They shifted the conceptual focus from social mobility to the study of status attainment. Their goal was to explain the processes which influenced an individual's position on the hierarchy of occupational status. In particular, they sought to examine the relative importance of family background in contrast to personal attainment in determining occupational status attainment.

This research tradition has been especially important in highlighting the causal processes involved in studying mobility. Status attainment says nothing about the rates of mobility or the structural versus circulation aspects of mobility. What it offers instead is more attention to the underlying social processes that operate to influence the occupational paths of different individuals.

Reviewers of the status attainment approach have been especially critical of the implicit assumption that the mobility process is similar for all individuals. Pointing particular to the exclusion of women's experiences om many such studies, it has been argued that the occupational trajectories of different groups might be substantially different.

Another theme in social mobility research has been to focus on the similarities and differences in mobility patterns of people from different backgrounds. In Canada, this has meant attention to comparisons between women and men, the native and foreign born, and francophones and anglophones.

The idea of comparison also raises the theme of change over time. Has the amount of mobility in society increased or decreased in recent decades? How does the present situation regarding mobility in Canada compare to earlier times?

In sum, the study of social mobility is important as it addresses a series of compelling questions on the amount of mobility in Canada, the openness of the structure, equality of opportunity, variations over time or by social groups, and on the causes of movement up or down the ladder of success.

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CHAPTER 3

DESIGN ISSUES IN MOBILITY RESEARCH

DESIGN ISSUES IN MOBILITY RESEARCH

Studies of social mobility usually rely upon large-scale survey researeh techniques to gather information. The typieal strategy has been to interview numerous respondents, asking eaeh person for detailed information about their own and their parents' sehooling and oceupations.

Mobility is measured in one of two ways. Inter-generational mobility is assessed by eomparing the social positions of survey respondents and their parents. Intra-generational mobility is determined by comparing a respondent's first job with the job held at the time of the survey interview. Although the eoneept of mobility is simple enough -- the movement of people between social positions -- there is, nevertheless, a range of design problems that complicate the study of social mobility.

MOBILITY DIMENSIONS

The term "soeial mobility" is routinely used to refer to the movement of people between different and unequal occupational positions. Upward mobility is understood as the movement from a lower to a higher occupational position, where the second position is characterized by higher ineome, greater skill, and more authority than the first. Downward mobility is the reverse. When occupational positions do not differ between a person's first and current job, or from one generation to the next, there is no mobility (also called "occupational inheritance"). There are many ways of measuring occupational status; however, much controversy surrounds the most adequate dimensions along which to seale or categorize occupations (Chapter 4, "Measuring oceupational status").

An alternative strategy is to eompare the educational levels of parents and their offspring. This is espeeially useful since it allows comparisons of ehildren with both parents, whereas oecupational mobility is usually limited to fathers, because historically fewer women were in the labour foree. However, educational mobility can only be ealculated inter-generationally. In this report, we discuss mobility along both oceupational and educational dimensions.

PEOPLE TO BE INCLUDED

Research designs used in social mobility studies usually rely on individuals to report their own and their parents' experienees. The relative ease of collecting such data is offset by a series of eompromises this survey approach neeessitates. Typically mobility studies inelude as respondents all individuals who are over some minimal age, often fifteen. But to measure oeeupational mobility, only people employed in the labour foree (and often only full time workers) can be eonsidered, and so a range of other individuals are exeluded from study -- the unemployed, students, homemakers, part-time workers, and the retired. An important advantage of studying edueational mobility is that a mueh larger group of people ean be included.

AGES OF RESPONDENTS

Even when the focus is upon labour force participants, there is still a large range in the ages of respondents. In effect, this ean result in analyses that combine people who are just embarking on their working lives with others who are contemplating retirement. Sinee sueh people have generally been in the labour foree different lengths of time, their mobility experienees will likely differ. Studying cohorts[1] of people can compensate for this in part, but even then, it is not elear whether a researcher should use birth or labour foree entry eohorts. Focusing on educational mobility avoids some of the problems here, although a small, but inereasing subset of the population is undergoing further study later in their lives (i.e. after age 25). We use age (birth) eohorts as a method of assessing mobility experienees for people at different stages of their careers, and for people who attained their edueation at different historical junetures.

PARENTS' POSITIONS

Comparisons between respondents and their parents eonfronts another age-related complieation. Families have children at different stages of the life eycle. Some couples have their children early, and so, both the husband and wife may have just begun their occupational careers. For other families, the raising of children may be postponed until both parents have stable, seeure jobs. Having children later in life generally results in offspring having a higher social origin relative to children born to younger parents who have yet to firmly establish their careers. Onee again eohort eomparisons are used to partially address this issue. As well, the information on parent's oeeupational status is restrieted to when respondents were aged 15. Sinee parental oecupations are treated as a measure of the social and eeonomie resources of a respondent's family of origin, the use of age 15 as a standard reference point stabilizes the measure of social background for all respondents, (although it does not eireumvent the problem introduced by families having ehildren at different stages of their life cycle).

CAREERS

Ideally, mobility researchers would examine individual work histories to capture the detailed occupational changes that occur across a person's working life, including promotions, demotions, firings, transfers, career changes, and so forth. However, mobility studies typically assess occupational positions at specific points, often the first job a person has after completing their schooling and the job they have at the time of the survey interview (''current'' job). Analysts then assume a general orderliness to careers, such that, comparing a person's first job with their current job will adequately capture the extent of that individual's upward, downward, or horizontal (stable) career movement. Especially in the context of the transition from school to the labour force, the process has become increasingly disjointed as more people return to school after periods of work force experience and as more young people endure significant stretches of unemployment early in their lives. We do not explore these issues in this report.[2]

LABOUR MARKETS

Patterns of mobility are known to vary depending upon the segment of the labour market in which an individual works. This is especially the case for the differing mobility experiences of women and men, where jobs often are stereotypically defined as ''women's work'' and ''men's work''. Labour markets are segregated not only by gender, but also by region and industrial structure. We examine some of these labour market characteristics, paying particular attention to the different mobility experiences of women and men, francophones and anglophones, and native- and foreign-born people.

CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Changes in the Canadian occupational structure also influence mobility by expanding and contracting opportunities to enter certain jobs. For example, primary occupations, such as, hunting, trapping, and particularly farming, now account for a much smaller proportion of Canadian jobs than was the case at the turn of the century. Conversely, the spread of multinational corporations and the growth of the financial sector, as well as the expanded role of government, has resulted in an upward shift in the occupational structure. An increased demand for non-manual, service workers coupled with the declining need for primary workers has had two consequences for mobility research. First, this occupational expansion has provided more non-manual careers for the daughters and sons of parents in non-manual jobs, thereby increasing immobility and reducing downward mobility. Second, it offers more non-manual careers to the children of parents in manual occupations, so reducing immobility and increasing upward mobility for the daughters and sons of manual skilled parents. The net result is to reduce downward mobility and increase opportunities for either immobility or upward mobility.

Mobility that results from such changes in the occupational structure of a society is labelled as either ''structural'' or ''forced'' mobility, referring to the fact that the movement between occupational positions had to occur as a consequence of changes in the composition of jobs in the labour market. Analysts have sought to separate the amount of mobility due to structural factors (i.e. ''forced'' mobility) from ''exchange'' or ''circulation'' mobility. That is, researchers have tried to determine how much mobility is the result of: i) people needing to change occupations because of changes in the composition of the work force over time versus ii) people moving up or down the occupational hierarchy through their own efforts (or lack thereof).

MOBILITY LIMITS

The mobility of individuals located at either the top or the bottom of the occupational or educational hierarchy is obviously limited. Those at the top can either stay there or slip down, while those at the bottom can only remain there or move up. For example, for Canadians whose mothers had attained a professional or university graduate degree, they can never exceed their mother's qualifications, and so, they cannot be upwardly mobile (since professional or graduate degrees represent the top of the scale). These effects, often referred to as ''floor'' and ''ceiling'' effects, limit the extent and direction of overall mobility rates.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have outlined some of the technical issues that make the analysis of social mobility a complicated endeavour. In pursuing research on mobility, analysts have had to confront a series of research design issues, and we have reviewed many of these issues by way of providing a background to the understanding of mobility research results.

NOTES

[1] Cohorts refer to groups of people linked together because they experienced some significant life event together (e.g. birth, school graduation, labour force entrance). For example, birth cohorts refer to people who were born within the same time span often defined by decade.

[2] Jones, Charles, Lorna Marsden, and Lorne Tepperman, 1990, Lives of Their Own. Toronto: Oxford University.

CHAPTER 4
METHODS

MOBILITY TABLES

The analysis of social mobility begins with a table showing the joint distribution of cases according to the two statuses that form the mobility relation, such as, the level of education of the mother and that of the daughter, or the occupational status of the first and current job. If the data arrangement is similar to Figure B, the central diagonal, from top left to bottom right, refers to cases with no mobility. The cells toward the upper right from the diagonal describe downward mobility, and those toward the lower left contain the cases of upward mobility. Each segment parallel to the central diagonal represents the cases that constitute one or more steps of mobility up or down.

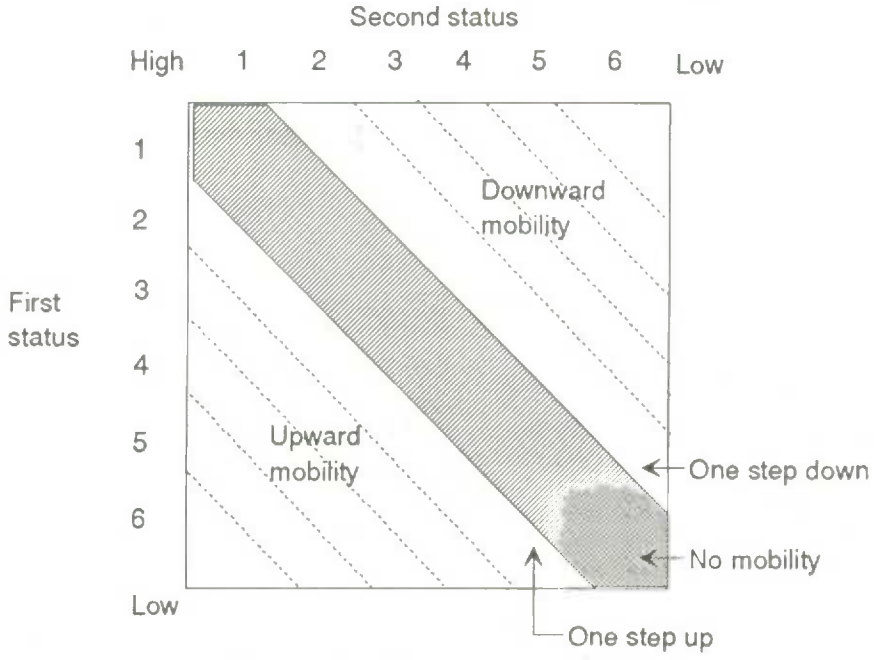
The table usually contains a percent figure for each combination of statuses, and the marginals (the bottom row and the column on the far right) show the distribution on each status dimension.

There are three ways of presenting the percent figures. The first takes the number of cases for the entire table as 100 percent (Table R). In this instance, the sum of the figures along the diagonal equals the percentage of cases that are not mobile. The sum of the figures in the first line of figures parallel to the diagonal and towards the lower left is the percent of cases of one step-up mobility, and so forth.

The most common form of mobility table is the so-called outflow table in which there is a separate percent distribution for each level of the first status dimension, such as, mother's education or respondent's first job (Table F). This type of table provides a prediction of the probability of reaching a status on the second dimension (such as, the respondent's education, or current job), given a particular level on the first dimension. For instance, the daughter of a mother with Grade 8 or less education has a 6 percent chance to complete a university degree, while she has a 40 percent chance if her mother has a university degree.

The third form is the inflow table in which there is a separate percent distribution for each level of the second status. It allows a determination of the sources of recruitment into a given level of the second status dimension. Such a table can tell us that 10 percent of professional women had fathers who were professionals at the time when their daughters were 15 years old.

Figure B
Components of a social mobility table



General Social Survey, 1986

It should be remembered that people who begin with the highest status, the only possible vertical mobility is down, and those who start out at the bottom can only stay there or move up.

STRUCTURAL AND CIRCULATION MOBILITY

Structural mobility, as a percent of all cases, is determined through the "index of dissimilarity". The index is a method of summarizing the difference between two distributions, for example, the difference in the distribution of mother's and daughter's education. It is one-half of the sum of the absolute differences between the percentages in the two distributions ("taking one-half of the sum of the absolute differences is equivalent to taking the sum of the positive differences or the sum of the negative differences", Shryock et al, 1973:232-233). The magnitude of the index is affected by the number of categories into which the given status dimension is divided.

The percent of cases that constitute "circulation mobility" is determined by subtracting the percentage with no mobility and the percent structural mobility from 100.

MEASURING SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

One measure of occupational position, used mainly in the chapter on status attainment, employs a rating of the major occupational titles identified in the Canadian census. Blishen, Carroll, and Moore (1987) employed detailed 1981 Census data for constructing this index. It is conventionally referred to as the "Blishen scale", and is widely used in the social sciences. By combining the typical education and income levels of all people working in each specific occupation, they generated a composite socio-economic status (SES) index for occupations. Put simply, "socio-economic status scales are summary records of the tangible credentials and economic rewards associated with occupations" (Kerckoff, 1987:22). Based on the 514 census occupations, the SES scale has a mean of 42.7, with a standard deviation of 13.3. Physicians and surgeons receive the highest index value, 101.32, while the occupational category, newspaper carriers and vendors, has the lowest index score, 17.81.

The scale portrays the Canadian stratification system as a series of occupational statuses organized hierarchically. Mobility is then treated as movement up or down on this scale. Socio-economic status scores were assigned to the occupations of all respondents. The same index was also used to provide occupational status scores for the respondent's parents, based on the occupation of the parent when the respondent was 15 years of age. This age criterion was used to fix a standard time for reporting the occupations of parents, which served as one measure of each respondent's social origins. Finally, all respondents were asked "about the first full-time job you had after reaching your highest level of education", and this occupation was scored according the Blishen-Carroll-Moore socio-economic index.

MEASURING OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

A second measure of occupational status relies on a classification developed for the first national study of social mobility in Canada. This Standard occupational classification was developed by Pineo, Porter and McRoberts (1977). It is a 16-category scale, rank ordering occupations from the highest (self-employed professionals) to the lowest (farm labourers) on the scale (Table A).

Table A
Pineo-Porter-McRoberts occupational scale

1.	Self-employed professionals	9.	Skilled clerical-sales-service
2.	Employed professionals	10.	Skilled crafts & trades
3.	High-level management	11.	Farmers
4.	Semi-professionals	12.	Semi-skilled clerical-sales-service
5.	Technicians	13.	Semi-skilled manual
6.	Middle management	14.	Unskilled clerical-sales-service
7.	Supervisors	15.	Unskilled manual
8.	Foremen/women	16.	Farm labourers

Source: Pineo, Peter, "Revisions to the Pineo-Porter-McRoberts Socio-economics Classification of Occupations for the 1981 Census." Research Report No. 125 Program for Quantitative Studies in Economics and Population, 1985.

This scale was first developed for application to the data of the 1971 Census of Canada and revised for use with the data of the 1981 Census (Pineo 1985). There have been several changes in the Canadian occupational structure since the original 1971 scale was developed. The agricultural sector has continued to decline in numbers and clerical, sales and services (white collar) occupations have continued to expand. The trades and other manual (blue collar) occupations have declined. Even more notably, the proportion of women in the labour force has increased dramatically, with women principally employed in the white-collar sector of the economy. With women now forming over 40% of the labour force, and confined to a much narrower range of occupations than men, differences between men's and women's occupations should be considered in the construction of occupational scales.

Table B shows the degree of correspondence between average socio-economic status (Blishen) scores, years

Table B
Pineo-Porter-McRoberts scale of occupational status by average Blishen scores, years of schooling, income and sex, Canada, 1986

Occupation	Blishen scores	Years of schooling	Income
Men			
1. Self-employed professionals	86	16	61,104
2. Employed professionals	63	15	35,993
3. High-level management	69	14	62,555
4. Semi-professionals	52	14	32,892
5. Technicians	52	13	27,220
6. Middle management	52	13	36,935
7. Supervisors	41	12	36,701
8. Foremen	47	11	29,570
9. Skilled clerical-sales-service	48	13	37,624
10. Skilled crafts & trades	43	11	28,378
11. Farmers	28	10	26,528
12. Semi-skilled clerical-sales-service	32	12	22,226
13. Semi-skilled manual	34	11	23,113
14. Unskilled clerical-sales-services	34	12	24,819
15. Unskilled manual	30	10	21,307
16. Farm labourers	24	10	14,774
Women			
1. Self-employed professional	85	15	53,911
2. Employed professional	63	15	25,525
3. High-level management	67	14	36,637
4. Semi-professional	51	14	26,865
5. Technicians	50	14	21,527
6. Middle management	52	13	21,894
7. Supervisors	40	12	20,699
8. Forewomen	43	8	22,123
9. Skilled clerical-sales-service	42	13	17,707
10. Skilled crafts & trades	37	12	18,196
11. Farmers	28	14	-13,147*
12. Semi-skilled clerical-sales-service	32	12	12,573
13. Semi-skilled manual	29	10	14,189
14. Unskilled clerical-sales-service	32	12	14,638
15. Unskilled manual	27	10	12,356
16. Farm labourers	24	11	8,830

* The negative income reflects net losses for some farmers.

of schooling and income, of men and women in occupations grouped according to the revised Pineo-Porter-McRoberts scale. There are inconsistencies between Blishen scores, education and income, particularly in the ranking of professionals above high-level management, semi-professionals and technicians above middle management, and the ranking of farmers, who have lower Blishen and education scores than four of the five groups of occupations ranked below.

For the 1986 General Social Survey, occupations were coded according to the Standard occupational classification codes of the census, then grouped according to the revised Pineo-Porter-McRoberts classification scale. We, then modified the occupational scale, taking into account recent changes in the labour force, the nature of sex segregation in occupations, and the above patterns of inconsistency. The modified occupational scale is constructed to take into account differences between blue- and white-collar occupations, and levels of authority, education, income and Blishen scores. It consists of 10 categories, which can be further collapsed into a 5-category scale (Table C).

Table D shows that the degree of fit between Blishen scores, education and income for the modified occupational scale, while not perfect, is better than that of the Pineo-Porter-McRoberts scale. High levels of authority are linked to high levels of education, income and Blishen scores. As managers are higher in income

Table C
Modified and collapsed occupational classification scale

Modified scale	Equivalent Pineo-Porter-McRoberts
1. High-level management	3. High-level management
2. Professional	1. Self-employed professional 2. Employed professional
3. Middle management	6. Middle management
4. Semi-professional/ technician	4. Semi-professional 5. Technicians
5. Upper white collar	7. Supervisors 9. Skilled clerical-sales-service
6. Upper blue collar	8. Forewomen and foremen 10. Skilled crafts & trades
7. Lower white collar	12. Semi-skilled clerical-sales-service 14. Unskilled clerical-sales-service
8. Lower blue collar	13. Semi-skilled manual 15. Unskilled manual
9. Farmers	11. Farmers
10. Farm labour	16. Farm labourers
Collapsed classification:	
1. High management/professional	(1 and 2)
2. Mid-management/semi-professional	(3 and 4)
3. Skilled workers	(5 and 6)
4. Unskilled workers	(7 and 8)
5. Agricultural	(9 and 10)

and Blishen scores than professionals, we have placed high-level managers above professionals, and middle managers above semi-professionals and technicians (unlike the Pineo-Porter-McRoberts scale). Farmers are ranked below lower white-collar and blue-collar occupations. This does not mean that farmers are less "skilled" than manual workers, but that they rank lower in Blishen scores and education, although somewhat higher in income in the case of men. Occupational classification systems often address only characteristics of the non-agricultural labour force. The 10-category occupational scale can be reduced to 8 categories by dropping the agricultural occupations.

A further advantage of our modified occupational scale is its greater ability to capture the different mobility patterns of men and women. Proportionately, women dominate in white-collar occupations, while men dominate in blue-collar fields. The ability to collapse this classification system into a 5-category scale, merging management and professions at the top and middle levels, and white and blue collar work at the skilled and semi-unskilled levels, provides us with a more gender-neutral classification of the occupational hierarchy in Canada.

MEASURING LEVEL OF EDUCATION

The measurement of education for the purpose of placement on an order of social rank is not without problems. In Cycle 2 of the General Social Survey, education was determined in a series of questions. They included the years of elementary and secondary education completed, having graduated from secondary school, further schooling beyond elementary or secondary school, and the highest level attained. The answers to these questions were combined and arranged into six ordered categories. The questions were not exactly the same for the respondents and their parents, and they were also not exactly the same as in the 1973 mobility study, with which comparisons will be made. However, the

Table D
Modified occupational scale by average Blishen scores, years of schooling, income and sex, Canada, 1986

Occupation	Blishen scores	Years of schooling	Income
Men			
1. High-level management	69	14.0	62,555
2. Professional	65	15.0	38,226
3. Middle management	52	13.0	36,935
4. Semi-professional/technician	52	13.6	30,784
5. Upper (skilled)white collar	46	12.7	37,334
6. Upper (skilled) blue collar	44	11.0	28,572
7. Lower (unskilled)white collar	33	12.0	23,016
8. Lower (unskilled)blue collar	32	10.5	22,186
9. Farmers	28	10.0	26,528
10. Farm labour	24	10.0	14,774
Women			
1. High-level management	67	14.0	36,637
2. Professional	65	15.0	27,672
3. Middle management	52	13.0	21,894
4. Semi-professional/technician	51	14.0	25,732
5. Upper (skilled) white collar	42	12.9	18,005
6. Upper (skilled) blue collar	37	11.6	18,476
7. Lower (unskilled) white collar	32	12.0	13,301
8. Lower (unskilled) blue collar	28	10.0	13,444
9. Farmers	28	14.0	-13,147*
10. Farm labour	24	11.0	8,830

* The negative income reflects net losses for some farmers.

match is good enough for the purpose of determining social mobility according to education and for comparing degrees of mobility. Because education was not determined simply as the number of years of formal education, the variables in question are ordinal.

CASE SELECTION

For reasons appropriate to the requirements of the data analysis, a different selection of cases was used in each of the three analysis chapters (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). Chapter 5 is concerned with occupational mobility. Therefore, the analysis excludes respondents who were not in the labour force in the 12 months prior to the survey, or for whom there was no information on their own or their father's occupation. As a result, only 69% of the male and 49% of the female respondents were included. For part of the analysis in Chapter 5, only participants in the non-agricultural labour force were included, namely, 57% of the men and 43% of the women. In Chapter 6, analysis of education excludes students who have not completed a university degree, because their final education level had not yet been determined. As any university degree is the highest level on our education scale, the educational mobility of students who had completed at least one university degree, could be determined and they are included in the analysis. The cases that were used constitute 89.5% of the total.

The number of cases used in Chapter 6 were reduced further because of the lack of the respondents' knowledge of their parents' education. Table E shows the proportion of cases omitted by age and gender. The loss averages 26% and increases with age. Consistently, fewer respondents could report their father's education than their mother's. Nearly half the women aged 65 years and over could not report their father's education.

Chapter 7 includes only Canadians aged 25 to 64 who were working full-time in the labour force, and who could report both their father's occupation and education. Only 25% of the cases met these criteria, that is, 4,163 respondents were considered.

As described in Chapter 1, the sample cases were differentially weighted in order to correct for differences between the sample distributions and the distributions in the Canadian population, and to bring the number of cases to the level of the total population. In the statistical analyses of Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the corrective weighting factor was applied, but the overall number of cases were brought back to the level of the actual sample. The initial weighting resulted in 19,897,562 cases. Dividing this number by the sample size of 16,390 results in a re-adjustment factor of 1214.00623. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the original weighting factor was, therefore, divided by this adjustment factor.

THE CANADIAN SOCIAL MOBILITY STUDY OF 1973

We make comparisons with data from the study of social mobility carried out in 1973. The data gathering was connected to the Labour Force Survey of July 1973. The data were obtained through the use of a questionnaire left with respondents at the time of the Labour Force Survey interview, and picked up a week later. This part of the survey excluded people less than 18 years old and full-time students. The data set includes 44,867 cases. The response rate was 78%. (See Boyd et al, 1985:15, and the text provided with the archive data set).

Table E
Proportion of respondents for whom there was no information on parents' education by age group, Canada, 1986 (weighted, excluding students without university degree)

	Daughter: no information		Son: no information	
Respondent's age	On mother	On father	On mother	On father
15-39	16.4	21.6	20.6	22.5
40-64	22.7	30.1	27.0	29.6
65-96	40.5	47.1	39.2	39.4
All ages	22.5	28.7	25.4	27.3

NOTE

We would like to thank Donald Black for his help with the construction of the modified occupational classification scale.

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CHAPTER 5
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

HIGHLIGHTS

- Most Canadians experience occupational mobility in comparison to the occupations of their fathers (inter-generational mobility). Only 12% of women and 26% of men experienced no mobility at all.

- Occupational inheritance (or stayers who experience no mobility between fathers and offspring) is most common among men whose fathers are in the professional classes, the upper white-collar sector, and in farming. Women experience little occupational inheritance between themselves and their fathers.

- Canadians are more likely to experience upward rather than downward inter-generational mobility. Forty-eight percent of women and 39% of men moved upward in the occupational hierarchy. Most of this occupational mobility was short range in nature.

- Women also experienced higher rates of downward mobility than men, in comparison to their fathers' occupations (40% compared with 36%, respectively).

- Ethnicity, as indicated by first language spoken, had opposite effects on the inter-generational mobility patterns of men and women. Men, whose first language was neither English nor French (allophones), had the highest rates of upward occupational mobility, and the lowest rates downward. Allophone women had the lowest rates upward and the highest rates downward.

- Nativity, as indicated by whether the respondent and both parents were born in Canada, had opposite effects on the inter-generational mobility patterns of men and women. Among men, the highest levels of upward occupational mobility and the lowest rates downward were among those who were not Canadian-born or whose parents were not Canadian-born. Among women, the lowest rates up and the highest rates down were found among those not Canadian-born.

- Most Canadians experienced no occupational mobility in their own working life (intra-generational mobility). Women were more likely to stay at one occupational level than men (56% compared with 49%, respectively).

- Men experienced more upward intra-generational mobility than women (32% compared with 24%, respectively), and were much more likely to experience long range upward mobility.

- Patterns of intra-generational mobility vary with age, but in opposite ways for men and women. Older men experienced more upward mobility, while older women experienced more downward mobility.

INTRODUCTION

The degree of occupational mobility in a society indicates the level of openness or closure in the occupational structure. A relatively closed system will have high numbers of stayers, or high levels of occupational inheritance from parents to children. A more open system will have large numbers of movers, indicating that an individual's occupation is based less on their parents' place in the occupational structure and more on their own aptitudes, capabilities and interests.

The occupational structure can be viewed as a picture of the jobs that exist in a society, ranked according to the level of skill or education, authority, salary, and social status within the community. When jobs are grouped together, combining those with high levels of education, skill, authority, income and status at the top, and those with low levels of education, skill, authority, income and status at the bottom, we have identified the occupational structure in a society. The hierarchical ranking of occupations used in this study is found in Table C (Chapter 4).

Occupational mobility may occur from one generation to the next (inter-generational mobility), when a daughter achieves a different occupational position than her father, or it may occur within an individual's working life (intra-generational mobility), when an individual moves up or down the occupational ladder. Occupational mobility can be either upward or downward in the job structure.

Occupational mobility may be due to structural or circulation mobility. Structural mobility results from a change in the occupational structure of a society. For example, if new jobs open up in high technology industries, a more skilled workforce will be required than in the past. The result of these structural changes will be more skilled jobs for people to fill and some upward mobility. In contrast, circulation mobility is movement up or down the occupational ladder that is not a function of changes in the types of jobs available, but a feature of the openness or fluidity of the occupational structure.

One of the things that is most marked about the occupational structure in Canada is the degree of sex segregation in the labour force. Women and men tend

to be employed in different kinds of jobs. In addition, high levels of female labour force participation are fairly recent, so while most Canadians have fathers with an occupation to which they can be compared, many have mothers who remain outside of the labour force. The large number of missing cases for mothers' occupation (76%) has necessitated the exclusion of comparisons between mothers and their offspring.[1] Sex segregation in the labour market also makes it more difficult to interpret the mobility of men and women. Over half of all women (56%) are found in white-collar occupations, compared with only 14% of their fathers, and only 19% of the male labour force. Since blue-collar jobs are ranked lower than white-collar jobs at corresponding levels of skill, the gender division of occupations inflates the upward mobility of women. The movement of many daughters of lower blue-collar fathers into lower white-collar jobs, for example, is a structural feature of gender differences in the job market. For sons, however, the movement from blue- to lower white-collar work generally corresponds to better pay, higher levels of education and more prestige.

Another structural feature of the labour force affecting inter-generational occupational mobility is the dramatic decline in the agricultural labour force during this century. While 13% of fathers were farmers, only 3% of sons are. The decline is even more dramatic for fathers and daughters.[2] Of those men who do become farmers, 82% have fathers who are farmers, but the majority of the offspring of farmers move into other occupations.

Since farmers are located at the bottom of the occupational classification scale (for reasons discussed in Chapter 4), most of their offspring (76% of sons and 95% of daughters) move upward. Sons (46%) go mostly into blue-collar occupations, while daughters (47%) go into white-collar occupations. Given this high level of structural mobility among the offspring of farmers, we will confine the main discussion of inter-generational mobility to the non-agricultural labour force.

METHODS

Current occupation is the main occupation of the respondent during the 12 months prior to the survey. The analysis in this chapter only includes Canadians whose main activity was working at a paid job or business, excluding those who were unemployed, retired, students, or homemakers. All occupations were coded according to the Standard occupational classification codes of the 1981 Census, then grouped according to the classification scale in Table C (see Chapter 4 for more details).

A comparison of the current occupations of men and women with their fathers occupation was made in order to examine inter-generational mobility. Fathers occupation is defined as the main activity the father engaged in when the respondent was 15 years of age.

In addition, we also looked at inter-generational mobility by ethnicity and nativity. We used the language the respondent first spoke in childhood as a measure of ethnicity, distinguishing between those whose first language was English, French, or other (allophones). Nativity is based on the country (Canada or other) in which respondents and their parents were born. This is not a dichotomy between Canadian- and foreign-born, it is a four point index ranging from A (respondent plus both parents born abroad) to D (respondent plus both parents Canadian-born).

We also compared the current job of respondents with their first job in order to examine intra-generational mobility patterns. First job is defined as the first full-time job after completion of the highest level of schooling. Those without schooling were not asked their first job and were thus excluded. The sample was then separated into four age cohorts to examine changes in the patterns of intra-generational mobility with age.

RESULTS

Both mobility and occupational inheritance exist between fathers and their children in Canada. Table F is an outflow table from father's occupation, showing the occupations that sons and daughters achieved in relation to their fathers occupations.[3] As some occupational inheritance between fathers and sons is found in the professional classes (categories 2 and 4), and upper white-collar jobs (category 5), where there are twice as many sons of fathers in those occupations as are found in the general male labour force (Table F). In addition, six times as many sons of farmers are farmers in comparison to the total male labour force. The same pattern of occupational inheritance does not exist for women, due largely to differences in occupational opportunities. The concentration of women in lower white-collar jobs varies little by father's occupation.

Table G is an occupational mobility table for the non-agricultural labour force.[4] This table is percentaged across the whole table. The main diagonal line represents stayers, or those who had no mobility, occupying jobs of the same ranking as their fathers. Those below the main diagonal line are movers who experienced upward mobility (occupying jobs ranked higher than their fathers), while those above the main diagonal line are movers

Table F
Inter-generational occupational mobility by sex, Canada, 1986 (Outflow table-percentage by row)

Father's occupation	Son's occupation 1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 %	7 %	8 %	9 %	10 %	Row total %
1. High mgt	-	16	21	14	-	-	14	-	-	-	100
2. Profess	-	**17**	14	12	6	9	20	15	-	-	100
3. Mid mgt	-	11	**9**	8	19	12	14	22	-	-	100
4. Semi-prof	-	-	-	**16**	-	20	-	24	-	-	100
5. Upper wc	-	14	11	9	**15**	12	18	16	-	-	100
6. Upper bc	3	9	7	8	6	**26**	11	30	-	-	100
7. Lower wc	-	11	9	13	9	10	**17**	24	-	-	100
8. Lower bc	2	7	8	5	5	20	12	**37**	-	3	100
9. Farmers	-	5	11	4	3	22	5	24	**18**	5	100
10. Farm lab	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	-	-	100
Column total	3	9	9	8	7	19	12	28	3	2	100

Father's occupation	Daughter's occupation 1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 %	7 %	8 %	9 %	10 %	Row total %
1. High mgt	-	-	-	25	-	-	34	-	-	-	100
2. Profess	-	**14**	-	19	17	-	31	8	-	-	100
3. Mid mgt	-	13	-	10	20	-	39	-	-	-	100
4. Semi-prof	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	-	-	-	100
5. Upper wc	-	12	-	12	**21**	-	36	8	-	-	100
6. Upper bc	-	6	7	8	21	**3**	38	14	-	-	100
7. Lower wc	-	12	-	14	16	-	**39**	12	-	-	100
8. Lower bc	-	8	5	10	16	-	44	**15**	-	-	100
9. Farmers	-	9	-	11	17	-	30	22	-	-	100
10. Farm lab	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	-	-	-	100
Column total	2	9	5	11	18	2	38	13	-	1	100

Sons n=5514
Daughters n=4074
Note: Cells with fewer than 25,000 weighted cases have been suppressed.

who experienced downward mobility (occupying jobs ranked below their fathers). Occupational mobility patterns obtained from Table G are represented in summary form in Table H. Although there is some occupational inheritance among men in Canada, most men and women are movers who experience occupational mobility. Only 20% of the entire non-agricultural labour force experienced occupational inheritance, or no mobility at all. Canadians were more likely to experience upward than downward occupational mobility, but with considerable variation between men and women. Although more than one-quarter of men experienced no mobility, this was true of only 12% of women. Women were more likely to experience occupational mobility, and they were more likely to experience upward mobility. Nearly half (48%) of all women were upwardly mobile, compared with 39% of men. Women were also more downwardly mobile than men. Although more women than men were movers, most female occupational shifts can be attributed to structural mobility. Fifty percent of the variation between father's and daughter's occupations was a result of differences in the structure of jobs available to fathers and daughters (Table I). Only 38% of the occupational mobility experienced by women was circulation mobility. In contrast, 15% of the variation between father's and son's occupations is attributable to structural factors, while 59% is circulation mobility.[5]

Table G
Inter-generational occupational mobility of non-agricultural labour force by sex, Canada, 1986

Father's occupation	Son's occupation 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Row total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. High mgt	-	0.53	0.70	0.48	-	-	0.48	-	3.32
2. Profess	-	**1.42**	1.12	0.98	0.51	0.76	1.62	1.27	7.89
3. Mid mgt	-	0.91	**0.74**	0.63	1.52	0.92	1.10	1.79	7.88
4 Semi-prof	-	-	-	**0.55**	-	0.68	-	0.83	3.45
5. Upper wc	-	0.97	0.80	0.61	**1.08**	0.82	1.30	1.11	6.98
6. Upper bc	0.82	2.69	2.10	2.40	1.82	**8.16**	3.48	9.38	30.85
7. Lower wc	-	0.97	0.78	1.12	0.77	0.90	**1.50**	2.05	8.48
8. Lower bc	0.77	2.35	2.43	1.72	1.68	6.28	3.91	**12.02**	31.15
Column total	2.99	10.20	9.00	8.48	7.90	18.86	13.83	28.74	100.00

Father's occupation	Daughter's occupation 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Row total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. High mgt	-	-	-	0.94	-	-	1.27	-	3.73
2. Profess	-	**1.16**	-	1.61	1.41	-	2.66	0.71	8.13
3. Mid mgt	-	1.07	-	0.79	1.60	-	3.12	-	7.89
4 Semi-prof	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.77	-	3.99
5. Upper wc	-	0.94	-	0.99	**1.67**	-	2.83	0.59	7.89
6. Upper bc	-	1.98	2.19	2.65	6.71	**0.80**	11.92	4.36	31.15
7. Lower wc	-	0.92	-	1.08	1.30	-	**3.13**	0.93	7.93
8. Lower bc	-	2.21	1.34	2.85	4.69	-	12.93	**4.55**	29.28
Column total	1.76	9.24	5.55	11.44	18.41	1.68	39.62	12.31	100.00

Sons n=4582
Daughters n=3502
Note: Cells with fewer than 25,000 weighted cases have been suppressed.

For both men and women, most mobility is short range, usually only 1 or 2 steps up or down the occupational ladder (Table H). The most common upward movement of women was from lower blue-collar to lower white-collar (13%) and from upper blue-collar to upper white-collar jobs (7%) (Table G). Just as men have more diverse occupations, their pattern of mobility was more widespread, but the single largest movement upward was from lower to upper blue-collar occupations (6%).

Downward mobility followed a similar pattern. Among women, movement from upper blue collar to lower white collar was the single most common occurrence (12%), and among men, movement from upper to lower blue-collar (9%) was most common (Table G).

A collapsed 5-category occupational classification scale, merging managerial and professional occupations and combining blue- and white-collar occupations at similar levels of skill decreases the difference in mobility between males and females (Table J). The collapsed scale evens out gender differences in the labour market, which are largely found in male domination in blue-collar work and female domination in white-collar occupations, and in the under-representation of women in management and their over-representation in the semi-professions (Table I).

Using the collapsed scale, there is less difference between the occupational mobility of men and women. Nearly

Table H
Summary inter-generational mobility of the non-agricultural labour force by sex, Canada, 1986

Mobility steps	Father/Son %	Father/Daughter %
7 steps up	0.8	0.2
6 steps up	2.8	2.3
5 steps up	4.2	2.8
4 steps up	5.5	5.5
3 steps up	5.9	8.9
2 steps up	10.9	5.8
1 step up	8.7	22.1
No mobility	25.6	12.2
1 step down	8.8	15.0
2 steps down	14.6	10.8
3 steps down	3.5	4.8
4 steps down	3.0	4.1
5 steps down	3.7	3.2
6 steps down	1.7	2.0
7 steps down	0.3	0.1
Moved up	38.8	47.6
Did not move	25.6	12.2
Moved down	35.6	40.0
Total percent	100.0	99.8

Son n=4582
Daughter n=3502

Table I
Non-agricultural occupational groups for fathers and their children, Canada, 1986

Occupation	Fathers %	Sons %	Fathers %	Daughters %
High management	3	3	4	2
Professional	8	10	8	9
Middle management	8	9	8	6
Semi-professional & technical	3	8	4	11
Upper white collar	7	8	8	18
Upper blue collar	31	19	31	2
Lower white collar	8	14	8	40
Lower blue collar	31	29	29	12
Total percent	99	100	100	100

Sons n=4582
Daughters n=3502

one-third of men and women are stayers, showing no mobility in relation to their fathers, and more men and women are upwardly rather than downwardly mobile. However, women (33%) still experience more downward mobility than men (28%). In addition, women still experience less circulation mobility (43%) than men (51%) when we subtract structural differences in occupations between fathers and their offspring from absolute mobility rates (Table K).

ETHNICITY, NATIVITY AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Factors such as ethnicity and nativity also influence occupational mobility patterns between fathers and their offspring. Table L shows inter-generational mobility by first language, and Table M shows mobility by nativity for the non-agricultural labour force.[6] The patterns shown in both tables are similar.

Table J
Summary inter-generational mobility (collapsed occupational classification) by sex, Canada, 1986

Mobility steps	Father/Son %	Father/Daughter %
4 steps up	1.2	1.2
3 steps up	6.0	5.0
2 steps up	12.7	10.6
1 step up	18.9	19.7
No mobility	33.0	30.4
1 step down	19.0	21.8
2 steps down	5.6	6.9
3 steps down	3.1	4.1
4 steps down	0.2	0.3
Moved up	38.8	36.5
Did not move	33.0	30.4
Moved down	27.9	33.1
Total percent	99.7	100.0

Son n=5514
Daughter n=4074

Table K
Proportion of fathers and their children by occupational group (collapsed scale) and sex, Canada, 1986

Occupational group	Fathers %	Sons %	Fathers %	Daughters %
High manager/professional	10	12	10	11
Mid-manager/semi-professional	9	17	10	17
Skilled worker	32	26	34	20
Unskilled worker	34	40	32	52
Agricultural	15	5	13	1
Total percent	100	100	99	101

Sons n=5514
Daughters n=4074

First language spoken by Canadians is an indication of ethnicity in Canada, tapping the main differences between French and English Canadians. Twelve percent of the non-agricultural labour force were allophones, or had a first language other than French or English. Mobility patterns for English and French speaking men were similar, although more francophone men had no mobility and more anglophone men experienced downward mobility. However, the main difference among men is found between these two groups and allophones. The latter had higher levels of upward occupational mobility and lower levels of downward mobility than other men (Table L).

Allophone men are more likely to have parents who are not Canadian-born. The results of Table M show that nativity does affect mobility. Nativity is represented in a four-point index ranging from Canadians who, along with both parents, were born abroad (ranked as A on the nativity index) to those who, along with both parents, were Canadian-born (ranked as D). The highest level of upward occupational mobility was among men who were not Canadian-born (45%), or whose parents were not Canadian-born (51%). These rates of upward mobility were higher, and rates of downward mobility lower, than among men with one or both parents Canadian-born.

Table L
Summary inter-generational mobility by first language and sex, Canada, 1986

First language	Men					Women				
	Up %	None %	Down %	Total %	n	Up %	None %	Down %	Total %	n
English	38	25	37	100	(2791)	47	12	41	100	(2199)
French	37	29	34	100	(1196)	52	11	37	100	(883)
Other	46	23	31	100	(579)	41	14	45	100	(404)

Total n=8052

Table M
Summary inter-generational mobility by nativity and sex, Canada, 1986

Nativity (Canadian-born)	Men					Women				
	Up %	None %	Down %	Total %	n	Up %	None %	Down %	Total %	n
A	45	21	33	99	(750)	40	14	46	100	(535)
B	51	22	27	100	(367)	46	10	44	100	(259)
C	41	20	39	100	(414)	51	9	40	100	(325)
D	35	28	37	100	(3009)	49	12	38	99	(2298)

Total n=7957
A = none Canadian-born
B = only respondent born in Canada
C = respondent plus one parent born in Canada
D = respondent plus both parents born in Canada

While allophone- and foreign-born men were the most upwardly mobile, for women the pattern is the reverse. Table L shows that allophone women were the least upwardly and the most downwardly mobile.

Similarly, Canadian-born women with at least one Canadian-born parent fared best in terms of upward mobility, and had the least downward mobility; while those women not born in Canada had the lowest rates up and the highest rates down the occupational structure (Table M). There are also smaller differences in mobility between French- and English-speaking women (Table L). Francophone women experienced more upward and less downward occupational mobility than anglophone women.

In summary, both non-English or non-French ethnic status and foreign-born status have a positive effect on male occupational mobility and a negative effect on female mobility in Canada.

INTRA-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY OF THE NON-AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE

Occupational mobility may also occur within an individual's working life. To ascertain levels of intra-generational mobility in the non-agricultural labour force, we compared the first job held after completing all educational qualifications, and the current job held at the time of the survey[7] (Table N).

Table N
Intra-generational mobility of non-agricultural labour force by sex, Canada, 1986

First job	Current job 1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 %	7 %	8 %	Row total %
Men									
1. High mgt	**0.77**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.57
2. Profess	0.50	**7.16**	0.81	1.07	0.51	0.62	0.47	0.52	11.66
3. Mid mgt	-	-	**1.34**	-	0.43	-	0.50	0.47	3.59
4. Semi-prof	0.41	1.00	0.95	**3.97**	0.52	0.57	0.57	0.73	8.73
5. Upper wc	-	-	0.50	-	**1.92**	0.47	0.76	0.68	4.93
6. Upper bc	-	-	1.51	0.52	0.64	**9.90**	0.99	4.65	18.99
7. Lower wc	0.53	0.71	1.88	0.63	1.37	1.76	**5.63**	2.74	15.25
8. Lower bc	0.50	0.90	2.51	1.62	1.82	6.97	2.95	**18.02**	35.28
Column total	3.48	10.82	9.83	8.37	7.24	20.48	11.87	27.92	100.00
Women									
1. High mgt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Profess	-	**5.82**	-	1.42	1.26	-	1.22	-	11.05
3. Mid mgt	-	-	**0.80**	-	-	-	-	-	2.50
4. Semi-prof	-	1.29	0.64	**7.59**	1.02	-	1.08	-	12.26
5. Upper wc	-	0.73	1.14	0.64	**10.39**	-	4.49	0.55	18.48
6. Upper bc	-	-	-	-	-	**0.57**	0.54	0.64	2.20
7. Lower wc	-	1.01	1.96	1.54	5.43	0.86	**23.46**	4.87	39.56
8. Lower bc	-	-	-	-	0.99	0.74	4.01	**6.79**	13.61
Column total	1.81	9.32	5.36	12.03	19.87	2.48	35.33	13.82	100.00

Men n=5158
Women n=3970
Note: Cells with fewer than 25,000 weighted cases have been suppressed.

Table O
Summary intra-generational mobility of non-agricultural labour force by sex, Canada, 1986

Mobility steps	First-current job Men %	First-current job Women %
7 steps up	0.5	0.0
6 steps up	1.4	0.7
5 steps up	3.6	1.3
4 steps up	3.9	2.9
3 steps up	4.7	3.6
2 steps up	10.7	8.8
1 step up	7.2	7.1
No mobility	48.7	55.6
1 step down	5.8	7.1
2 steps down	7.8	7.2
3 steps down	2.0	2.9
4 steps down	1.9	0.9
5 steps down	1.0	1.4
6 steps down	0.5	0.5
7 steps down	0.1	0.0
Moved up	32.0	24.4
Did not move	48.7	55.6
Moved down	19.1	20.0
	99.8	100.0
	n=5158	n=3970

Just over half of all Canadians experienced no occupational mobility in their own careers, with women (56%) more likely than men (49%) to remain at the same occupational level. Those who did experience mobility were more likely to move up than down. While male and female rates of downward mobility are similar, men experienced much more upward mobility than women. Most occupational shifts were short range, one or two steps up or down the occupational structure. However, men were nearly twice as likely as women to achieve long range upward mobility (4 steps or more).

Women's most common upward movements were from lower to upper white-collar work (5%) and from lower blue- to lower white-collar occupations (4%). Men's most common upward movement was from lower to upper blue-collar work (7%). Women who experienced downward mobility reversed the process of those who experienced upward mobility: from upper to lower white-collar occupations (4%), and from lower white to lower blue collar (5%). Similarly, downwardly mobile men most commonly moved from upper to lower blue-collar jobs (5%). In general, men and women who experienced occupational mobility typically moved between categories of skilled and unskilled work, but less often crossed the divides of white- and blue-collar work.

AGE AND INTRA-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY

One of the most important factors in intra-generational occupational mobility is age. The relationship between age and intra-generational mobility is shown in Table P. We might expect that a 55-year-old has had more opportunity for occupational mobility than a 25-year-old. This assumption appears to be true among men, whose rates of upward mobility increase dramatically as they get older, with 26% upwardly mobile among those under 35, and 42% upwardly mobile among those over 55 years of age. The rates of movement down the occupational structure do not change much by age, but the proportion of men experiencing no mobility consistently declines as those experiencing upward mobility increases.

Table P
Summary intra-generational mobility by age and sex, Canada, 1986

	Men					Women				
Age	Up %	None %	Down %	%	Total n	Up %	None %	Down %	%	Total n
15-34	26	56	18	100	(2448)	22	60	18	100	(2054)
35-44	33	47	20	100	(1278)	28	50	22	100	(1005)
45-54	41	39	21	100	(841)	25	54	20	100	(572)
55 and over	42	37	20	100	(591)	25	47	29	100	(339)

Total n=9128

Once again the pattern is quite different for women. The number of women experiencing no mobility also decreases with age, although not as much as for men, but the shift is toward downward rather than upward occupational change. The rates of downward occupational mobility increase, from 18% among those under age 35 to 29% among those over 55 years of age. The gap between male and female patterns of intra-generational mobility increases rather than decreases with age.

SUMMARY

There are high levels of occupational mobility between Canadian fathers and their offspring, but there is also some male occupational inheritance, especially among farmers and those at the top of the occupational hierarchy. The patterns of occupational mobility are considerably different for men and women. Women experience higher inter-generational mobility rates than men, but less circulation mobility, or less movement up or down the job structure due to the openness or fluidity of the occupational hierarchy.

Some of the gender variation in occupational mobility rates is due to sex segregation in the labour force. The rates for men and women are more similar using the collapsed occupational classification system, although women still experience less circulation mobility and more downward mobility than men. For both men and women upward mobility is more common than downward mobility, and most shifts are short range.

Ethnicity and nativity affect inter-generational mobility in Canada, but have opposite effects on men and women. Allophone ethnic status, as delimited by a first language other than English or French, and foreign-born status of respondent and their parents, resulted in higher levels of upward occupational mobility among men, but higher levels of downward mobility among women.

Intra-generational mobility through the course of an individual's working life was less prevalent than inter-generational mobility in Canada. Most Canadians did not experience any intra-generational occupational mobility, but those who did were more likely to move a short distance up rather than down the occupational structure. Women had less upward mobility than men.

Age had an impact on rates of intra-generational mobility, and showed opposite trends for men and women. Men experienced greater degrees of upward mobility in older age groups, while women experienced greater degrees of downward mobility in older age groups.

NOTES

[1] Missing cases (not working or not stated) for fathers' occupation constitute 15% of the sample.

[2] Eleven percent of the fathers of female respondents were farmers. The number of women classified as farmers is less than 1%.

[3] Those not working for pay in the 12 months prior to the survey, who did not state an occupation, or did not state their father's occupation, were excluded. On these grounds, 31% of men were excluded and 51% of women. The remainder consists of 5,514 cases of men (or 6,694,604 weighted cases), and 4,074 cases of women (or 4,945,705 weighted cases).

[4] In addition to the exclusions for the total labour force discussed in endnote three, the agricultural sector was also excluded. Total missing cases constituted 43% of men and 58% of women. The non-agricultural labour force consists of 4,582 cases of men (or 5,562,670 weighted cases), and 3,502 cases of women (or 4,251,161 weighted cases).

[5] This does not include the agricultural sector, which increases the level of upward structural mobility for both male and female respondents.

[6] Exclusions for first language and nativity are the same as for the non-agricultural labour force noted in endnote four, with the additional exclusion of those who either did not indicate their first language or their nativity, respectively.

[7] Those who were not working during the 12 months prior to the survey, who did not state their first or current occupation, were in the agricultural sector, or had no schooling (and therefore were not asked about their first job), were excluded. Thirty-six percent of men and 52% of women were excluded on these grounds. The remainder consists of 5,158 cases of men (or 6,261,564 weighted cases) and 3,970 cases of women (or 4,820,210 weighted cases).

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND EDUCATION

HIGHLIGHTS

- There has been substantial upgrading of educational levels between generations: 48% of parents, but only 14% of their children have not gone past Grade 8. Only 16% of parents have had at least some postsecondary education compared with 43% of their children. Canadians, who are age 65 or older, are four times more likely to have no more than a Grade 10 education than people under age 40.

- About half of the educational mobility (i.e. excluding cases where the parents' and children's education level is the same) is "structural", due to overall upgrading, and half is "circulation" mobility, the ups and downs of individually driven differences between education levels of parents and children.

- The chances of attaining a postsecondary education are twice as great for people whose parents had post-secondary education as for people whose parents did not go beyond Grade 10.

- In comparison to older Canadians, younger Canadians have attained a higher level of education and are more likely to have exceeded their parents level of education.

- Generally, the gender of the respondents or their parents accounts for little difference in educational mobility. One exception is that the sons of parents with Grade 8 or less have more of a chance of attaining a university degree than do their daughters. A second exception is that, in each age category, women are more likely than men to inherit the educational status of their mother.

- The chance of a woman being a full-time homemaker is higher if a woman's mother also was a full-time homemaker than when her mother had a job in the paid labour force.

INTRODUCTION

When interpreting social class, sociologists have usually thought of the ranking of occupations, and of positions on the rank order of occupations as the standard origins and destinations of social mobility. This conception omits large segments of the population: full-time homemakers, the elderly, as well as children. There are also difficulties in fitting certain other kinds of work into a coherent conception of occupation as defined by the prevailing economic order: people who run farms or work on them, or those involved in trapping or fishing. Working-class entrepreneurs: such as owners and managers of a business and at the same time drivers of a truck are difficult to fit into the occupational rank structure. Others, who are not doing what counts as work, or who suffer long-term disabilities, cannot be included in the usual occupational classifications.

There was a time when the family into which a person was born counted more than talent or achievement. The present-day equivalent of ascription is education. In a so-called meritocratic society, one can overcome the limits of gender, ethnicity, and the social class of your parents (more exactly, the occupational rank of your father) by going to school long enough to earn accreditation to the right position. The focus of this conception is still occupational position, but it gives education a special place as an instrument for occupational achievement. As knowledge and technical expertise gain prominence in their own right, in what has recently been called the knowledge society, educational status attains an importance all of its own.

Practically everyone can be placed on a dimension of education. The largest gain of basing the study of social mobility on education is that the social-mobility relations of mothers and daughters can be addressed unambiguously.

METHODS

Mobility tables are used to analyze educational mobility. These tables are percentaged across the whole table. The main diagonal line represents stayers, or those who had no mobility. By adding the percent figures along each diagonal line, the proportion of people who are upwardly, downwardly, or immobile can be calculated. Educational status was derived from several questions asked and grouped into six categories. The difference between structural and circulation mobility was determined through the index of dissimilarity explained in Chapter 4. The reduced outflow mobility table (Table U) allows a prediction of reaching college or university from knowledge of the education level of mother and father.

Somers'd is an assymetric measure of association between an independent variable X and a dependent variable Y where both variables are ordinal variables or rank orders. "It expresses the proportionate excess of concordant pairs (agreements) overdiscordant pairs (inversions) among pairs not tied on the independent variable" (Somers, 1962). For the 2x2 table, Somers'd equals the percentage difference divided by 100.

Somers'd= C - D
C+D+Ty

where C = agreement in rank
D = inversions in rank
and Ty = tied on Y only

C+D+Ty = sum of products of marginal frequencies of X, two at a time

In Table X, the percentage difference (equivalent to Somers' d) is used in a simple multivariate analysis. The table contains information on the joint distributions of one dependent dichotomized variable and three independent variables. The effect of each independent variable, while holding the effect of the other two constant, is calculated as follows. Each of the four percentage differences that are possible for each independent variable is multiplied by the number of cases underlying the two percentage figures that are being compared. The four products are summed and then divided by the total number of cases. The result is a weighted average percentage difference that constitutes a measure of the effect of an independent variable, while controlling the effects of the other independent variables.

RESULTS

To what extent is social position inherited, and to what extent is there room for movement away from your parents' position? The answer to this question begins with a social mobility table. Table Q shows the distribution of women according to both their own and their mothers' education level. Adding the percentages in the cells that form the central diagonal from the top left to the bottom right gives us the proportion of women whose educational level is the same as that of their mothers. The diagonal lines below the main diagonal show the percentage of women who had a higher education than their mothers. The set of figures parallel to the main diagonal line and toward the bottom left shows women whose education is one step higher, the next diagonal line two steps, and so forth. Going toward the top right, the same can be said about women who were downwardly mobile with regard to education. Three additional such tables are not included here: the relations mother-son, father-daughter, and father-son.

The proportions of respondents at each step up or down, as well as those who remained at the same level as their parents, are shown in Table R.

Table Q
Mobility table by mother's and daughter's education, Canada, 1986 (overall percent, weighted, excluding students without university degree)

	Daughter's education						
Mother's education	University degree %	College diploma %	Some col/uni %	Grades 11-13 %	Grades 9-10 %	Grade 8 or less %	%
University degree	1.8	0.6	0.8	1.1	0.1	0.1	4.4
College diploma	1.5	1.8	0.9	1.0	0.4	0.1	5.9
Some college or university	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.3	0.3	0.2	4.7
Grades 11-13	4.0	3.6	4.5	8.6	1.2	0.6	22.5
Grades 9-10	1.2	2.9	2.3	6.9	1.8	0.8	15.9
Grade 8 or less	2.7	4.2	5.3	13.4	8.7	12.2	46.6
Column total	12.3	14.0	15.0	32.2	12.5	14.0	100.0

n=5758

Table R
Summary inter-generational educational mobility, Canada, 1986 (weighted, excluding students without university degree), Canada, 1986

Mobility steps	Mother/ Daughter %	Mother/ Son %	Father/ Daughter %	Father/ Son %
5 steps up	2.7	5.4	3.5	5.1
4 steps up	5.4	6.0	7.2	6.2
3 steps up	12.2	12.7	11.1	12.6
2 steps up	20.4	19.3	22.5	21.8
1 step up	22.5	17.3	19.0	16.6
No mobility	27.3	27.2	26.5	27.8
1 step down	4.8	6.6	4.2	5.2
2 steps down	2.8	3.6	3.5	3.1
3 steps down	1.7	1.6	1.9	1.3
4 steps down	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.2
5 steps down	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Moved up	63.2	60.7	63.3	62.3
Did not move	27.3	27.2	26.5	27.8
Moved down	9.6	12.3	10.2	9.9
Total percent	100.1	100.2	100.0	100.0
n	5758	5331	5306	5176

Just over one-quarter of Canadians had the same educational level as their parents. There are many more people with an education higher than their parents than people whose education is lower: only about 10% moved down. Neither the gender of parents nor of the respondents make much of a difference. The exception is the case of "5 steps up", where the daughters of parents with Grade 8 or less have less of a chance of attaining a university degree than their sons (2.7% versus 5.4% and 3.5% versus 5.1%, respectively).

PARENTS AND CHILDREN: STRUCTURAL AND CIRCULATION MOBILITY

The distributions of daughters' and sons' levels of education differs dramatically from those of the mothers' and fathers'. The percentage of parents with only Grade 8 or less is at least three times as great as that of the children, and for the combined postsecondary levels the same is nearly true in reverse. Sons' and daughters' educational achievements are noticeably greater than their parents'.

This conclusion leads to an important question. We might imagine a system that is entirely stable, so that the education distribution does not change from one generation to the next. In such a system, it is still possible to achieve an education higher than that of one's parents, but only at the expense of someone else sliding down. This is what we call circulation mobility. What Table S tells us, is that the whole distribution has shifted upwards, thinning out at the bottom, and bulging at the top, and that is called structural mobility.

Table T also shows that a little over a quarter of all mobility possibilities consist of no mobility. About half of the remainder is the result of a structural shift, and half involves circulation mobility - each move in one direction necessitating a move in the other. One hundred percent here stands for the total of each of the four parent-child relations. The percentage distributions of classes of mobility depend on the number of education levels being used in the analysis: if everyone were lumped together in one education category, there would be no mobility.

Table S
Educational levels of women and men and their parents (weighted, excluding students without university degree), Canada, 1986

Education	Mother/Daughter		Mother/Son	
	Mother	Daughter	Mother	Son
	%	%	%	%
Grade 8 or less	46.6	14.0	45.2	14.3
Grades 9-10	15.9	12.5	13.9	10.8
Grades 11-13	22.5	32.2	25.7	31.4
Some postsecondary	4.7	15.0	4.3	14.3
College diploma	5.9	14.0	5.6	11.3
University degree	4.4	12.3	5.2	17.8
Grade 10 or less	62.5	26.5	59.1	25.1
Grades 11-13	22.5	32.2	25.7	31.4
Any postsecondary	15.0	41.3	15.1	43.4
Total percent	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9
Daughter n=5758				
Son n=5331				

Education	Father/Daughter		Father/Son	
	Father	Daughter	Father	Son
	%	%	%	%
Grade 8 or less	50.5	13.2	50.2	14.3
Grades 9-10	13.4	11.8	12.8	10.0
Grades 11-13	20.0	32.9	19.7	31.2
Some postsecondary	4.9	15.0	5.9	15.1
College diploma	3.7	14.3	4.7	11.0
University degree	7.5	12.9	6.7	18.3
Grade 10 or less	63.9	25.0	63.0	24.3
Grades 11-13	20.0	32.9	19.7	31.2
Any postsecondary	16.1	42.2	17.3	44.4
Total percent	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9
Daughter n=5306				
Son n=5176				

CHANCES OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE

Table U displays the chances of completing at least some college or university education depending on the parents' level of education. We can see here how much of a difference the parents' education makes: the chances are about twice as good to get to college or university when your mother or father have gone that far than when they had attained Grade 10 or less. About one-third of people whose parents had Grade 10 or less had themselves completed at least some college or university compared to two-thirds of people with parents who had completed some college or university. The effects of parents' education on that of their children do not differ consistently with the gender of the parents or their children.

AGE AND EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY

The differences between the educational distributions of parents and children suggest that age is an important predictor of education. The inter-generational difference corresponds to the difference that age makes in educational attainment. Table W shows that the proportion of women and men with at least some postsecondary education clearly declines with age, while gender makes no difference.

Table T
Components of educational mobility (weighted, excluding students without university degree), Canada, 1986

Components	Mother/ Daughter %	Mother/ Son %	Father/ Daughter %	Father/ Son %
Structural*	36.0	34.0	39.0	38.6
Circulation*	36.7	38.8	34.5	33.6
No mobility	27.3	27.2	26.5	27.8
n+	5758	5331	5306	5176

* The procedures for calculating structural and circulation mobility are described in Chapter 4.

Table U
Proportion of men and women with at least some college or university education by level of schooling of fathers and mothers, Canada, 1986 (weighted, excluding students without university degree)

Mother's or father's education level	Respondents with at least some college or university							
	Mother/ Daughter		Mother/ Son		Father/ Daughter		Mother/ Son	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Grade 10 or less	29.8	3595	34.6	3154	33.0	3392	33.6	3264
Grades 11-13	54.0	1295	52.1	1369	50.5	1061	54.4	1019
Any college or university	69.9	866	63.7	807	68.0	853	72.6	893

Table V
Proportion of men and women by age group and level of education, Canada, 1986 (weighted, excluding students without university degree)

Respondents' education	Men			Women		
	15-39 %	40-64 %	65-96 %	15-39 %	40-64 %	65-96 %
Grade 10 or less	16	40	58	14	41	59
Grades 11 - 13	35	29	21	39	28	20
Any college or university	49	30	20	47	31	22
Total percent	100	99	99	100	100	101
n=	3536	2662	891	3572	2649	1175

Somers'd Men = -.30
Women = -.30

Table W
Proportion of men and women with upward or no educational mobility by age group, Canada, 1986 (weighted, excluding students without university degree)

A: Upward mobility	Respondents with education level higher than their parents							
Respondent's age	Mother/ Daughter		Mother/ Son		Father/ Daughter		Father/ Son	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
15-39	68	(2996)	65	(2836)	69	(2814)	67	(2766)
40-64	62	(2055)	58	(1952)	61	(1864)	59	(1875)
65-96	45	(707)	46	(542)	45	(629)	47	(536)
B: No mobility	Respondents with education level the same as their parents							
Respondent's age	Mother/ Daughter		Mother/ Son		Father/ Daughter		Father/ Son	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
15-39	22	(2996)	21	(2836)	21	(2814)	21	(2766)
40-64	29	(2055)	31	(1952)	29	(1864)	32	(1875)
65-96	46	(707)	43	(542)	42	(629)	45	(536)

In addition, we can ask whether age affects the difference between parents' and children's education levels. The upper part "A" of Table W tells us how much age affects the probability of attaining an educational level higher than that of the parents. If educational upgrading over time is linear, there would be no reason to expect age to affect upward mobility. Table W suggests that the rate of upgrading has been accelerating, and therefore, the proportion who experienced upward mobility is higher in the lowest age group. Conversely, the proportion of people with the same education level of their parents increases with age, effectively doubling between the lowest and highest age categories. In Table W, the gender of parents or their children makes no difference.

The use of age cohorts to represent changes over time can be extended to address a core issue in social mobility research: is the structure of social statuses becoming more open, and is there improvement in the opportunities that greater openness signifies? Table X makes use of the association measure, Somers' d, as a method of assessing the degree to which educational and occupational position are inherited. The larger the degree of association (measured by Somers'd) the more the parents' position predicts the position of their children. The table shows that predictability is greater, the older the respondent, for each relation between parents' and children's education, and for the relation between father's occupational status and that of their daughters and sons.

In Figure C, the age categories have been translated into years of birth. The figure shows changes in the effect that mothers' education has on the education of their daughters and sons. To the extent that age cohorts can be taken to represent historical change, it is clear that inheritance of educational achievement has declined quite dramatically

CHANGES OF EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY: COMPARING 1973 AND 1986

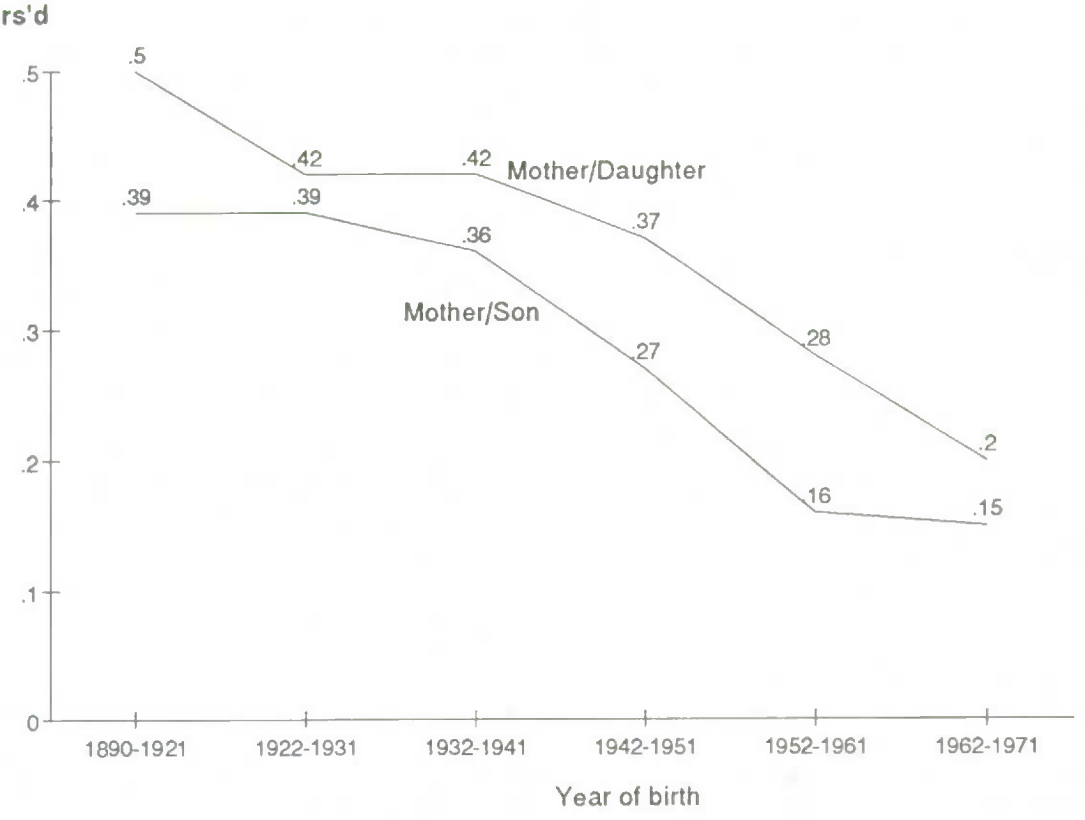
The inter-generational difference and the age difference reflect changes in the educational distribution over time. Such changes can be investigated in a comparison of the 1973 Canadian Mobility Study with the 1986 General Social Survey (Table Y).

The comparison suggests an effect similar to the age effect shown in Table W. The proportion of cases with no educational mobility has declined between 1973 and 1986 by an average of about 12 percentage points, and there was a corresponding increase of about 9 percentage points in the proportion of people whose education level exceeds their parents'.

Table X
Effect (Somers'd) of parents' education and occupation on daughters' and sons' occupational and educational attainment by age group, Canada, 1986 (weighted, excluding students without university degree)

Age of respondent's daughter or son	Somers'd					
	Education			Occupation		
	Mother/ Daughter	Mother/ Son	Father/ Daughter	Father/ Son	Father/ Daughter	Father/ Son
15-24	.20	.15	.17	.24	.00	.12
25-34	.28	.16	.27	.26	.13	.21
35-44	.37	.27	.32	.33	.14	.20
45-54	.42	.36	.36	.44	.15	.13
55-64	.42	.39	.27	.37	.15	.24
65-96	.50	.39	.41	.44	.32	.37
All ages	.38	.29	.33	.35	.12	.18

Figure C:
Degree of inheritance of educational status (Somers'd) from mothers to daughters and sons by year of birth, Canada, 1986



General Social Survey, 1986

Table Y
Summary inter-generational educational mobility, 1973 and 1986, Canada (weighted, 1986 excludes students without university degree)

Mobility steps	Mother/ Daughter		Mother/ Son		Father/ Daughter		Father/ Son	
	1973 %	1986 %	1973 %	1986 %	1973 %	1896 %	1973 %	1986 %
5 steps up	1.9	2.7	4.0	5.4	2.0	3.5	4.0	5.1
4 steps up	4.4	5.4	3.2	6.0	4.7	7.2	3.1	6.2
3 steps up	5.5	12.2	6.4	12.7	5.5	11.1	6.0	12.6
2 steps up	18.6	20.4	16.9	19.3	19.0	22.5	17.1	21.8
1 step up	23.1	22.5	22.6	17.3	22.1	19.0	22.1	16.6
No mobility	38.9	27.3	39.0	27.2	38.2	26.5	40.1	27.8
1 step down	4.2	4.8	4.3	6.6	4.3	4.2	3.9	5.2
2 steps down	2.4	2.8	2.1	3.6	3.4	3.5	2.0	3.1
3 steps down	0.7	1.7	1.0	1.6	1.5	1.9	1.1	1.3
4 steps down	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	.2
5 steps down	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	.1
Moved up	53.6	63.2	53.1	60.7	53.2	63.3	52.3	62.3
Did not move	38.9	27.3	39.0	27.2	38.2	26.5	40.1	27.8
Moved down	7.6	9.6	7.8	12.3	8.6	10.2	7.6	9.9
Total percent	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	19654	5758	18415	5331	19845	5306	18746	5176

EDUCATION AND THE INHERITANCE OF HOUSEWORK

For many women, keeping house is full-time work, an option that men rarely consider. As the labour force participation rate of women has steadily risen, the proportion of women who are full-time homemakers has declined. It has been well documented that husbands' high income, young children, and many children tend to reduce the labour force participation rate of women. However, education tends to increase participation.

From the GSS, we can examine the probability of women choosing to be full-time homemakers in relation to (1) their education, (2) their mothers' education, and (3) their mothers' having been full-time homemakers. Table Z shows that the proportion of women whose work was indicated as "keeping house" declines with their education. At the same time, their mothers having been full-time homemakers increases the proportion of their daughters doing the same. When controlling for the daughters' education and the mothers' keeping house, the mothers' education makes virtually no difference. The average effect of the daughters' education is a reduction by 17.5 percentage points, when controlling for the effect of mothers' education and full-time homemaking. The average effect of the mothers having been full-time homemakers is an increase by 12.9 percentage points, when controlling for the effect of mothers' and daughters' education.

OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY

While we commonly think that education is, among other things, a means for occupational advancement, is there reason to expect that occupational mobility, from fathers' occupational status to the occupational status of the respondents' latest job, is related to differences in the education level of fathers and their children? The

answer hinges in part on the extent to which education level and occupational status are correlated among fathers and among sons. It also depends on the process by which the fathers' standing on both dimensions is transmitted to their children.

Table AA is a combination of occupational and educational mobility tables. The table shows a moderate association between educational and occupational mobility from fathers to daughters or sons, indicated by values of Somers'd of .26 and .29. The table shows that the proportion of people who moved up occupationally more than doubles when comparing those with an education lower than their parents with those whose education was higher. This is true for both women and men. The proportions of women who were upwardly and downwardly mobile occupationally are a little larger than those of men, and the proportion of women with the same occupational level as their fathers is distinctly smaller.

SUMMARY

The years spent in formal education, and passing through stages of education, through the completion of elementary school, high school graduation, a college diploma or one or more university degrees, count as signs of social position in their own right. Educational achievement also leads to other accomplishments, in the form of the social rank of one's occupation, and the pleasures and enlightenment that schooled knowledge has to offer.

The level of educational attainment in Canada is on the rise. It is reflected in the fact that there are many more people with a higher level of education than their parents, and in the fact that the proportion of people with higher education delines with each age category. As well, there are signs that educational upgrading is accelerating; both mobility and educational level are negatively associated with age, and while the proportion of people experiencing no educational mobility declined between the 1973 mobility study and the 1986 study, the proportion of the upwardly mobile has increased.

Of the differences between the education levels of parents and children, about 10% involve a reduction and over 60% an increase in the children's exposure to education, leaving about one fourth with no change in level of education. About half of the mobility of those whose education level differed from their parents' is structural mobility, the effect of the general upward movement of the entire distribution, and the other half is circulation mobility, where one person moving up is matched by another person moving down.

Table Z
Proportion of daughters keeping house in the last 12 months by daughters' education and mothers' work status and education, Canada, 1986 (weighted, excluding students without university degree)

Mothers' work status and education	Daughters keeping house in the last 12 months			
	Daughter's education			
	No postsecondary		Some postsecondary	
	%	n	%	n
Not keeping house				
No postsecondary education	38	598	22	420
Some postsecondary education	29	107	18	259
Keeping house				
No postsecondary education	51	2033	32	1144
Some postsecondary education	51	122	35	288

Weighted average differences in the percent of daughters keeping house (holding the effects of the other two variables constant):
Effect of daughter's education: - 17.5
Effect of mother's keeping house: + 12.9
Effect of mother's education: - 1.0

Table AA
Summary occupational and educational mobility, Canada, 1986 (weighted, excluding students without university degree)

Occupational mobility: Father to respondent's last job	Educational mobility: Father to respondent					
	Sons			Daughters		
	Moved down %	Did not move %	Moved up %	Moved down %	Did not move %	Moved up %
Moved down	57	37	23	62	47	26
Did not move	19	28	22	8	15	10
Moved up	24	35	55	30	38	64
n=100%	406	980	2550	240	660	2036

Somers'd Sons = .26
Daughters = .29

Educational accomplishments are influenced by the education of mothers and fathers and by age. Whether women are full-time homemakers depends to some extent on whether their mothers have been full-time homemakers, and on their own education, but not the education of their mothers.

REFERENCES

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CHAPTER 7
STATUS ATTAINMENT

HIGHLIGHTS

- Canadian-born women and men in the labour force come from similar socio-economic backgrounds, whereas in the early 1970s women in the labour force were from higher socio-economic backgrounds than were men.
- Foreign-born women and men in the labour force come from higher socio-economic backgrounds than do Canadian-born women and men in the labour force.
- Women in the labour force, both Canadian- and foreign-born, have a higher average number of years of schooling than do men.
- Women's initial jobs in the labour market average slightly higher socio-economic statuses than do the first jobs of men.
- Men experience more upward mobility than do women, despite the fact that men average fewer years of schooling than do women.
- Father's education and occupation has a stronger effect on the education levels and first jobs of men than of women.
- There is a stronger link between first job and current job of women than of men.
- Young, foreign-born women experience the least amount of upward mobility, and their occupational destinies are strongly influenced by their father's occupation and education.
- The higher the level of education and the greater the socio-economic status of a person's father, the more years of schooling people are likely to complete.
- A person's first job in the labour market is principally influenced by their level of education, and parental education and occupation have little direct effect on labour market entry.
- People's current jobs are influenced most by their starting positions in the labour force, and not by their level of schooling.
- Anglophone men experience more upward, intra-generational mobility than do francophone men; and anglophone women experience more upward, intra-generational mobility than do francophone women.
- The mobility experiences of francophones are more influenced by family origin and subsequent educational and first job attainments than is the case for anglophones. This suggests a slightly more open opportunity structure for anglophones.

INTRODUCTION

Sociologists study occupational mobility in two ways. The classic approach, highlighted in Chapter 4, uses a mobility table to gauge the degree of occupational inheritance between parents and their children. A different approach, presented in this chapter, focuses on status attainment.

In status attainment research, the main focus of investigation is the causal processes underlying the association between the socio-economic position of parents and their children. The principal issue concerns how the status of parents is transmitted to the status of children.

The objective is to decompose the status transmission process into its most significant components. Attention, therefore, focuses first on how family background influences education, and then on how these both effect first job, and finally, on how this entire ensemble of factors relate to a person's current job. By examining status attainment in this stepwise manner, the approach is particularly sensitive to the issue of how much individual status depends on personal talent and ability as opposed to advantages transferred via family background.

METHODS

The socio-economic statuses of people's first and current occupation, and the occupations of their parents, were scaled using the Blishen-Carroll-Moore socio-economic index for occupations. This scale provides hierarchical ratings of occupations such that mobility can be measured as movement up or down this scale (see Chapter 3).

Socio-economic status (SES) scores were assigned to the occupations of all respondents between the ages of 25 and 64 who were working full-time in the labour force during 1986. The same index is also used to provide occupational status scores for respondent's parents, based on each employed parent's occupation when the respondent was 15 years of age, (the latter criterion was used to fix a standard time for reporting the occupations of parents, which serves as one measure of each respondent's social origins). Finally, all

respondents were asked "about the first full-time job you had after reaching your highest level of education", and this occupation was scored according the Blishen-Carroll-Moore socio-economic index.

Status attainment research incorporates years of schooling in the analysis. The questionnaire did not ask about years of schooling directly, so the following recoding was done to generate a proxy measure of years of schooling. The 15 categories used in the survey questionnaire were based on a scheme often used at Statistics Canada for coding education, and these categories have been redefined into years of schooling as follows: no schooling = 0; grade eight or less = 5; grades 9-10 = 9.5; grades 11 - 13, not a high school graduate = 11.5; grades 11 - 13, high school graduate = 12; some community college, CEGEP, or nursing school = 13; diploma or certificate from community college, CEGEP, or nursing school = 14; some university = 13; bachelor or undergraduate degree or teacher's college = 16; master's or earned doctorate = 18; other = excluded; don't know = excluded; not stated, codes 1 - 4 = 9.5; not stated, codes 5 - 10 = 13; and not stated, codes 1 - 10 = excluded.[1]

The analysis uses father's rather than mother's occupation. The reason for relying on father's occupation is that when respondents were aged 15, most did not have mothers who were active in the paid labour force (see the discussion in Chapter 3). Since women working outside the labour force are not assigned socio-economic status scores in the Blishen-Carroll-Moore index, they could not be included in the analysis.

In one section of this Chapter, separate analyses are conducted for francophones and anglophones. Language use was determined by asking people their main language (the question used in the survey said: "that is, the language in which they are most at ease"), either French or English. When people reported both, the language in which the interview was conducted was used to assign language group.

Country of birth is also used in part of the analysis. Comparisons are made between people born inside and outside of Canada, and these groups are referred to as Canadian-born and foreign-born, respectively.

The statistical analysis in the latter part of this chapter uses Pearson product moment correlation coefficients (see e.g. Bornstedt and Knoke, 1982). These coefficients measure the amount of (linear) association between two variables. They can vary between plus and minus one, where 1.0 means that one variable perfectly corresponds with a second variable, such that as variable A increases, so does variable B. A value of 0.0 means there is no association between the variables. A negative value means that as variable A increases, variable B decreases (or vice versa). In general, the closer a value is to 0.0, the weaker is the association.

These correlation coefficients also serve as the basis for the path analysis results, a statistical technique useful in estimating the presumed causal relations between variables. While the method of path analysis was first developed by a geneticist, Sewell Wright, it has been widely used in the social sciences. Estimates of the effects of sets of causally related variables are derived from ordinary least squares multiple regression techniques.

The path coefficients are generated as standardized regression coefficients (Beta weights), and from these both the direct and indirect effects of variables can be calculated. The coefficients can vary between zero and plus or minus one, and represent the relative influence of standard unit changes among the causal variables. By using standardized units, scales of different magnitudes (e.g., education versus SES) can be directly compared (but only within models, not between models).

Rather than presenting an abstract discussion of how this technique works, further introductory remarks are made when the path analysis results are first discussed in this chapter. Introductory explanations of path analysis can be found in Bohrnstedt and Knoke (1982) or Asher (1983).

RESULTS

Labour force status, socio-economic status and nativity

A major premise of status attainment research is that family background affects both an individual's educational and occupational attainment. A preliminary step toward examining this proposition is to ask how the respective socio-economic backgrounds of women and men compare: are women in the labour force from social backgrounds similar to those of men in the labour force?

Table BB demonstrates that Canadian-born women and men, who in 1986 were full-time labour force participants, came from comparable socio-economic backgrounds. The fathers of both male and female respondents averaged 8.5 years of schooling. For women, father's occupational status averaged 40.3, while for men it averaged 40.1.

This result is noticeably different from the patterns established in the 1973 Canadian mobility study, wherein

Table BB
Mean levels of occupational status (Blishen scores) and educational attainment (years of schooling) of Canadian- and foreign-born women and men employed full-time, Canada, 1986

	Canadian-born		Foreign-born	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Father's education	8.5 (3.8)	8.5 (3.9)	10.5 (4.4)	9.4 (4.6)
Father's occupation	40.3 (12.7)	40.1 (12.8)	45.3 (15.8)	42.7 (15.8)
Respondent's education	12.9 (2.5)	12.3 (3.1)	13.4 (3.1)	13.0 (3.5)
Respondent's first job	42.5 (13.8)	42.0 (14.3)	44.9 (13.7)	44.7 (14.9)
Respondent's current job	44.1 (13.5)	45.6 (13.5)	45.1 (14.7)	46.6 14.3)
Sample n	1519	2130	197	317
Weighted n (000's)	1,844	2,586	239	385

The standard deviation from the mean appears in parentheses.

women in the labour force were found to have come from families of higher social origin than men. Between 1973 and 1986, when women's labour force participation continued to expand, much of the growth must have come from women who were raised in families of lower socio-economic status. By this process, the typical social origins of women and men in the labour force has come into balance. Men's labour force participation has declined slightly over this same period, and if men from higher SES origins are now more likely to be out of the labour force, via early retirement perhaps, this might also account for a small amount of the change.

Although the backgrounds of Canadian-born women and men are now very similar in terms of socio-economic status, there is a marked contrast in the social origins of the Canadian- and foreign-born. Foreign-born women and men had fathers with more education and higher SES-jobs than Canadian-born respondents. The Canadian-born/ foreign-born contrast is greatest for women, where father's education is two years higher among the foreign-born (for men, the parallel contrast is only 0.9 years). Comparing father's occupational status reveals the same foreign-born advantage, again greater among women than men. At least in part, this finding reflects the continuing nature of Canadian immigration policy; many of those who move to Canada have been highly-qualified.

Table BB also reveals differences among the attainments of respondents themselves, as opposed to the statuses of their fathers. For instance, among full-time labour force participants, Canadian-born women have over half-a-year more schooling than men (12.9 years versus 12.3 years, respectively). This educational advantage of women also holds among the foreign-born.

This may seem counter-intuitive since we know more men are in university graduate and professional schools. However, more men than women drop out of school prior to high school completion, and this serves to reduce the average years of schooling of men. The general result of these sex differences in educational experiences is that the range of men's schooling is greater than women's. This is reflected in the higher standard deviations in years of schooling among men (e.g. 3.1 versus 2.5 for Canadian-born men and women, respectively).

Women's longer schooling also appears to translate into better first jobs. The first job SES scores of women are slightly higher among both Canadian-born and foreign-born respondents when compared to first job SES scores for men.

Female advantages end at this point. While women

receive more schooling and attain higher SES scores for their first jobs, these two advantages fail to carry over into the occupational statuses of their current jobs. As shown in Table BB, both Canadian- and foreign-born men are in higher SES jobs than their female counterparts, despite averaging less schooling and having lower first job SES scores.

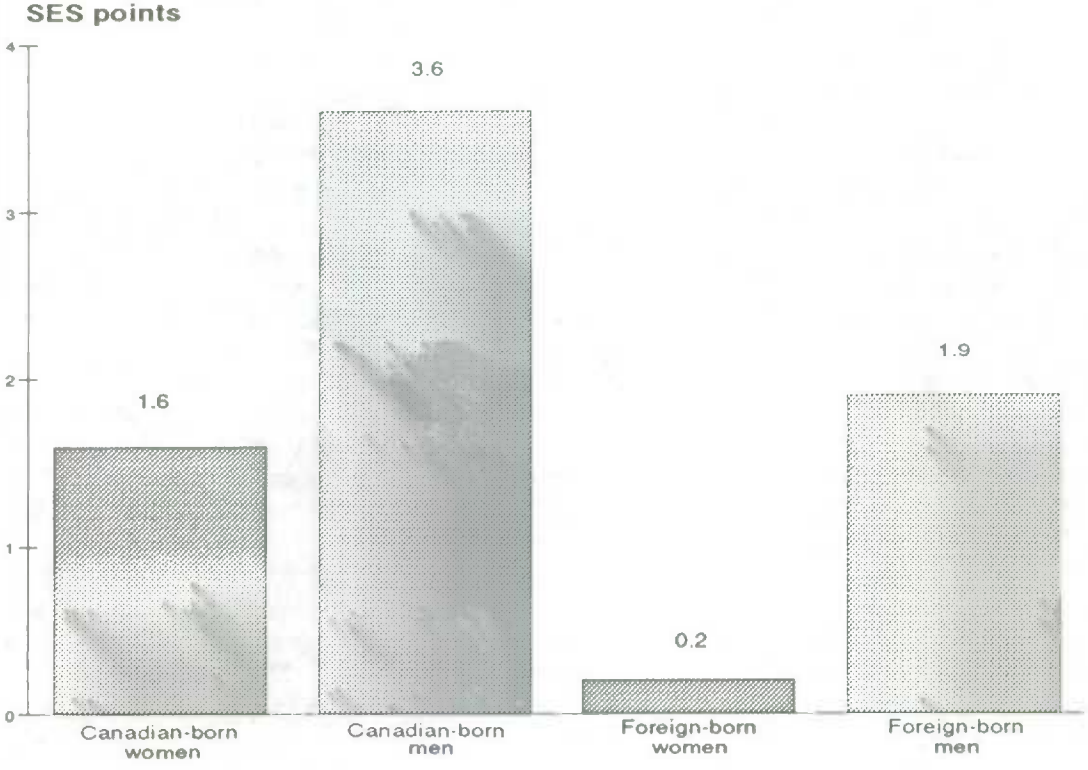
As well, foreign-born women and men have higher SES jobs than their Canadian-born counterparts. At least part of this is due to the higher labour market entry levels foreign-born people attain. What this also reflects, however, is that selective immigration policies have affected the current generation of labour force participants, as Canada attracts a highly-qualified work force from abroad.

Nativity, sex and mobility

Between first and current job, men are more upwardly mobile than women in that they are able to attain higher SES jobs, despite their lower levels of schooling and slightly poorer initial occupational starting points. Figure D reveals this greater occupational status movement of men by showing the difference in SES points between first and current jobs. Canadian-born men climb an average of 3.6 SES points between first and current jobs, while women gain only 1.6 SES points. Put another way, Canadian-born women experience less than half the upward mobility of men between first and current occupation. The survey did not measure work interruptions or timing of labour force entry, both of which could influence women's mobility relative to men's.

Greater mobility between first and current job also holds for foreign-born men as compared to foreign-born women. Indeed, foreign-born women experience virtually no upward career mobility between first and current occupation. So, despite coming from the most advantaged social origins (Table BB), foreign-born women enjoy almost no upward mobility as their labour force participation unfolds. In contrast, foreign-born men experience almost two full SES points of mobility, slightly more than that experienced by Canadian-born women. This limited occupational advancement for foreign-born women is consistent with findings from the mobility table analysis presented in Chapter 4.

Figure D: Status attainment gains: first to current job, by nativity, Canada, 1986



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It could be argued that since a greater proportion of the female labour force is younger, the reason that the contrasts in Figure D show less upward mobility for women is because women's careers are not, on average, as long or as well-developed as are men's. Some insight into this possible explanation can be gleaned from Table CC where the mobility levels of women and men are contrasted for both a young and an older generation.

For the Canadian-born, it matters not whether the comparison is made between younger or older labour force participants, women still experience less mobility than do men. Indeed, younger women (aged 25-44) experience only 70% of the upward mobility younger men realize [i.e. from Table CC calculating differences between current job SES and first job SES; (2.1/3.0)*100 = 70%]. When a similar contrast is made among women and men in the older generation (45-64), the result is similar [(2.9/5.0)*100 = 58%], although older Canadian-born men experienced the most intra-generational occupational mobility (5.0 SES units) of any sub-group.

However, for the foreign-born a very different pattern emerges. The negligible amount of upward mobility reported in Table BB for foreign-born women is seen in Table CC to be exclusively due to the stagnant nature of mobility for young, foreign-born women. In fact, the upward mobility of older foreign-born women is greater than that of foreign-born men (although men's current jobs have much higher SES values than women's).

In sum, for the foreign-born there is a large female-male difference in upward mobility among the young, a difference which also holds among both younger and older Canadian-born individuals. It may be that career interruptions play an important role in explaining these differences, but GSS respondents were not asked about labour force disruptions.

This male-female attainment difference between first and current jobs suggests alternative career mobility processes for women and men. To address these processes of career mobility, the causal modelling aspects of status attainment research are introduced next.

Causal modelling aspects of status attainment

Tables DD and EE present correlations showing the strength of association between paternal education and occupational status and respondent's education, first job, and current occupation. Among the Canadian-born (Table DD), all correlations involving social origins are stronger for men than women, except where current job is involved. That is, father's education and occupation are both more strongly correlated with men's education and first job than women's. For women, relative to men, the links between their education and first job, and between social origins, education, first job, and current occupation are stronger.

These patterns might be explained by the fact that men

Table CC
Mean socio-economic status levels of first and current job by sex, age[1] and nativity, Canada, 1986

	Men		Women	
	Young	Old	Young	Old
Canadian-born				
First job	41.0	37.8	39.9	36.9
Current job	44.0	42.8	42.0	39.8
Mobility	+3.0	+5.0	+2.1	+2.9
Foreign-born				
First job	43.4	43.2	42.7	37.6
Current job	46.2	45.8	42.6	40.6
Mobility	+2.8	+2.6	-0.1	+3.0

[1]Age is divided into two groups: young (25-44) and old (45-64).

have many alternative career routes, their occupational prospects being less restricted by occupational sex segregation than women who are concentrated in a narrower range of jobs. The tighter link between first and current job for women (r=.653) relative to men (r=.620) is consistent with the idea that women have more constrained career options. This patterning of correlations also implies that men's social origins, education and initial occupational experiences, may be less consequential for their long term careers than women's.

For the foreign-born (Table EE), certain of the above patterns are reversed. Overall, the associations among the status attainment variables are all stronger for women than men (except for the association between paternal education and occupation where the correlations are identical). This implies that the occupational attainment prospects of foreign-born women are more constrained than of foreign-born men. In combination, Figure D and Tables CC and EE suggest that the occupational destiny of younger, foreign-born women is the most constrained by social origins, and they experience the least upward movement over their labour force careers.

Finally, the influence of social origins is generally stronger among the foreign-born than the Canadian-born. This is especially true for foreign-born women where their father's education and occupation is more strongly associated with their own education, first occupation, and current job than is the case for Canadian-born women. For men, the influence of social origins on respondent education is greater among the foreign-born than among the Canadian-born, but this pattern of greater strength does not extend to either first or current job, where the findings are more mixed.

In total, the patterns found in Tables DD and EE suggest different processes between women and men, and between Canadian and foreign-born, with respect to how occupational status is transferred from one generation to the next. The next step in the analysis is to examine the causal connections involved in the process of status attainment.

Path diagram analysis

A powerful technique for analyzing processes of status attainment relies on a path diagram that displays the transmission of status from parent to child as a causal model. The basic model rests on four sequentially ordered groups of variables: social origins (father's education and occupation), educational attainment, first job and finally current job.

The first phase of the status attainment process is captured by the influence of respondents' social background on their educational attainment. Here it is presumed that both father's education and occupation have important, but independent, effects on the education of their children.

The second phase of the status attainment model captures the influence of family background and educational attainment on a person's first job. Education is considered to be the best predictor of the occupational status a person attains on first entering the labour force. Family

Table DD
Zero-order correlations among status attainment variables for Canadian-born women and men, Canada, 1986

	Father's occupation	Respondent's		
		Education	First job	Current job
Women				
Father's education	.464	.280	.193	.217
Father's occupation		.238	.182	.186
Respondent's education			.566	.526
Respondent's first job				.653
Men				
Father's education	.481	.288	.213	.188
Father's occupation		.284	.230	.182
Respondent's education			.548	.480
Respondent's first job				.620

Table EE
Zero-order correlations among status attainment variables for foreign-born women and men, Canada, 1986

	Father's occupation	Respondent's		
		Education	First job	Current job
Women				
Father's education	.586	.435	.262	.239
Father's occupation		.429	.253	.275
Respondent's education			.539	.492
Respondent's first job				.636
Men				
Father's education	.586	.342	.221	.178
Father's occupation		.333	.210	.226
Respondent's education			.518	.487
Respondent's first job				.595

background is thought to exert little direct effect on first job, although social origin does indirectly effect an individual's first job through its influence on education.

Finally, the last phase of the status attainment model examines how background, education, and first job combine to influence current occupation. First job status is thought to be strongly related to current status -- the better (or worse) your starting position in the labour market, the better (or worse) your subsequent position. However, education is also presumed to play a major role in influencing a person's career mobility. Not only does education affect current occupation directly, but since education has a powerful effect on first job, schooling also has important indirect effects on current job. Family background is thought to have little lasting, direct influence on a respondent's career mobility, except in that social origins initially affect a person's educational success which in turn affects current occupation.

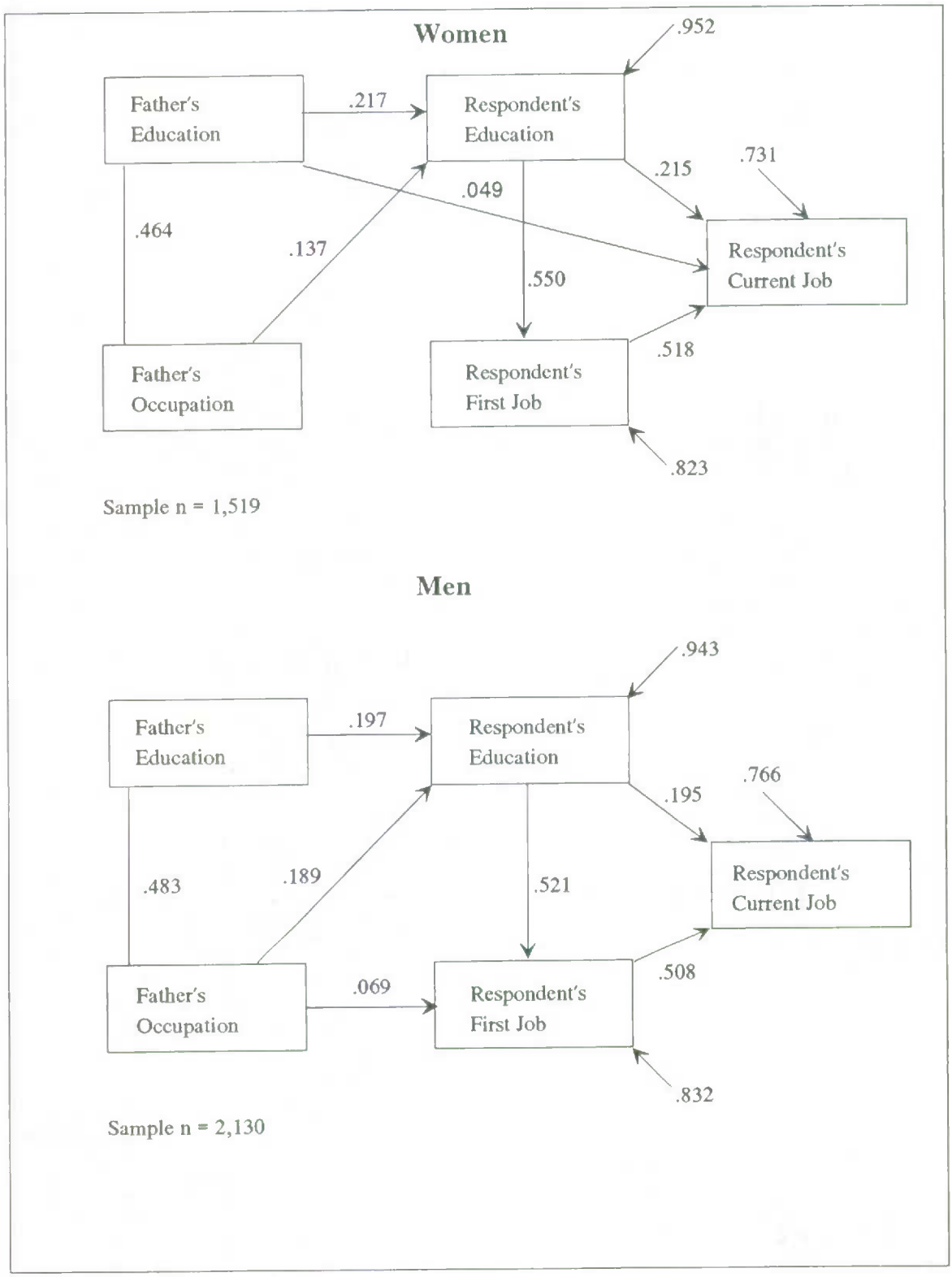
With these general comments in mind, examination of Figure E reveals how closely the findings mirror the expectations just outlined. Figure E displays a path model based on data from 1,519 Canadian-born women who were full-time labour force participants in 1986. The logic outlined above implies the causal ordering of the variables in the model.

The path coefficients in Figure E reveal the relative causal influence of the different variables included (where no coefficients are reported, there is no causal association between the variables as determined by tests of statistical significance; $p>.05$). Since path analysis computes a standard metric for each factor in the model, coefficients within any one path diagram can be directly compared with one another to determine the causal efficacy of different variables. So in Figure E, the strongest causal influence (.550) is the effect of education on first job. This number means that for a one unit change in education, the socio-economic status of a person's first job will increase .55 units. In contrast, a one unit change in education only directly produces a .215 unit change in current occupation, and thus has only about half as much direct effect relative to first job (where the Beta weight is .518).

One important feature of path analysis is that the cumulative effect of a variable, as it operates both directly and indirectly, can be determined. Education directly effects current job (the .215 unit change just noted), but it also has a very important indirect effect on current job as mediated through a person's first job. This indirect effect can be calculated by multiplying the two appropriate coefficients (.550 * .518). The result, .285, suggests that education has a greater effect on current job in this indirect manner (via first job, .285) than as a direct effect (.215). This also means that the combined direct and indirect effect of education (.285 + .215 = .500) is almost as great as the direct effect of first job (.518). The ability to compare coefficients within models (but not between models), and to calculate both direct and indirect effects is one of the virtues of path models.

Finally, one last convention of path analysis requires comment. These models are all based on the assumption that the identified variables do not fully represent all possible causal influences. A residual variable is included for all dependent variables, and this residual variable

Figure E
Status attainment model for Canadian-born women and men, Canada, 1986



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signals that all of the variation in a dependent variable will not be completely accounted for by the variables in the causal model. In Figure E, the value of .731 associated with one of the paths leading to current job shows that a significant part of the variation in current job is unexplained.

To explore the substantive content of the first path model (Figure E), we find that family background has an important effect on women's education and that father's education (B=.217) is almost twice as influential compared to father's occupation (B=.137). This pattern is consistent with previous research, and is similar to the results found in the 1973 mobility study.

Turning to first job, education is found to be the sole direct determinant (B=.550) of a woman's entrance status in the labour force. Family background, as represented by either father's occupation or education, has no direct effect on first job status. The effect of education is consistent with the 1973 research results. However, the 1973 study found that father's occupation directly affected women's first job, and this causal influence does not hold in 1986.

Finally, in assessing the occupational status of an individual's current position, first job has the largest impact (B=.518). Education also has a substantial effect, as noted above. First, there is the direct effect of years of schooling (B=.215). Second, there is an indirect effect operating via first job. The magnitude of this indirect effect can be calculated by multiplying the relevant path coefficients (i.e., .550 * .518 = .285). In combination, the direct (B=.215) and indirect (B=.285) effects of education are almost as large as the direct effect of first job (B=.518). Also significant in this path model is the fact that father's education exerts a small, but direct effect (B=.049) on women's current occupation, an effect that operates even once the causal forces of education and first job are taken into account.

For Canadian-born men, the basic model is similar (Figure E). Family background affects men's educational attainment and, as in the model for women, father's education (B=.197) has a stronger effect than does father's occupation (B=.189), although the size of the difference is minimal in the model for men.

As for labour force entry, the primary effect is via education (B=.521). Notice, however, that father's occupation (B=.069) also influences respondent's first job, although the causal effect is weak. This latter effect parallels the 1973 mobility study and presumably reflects the importance of paternal networks and nepotism in helping sons begin their careers.

In contrast to the 1973 results, the direct effect of father's occupation does not extend to either men's or women's current occupations. This may suggest that the direct influence of social origins on respondent's current job has waned in the last decade and a half. This is not to suggest that social origins are now unimportant in the process of status attainment, only that the effects of father's education and occupation are largely consequential only for a respondent's education. This is not a trivial consequence, however, as these path models show, years of schooling have substantial direct and indirect effects on socio-economic status.

With respect to differences between the Canadian- and foreign-born, Table II has already documented the higher social origins from which the foreign-born come. These initial advantages from family background transfer into higher education and first job attainment for the foreign-born, and these early advantages persist such that they are also, on average, in better current SES positions than are Canadian-born labour force participants. However, as Figure D revealed, Canadian-born individuals experience greater upward mobility. This suggests that the manner in which family background and early experiences are turned into SES in later life are not parallel for those born inside and outside of Canada.

Figure F presents path diagrams for the foreign-born. For both women and men, it appears that those who are foreign-born do less well at converting their superior years of schooling into upwardly mobile occupational careers. Similarly, the higher socio-economic backgrounds of the families of foreign-born respondents do not lead to greater levels of socio-economic status. While so far comparisons have highlighted contrasts between the Canadian and foreign-born, there are important aspects of stratification to examine among the Canadian-born. In particular, the different mobility experiences of the French and English have received much attention in Canadian social science. Tables FF, GG, HH and Figures H and I present some of the basic data pertaining to these language differences among native-born Canadians.

As Table FF shows, at every stage of the attainment process, francophones lag behind anglophones. For instance, the fathers of francophones averaged between one and one-and-a-half years less schooling than the fathers of anglophone respondents. This less advantaged social background is also reflected in father's SES where

Figure F
Status attainment model for foreign-born women and men, Canada, 1986

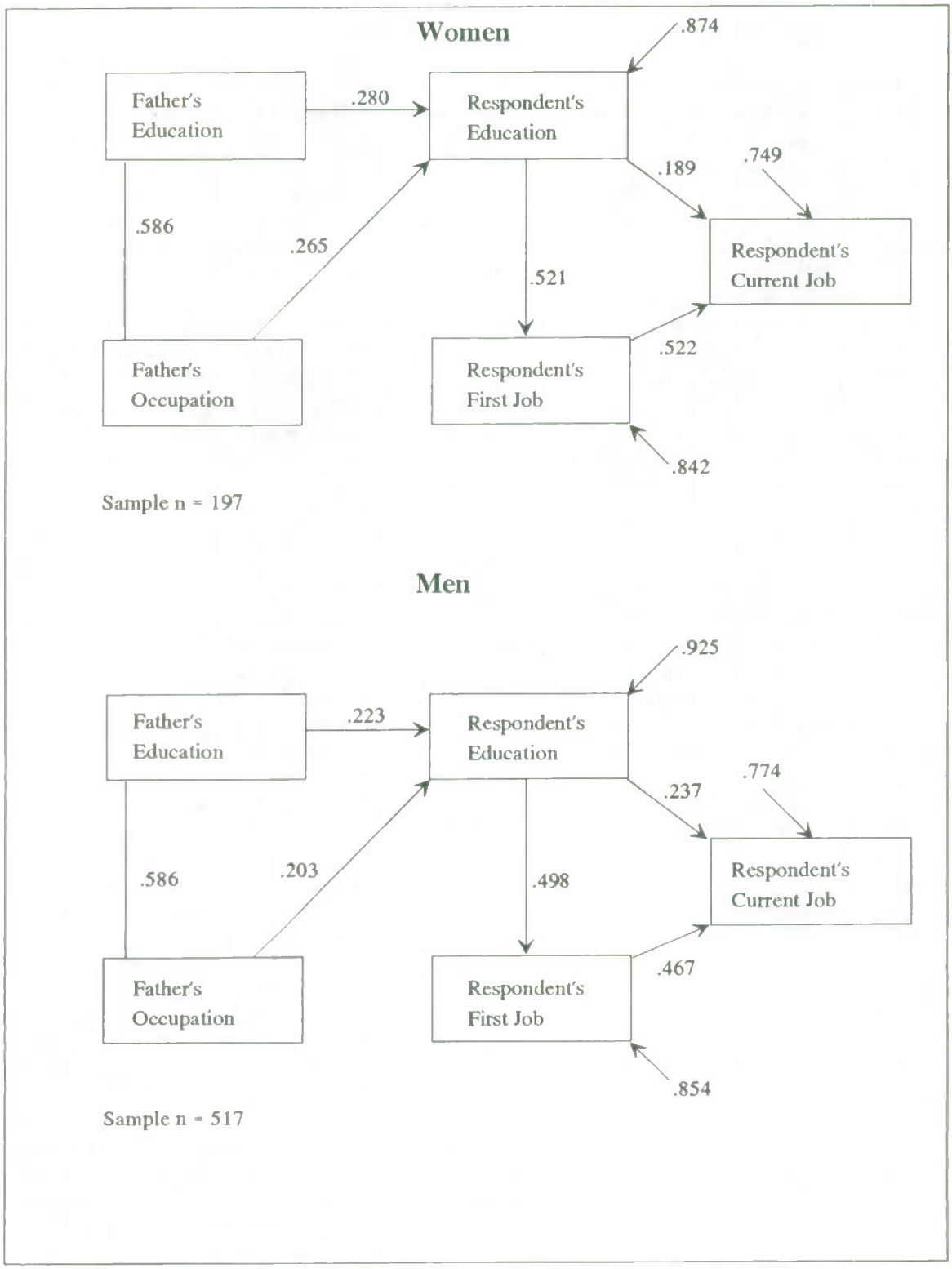

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Table FF
Mean levels of occupational status (Blishen scores) and educational attainment (years of schooling) of francophone and anglophone women and men employed full-time, Canada, 1986

	Francophone		Anglophone	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Father's education	7.5 (3.6)	7.7 (3.8)	9.2 (3.8)	9.0 (3.9)
Father's occupation	39.3 (11.9)	39.0 (12.0)	41.0 (13.1)	40.8 (13.2)
Respondent's education	12.5 (2.8)	12.0 (3.4)	13.2 (2.1)	12.6 (2.8)
Respondent's first job	41.7 (13.9)	41.1 (14.3)	43.0 (13.8)	42.6 (14.2)
Respondent's current job	43.1 (14.1)	44.6 (14.0)	44.8 (13.1)	46.2 (13.2)
Sample n	629	836	890	1,294
Weighted n (000's)	764	1,015	1,080	1,571

The standard deviation from the mean appears in parentheses.

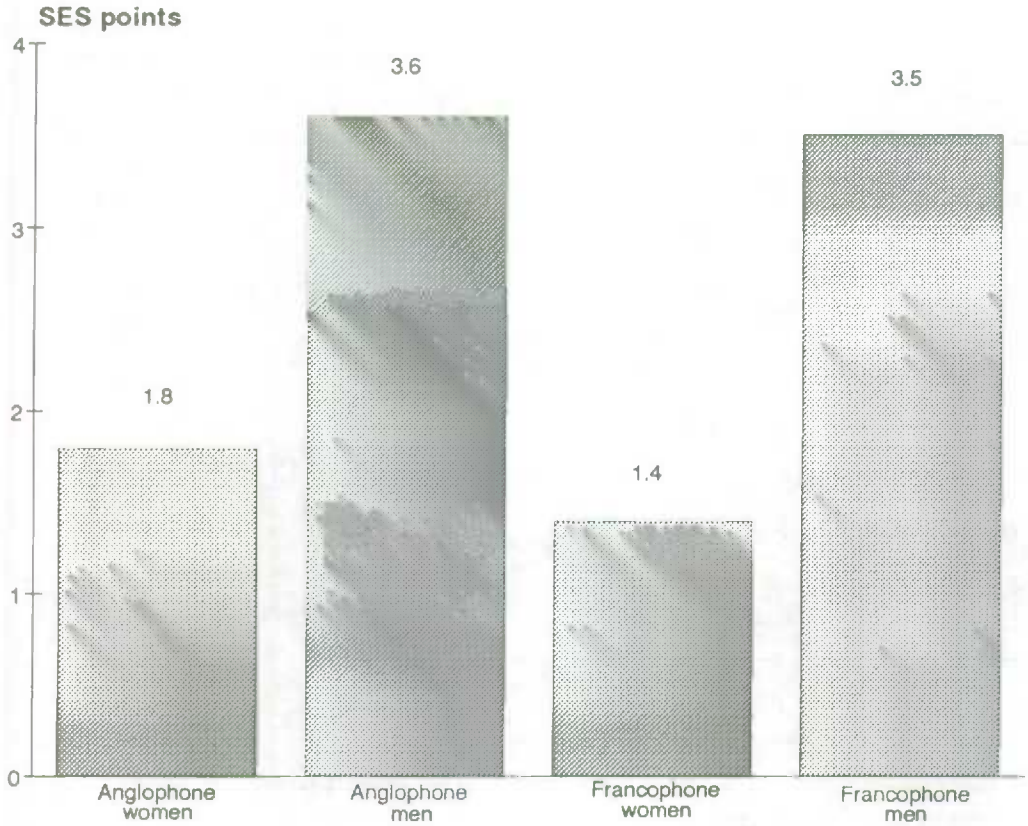
again francophones are disadvantaged in the mobility stakes relative to anglophones. These differences in family background also translate into differences in educational attainment with anglophone respondent's achieving on average at least half a year more schooling than francophones. Finally, these early differences in social origins and educational attainment are not overcome in later occupational careers where again francophones attain less occupational status either at first or current job relative to their anglophone counterparts.

The differences between women and men reflected in the earlier tables are repeated here. Although women in the labour force come from similar, or better backgrounds, and attain either similar or better educations and first jobs, their current status in the labour force lags behind men. This is true whether or not the comparison is made between francophone or anglophone women and men.

Figure G shows differences in status attainment between first and current occupations for the two language groups and for women relative to men. In both language groups, men are more mobile over their occupational careers; and the size of the difference between men and women is in equal proportion between the French and English. Once again we present the correlation structure for women and men, among the francophone and anglophone groups, incorporated in the basic status attainment model. Father's education and occupation are correlated more strongly with the education, first job, and current job of francophone men (Table GG) than is true for francophone women. This suggests that social origins exert a somewhat stronger influence on the career destinies of men than women, among the francophone Canadians. Conversely, among the achievement variables in the model (education, first and current jobs), there is a greater correspondence among these for women than for men. Again, this suggests slightly different mobility experiences of women than men.

Among anglophone Canadians (Table HH), the results are noticeably different. First, in contrast to francophones, social origin is not more strongly linked with education and first job for men relative to women. Second, father's education and occupation are more closely associated with women's current job than it is with men's current

Figure G: Status attainment gains: first to current job, by language, Canada, 1986



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job (again a reversal of the francophone pattern). Third, similar to francophones, the correlations between education, first and current jobs are stronger for women than men. In combination, these results imply differences between both language group and sex in the mobility processes.

As the last part of the analysis, in Figures H and I, the processes of status attainment are compared between the two language groups. The largest effect in each of the four models is always the impact of education on first job. The next most powerful casual force, again consistent across all four models, is the effect of first job on present job. As this basic structure is similar across models, the basic processes of status attainment are comparable across both language group and sex.

The only significant difference across the models is that for both anglophone women and men, father's occupation has a weak effect on first job status. This suggests that family origins continue to have some significance among English-speaking Canadians in determining the starting locations of daughters and sons in the labour force. The same effect is not found among French-speaking Canadians.

Finally, both models for francophones explain a slightly higher percentage of the variance in current occupational status relative to anglophones. This means that the models used to capture the causal effects of mobility are more relevant among French-speaking Canadians, suggesting that mobility is more constrained by family origin and subsequent attainments among francophones. The difference is not great, but paralleling the 1973 mobility study, the status or opportunity structure appears to be slightly more open for anglophones (see Boyd, et al., 1981: 665).

Table GG
Zero-order correlations among status attainment variables for francophone women and men, Canada, 1986

	Father's occupation	Respondent's		
		Education	First job	Current job
Women				
Father's education	.483	.209	.125	.187
Father's occupation		.226	.126	.154
Respondent's education			.581	.538
Respondent's first job				.676
Men				
Father's education	.507	.275	.234	.202
Father's occupation		.310	.253	.207
Respondent's education			.569	.501
Respondent's first job				.653

Table HH
Zero-order correlations among status attainment variables for anglophone women and men, Canada, 1986

	Father's occupation	Respondent's		
		Education	First job	Current job
Women				
Father's education	.449	.307	.231	.226
Father's occupation		.243	.215	.203
Respondent's education			.560	.515
Respondent's first job				.634
Men				
Father's education	.464	.282	.191	.168
Father's occupation		.263	.213	.162
Respondent's education			.534	.461
Respondent's first job				.596

Figure H
Status attainment model for francophone women and men, Canada, 1986

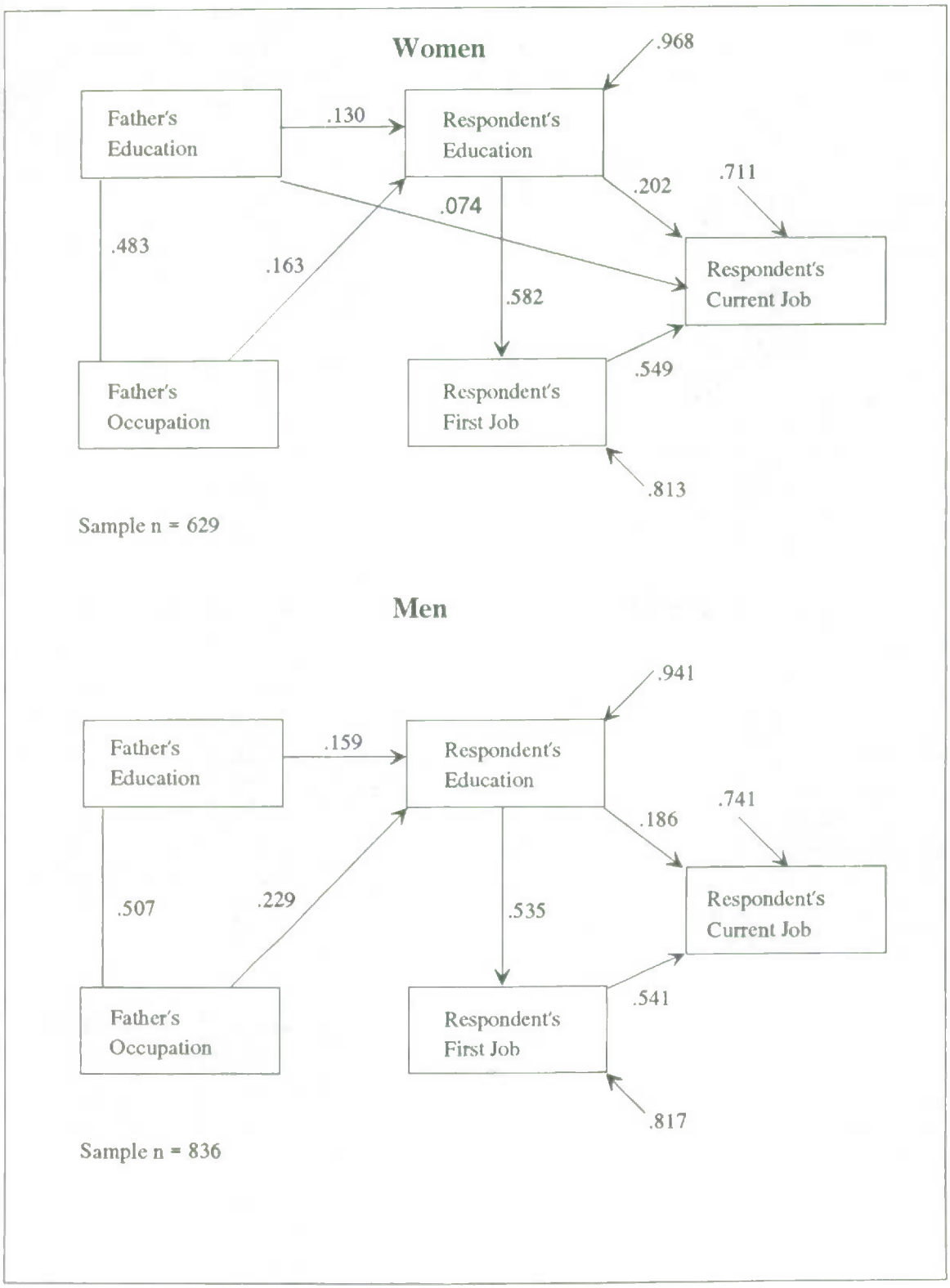

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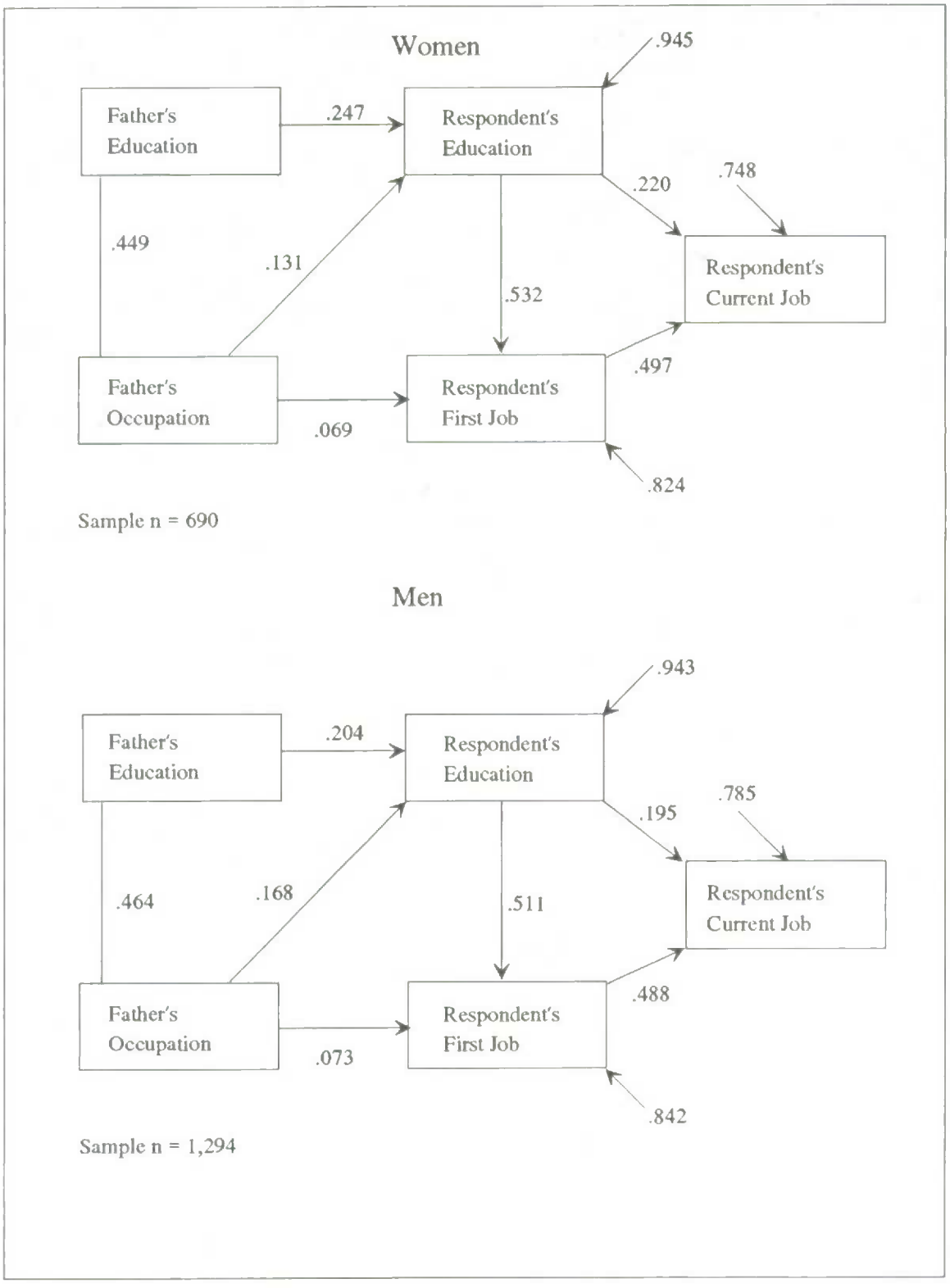
Figure I

Status attainment model for anglophone women and men, Canada, 1986



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SUMMARY

The analyses of this chapter have shown that the opportunity structure in Canada differs for women and men, for Canadian- and foreign-born, and for anglophones and francophones. Women are less mobile than men, experiencing less upward mobility over their careers, despite coming from similar socio-economic origins and attaining more schooling than men. Likewise, labour force participants who are foreign-born experience lower mobility levels than the Canadian-born, a finding that is especially the case for young, foreign-born women who start from relatively advantaged family backgrounds, attain high levels of schooling, yet still find their career mobility is negligible. The mobility experiences of francophones, too, are lower than of anglophones, although here, the family backgrounds and educational attainments of French-speaking Canadians explain much of the difference in mobility rates.

Despite these basic differences in rates of mobility, the causal structure that influences the fundamental patterns of status attainment are remarkably similar for all the subgroups compared. The strongest causal path in all of the models considered is from education to first job, and this is closely followed by the path from first to current occupation. Parents have little direct effect on the current occupational status of their children, but family background does act as a major determinant of the quantity and quality of children's education. In this way, social origins have an indirect, but significant, impact on people's life chances since education plays a key role in the allocation of socio-economic status.

NOTES

[1] Some respondents could not give precise values for level of education of one or both parents. These respondents were asked whether their parents' schooling was high school level or less (codes 1-4) or high school graduation or higher (codes 5-10). These values have been used to provide estimates of the years of schooling of parents.

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CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The study of social mobility answers the question of what difference the occupational and educational statuses of parents make for the education and occupation achieved by their children. It determines the effect on the current job status and the social rank of the first job, as well as other factors. Mobility research is also concerned with how large the changes are in the distribution of people in hierarchies of occupational and educational position, and whether these changes are accelerating.

Another way of putting social-mobility questions is to ask to what extent there is equality of opportunity, in contrast to how much "inheritance" there is of one's social standing, and how much social mobility is due to upward and downward movement driven by individual competition, and how much is the result of overall shifts in the types of jobs available, and what the resources and demands are that make for overall educational upgrading.

In occupational mobility between generations, we found almost as much downward mobility as upward mobility. Only a small proportion of Canadians have remained at the same level as their parents, and even then, the proportion of women who moved neither up nor down was half that of men's. In occupational mobility from first to current job, about half of Canadians remained at the same level, and a slightly larger proportion of men moved to higher-status jobs than women.

Shifts in the distribution of people according to educational achievement have been more dramatic than the restructuring of occupations. Nearly two-thirds of Canadians have an educational level higher than their parents, and only about 10 percent have less education than their parents. About 45 percent of the parents of the respondents of this survey had an education of Grade 8 or less, and 15 percent went to college or university. This distribution is practically reversed in the case of the children (i.e. the survey respondents).

To what extent does social mobility reflect equality of opportunity? We can assess equality of opportunity through determining how much the education of daughters and sons is predictable from knowledge of the education of mothers and fathers. Canadians more than double their chance of going to college or university if their parents also have been to college or university, in comparison to those whose parents' education reached Grade 10 or less.

Half of educational mobility reflects individual achievements (circulation mobility), and half is due to overall upgrading (structural mobility) for both women and men. Within the occupational structure, the degree of structural mobility differed between women and men. Fifty-seven percent of women's occupational mobility is due to differences in the distribution of jobs available to them and their fathers, while only 20 percent of men's occupational mobility is structural. This means that men had more room for individual achievement than women. Limits on the opportunities open to women are also indicated by the fact that men experience more upward mobility from first to current job than women, while women, on average, have higher education than men.

Some groups of Canadians are more socially mobile than others. Gender makes little difference in educational mobility, but does affect occupational mobility. Women experience greater upward and downward occupational mobility between generations than men, but less upward mobility from first to current job. The mobility gap between women and men increases with age.

Age affects occupational mobility. The increase with age, in the proportion of men whose position improved between first and current job, reflects the development of careers in the course of their working-life history. Age makes virtually no difference in women's rate of upward mobility between first and current job, a sign that there are many barriers against women's careers.

Age also has dramatic consequences for changes in education. The level of education declines with age. While almost half the Canadians in the 15-39 age group have gone to college or university, only about one-fifth of those who are age 65 and over have reached that level. Not only educational level, but also educational mobility - the difference between parents' and children's education - is greater the younger one is. From the 65-96 age group to the 15-39 age group, the chance of having an education higher than one's parents increases by about 50 percent. Conversely, we can look at measures of "inheritance" of level of education, as well as occupational status, and find that with increasing age, the degree of inheritance also increases. This finding, of the acceleration of educational mobility, is confirmed in a comparison with the Canadian Social Mobility Study of 1973. As time goes by, the tie between the parents' education level and that of their children is loosened.

Educational and occupational statuses are related. One's education contributes substantially to the level of one's

first and current job. It is also the case that educational and occupational mobility are related.

To the extent that it can be described by distributions of people according to level of education and occupation, we can draw conclusions about the class structure of Canadian society. Technological changes in work places require changes in the knowledge and skills that Canadians must bring to their work. They result in the re-organization of the occupational distribution and in growing opportunities and requirements for getting the education that technical and organizational changes in the economy demand. In these rapidly changing circumstances, it is not surprising to find a great deal of fluidity in occupational and educational attainment between and within generations.

APPENDIX I

SAMPLE DESIGN AND ESTIMATION PROCEDURES

APPENDIX I. SAMPLE DESIGN AND ESTIMATION PROCEDURES

POPULATION

The target population of the 1986 General Social Survey includes all persons 15 years and over living in Canada, with the following exceptions:

1. full-time residents of institutions;
2. residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Since random digit dialling techniques were used to select households, households (thus persons living in households) that did not have telephones at the time of the survey were excluded from the surveyed population. These households account for less than 3% of the total population.

The survey estimates have been adjusted (weighted) to represent the entire target population, including persons without telephones and other exclusions.

SAMPLE DESIGN AND SELECTION METHODS

The 1986 General Social Survey employed two different Random Digit Dialling (RDD) sampling techniques. For Newfoundland and Ontario, the Elimination of Non-working Banks method was used while, for the remaining provinces, the Waksberg method was used[1]. Both of these methods are described below.

Note that a "bank" of telephone numbers is a group of 100 possible numbers that share the same three-digit area code, three digit prefix and first two digits of the final part of the telephone number.

Elimination of Non-working Banks RDD Design

The General Social Survey used the Elimination of Non-working Banks (ENWB) design to sample in Newfoundland and Ontario.

ENWB is a form of Random Digit Dialling in which an attempt is made to identify all "working banks" for an area, i.e. to identify all banks with at least one household. Working banks were identified using telephone company lists and all possible 10-digit telephone numbers were generated for these banks. A systematic sample of telephone numbers was then generated for each stratum and an attempt was made to conduct a GSS interview with one randomly selected person from each household reached.

Waksberg RDD Design

Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia
New Brunswick	Quebec
Manitoba	Saskatchewan
Alberta	British Columbia

The Waksberg method employs a two-stage design which increases the likelihood of contacting households over a "pure" RDD design. The following describes the procedure used for the General Social Survey in the above provinces.

For each stratum within each of these provinces, an up-to-date list of all telephone area code and prefix number combinations was obtained. Within each identified area code-prefix combination, all possible combinations of the next two digits were added to form the 100 possible banks. These banks formed the first stage sampling units (i.e. the Primary Sampling Units - PSUs).

Within each stratum, random selections were made of these banks and then the final two digits were generated at random. This number (called a "Primary" number) was called to determine whether or not it reached a household. If it did not reach a household (i.e. the number was not assigned for use or was a business, institution, etc.), the number was dropped from further consideration. If it did reach a household, additional numbers referred to as "Secondary" numbers were generated within the same bank (i.e. numbers with the same first eight digits as the "Primary" number). These numbers were also called to determine whether or not they reached a household. Secondary numbers were generated on a continuing basis until:

(a) five additional households were reached in each retained bank; or
(b) the bank was exhausted; or
(c) the survey period ended.

An attempt was made to conduct an interview with a randomly selected respondent in all "Primary" and "Secondary" households reached.

Stratification

In order to carry out sampling, each of the ten provinces were divided into strata or geographic areas. Generally, each province had two strata, one stratum representing the census metropolitan areas (CMAs) of the province and the other the non-CMA areas. Ontario and Saskatchewan were sampled from two regional

offices. As a result, more strata were included in the sample design for these areas.

There were some exceptions to this scheme for the provinces of New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario due to the focus content. In these provinces there are certain areas for which it was deemed important to produce independent estimates because of their unique bilingual patterns. A larger sample was needed from these areas in order to produce the required estimates. These areas, called contact regions, were made up of contiguous census divisions. There were six such regions: Northern and Eastern New Brunswick, Montreal, the Outaouais of Quebec, the Eastern Townships of Quebec, Eastern Ontario and North Eastern Ontario (for more details see **Current Demographic Analysis**, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-209E (Annual), May 1987, P 128-129). Each contact region formed a stratum.

The area code and prefix combinations that corresponded to the strata were determined and used to select the appropriate samples in each stratum. Since area code-prefix boundaries did not always correspond exactly to the intended stratum boundaries, small biases may have been introduced at this stage.

A target sample size of approximately 22,000 households was chosen as being large enough to allow extensive analysis at the national level and limited analysis at a provincial level. It was allocated to provinces in proportion to the square root of their populations and to the strata within provinces in proportion to their populations.

WEIGHTING AND ESTIMATION

For both the Waksberg design and the Elimination of Non-working Banks design, each household within a stratum has an equal probability of selection. For the Waksberg households, the initial weight is set to a constant (1.0) for all records. For ENWB households, the initial weight is equal to the total number of telephone numbers in the stratum divided by the number of sampled telephone numbers in the stratum.

The initial weight is adjusted, by stratum, for non-response and households which had more than one telephone number have a second adjustment to produce the person weight. The second adjustment corrects for the higher probability of households with more than one telephone number being sampled.

Subsequently, these "person weights" were adjusted within strata so that the estimated population sizes for the strata would agree with census projections of the population. In the final stages of sampling, the weights were adjusted for over- or under-sampling within province-sex-age groups, and day of the week for the time use only again using census projections for the target population. The age groups for this adjustment were:

15-19 20-24 25-34 35-44 45-54
55-64 65+

Estimation

The estimate of the number of persons in the population having a given set of characteristics is determined by summing the weights of all sampled persons with that set of characteristics. The estimates of persons presented in the tables are rounded to the nearest thousand, which not only improves readability but also provides data at an appropriate level of precision.

NOTES

[1] Waksberg, J. 1980. "Sampling Methods for Random Digit Dialling." Journal of the American Statistical Association, 73: 40-46.

APPENDIX II

CYCLE TWO QUESTIONNAIRES

The GSS 2-1 was completed for each telephone number selected in the sample. It lists all household members, collecting basic demographic information, specifically age, sex, marital status and relation to head of family. A respondent, 15 years of age or older was then randomly selected and a GSS 2-2 was completed for this person.

The GSS 2-2 questionnaire collected the following types of information: social mobility (sections A, B, P), time use (section D), well being (section E), language knowledge and use (sections F to N, Q, R and T), and background characteristics (sections P, Q, S, and U).

Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

General social survey
Selection control form

GSS 2–1

Confidential when completed

1 ☐☐ ☐☐☐ ☐☐☐☐ 2 ☐
3 ☐ 4: ☐

TELEPHONE NUMBER LABEL

5 Screening Interviewer Number ☐☐☐☐☐☐

6 Screening Final Status ☐☐

RECORD OF CALLS

10	11 Date		12 Start		13 Finish		14 Result	15 Interviewer's Name	16 Comments
	Day	Month	Hr.	Min.	Hr.	Min.			
01									
02									
03									
04									
05									
06									
07									
08									
09									
10									
11									
12									
13									
14									

20 Hello, I'm _____ from Statistics Canada. We are doing a survey about the social activities and the language use of Canadians.

21 I'd like to make sure that I've dialed the right number. Is this ..... *(read number)*?

○ Yes

○ No → *Dial again. If still wrong, END*

22 Is this number for a business, an institution or a private home?

○ Private home
○ Both home and business } *Go to 30*
○ Business, institution or other non-residence

23 Does anyone use this telephone number as a home phone number?

○ Yes

○ No → *Thank respondent and END*

24 How many persons live or stay at this address and use this number as a home phone number?

○ Less than 15 → *Go to 30*

○ 15 or more → *Make appointment*

INTERVIEW WITH SELECTED PERSON

70: ☐☐ 71: ☐
72: ☐☐ 73: ☐

DESIGNATED DAY LABEL

74 *INTERVIEWER: Transcribe selected person name from item 35 and related Page-Line No. from items 33 & 34.*

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐ ☐☐

Selected person name Page-line

75 Would you prefer to be interviewed in English or French?

1○ English

2○ French

76 Interviewer Number

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

8-4500-32: 19-9-86

30. **In this survey all information we collect will be kept strictly confidential as guaranteed by the Statistics Act. While your participation is voluntary, your assistance is essential if the results of the survey are to be accurate.**

31. **I need to select one person from your household for an interview which will be conducted in November. Starting with the oldest, what is the first name and age of each person living or staying here who has no usual place of residence elsewhere?**

Enter names and ages in items 35 and 37.

32. *INTERVIEWER:*

- *Enter answers for items 38 through 48 for each person recorded in item 35. Refer to Interviewer Reference Card for instructions and codes.*
- *Then go to item 49.*

33 Pg	34 Ln	35 NAMES OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	36 SEL #	37 AGE #	38 SEX	39 MS	40 Fam ID	41 R to H	42 First Lang Learn	43 CN in E	44 CN in F	*Only for persons aged 6-14 yrs* 45 Main language of Education	46 CR in E	47 CR in F	48 FR IM
	1	GIVEN NAME SURNAME										1 English 2 French 3 Other			
	2	GIVEN NAME SURNAME										1 English 2 French 3 Other			
	3	GIVEN NAME SURNAME										1 English 2 French 3 Other			
	4	GIVEN NAME SURNAME										1 English 2 French 3 Other			
	5	GIVEN NAME SURNAME										1 English 2 French 3 Other			
	6	GIVEN NAME SURNAME										1 English 2 French 3 Other			
	7	GIVEN NAME SURNAME										1 English 2 French 3 Other			
	8	GIVEN NAME SURNAME										1 English 2 French 3 Other			

49. **Are there any persons away from this household attending school, visiting, travelling or in the hospital who USUALLY live here?**

○ Yes → *Enter names and complete items 37 through 48*

○ No

50. **Does anyone else live at this address, such as other relatives, roomers, boarders or employees?**

○ Yes → *Enter names and complete items 37 through 48*

○ No

51. **Now I am going to use a selection procedure to determine whom to interview. This will just take a second.**

52. *INTERVIEWER:*

In item 36, number the persons 15 years of age and over in order from oldest to youngest.

Determine the selected person by referring to the Selection Grid.

In item 36, circle the number of the selected person.

SELECTION GRID LABEL

A = Eligible household members B = Select #

53. **The person I am to interview is** ..... *(read name)* .....

Someone will be contacting him/her between November 26 and December 12.

55. Final Status

56. Number of Eligible Household Members

54. *INTERVIEWER: If the respondent volunteers a best time to be contacted, mark below.*

57. NOTES

Item #

[ ][ ][ ] - [ ][ ][ ] - [ ][ ][ ][ ] Telephone Number

[ ][ ] Page-Line No. (Item 74, GSS 2-1)

[ ][ ][ ][ ][ ][ ][ ] Interviewer Number (Item 76, GSS 2-1)

[1] Type

GSS 2–2

Confidential when completed

GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND LANGUAGE USE

QUESTIONNAIRE

AGES 15 YEARS AND OVER

8-4500-33 1 3-10-86 STC/GSS-027-02400

For this part of the survey I would like you to recall certain aspects of your life from when you were born to when you were 15 years old.

SECTION A

A1 In what country were you born?

01 ◯ Canada → In which province or territory?

- 02 ◯ Newfoundland
- 03 ◯ Prince Edward Island
- 04 ◯ Nova Scotia
- 05 ◯ New Brunswick
- 06 ◯ Québec
- 07 ◯ Ontario
- 08 ◯ Manitoba
- 09 ◯ Saskatchewan
- 10 ◯ Alberta
- 11 ◯ British Columbia
- 12 ◯ Yukon Territory
- 13 ◯ Northwest Territories

} → *Go to A3*

14 ◯ Country outside Canada *(specify)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

A2 In what year did you first immigrate to Canada?

|1|_|_|_|

1 ◯ Canadian citizen by birth

A3 What is your date of birth?

|_|_| |_|_| |1|_|_|_|

Day Month Year

A4 Did you live in the same community from birth up to age 15? By community I mean city, town or rural area.

1 ◯ Yes → *Go to A7*

2 ◯ No

3 ◯ Don't know → *Go to SECTION B*

A5 In how many different communities did you live during this time?

|_|_| communities

98 ◯ Don't know → *Go to SECTION B*

A6 Think about the community you lived in for the longest time from when you were born until you were 15 years old. For how many of those 15 years did you live there?

|_|_| years

99 ◯ Don't know

A7 What was the approximate size of that community?

1 ◯ Less than 5,000 population or a rural area
2 ◯ 5,000 to less than 25,000 population
3 ◯ 25,000 to less than 100,000 population
4 ◯ 100,000 to 1 million population
5 ◯ Over 1 million population

A8 Was this place in Canada or elsewhere?

6 ◯ In Canada → What was the name of that town or nearest town?

Town → |_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

Prov. → |_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

7 ◯ Elsewhere → Which country? *(specify)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

SECTION B

B1 When you were 15 years old, did you live with your own father? *(Include adoptive father)*

1 ◯ Yes → *Go to B4*

2 ◯ No

B2 Why was this? Was it because ...

3 ◯ Your father died

4 ◯ Parents were divorced or separated

5 ◯ You or your father were temporarily living away from home → *Go to B4*

6 ◯ Other *(specify)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

B3 During that time, was there a male who took the role of your father?

7 ◯ Yes

8 ◯ No → *Go to B8*

B4 Which of the following best describes your father's *(or father substitute's)* main activity when you were 15 years old? *(Accept one response only)*

1 ◯ Working at a job or business → In this job was he mainly ...

6 ◯ An employee working for someone else → *Go to B5*

7 ◯ Self-employed → *Go to B6*

2 ◯ A student → *Go to B8*

3 ◯ Retired → *Go to B8*

4 ◯ Keeping house → *Go to B8*

5 ◯ Other *(specify)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_| → *Go to B8*

B5 For whom did he work? *(Name of business, government department or agency or person)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

1 ◯ Don't know

B6 What was the main kind of business, industry or service? *(Give a full description: e.g., paper box manufacturing, retail shoe store, municipal board of education)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

2 ◯ Don't know

B7. **What kind of work was he doing?**
(Give a full description: e.g., posting invoices, selling shoes, teaching primary school)

3 ○ Don't know

B8. **In total, how many years of elementary or secondary education did your father** *(or father substitute)* **complete?**

98 ○ No schooling → *Go to B11*

years

99 ○ Don't know

B9. **Did he have any further schooling beyond elementary/secondary school?**

3 ○ Yes
4 ○ No
5 ○ Don't know → *Go to B11*

B10. **What was the highest level he attained?**
(Accept one response only)

1 ○ Some community college, CEGEP or nursing school
2 ○ Diploma or certificate from community college, CEGEP or nursing school
3 ○ Some university
4 ○ Bachelor or undergraduate degree or teacher's college
5 ○ Master's or earned doctorate
6 ○ Other *(specify)*
7 ○ Don't know

B11. **In what country was he born?**

01 ○ Canada → **In which province or territory?**
02 ○ Newfoundland
03 ○ Prince Edward Island
04 ○ Nova Scotia
05 ○ New Brunswick
06 ○ Québec
07 ○ Ontario
08 ○ Manitoba
09 ○ Saskatchewan
10 ○ Alberta
11 ○ British Columbia
12 ○ Yukon Territory
13 ○ Northwest Territories
14 ○ Country outside Canada *(specify)*

B12. **To which ethnic or cultural group did he belong?**
(Accept multiple response)

1 ○ English
2 ○ French
3 ○ Irish
4 ○ Scottish
5 ○ German
6 ○ Italian
7 ○ Ukrainian
8 ○ Other *(specify)*
9 ○ Don't know

B13. **What was the first language he learned in childhood?**
(Accept multiple response only if languages learned at same time)

1 ○ English
2 ○ French
3 ○ Other *(specify)*
4 ○ Don't know

B14. **The next questions ask about your mother. When you were 15 years old, did you live with your own mother?**
(Include adoptive mother)

1 ○ Yes → *Go to B17*
2 ○ No

B15. **Why was this? Was it because ...**

3 ○ Your mother died
4 ○ Parents were divorced or separated
5 ○ You or your mother were temporarily living away from home → *Go to B17*
6 ○ Other *(specify)*

B16. **During that time, was there a female who took the role of your mother?**

7 ○ Yes
8 ○ No → *Go to B21*

B17. **Which of the following best describes your mother's** *(or mother substitute's)* **main activity when you were 15 years old?** *(Accept one response only)*

1 ○ **Working at a job or business** → **In this job was she mainly ...**
5 ○ An employee working for someone else → *Go to B18*
7 ○ Self-employed → *Go to B19*
2 ○ **Keeping house** → *Go to B21*
3 ○ **A student** → *Go to B21*
4 ○ **Retired** → *Go to B21*
5 ○ **Other** *(specify)* → *Go to B21*

B18. **For whom did she work?**
(Name of business, government department or agency or person)

1 ○ Don't know

B19 **What was the main kind of business, industry or service?**
(Give a full description: e.g., paper box manufacturing, retail shoe store, municipal board of education)

2 ○ Don't know

B20 **What kind of work was she doing?**
(Give a full description: e.g., posting invoices, selling shoes, teaching primary school)

3 ○ Don't know

B21 **In total, how many years of elementary or secondary education did your mother** *(or mother substitute)* **complete?**

98 ○ No schooling → *Go to B24*

years

99 ○ Don't know

B22 **Did she have any further schooling beyond elementary/secondary school?**

3 ○ Yes
4 ○ No
5 ○ Don't know
→ *Go to B24*

B23 **What was the highest level she attained?**
(Accept one response only)

1 ○ Some community college, CEGEP or nursing school
2 ○ Diploma or certificate from community college, CEGEP or nursing school
3 ○ Some university
4 ○ Bachelor or undergraduate degree or teacher's college
5 ○ Master's or earned doctorate
6 ○ Other *(specify)*

7 ○ Don't know

B24 **In what country was she born?**

01 ○ Canada → **In which province or territory?**

02 ○ Newfoundland
03 ○ Prince Edward Island
04 ○ Nova Scotia
05 ○ New Brunswick
06 ○ Québec
07 ○ Ontario
08 ○ Manitoba
09 ○ Saskatchewan
10 ○ Alberta
11 ○ British Columbia
12 ○ Yukon Territory
13 ○ Northwest Territories

14 ○ Country outside Canada *(specify)*

B25 **To which ethnic or cultural group did she belong?**
(Accept multiple response)

1 ○ English
2 ○ French
3 ○ Irish
4 ○ Scottish
5 ○ German
6 ○ Italian
7 ○ Ukrainian
8 ○ Other *(specify)*

9 ○ Don't know

B26 **What was the first language she learned in childhood?**
(Accept multiple response only if languages learned at same time)

1 ○ English
2 ○ French
3 ○ Other *(specify)*

4 ○ Don't know

B27 **What language did you yourself first speak in childhood?**
(Accept multiple response only if languages were spoken equally)

5 ○ English
6 ○ French
7 ○ Other *(specify)*

B28 **How many brothers have you ever had?**
(Include step-, half- and adopted brothers and those no longer living)

brothers

B29 **How many sisters have you ever had?**
(Include step-, half- and adopted sisters and those no longer living)

sisters

SECTION D

INTERVIEWER – "X" DAY TO WHICH ACTIVITIES REFER

1 ◯ Sunday
2 ◯ Monday
3 ◯ Tuesday
4 ◯ Wednesday
5 ◯ Thursday
6 ◯ Friday
7 ◯ Saturday

These next questions ask about your daily activities. We need to know in as much detail as you can recall, what you did during . . . . . (*refer to reference day*) starting at 4:00 o'clock in the morning. This section will provide information on transportation activity, amount of time spent on housework, leisure, paid work, etc. You may have been doing more than one thing at a time but we are interested in the main activity for each time period. We are not interested in activities which lasted only a minute or two. We also ask where you did each activity and if anyone was interacting with you during the activity.

Would you like an example?

EXAMPLE: Yesterday morning I was asleep until 7:15. From 7:15 until 7:30 I got dressed. Then from 7:30 until 7:45 I made breakfast and from 7:45 to 7:55 I ate breakfast with my children. After we ate I cleaned up the dishes, which took 20 minutes.

Do not ask question "e" about sleep, sex or other personal care activities.

1. a. First of all, starting at 4:00 a.m. what were you doing?

0 4 : 0 0

c. When did this end? :

d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . .

Place or In Transit

R's Home 1 ◯ | Work Place 2 ◯ | Other Place 3 ◯ | Car 4 ◯ | Walk 5 ◯ | Bus & Subway 6 ◯ | Other 7 ◯

e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Alone 1 ◯ | Spouse/Partner 2 ◯ | Child(ren) of Household 3 ◯ | Other Family Member(s) 4 ◯ | Friend(s) 5 ◯ | Other Person(s) 6 ◯

2. a. And then, what did you do next?

b. When did this start? :

c. When did this end? :

d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . .

Place or In Transit

R's Home 1 ◯ | Work Place 2 ◯ | Other Place 3 ◯ | Car 4 ◯ | Walk 5 ◯ | Bus & Subway 6 ◯ | Other 7 ◯

e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Alone 1 ◯ | Spouse/Partner 2 ◯ | Child(ren) of Household 3 ◯ | Other Family Member(s) 4 ◯ | Friend(s) 5 ◯ | Other Person(s) 6 ◯

3. a. And then, what did you do next?

b. When did this start? :

c. When did this end? :

d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . .

Place or In Transit

R's Home 1 ◯ | Work Place 2 ◯ | Other Place 3 ◯ | Car 4 ◯ | Walk 5 ◯ | Bus & Subway 6 ◯ | Other 7 ◯

e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Alone 1 ◯ | Spouse/Partner 2 ◯ | Child(ren) of Household 3 ◯ | Other Family Member(s) 4 ◯ | Friend(s) 5 ◯ | Other Person(s) 6 ◯

Do not ask question "e" about sleep, sex or other personal care activities.

4. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
Alone: 1, Spouse/Partner: 2, Child(ren) of Household: 3, Other Family Member(s): 4, Friend(s): 5, Other Person(s): 6

5. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
Alone: 1, Spouse/Partner: 2, Child(ren) of Household: 3, Other Family Member(s): 4, Friend(s): 5, Other Person(s): 6

6. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
Alone: 1, Spouse/Partner: 2, Child(ren) of Household: 3, Other Family Member(s): 4, Friend(s): 5, Other Person(s): 6

7. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
Alone: 1, Spouse/Partner: 2, Child(ren) of Household: 3, Other Family Member(s): 4, Friend(s): 5, Other Person(s): 6

8. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

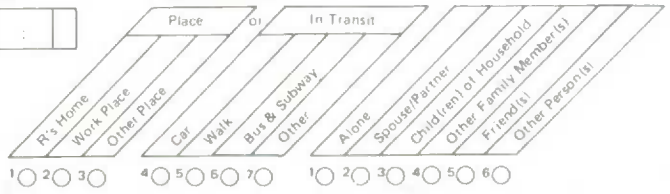
Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
Alone: 1, Spouse/Partner: 2, Child(ren) of Household: 3, Other Family Member(s): 4, Friend(s): 5, Other Person(s): 6

9. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

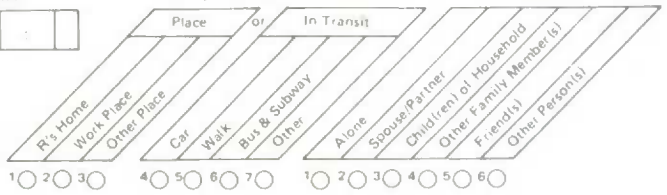
Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
Alone: 1, Spouse/Partner: 2, Child(ren) of Household: 3, Other Family Member(s): 4, Friend(s): 5, Other Person(s): 6

Do not ask question "e" about sleep, sex or other personal care activities.

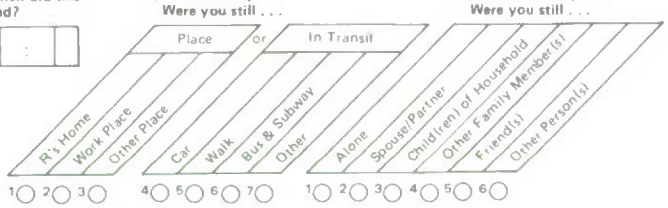
10. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



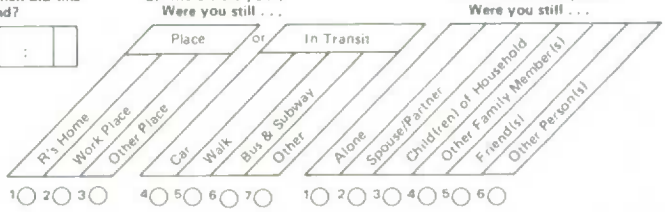
11. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



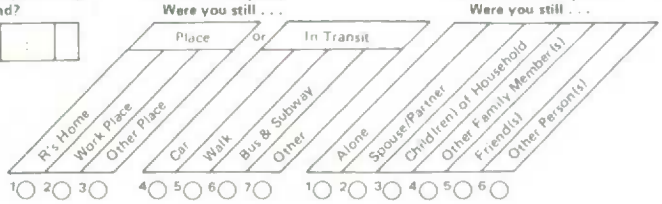
12. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



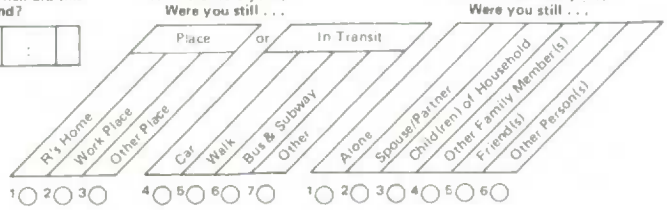
13. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



14. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

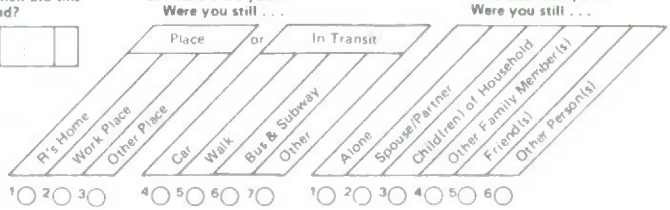


15. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

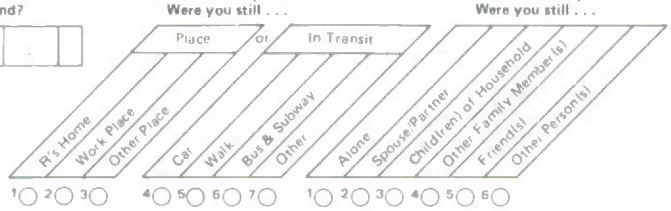


Do not ask question "e" about sleep, sex or other personal care activities.

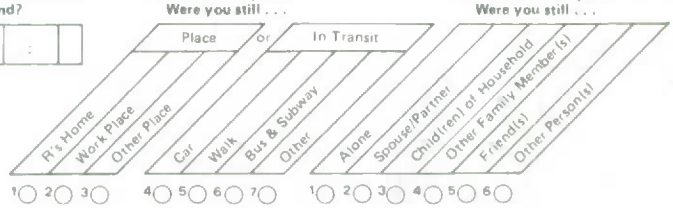
16. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



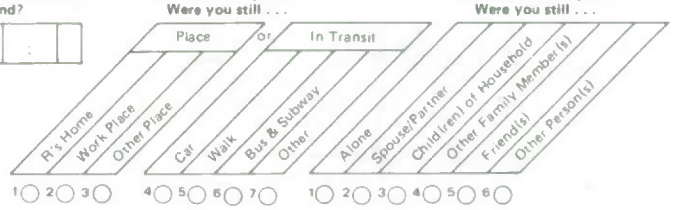
17. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



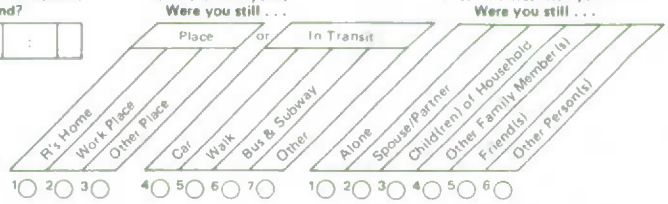
18. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



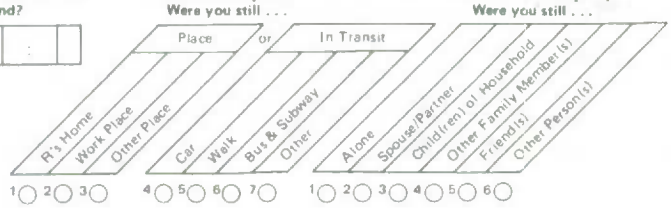
19. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



20. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



21. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



Do not ask question "e" about sleep, sex or other personal care activities.

22. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

23. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

24. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

25. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

26. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

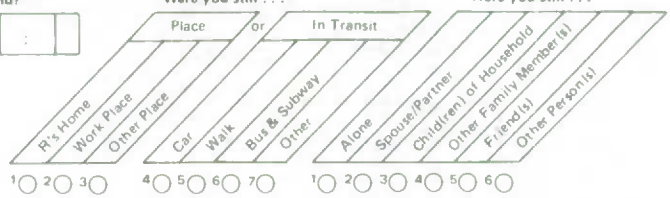
Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

27. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

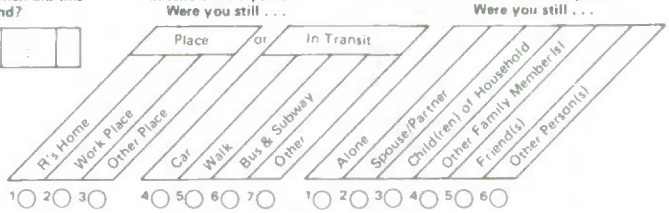
Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

Do not ask question "e" about sleep, sex or other personal care activities.

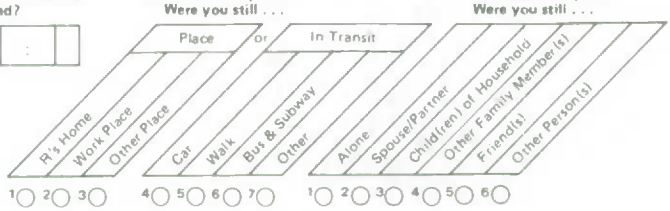
28. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



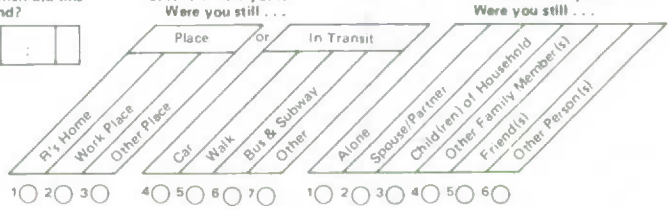
29. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



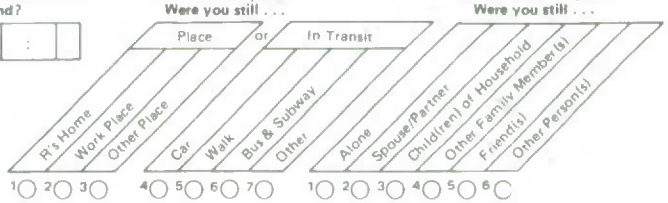
30. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



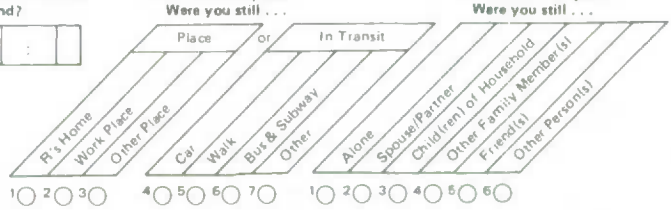
31. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



32. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

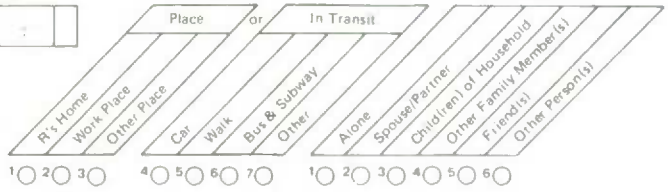


33. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

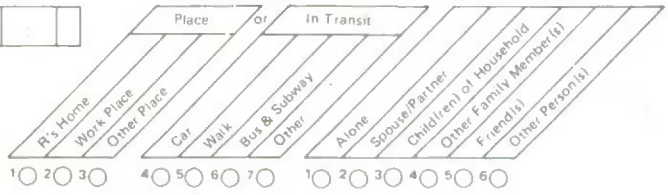


Do not ask question "e" about sleep, sex or other personal care activities.

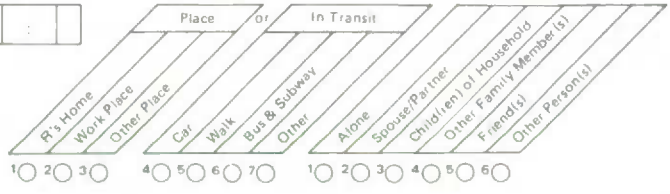
34. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



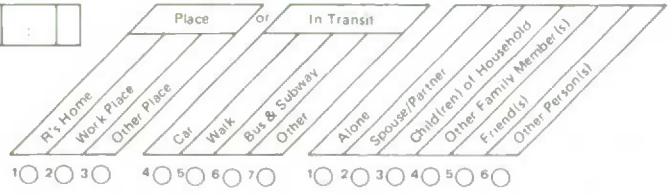
35. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



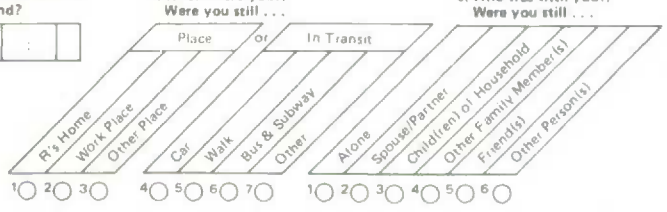
36. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



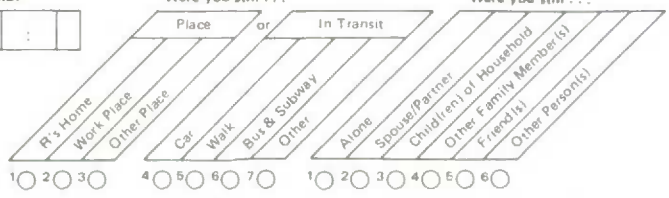
37. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



38. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



39. a. And then, what did you do next? b. When did this start? c. When did this end? d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .



Do not ask question "e" about sleep, sex or other personal care activities.

40. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

41. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

42. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

43. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

44. a. And then, what did you do next? | b. When did this start? | c. When did this end? | d. Where were you?/ Were you still . . . | e. Who was with you?/ Were you still . . .

Place: 1 R's Home, 2 Work Place, 3 Other Place
or In Transit: 4 Car, 5 Walk, 6 Bus & Subway, 7 Other
1 Alone, 2 Spouse/Partner, 3 Child(ren) of Household, 4 Other Family Member(s), 5 Friend(s), 6 Other Person(s)

INTERVIEWER: To record additional activities, use Form GSS 2–2D and "X" the circle below. Also indicate the number of forms used.

○ *(If you use GSS 2-2D)* ☐ *Number of forms*

Number the questions sequentially starting with 45.

SECTION E

For this part of the survey I would like you to consider your life as it is now.

E1. Presently, would you describe yourself as ...

Very happy	Somewhat happy	Somewhat unhappy	Very unhappy	No opinion
1 ○	2 ○	3 ○	4 ○	5 ○

E2. I am going to ask you to rate certain areas of your life. Please rate your feelings about them as very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied.

		Somewhat	Very	No opinion
a) Your health →	1 ○ Satisfied →	1 ○	2 ○	3 ○
	2 ○ Dissatisfied →	3 ○	4 ○	
b) Your job or main activity →	4 ○ Satisfied →	5 ○	6 ○	6 ○
	5 ○ Dissatisfied →	7 ○	8 ○	
c) The way you spend your other time →	7 ○ Satisfied →	1 ○	2 ○	9 ○
	8 ○ Dissatisfied →	3 ○	4 ○	
d) Your finances →	1 ○ Satisfied →	5 ○	6 ○	3 ○
	2 ○ Dissatisfied →	7 ○	8 ○	
e) Your housing →	4 ○ Satisfied →	1 ○	2 ○	6 ○
	5 ○ Dissatisfied →	3 ○	4 ○	
f) Your friendships →	7 ○ Satisfied →	5 ○	6 ○	9 ○
	8 ○ Dissatisfied →	7 ○	8 ○	
g) Living partner or single status →	1 ○ Satisfied →	1 ○	2 ○	3 ○
	2 ○ Dissatisfied →	3 ○	4 ○	
h) Your relationship with other family members →	4 ○ Satisfied →	5 ○	6 ○	6 ○
	5 ○ Dissatisfied →	7 ○	8 ○	
i) Yourself *(self-esteem)* →	7 ○ Satisfied →	1 ○	2 ○	9 ○
	8 ○ Dissatisfied →	3 ○	4 ○	

E3. Now, using the same scale, how do you feel about your life as a whole right now?

Satisfied		Dissatisfied		No opinion
Very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Very	
1 ○	2 ○	3 ○	4 ○	5 ○

SECTION F

The following questions are about your knowledge and use of languages at home, school and work.

F1. What is your main language, that is, the language in which you are most at ease?
(Report two if the respondent is equally at ease in two languages)

1 ○ English → Have you ever had any knowledge or understanding of a language other than English?

7 ○ Yes → *Go to Section G (Below)*

8 ○ No → *Go to SECTION T (Page 23)*

2 ○ English and French → *Go to SECTION H (Page 15)*

3 ○ English and Other *(specify)* ⌊⌊⌋ → *Go to SECTION J (Page 15)*

4 ○ French → *Go to SECTION K (Page 16)*

5 ○ French and Other *(specify)* ⌊⌊⌋ → *Go to SECTION L (Page 16)*

6 ○ Other *(specify)* ⌊⌊⌋ ⌊⌊⌋ → *Go to SECTION M (Page 17)*

SECTION G

G1. Do you have any knowledge or understanding of French?

1 ○ Yes

2 ○ No → *Go to G6*

G2. When was the last time that you had a conversation in French, excluding language courses?

1 ○ During the last week
2 ○ During the last month
3 ○ During the last year
4 ○ More than a year
5 ○ Never

G3. How would you rate yourself in the following language abilities in French?

	Very good	Good	Not very good	Not at all
Reading	01 ○	02 ○	03 ○	04 ○
Understanding	05 ○	06 ○	07 ○	08 ○
Speaking	09 ○	10 ○	11 ○	12 ○

G4. What would you say contributed the most to your present knowledge of French? *(Accept multiple response)*

1 ○ Language instruction at school
2 ○ Other language courses
3 ○ Speaking with family
4 ○ Speaking with friends
5 ○ Speaking at work
6 ○ Watching television
7 ○ Other *(specify)* _____

G5. Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now... more French, less French or about the same?

KNOW	USE
1 ○ More	4 ○ More
2 ○ Less	5 ○ Less
3 ○ Same	6 ○ Same

G6. Do you have any knowledge or understanding of a language other than English or French?

1 ○ Yes → How many other languages do you know or understand?

3 ○ One language *(specify)* ⌊⌊⌋

4 ○ ⌊⌋ languages → Which one do you know best? *(specify)* ⌊⌊⌋

2 ○ No → *Go to G9*

G7. When was the last time you had a conversation in that language *(language reported in G6)*, excluding language courses?

5 ○ During the last week
6 ○ During the last month
7 ○ During the last year
8 ○ More than a year
9 ○ Never

G8. In that language *(language reported in G6)*, how would you rate yourself in the following abilities?

	Very good	Good	Not very good	Not at all
Reading	01 ○	02 ○	03 ○	04 ○
Understanding	05 ○	06 ○	07 ○	08 ○
Speaking	09 ○	10 ○	11 ○	12 ○

G9. *INTERVIEWER: If "No" indicated in both G1 and G6, go to SECTION N (PAGE 17)*

G10. Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now use more English, less English or about the same?

1 ○ More
2 ○ Less
3 ○ Same

G11. *INTERVIEWER: Go to SECTION N (Page 17).*

SECTION H

H1. **Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now... more English, less English or about the same?**

KNOW	USE
1 ◯ More	4 ◯ More
2 ◯ Less	5 ◯ Less
3 ◯ Same	6 ◯ Same

H2. **Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now... more French, less French or about the same?**

KNOW	USE
4 ◯ More	7 ◯ More
5 ◯ Less	8 ◯ Less
6 ◯ Same	9 ◯ Same

H3. **Do you have any knowledge or understanding of a language other than English or French?**

1 ◯ Yes → **How many other languages do you know or understand?**

3 ◯ One language *(specify)* ⌊_⌋⌊_⌋

4 ◯ ⌊_⌋ languages → **Which one do you know best?** *(specify)* ⌊_⌋⌊_⌋

2 ◯ No → *Go to SECTION N (Page 17)*

H4. **When was the last time you had a conversation in that language** *(language reported in H3)* **excluding language courses?**

5 ◯ During the last week
6 ◯ During the last month
7 ◯ During the last year
8 ◯ More than a year
9 ◯ Never

H5. **In that language** *(language reported in H3)*, **how would you rate yourself in the following abilities?**

	Very good	Good	Not very good	Not at all
Reading	01 ◯	02 ◯	03 ◯	04 ◯
Understanding	05 ◯	06 ◯	07 ◯	08 ◯
Speaking	09 ◯	10 ◯	11 ◯	12 ◯

H6. *INTERVIEWER: Go to SECTION N (PAGE 17)*

SECTION J

J1. **Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now... more English, less English or about the same?**

KNOW	USE
1 ◯ More	4 ◯ More
2 ◯ Less	5 ◯ Less
3 ◯ Same	6 ◯ Same

J2. **Do you have any knowledge or understanding of French?**

7 ◯ Yes

8 ◯ No → *Go to J7*

J3. **When was the last time you had a conversation in French, excluding language courses?**

1 ◯ During the last week
2 ◯ During the last month
3 ◯ During the last year
4 ◯ More than a year
5 ◯ Never

J4. **How would you rate yourself in the following language abilities in French?**

	Very good	Good	Not very good	Not at all
Reading	01 ◯	02 ◯	03 ◯	04 ◯
Understanding	05 ◯	06 ◯	07 ◯	08 ◯
Speaking	09 ◯	10 ◯	11 ◯	12 ◯

J5. **What would you say contributed the most to your present knowledge of French?** *(Accept multiple response)*

1 ◯ Language instruction at school
2 ◯ Other language courses
3 ◯ Speaking with family
4 ◯ Speaking with friends
5 ◯ Speaking at work
6 ◯ Watching television
7 ◯ Other *(specify)* _____

J6. **Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now... more French, less French or about the same?**

KNOW	USE
1 ◯ More	4 ◯ More
2 ◯ Less	5 ◯ Less
3 ◯ Same	6 ◯ Same

J7. **Other than English or French, how many languages do you know or understand?**

⌊_⌋ languages

J8. *INTERVIEWER: Go to SECTION N (PAGE 17)*

SECTION K

K1. How would you rate your ability to read in English? Is it ...

1 ○ Very good
2 ○ Good
3 ○ Not very good
4 ○ Not at all

K2. What would you say contributed the most to your present knowledge of English? *(Accept multiple response)*

1 ○ Language instruction at school
2 ○ Other language courses
3 ○ Speaking with family
4 ○ Speaking with friends
5 ○ Speaking at work
6 ○ Watching television
7 ○ Other *(specify)* _____

K3. Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now ... more English, less English or about the same?

KNOW	USE
4 ○ More	7 ○ More
5 ○ Less	8 ○ Less
6 ○ Same	9 ○ Same

K4. Do you have any knowledge or understanding of a language other than English or French?

1 ○ Yes → How many other languages do you know or understand?

3 ○ One language *(specify)* ⌊_⌋⌊_⌋

4 ○ ⌊_⌋ languages → Which one do you know best? *(specify)* ⌊_⌋⌊_⌋

2 ○ No → *Go to K7*

K5. When was the last time you had a conversation in that language *(language reported in K4)* excluding language courses?

5 ○ During the last week
6 ○ During the last month
7 ○ During the last year
8 ○ More than a year
9 ○ Never

K6. In that language *(language reported in K4)*, how would you rate yourself in the following abilities?

	Very good	Good	Not very good	Not at all
Reading	01 ○	02 ○	03 ○	04 ○
Understanding	05 ○	06 ○	07 ○	08 ○
Speaking	09 ○	10 ○	11 ○	12 ○

K7. Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now use more French, less French or about the same?

1 ○ More
2 ○ Less
3 ○ Same

K8. *INTERVIEWER: Go to SECTION N (Page 17).*

SECTION L

L1. Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now ... more French, less French or about the same?

KNOW	USE
1 ○ More	4 ○ More
2 ○ Less	5 ○ Less
3 ○ Same	6 ○ Same

L2. How would you rate your ability to read in English? Is it ...

6 ○ Very good
7 ○ Good
8 ○ Not very good
9 ○ Not at all

L3. What would you say contributed the most to your present knowledge of English? *(Accept multiple response)*

1 ○ Language instruction at school
2 ○ Other language courses
3 ○ Speaking with family
4 ○ Speaking with friends
5 ○ Speaking at work
6 ○ Watching television
7 ○ Other *(specify)* _____

L4. Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now ... more English, less English or about the same?

KNOW	USE
4 ○ More	7 ○ More
5 ○ Less	8 ○ Less
6 ○ Same	9 ○ Same

L5. Other than English or French, how many languages do you know or understand?

⌊_⌋ languages

L6. *INTERVIEWER: Go to SECTION N (PAGE 17)*

SECTION M

M1 How would you rate your ability to read in English? Is it ...

1 ◯ Very good
2 ◯ Good
3 ◯ Not very good
4 ◯ Not at all

M2 What would you say contributed the most to your present knowledge of English? *(Accept multiple response)*

1 ◯ Language instruction at school
2 ◯ Other language courses
3 ◯ Speaking with family
4 ◯ Speaking with friends
5 ◯ Speaking at work
6 ◯ Watching television
7 ◯ Other *(specify)* _____

M3 Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now ... more English, less English or about the same?

KNOW	USE
4 ◯ More	7 ◯ More
5 ◯ Less	8 ◯ Less
6 ◯ Same	9 ◯ Same

M4 Do you have any knowledge or understanding of French?

1 ◯ Yes
2 ◯ No → *Go to M9*

M5 When was the last time you had a conversation in French, excluding language courses?

3 ◯ During the last week
4 ◯ During the last month
5 ◯ During the last year
6 ◯ More than a year
7 ◯ Never

M6 How would you rate yourself in the following language abilities in French?

	Very good	Good	Not very good	Not at all
Reading	01 ◯	02 ◯	03 ◯	04 ◯
Understanding	05 ◯	06 ◯	07 ◯	08 ◯
Speaking	09 ◯	10 ◯	11 ◯	12 ◯

M7 What would you say contributed the most to your present knowledge of French? *(Accept multiple response)*

1 ◯ Language instruction at school
2 ◯ Other language courses
3 ◯ Speaking with family
4 ◯ Speaking with friends
5 ◯ Speaking at work
6 ◯ Watching television
7 ◯ Other *(specify)* _____

M8 Compared to five years ago, would you say that you now ... more French, less French or about the same?

KNOW	USE
4 ◯ More	7 ◯ More
5 ◯ Less	8 ◯ Less
6 ◯ Same	9 ◯ Same

M9 Other than English or French, how many languages do you know or understand?

└┘ languages

SECTION N

The next questions ask about language use in childhood and adolescence.

N1 Before you were six years old, which languages were spoken in your home by people living there?

1 ◯ English
2 ◯ French
3 ◯ Other *(specify)* └┘
└┘

N2 *INTERVIEWER: If only one language reported in N1, go to N4.*

N3 Which languages did you yourself speak at home?

(Most often)

1 ◯ English
2 ◯ French
3 ◯ Other *(specify)* └┘
└┘

4 ◯
5 ◯
6 ◯
7 ◯

Did you speak this language at home more than 90% of the time?

8 ◯ Yes
9 ◯ No

N4 When you were fifteen years old, which languages did you yourself speak at home?

(Most often)

3 ◯ English
4 ◯ French
5 ◯ Other *(specify)* └┘
└┘

6 ◯
7 ◯
8 ◯
9 ◯

N5 At that time, which languages did you speak with your friends?

(Most often)

1 ◯ English
2 ◯ French
3 ◯ Other *(specify)* └┘
└┘

4 ◯
5 ◯
6 ◯
7 ◯

N6 *INTERVIEWER: Go to SECTION P (Page 18).*

SECTION P

P1. **How many years of elementary and secondary education have you completed?**

00 ◯ No schooling → *Go to P14*

05 ◯ One to five years
06 ◯ Six
07 ◯ Seven
08 ◯ Eight
→ **Which languages were used for teaching your courses at primary school, excluding language courses?** → *Go to P4*

(Most often)

1 ◯ English 4 ◯
2 ◯ French 5 ◯
3 ◯ Other *(specify)* |_|_| 6 ◯
|_|_| 7 ◯

09 ◯ Nine
10 ◯ Ten
→ *Go to P2*

11 ◯ Eleven
12 ◯ Twelve
13 ◯ Thirteen
→ **Have you graduated from secondary school?** → *Go to P2*

1 ◯ Yes
2 ◯ No

P2. **Which languages were used for teaching your courses at primary school, excluding language courses?**

(Most often)

1 ◯ English 4 ◯
2 ◯ French 5 ◯
3 ◯ Other *(specify)* |_|_| 6 ◯
|_|_| 7 ◯

P3. **What about languages used for teaching your courses at secondary school, excluding language courses?**

(Most often)

3 ◯ English 6 ◯
4 ◯ French 7 ◯
5 ◯ Other *(specify)* |_|_| 8 ◯
|_|_| 9 ◯

P4. **Have you had any further schooling beyond elementary/secondary school?**

1 ◯ Yes
2 ◯ No → *Go to P7*

P5. **Which languages were/are used for teaching your courses at these levels, excluding language courses?**

(Most often)

3 ◯ English 6 ◯
4 ◯ French 7 ◯
5 ◯ Other *(specify)* |_|_| 8 ◯
|_|_| 9 ◯

P6. **What is the highest level you attained?** *(Accept one response only)*

1 ◯ Some community college, CEGEP or nursing school
2 ◯ Diploma or certificate from community college, CEGEP or nursing school
3 ◯ Some university
4 ◯ Bachelor or undergraduate degree or teacher's college
5 ◯ Master's or earned doctorate
6 ◯ Other *(specify)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

P7. **In which year did you reach your highest level of education?**

|1|_|_|_|
Year

P8 **Think about the first full-time job you had after reaching your highest level of education in . . . (*date reported in P7*). Were you an employee working for someone else or self-employed?**

1 ◯ An employee working for someone else
2 ◯ Self-employed → *Go to P10*
3 ◯ Never had a full-time job after this date → *Go to P13*

P9 **For whom did you work?**
(Name of business, government department or agency or person)

P10 **What was the main kind of business, industry or service?**
(Give a full description: e.g., paper box manufacturing, retail shoe store, municipal board of education)

P11 **What kind of work were you doing?**
(Give a full description: e.g., posting invoices, selling shoes, teaching primary school)

P12 **In what year did you begin working at this job?**

1 ☐☐☐
Year

P13 **Have you ever taken any language courses as part of full-time school?**

1 ◯ Yes → **Which languages?**
3 ◯ English
4 ◯ French
5 ◯ Other *(specify)* ☐☐

2 ◯ No

P14 **Have you ever taken any language courses outside of full-time school?**

3 ◯ Yes → **Which languages?**
5 ◯ English
6 ◯ French
7 ◯ Other *(specify)* ☐☐

4 ◯ No

SECTION Q

Q1 **Think about the people you live with. Which languages do you speak among yourselves at home?**

5 ◯ Live alone → *Go to Q4*
6 ◯ English
7 ◯ French
8 ◯ Other *(specify)* ☐☐

Q2 *INTERVIEWER: If only one language reported in Q1, go to Q4.*

Q3 **Which languages do you yourself speak at home?**

(Most often)

1 ◯ English
2 ◯ French
3 ◯ Other *(specify)* ☐☐

4 ◯
5 ◯
6 ◯
7 ◯

Do you speak this language at home more than 90% of the time?

8 ◯ Yes
9 ◯ No

Q4 **Which languages do you yourself speak with your friends outside your home?**

(Most often)

3 ◯ English
4 ◯ French
5 ◯ Other *(specify)* ☐☐

6 ◯
7 ◯
8 ◯
9 ◯

Q5 **Which of the following best describes your main activity during the last 7 days? Were you mainly . . .**
(Accept one response only)

1 ◯ **Working at a job or business**
2 ◯ **Looking for work**
3 ◯ **A student**
4 ◯ **Keeping house**
5 ◯ **Retired**
6 ◯ **Other** *(specify)*

Q6 **What about your main activity during the last 12 months? Were you mainly . . .**
(Accept one response only)

1 ◯ **Working at a job or business** → *Go to Q8*
2 ◯ **Looking for work**
3 ◯ **A student**
4 ◯ **Keeping house**
5 ◯ **Retired**
6 ◯ **Other** *(specify)*

Q7 **Did you have a job at any time during the last 12 months?**

7 ◯ Yes
8 ◯ No → *Go to SECTION R*

Q8 **For how many weeks of those 12 months did you do any work at a job or business?**
(Include vacation, illness, strikes, lock-outs and paid maternity leave)

☐☐ weeks

(Code number from 00 to 52)

Q9. **During those weeks of work were you mainly . . .**

1 ◯ **An employee working for someone else**

2 ◯ **Self-employed** ⟶ *Go to Q12*

Q10. **During those weeks of work were you mostly full-time or part-time?**

3 ◯ Full-time

4 ◯ Part-time

Q11. **For whom do you/did you last work?**
(Name of business, government department or agency or person)

Q12. **What was the main kind of business, industry or service?**
(Give a full description: e.g., paper box manufacturing, retail shoe store, municipal board of education)

Q13. **What kind of work were you doing?**
(Give a full description: e.g., posting invoices, selling shoes, teaching primary school)

Q14. **Which languages are/were spoken at work by people with whom you have/had regular contact?**

5 ◯ English

6 ◯ French

7 ◯ Other *(specify)*

Q15. **Considering the last 12 months, which languages have you yourself spoken at work?**

	(Most often)	
1 ◯ English	4 ◯	Did you speak this language at work more than 90% of the time?
2 ◯ French	5 ◯	
3 ◯ Other *(specify)*	6 ◯	
	7 ◯	

8 ◯ Yes

9 ◯ No

Q16. **During the last 12 months have you done any writing at work?**

1 ◯ Yes

2 ◯ No ⟶ *Go to SECTION R*

Q17. **Over this period, which languages did you yourself use for writing at work?**

	(Most often)	
1 ◯ English	4 ◯	Did you use this language for writing at work more than 90 % of the time?
2 ◯ French	5 ◯	
3 ◯ Other *(specify)*	6 ◯	
	7 ◯	

8 ◯ Yes

9 ◯ No

SECTION R

The next questions ask about contacts you have had with federal government agencies during the last 12 months.

R1. During this period, have you talked with employees of the following federal agencies in connection with the services they provide?			R2. In your last contact with ... *(agency)*, in which language did you obtain service?			R3. Was this your preferred language?		*(Complete R4 and R5 only for corresponding agencies with "No" response in R3)*				
								R4. What was your preferred language?			R5. Did you ask for service in that language?	
	No	Yes	English	French	Other	Yes	No	English	French	Other	Yes	No
Post Office *(excluding letter carriers)*	01 ○	02 ○	01 ○	02 ○	03 ○	34 ○	35 ○	01 ○	02 ○	03 ○	34 ○	35 ○
Canada Employment or Immigration Centres	03 ○	04 ○	04 ○	05 ○	06 ○	36 ○	37 ○	04 ○	05 ○	06 ○	36 ○	37 ○
Old age security or family allowance	05 ○	06 ○	07 ○	08 ○	09 ○	38 ○	39 ○	07 ○	08 ○	09 ○	38 ○	39 ○
National parks	07 ○	08 ○	10 ○	11 ○	12 ○	40 ○	41 ○	10 ○	11 ○	12 ○	40 ○	41 ○
Federal personal income tax	09 ○	10 ○	13 ○	14 ○	15 ○	42 ○	43 ○	13 ○	14 ○	15 ○	42 ○	43 ○
Customs, at border crossings only	11 ○	12 ○	16 ○	17 ○	18 ○	44 ○	45 ○	16 ○	17 ○	18 ○	44 ○	45 ○
R.C.M.P.	13 ○	14 ○	19 ○	20 ○	21 ○	46 ○	47 ○	19 ○	20 ○	21 ○	46 ○	47 ○
Air Canada	15 ○	16 ○	22 ○	23 ○	24 ○	48 ○	49 ○	22 ○	23 ○	24 ○	48 ○	49 ○
Agriculture Canada	17 ○	18 ○	25 ○	26 ○	27 ○	50 ○	51 ○	25 ○	26 ○	27 ○	50 ○	51 ○
Via Rail or CN Marine	19 ○	20 ○	28 ○	29 ○	30 ○	52 ○	53 ○	28 ○	29 ○	30 ○	52 ○	53 ○
Federal Public Service Commission	21 ○	22 ○	31 ○	32 ○	33 ○	54 ○	55 ○	31 ○	32 ○	33 ○	54 ○	55 ○

INTERVIEWER: If no contacts in R1 go to R6 below, otherwise go to R2 above

R6. **Would you say that, in your area, federal services are generally available in your preferred official language?**

7 ○ Yes
8 ○ No
9 ○ Don't know

R7. **In which languages are the television programs you watch?**

0 ○ Never watch television

	(Most often)	
1 ○ English	4 ○	**Do you watch programs in this language more than 90% of the time?**
2 ○ French	5 ○	
3 ○ Other *(specify)* ⌊⌊⌋⌋	6 ○	
⌊⌊⌋⌋	7 ○	

8 ○ Yes
9 ○ No

R8. **Which language did the doctor use during your last visit?**

1 ○ Never visited doctor
2 ○ English
3 ○ French
4 ○ Other *(specify)* ⌊⌊⌋⌋
⌊⌊⌋⌋

SECTION S

Now I'd like to ask you for some background information.

S1 To which ethnic or cultural group do you or did your ancestors belong? *(Accept multiple response)*

1 ◯ English
2 ◯ French
3 ◯ Irish
4 ◯ Scottish
5 ◯ German
6 ◯ Italian
7 ◯ Ukrainian
8 ◯ Other *(specify)*

9 ◯ Don't know

S2 What, if any, is your religion?

0 ◯ No religion → *Go to S4*
1 ◯ Roman Catholic
2 ◯ United Church
3 ◯ Anglican
4 ◯ Presbyterian
5 ◯ Lutheran
6 ◯ Baptist
7 ◯ Eastern Orthodox
8 ◯ Jewish
9 ◯ Other *(specify)*

S3 Other than on special occasions, such as weddings, funerals or baptisms, how often do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion?

0 ◯ At least once a week
1 ◯ At least once a month
2 ◯ At least once a year
3 ◯ Less than once a year
4 ◯ Never

S4 What is the approximate size of the community in which you are now living? By community I mean city, town or rural area?

5 ◯ Less than 5,000 population or a rural area
6 ◯ 5,000 to less than 25,000 population
7 ◯ 25,000 to less than 100,000 population
8 ◯ 100,000 to 1 million population
9 ◯ Over 1 million population

S5 What is the name of that town or nearest town?

Town →

Prov →

S6 What are the first three characters of your postal code?

9 ◯ Don't know

S7 In what type of dwelling are you now living? Is it . . .

1 ◯ Single detached house
2 ◯ Semi-detached or double *(side-by-side)*
3 ◯ Garden house, town-house or row house
4 ◯ Duplex *(one above the other)*
5 ◯ Low-rise apartment *(less than five stories)*
6 ◯ High-rise apartment *(five or more stories)*
7 ◯ Other *(specify)*

S8 Is this dwelling owned or rented by a member of this household?

8 ◯ Owned
9 ◯ Rented

S9 How many telephones, counting extensions, are there in your dwelling?

1 ◯ One → *Go to S14*
2 ◯ Two or more

S10 Do all the telephones have the same number?

3 ◯ Yes → *Go to S14*
4 ◯ No

S11 How many different numbers are there?

S12 Are any of these numbers for business use only?

5 ◯ Yes
6 ◯ No → *Go to S14*

S13 How many are for business use only?

S14 What was your income before taxes, from wages, salaries and self-employment during the last 12 months?

1 ◯ Income → $ .00
2 ◯ Loss → $ .00
3 ◯ No income
4 ◯ Don't know

S15 What was your income from government sources such as Family Allowance, U.I.C., Social Assistance, Canada or Quebec Pension Plan or Old Age Security?

$ .00
5 ◯ No income
6 ◯ Don't know

S16 What was your income from investments or private pensions?

1 ◯ Income → $ .00
2 ◯ Loss → $ .00
3 ◯ No income
4 ◯ Don't know

S17 What is your best estimate of the total income of all household members from all sources during the last 12 months? Was the total household income . . .

1 ◯ Less than $20,000
- 1 ◯ Less than $10,000
  - 1 ◯ Less than $5,000
  - 2 ◯ $5,000 and more
- 2 ◯ $10,000 and more
  - 3 ◯ Less than $15,000
  - 4 ◯ $15,000 and more

2 ◯ $20,000 and more
- 1 ◯ Less than $40,000
  - 5 ◯ Less than $30,000
  - 6 ◯ $30,000 and more
- 2 ◯ $40,000 and more
  - 7 ◯ Less than $60,000
  - 8 ◯ $60,000 and more

3 ◯ No income
4 ◯ Don't know

END OF INTERVIEW

SECTION T

The next few questions are about contacts you have had with federal government agencies during the last 12 months.

T1. During this period, have you talked with employees of the following federal agencies in connection with the services they provide?	No	Yes	T2. Did you obtain service in English for all these contacts? 1 ◯ Yes → Go to T4; 2 ◯ No → Which ones?	(Complete T3 only for agencies marked in T2) T3. Did you ask for service in English? Yes	No
Post Office *(excluding letter carriers)*	01 ◯	02 ◯	01 ◯	01 ◯	02 ◯
Canada Employment or Immigration Centres	03 ◯	04 ◯	02 ◯	03 ◯	04 ◯
Old age security or family allowance	05 ◯	06 ◯	03 ◯	05 ◯	06 ◯
National Parks	07 ◯	08 ◯	04 ◯	07 ◯	08 ◯
Federal personnal income tax	09 ◯	10 ◯	05 ◯	09 ◯	10 ◯
Customs, at border crossings only	11 ◯	12 ◯	06 ◯	11 ◯	12 ◯
R.C.M.P.	13 ◯	14 ◯	07 ◯	13 ◯	14 ◯
Air Canada	15 ◯	16 ◯	08 ◯	15 ◯	16 ◯
Agriculture Canada	17 ◯	18 ◯	09 ◯	17 ◯	18 ◯
Via Rail or CN Marine	19 ◯	20 ◯	10 ◯	19 ◯	20 ◯
Federal Public Service Commission	21 ◯	22 ◯	11 ◯	21 ◯	22 ◯

INTERVIEWER: If no contacts in T1 go to T4 below, otherwise go to T2 above.

T4. **Would you say that, in your area, federal services are generally available in English?**

1 ◯ Yes
2 ◯ No
3 ◯ Don't know

T5. **In which languages are the television programs you watch?**

0 ◯ Never watch television

	(Most often)
1 ◯ English	4 ◯
2 ◯ French	5 ◯
3 ◯ Other *(specify)* └┴┘	6 ◯
└┴┘	7 ◯

Do you watch programs in this language more than 90% of the time?

8 ◯ Yes
9 ◯ No

T6. **Which language did the doctor use during your last visit?**

1 ◯ Never visited doctor
2 ◯ English
3 ◯ French
4 ◯ Other *(specify)* └┴┘
└┴┘

SECTION U

Now I'd like to ask you for some background information.

U1. **How many years of elementary and secondary education have you completed?**

- 00 ○ No schooling → *Go to U12*
- 05 ○ One to five years
- 06 ○ Six
- 07 ○ Seven
- 08 ○ Eight
- 09 ○ Nine
- 10 ○ Ten

→ *Go to U3*

- 11 ○ Eleven
- 12 ○ Twelve
- 13 ○ Thirteen

U2. **Have you graduated from secondary school?**

- 1 ○ Yes
- 2 ○ No

U3. **Have you had any further schooling beyond elementary/secondary school?**

- 3 ○ Yes
- 4 ○ No → *Go to U5*

U4. **What was the highest level you attained?**

- 1 ○ Some community college, CEGEP or nursing school
- 2 ○ Diploma or certificate from community college, CEGEP or nursing school
- 3 ○ Some university
- 4 ○ Bachelor or undergraduate degree or teacher's college
- 5 ○ Master's or earned doctorate
- 6 ○ Other *(specify)*

U5. **In which year did you reach your highest level of education?**

1 ____ Year

U6. **Think about the first full-time job you had after reaching your highest level of education in . . . *(date reported in U5)* Were you an employee working for someone else or self-employed?**

- 7 ○ An employee working for someone else
- 8 ○ Self-employed → *Go to U8*
- 9 ○ Never had full-time job after this date → *Go to U11*

U7. **For whom did you work?**
(Name of business, government department or agency or person)

U8. **What was the main kind of business, industry or service?**
(Give a full description: e.g., paper box manufacturing, retail shoe store, municipal board of education)

U9. **What kind of work were you doing?**
(Give a full description: e.g., posting invoices, selling shoes, teaching primary school)

U10. **In what year did you begin working at this job?**

1 ____ Year

U11. **Have you ever taken any language courses as part of full-time school?**

- 1 ○ Yes → **Which languages?**
  - 3 ○ English
  - 4 ○ French
  - 5 ○ Other *(specify)*
- 2 ○ No

U12. **Have you ever taken any language courses outside of full-time school?**

- 3 ○ Yes → **Which languages?**
  - 5 ○ English
  - 6 ○ French
  - 7 ○ Other *(specify)*
- 4 ○ No

U13. **What, if any, is your religion?**

- 0 ○ No religion → *Go to U15*
- 1 ○ Roman Catholic
- 2 ○ United Church
- 3 ○ Anglican
- 4 ○ Presbyterian
- 5 ○ Lutheran
- 6 ○ Baptist
- 7 ○ Eastern Orthodox
- 8 ○ Jewish
- 9 ○ Other *(specify)*

U14. **Other than on special occasions, such as weddings, funerals or baptisms, how often do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion?**

- 1 ○ At least once a week
- 2 ○ At least once a month
- 3 ○ At least once a year
- 4 ○ Less than once a year
- 5 ○ Never

U15. **To which ethnic or cultural group do you or did your ancestors belong?** *(Accept multiple response)*

- 1 ○ **English**
- 2 ○ **French**
- 3 ○ **Irish**
- 4 ○ **Scottish**
- 5 ○ **German**
- 6 ○ **Italian**
- 7 ○ **Ukrainian**
- 8 ○ **Other** *(specify)*
- 9 ○ Don't know

U16 **What is the approximate size of the community in which you are now living? By community I mean city, town or rural area?**

1○ Less than 5,000 population or a rural area
2○ 5,000 to less than 25,000 population
3○ 25,000 to less than 100,000 population
4○ 100,000 to 1 million population
5○ Over 1 million population

U17 **What is the name of that town or nearest town?**

Town → |_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

Prov. → |_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

U18 **What are the first three characters of your postal code?**

|_|_|_|

9○ Don't know

U19 **In what type of dwelling are you now living? Is it . . .**

1○ Single detached house
2○ Semi-detached or double *(side-by-side)*
3○ Garden house, town-house or row house
4○ Duplex *(one above the other)*
5○ Low-rise apartment *(less than five stories)*
6○ High-rise apartment *(five or more stories)*
7○ Other *(specify)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

U20 **Is this dwelling owned or rented by a member of this household?**

8○ Owned

9○ Rented

U21 **Is there a language, other than English, spoken in your home by the people living there?**

1○ Person lives alone

2○ Yes → **Which languages?**

4○ French
5○ Other *(specify)* |_|_|

|_|_|

3○ No

U22 **How many telephones, counting extensions, are there in your dwelling?**

1○ One → *Go to U27*

2○ Two or more

U23 **Do all the telephones have the same number?**

3○ Yes → *Go to U27*

4○ No

U24 **How many different numbers are there?**

|_|_|

U25 **Are any of these numbers for business use only?**

5○ Yes

6○ No → *Go to U27*

U26 **How many are for business use only?**

|_|_|

U27 **Which of the following best describes your main activity during the last 7 days? Were you mainly . . .**
(Accept one response only)

1○ Working at a job or business
2○ Looking for work
3○ A student
4○ Keeping house
5○ Retired
6○ Other *(specify)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

U28 **What about your main activity during the last 12 months? Were you mainly . . .**
(Accept one response only)

1○ Working at a job or business → *Go to U31*
2○ Looking for work
3○ A student
4○ Keeping house
5○ Retired
6○ Other *(specify)*

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

U29 **Did you have a job at any time during the last 12 months?**

7○ Yes → *Go to U31*

8○ No

U30 **Did you have any income from wages, salaries and self-employment during the last 12 months?**

1○ Yes → **What was your income before taxes?**

4○ Income → $ |_|_|_|_|_|_|_|00
5○ Loss → $ |_|_|_|_|_|_|_|00
} *Go to U39*

2○ No income → *Go to U39*

3○ Don't know → *Go to U39*

U31 **For how many weeks of those 12 months did you do any work at a job or business?**
(Include vacation, illness, strikes, lock-outs and paid maternity leave)

|_|_| weeks

(Code number from 00 to 52)

U32 **During those weeks of work were you mainly . . .**

1○ An employee working for someone else
2○ Self-employed → *Go to U35*

U33 **During those weeks of work were you mostly full-time or part-time?**

3○ Full-time

4○ Part-time

U34 **For whom do you/did you last work?**
(Name of business, government department or agency or person)

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

U35. **What was the main kind of business, industry or service?**
(Give a full description: e.g., paper box manufacturing, retail shoe store, municipal board of education)

U36. **What kind of work were you doing?**
(Give a full description: e.g., posting invoices, selling shoes, teaching primary school)

U37. **Which languages are/were spoken at work by people with whom you have/had regular contact?**

5 ◯ English
6 ◯ French
7 ◯ Other *(specify)*

U38. **What was your income before taxes from wages, salaries and self-employment during the last 12 months?**

1 ◯ Income → $ .00
2 ◯ Loss → $ .00
3 ◯ No income
4 ◯ Don't know

U39. **What was your income from government sources such as Family Allowance, U.I.C., Social Assistance, Canada or Quebec Pension Plan or Old Age Security?**

$ .00
5 ◯ No income
6 ◯ Don't know

U40. **What was your income from investments or private pensions?**

1 ◯ Income → $ .00
2 ◯ Loss → $ .00
3 ◯ No income
4 ◯ Don't know

U41. **What is your best estimate of the total income of all household members from all sources during the last 12 months? Was the total household income . . .**

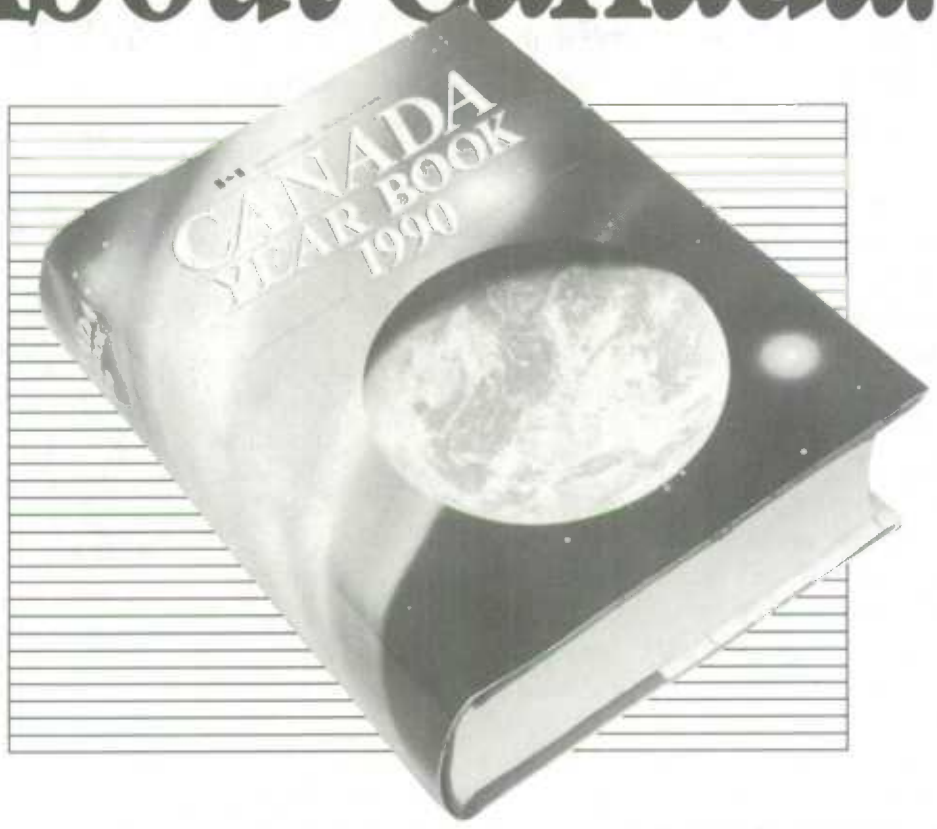
1 ◯ Less than $20,000
- 5 ◯ Less than $10,000
  - 1 ◯ Less than $5,000
  - 2 ◯ $5,000 and more
- 6 ◯ $10,000 and more
  - 3 ◯ Less than $15,000
  - 4 ◯ $15,000 and more

7 ◯ $20,000 and more
- 7 ◯ Less than $40,000
  - 5 ◯ Less than $30,000
  - 6 ◯ $30,000 and more
- 8 ◯ $40,000 and more
  - 7 ◯ Less than $60,000
  - 8 ◯ $60,000 and more

3 ◯ No income
4 ◯ Don't know

END OF INTERVIEW

Questions About Canada?



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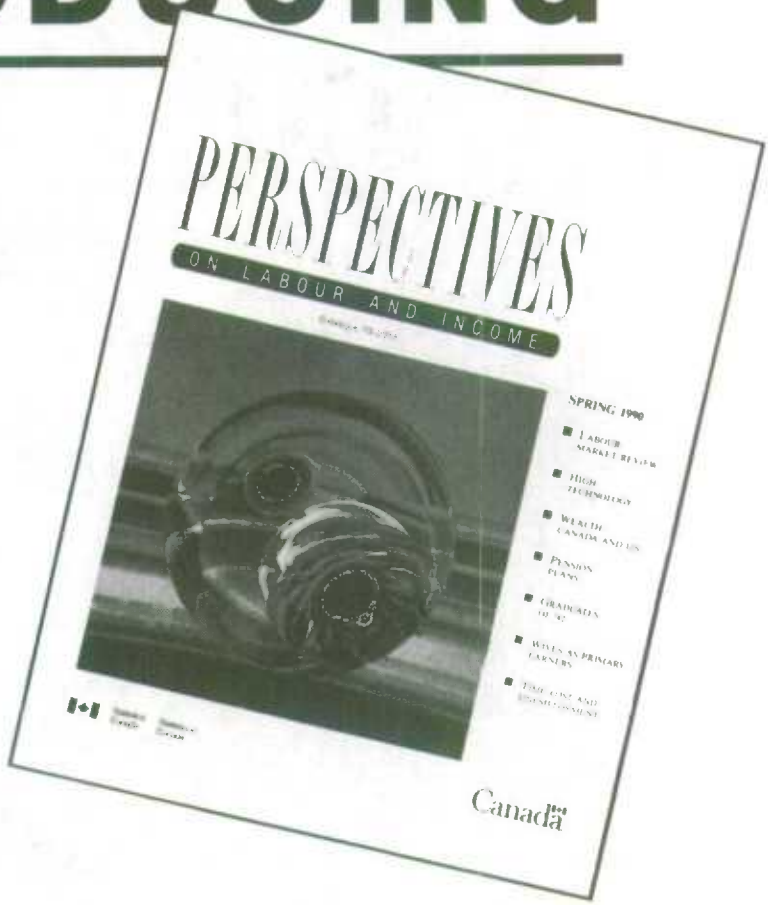

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