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ABSTRACT

The follow-up study of 2,101 students from occupational programs in Ontario secondary schools reported in this document is retrospective and longitudinal in nature. The study was intended to ascertain the effectiveness of the occupational program in enabling graduates to secure employment and to hold a job, and to assess the relation to and influences on occupational graduates of other background and school variables. The actual employment experiences of occupational graduates and the relation of their training to these experiences were studied and the effects on students just completing a two- or three-year occupational program in 1973 were examined. A baseline survey was carried out concurrently with the follow-up survey, and personal interviews were conducted to supplement the results of the follow-up survey and to provide a cross-check on them. This report is organized as follows: Chapter 1 outlines the scope, objectives, and method of the study; in chapter 2 the results of the follow-up survey in the three areas of school, job, and background information are examined. In chapter 3 these responses are discussed with reference to patterns of variation by school variables. A more in-depth view of the world of the occupational graduate is presented in chapter 4, based on interviews with graduates. In chapter 5 the responses to the baseline survey are discussed, with additional reference to patterns of variation by sex. Chapter 6 discusses findings and conclusions. Appendixes contain forms and materials used in the study. (TA)

OCCUPATIONAL GRADUATES AND THE LABOUR FORCE

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The reception accorded our researchers in the forty schools was in general most cordial. They enjoyed some interesting discussions with occupational students and teachers in the schools. In addition, they made the acquaintance by telephone of over 2,000 graduates of the last five years, many of whom volunteered far more information than was requested on the questionnaire. The graduates who were interviewed often gave one to two hours of their time to discuss their school and job experiences. To all of these students and graduates who gave so freely of themselves, we are deeply indebted. We hope that this report presents their case as accurately and fairly as possible.

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1 Scope, Objectives, and Method

Terms of the Contract

This is a follow-up study - retrospective and longitudinal in nature - of students from occupational programs in Ontario secondary schools. The aims of the study are to ascertain the effectiveness of the occupational program in enabling graduates to secure employment and to hold a job, and to assess the relation to and influences on occupational graduates of other background and school variables. We have studied the actual employment experiences of occupational graduates and the relation of their training to these experiences, particularly as perceived by the graduates themselves in the light of their various backgrounds. We have also examined the effects on students just completing a two- or three-year program in 1973.

The exact wording of the agreement between the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education was as follows:

SCOPE OF RESEARCH

This is a contract for research services involving the study of employment experiences of students who have entered the labour market after completing the Occupational Program in secondary schools, to be undertaken for the Minister of Education, by O.I.S.E.

The research undertaken shall include:

2.1 The study of the actual employment experiences of such students.

2.2 The study of the applicability to their employment experiences of the training such students have received.

2.3 The study of the overall effectiveness of the Occupational Program in preparing students for the labour force.

2.4 The study of sources of variation, such as job turnover, socio-economic background, further education or training, in the occupational experiences of students completing the Occupational Program.

2.5 The development of a sampling of basic data of student population still in the Occupational Program but who will shortly be entering the labour market.

Introduction

Brief Outline of Labour Force Structure

Over the past few years, a number of changes have occurred in the structure and composition of the Canadian labour force that have direct bearing on the employment opportunities for occupational graduates (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1970). This section provides a brief review of some of these processes of change and suggests the general conditions facing the occupational student upon leaving school.

These general trends include the growth of the professions, the upgrading of skill levels in general, the growth of the white collar worker sector, and the diminishing number of jobs in the low skill or labouring categories, as well as in the agricultural sector. Studies by Meltz (1967) and Ostry (1967) demonstrate that the Canadian labour force is becoming educationally upgraded. In addition to the changing educational requirements for certain jobs, patterns of supply and demand also have changed. Manpower forecasting studies have projected "the declining relative use of labourers in the secondary industries, and the contraction of employment opportunities in the primary industries" (Meltz and Penz 1968: 23). Another important factor is changing trends in employer preferences and practices. On-the-job training and retraining programs are becoming increasingly common.

Because of the apparent lack of statistics on the employment positions of occupational graduates, we can cite figures only for their age cohorts in general and draw some tentative conclusions from these. Available data show, for example, that from the boom year 1956 to the recession year 1958 consistently, unemployment rates were significantly higher for the 14- to 24-year-olds than the 25- to 44-year-olds for each of the years examined, and also much higher than the national average. For males aged 14-19 and 20-24 in 1956, the rates were 8.1% and 5.7% as opposed to 3.4% and 3.0% for the 25-, 34-, and 35- to 44-year-olds respectively; the national average that year was 3.4%. For the corresponding female age groups the rates were 4.0% and 4.8%, 1.9% and 1.1% respectively. In the recession year 1958, the picture was even bleaker; while the national average was 7.0%, unemployment rates for males 14-19, 20-24, 25-34, and 35-44 were 16.7%, 12.7%, 7.7%, and 6.1% respectively. Females seem to have fared relatively well; their unemployment rates fluctuate around the average female unemployment rate for all age groups except the youngest (14- to 19-year-olds).

These trends are repeated again, and the disproportion of unemployment rates between the age groups is even larger during the years 1966-70. Table 1 illustrates in detail youth unemployment rates.

Table 1/ Percentage Unemployed in Canada by Age and Sex

Year	National Average	Males					Females				
		14-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	All	14-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	All
1966	3.6	9.6	5.3	3.0	2.8	4.0	6.4	2.6	2.0	1.8	2.6
1967	4.1	10.9	6.1	3.8	3.3	4.6	7.3	3.2	2.2	1.8	2.9
1968	4.8	12.8	7.6	4.4	4.1	5.5	8.3	4.2	2.3	2.2	3.4
1969	4.7	12.3	7.5	4.0	3.7	5.2	8.9	3.8	2.8	2.3	3.6
1970	5.9	15.0	10.5	5.3	4.6	6.6	11.4	5.1	3.2	3.0	4.5

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Survey

Even though youth unemployment rates are inevitably high, it seems they are even higher for the occupational graduate, based on the above cited statistics and those changes mentioned earlier that have occurred during the past years in the Canadian labour force structure. Occupational graduates seem to be the most handicapped group in bargaining for a better position in the market because of relative lack of skills, training, and academic standing.

It is beyond the scope of our study to discuss in great detail long-term consequences of our mixed market system and high youth unemployment rates; nevertheless, these points serve as a starting point for determining the connection between the occupational program and the labour market.

A Note on the Methodology of Follow-up Studies

In order to assess the effectiveness of the occupational program it was necessary for us to consider which evaluative designs would be best suited to our study. Follow-up studies may be viewed as a special subset within survey designs where it is assumed that all respondents have previously passed through a similar situation and are therefore homogeneous on some background variable. As an evaluative tool for educators, the follow-up design enables the researcher to gather information from individuals or cohorts who have passed through similar experiences (occupational, school attendance and/or graduation). These studies provide data which can be used to try to answer any number of questions about the educational system in general, specific issues related to the system, the educational experiences of respondents and the actual and perceived relationship between the educational and employment experiences both of individuals and cohorts. Thus, follow-up studies represent one methodological technique for studying the changing relationship between the educational system and the labour force, and also serve as an instrument for educational evaluations. Traditionally, follow-up studies have relied mainly on three research designs: 1) trend design, 2) longitudinal or panel design, and 3) cross-sectional design. Certain basic features, strengths, and limitations of the three designs emerge when they are used in follow-up studies.

A follow-up study utilizing a trend design samples similar populations at different points in time; for example, graduates from the program in 1968 and 1970 could be followed up five years after graduation (surveyed in 1973 and 1975, respectively). This type of procedure can identify changes

and suggest trends emerging from the data; but provides no explanation for these changes or trends (Glock 1967: 3-64).

A follow-up study based on a longitudinal design provides the most complete and accurate data set and is thus the best survey procedure to follow. Ideally, data should be gathered on a selected population at several points in time prior to the specific experience under study (e.g., graduation from the program), and then the same population should be examined several times after the experience (graduation). While this type of study can identify change, it is the only survey method which can present cause and effect relationships in a true light (Wall and Williams 1970). Although longitudinal surveys present the most comprehensive data, there are limitations which should be clearly understood. First, there is the problem of maintaining contact and ensuring participation of all respondents with the difficulty of sampling and generalizing from findings. Second, over time, changes in the hypotheses under study may invalidate or diminish the value of what has already been done (Wall and Williams 1970: 23-27).

The third survey method used in follow-up studies is the cross-sectional design. This involves surveying, at one time, a population which has had similar experiences at different times (e.g., graduates from the program in 1968 and 1970 surveyed in 1973). The resulting information is descriptive and suggests how the sub-populations are differentiated; causal relationships may be suggested by this design, but could only be verified by longitudinal methods. Moreover variations between sub-populations may result from the passage of time or from population differences, and the cross-sectional design cannot identify the true source of change.

One type of cross-sectional design, which makes it possible to hypothesize about change, is historical cohort analysis. By applying simultaneous measurements to cohorts of individuals who have had similar experiences (at different points in time) the processes of change occurring over time can be ascertained (assuming that the sub-samples are comparable). This strategy is referred to as a stage comparison design "in which persons assumed to be in different stages of a similar time process are measured at one point in time" (Davis 1963). The procedure is quasi-longitudinal because it can simulate a panel design, and was used successfully by the principal investigator of this study in a recent report on postsecondary education (Harvey 1972). While a longitudinal survey, by design, can determine the number of any differences attributable to the passage of time or to differences

in the cohorts, the historical cohort approach, "used with appropriate controls, can enable the researcher to make some informed estimates about the extent to which observed variations are attributable to differences in individuals as opposed to structural changes over time" (Harvey 1972: 58-9). With subsequent analyses of such data, sufficient empirical evidence is provided for educators to evaluate the educational system under study.

Definition of Terms

The Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act passed in December 1960, and modified in March 1961, brought about the complete transformation of the secondary school system in Ontario. The Robarts Plan (as it came to be known) announced on August 28, 1961, one month after the formal signing of the federal-provincial agreement, represented a major change in the emphasis of the secondary school system away from the purely academic toward a broadly vocational orientation. The initial intent of the federal act was to provide a scheme of grants to assist in the construction of provincial trade schools and institutes of technology to meet the manpower requirements of the national economy. But as the economy of the country changed, so did the differing perceptions and expectations of the occupational program. It came to mean different things to different people. For some, getting a vocational education meant getting a preparation to carry on a vocation - a training for a specific job. For others, it meant the study of procedures and the acquisition of certain skills used generally in the business world - that is, acquiring moral values, appropriate attitudes to occupations, and the qualities of a good citizen. There are still others who would see vocational education as a combination of these two concepts.

In view of these differing expectations of the program, we proceeded to ascertain the effectiveness of the occupational program for its general educative value as well as its training and skill development aspects.

Students are streamed into this program for numerous reasons. Children identified as slow learners (for various different reasons) are often put into special or remedial classes in elementary schools. Some of them enter vocational schools after grade 6; other students stay in elementary school for eight years. Depending on their performance in grade 8, they may go either into a normal four- or five-year academic, business, or S.T. & T. program, or into the occupational program. Those who are not promoted or passed from grade 8 have the option of transferring to grade 9 in the

occupational program and the school usually recommends that they do so. Alternatively, they may repeat grade 8 and then enter the normal high school program.

The schools in Ontario are arranged in a system of levels, I - V, the occupational program comprising levels I, II, and III. In many composite schools the occupational program as such has been integrated into the main body of the school, so that level II students can take some level III or IV classes if they are capable enough.

A report on vocational schools for the Toronto Board of Education (Cressy et al. 1973) identifies four other sources of students entering special vocational programs in Toronto: students from special programs who are functioning at the grade 5 level in reading; young adults who have dropped out of school earlier and are returning to learn a trade; transfers from New Canadian programs who are handicapped by a language deficiency; graduates from schools for the trainable retarded who might benefit from vocational school experience; and some physically handicapped children and children with learning disabilities who are interested in shop.

The occupational program emphasizes practical shop work of various kinds rather than academic subjects. It is thus hoped that, by providing practical vocational training to those who cannot cope with or benefit from academic work, the practical training will increase the student's chances of finding employment.

The Follow-up Survey

Questionnaire Design

The development of the follow-up questionnaire (Appendix A) was carried out in two stages. The first stage constituted the preparatory phase in which several meetings were held between our research staff and people from various levels of the Ontario Ministry of Education, from the different boards of education in the province, and from each type of school.

Preliminary meetings were held between the principal investigator and representatives of the Ministry to establish basic guidelines and draw up the objectives and goals of the study. These were supplemented by a general seminar held at OISE in which representatives of some boards of education in the province took part. The participants were drawn from

the City of Toronto, North York, Simcoe County, Peel County, Halton County, Lincoln County, and Grey County boards of education, including principals, vice-principals, guidance counsellors, and teachers. As a result of this seminar where the various aspects of questionnaire design and administration were discussed, a decision was made to administer the questionnaire by telephone in order to ensure proper rates of return and minimize costs of repeated waves of mailed questionnaires. It was noted that one cannot assume the existence of skill levels such that respondents would easily and effectively fill out and return questionnaires.

After some members of our research team had visited each of the three types of schools and the questionnaire had been pretested at one school in the Toronto area, a final draft of the questionnaire was drawn, shorter than the original version because of its telephone application (reproduced in Appendix A). This was the second stage in the development of the questionnaire design.

The questionnaire attempted to identify actual employment experiences of occupational graduates and the relation of their training to these employment experiences, particularly as perceived by the graduates themselves in the light of their various backgrounds. Because of the growing concern that their educational training is either becoming, or has become, largely inapplicable to the types of employment they can actually expect to obtain, issues such as difficulties experienced on entering the labour market in terms of periods of unemployment after graduation, number of jobs held, and length of each period of employment and unemployment were explored in detail. Also, in the case of jobs that included on-the-job training, questions were asked to determine how the earlier educational experiences of the respondents had helped or hindered them in learning such job-specific training.

The schema outlined by Keil et al. (1966) conveniently summarizes the pertinent aspects of the research on the problems of youth and work. Our exposition of the various areas of concern to which our questions relate will be clarified by referring to the schema. Keil suggests that the young person's entry to the world of work and his adjustment to it is a process with the following stages: the socialization of the young person to the world of work; previous work experiences; wider social influences; and the formulation of a set of attitudes toward and expectations about work. These first four stages provide the explanation for the fifth stage, actual job entry. From actual job entry, experiences as a worker lead to a situation of adjustment or non-adjustment for a young worker. The

latter situation can be expressed either by a measure of satisfaction, by a change in attitudes toward and expectations about work, by ritualized dissatisfaction, or by job change.

Formal and informal influences in this adjustment process (Keil 1966: 122) were examined within the three major areas of concern. Part I of the questionnaire is concerned with school information and influence of school (formal and informal) on the process of socialization to the work world. Part II is concerned with a detailed account of work experiences, and Part III covers background information in terms of demographic features and socioeconomic characteristics.

To facilitate rapid and accurate completion of the questionnaire and to minimize the possibility of errors in interpretation during the coding process, the questionnaire uses a largely structured format. This format also avoids problems of validity and reliability of measurement. A less structured format was adopted for the short questionnaire that was administered to the principals and/or the vice-principals of each school.

Sample Design and Returns

To guarantee a data base from which reliable and valid inferences might be drawn, it was decided by the project director and representatives of the Statistics Branch of the Ministry of Education that at least 2,500 cases would be needed. The research staff decided to aim for a 45% response rate to a random sample of 5,500 graduates (2,500). The sample is drawn proportionally from the total number of occupational graduates in Ontario in the five years 1968-72. The reason for the five-year period is to facilitate comparisons over time and thus assess changes in population or environmental characteristics. The terminal year 1968 was selected to cut down problems of tracing students, the terminal year 1972 as the last year when students graduated from the program. Schools recorded as beginning the program after 1968 or terminating before 1972, though after 1968, were excluded from the sample.

The sampling procedure chosen was highly complicated in order to meet our requirements of objectivity, validity, and generalizability of findings. In scientific terminology, the procedure could be called a multi-stage, stratified, clustered sample in terms of school sampling. A simple random-sampling procedure was applied to compile the list of students (cases).

From records provided to us by the Ministry, a list of all occupational, vocational, and composite schools was compiled and the number of such graduates for each of the years under study was established.

From the total number of occupational students in Ontario in the five years 1968 to 1972 5,500 cases were drawn proportionally, and the total number of graduates thus derived was stratified proportionally by four stages: region, type of school, individual schools, and individual graduates.

There are ten administrative school regions in Ontario, and in the first part of the sampling procedure we ascertained the proportion of graduates per year for each of the ten regions. The number of students for each region to be included in the sample was established by applying this proportional ratio to our sample population of 5,500.

The unit of stratification in the second stage of the sampling procedure is type of school. There are three types of schools in Ontario offering occupational education of the type being studied -- composite, occupational, and vocational schools. Three steps were used at this stage. The total number of graduates per year from each type of school in a region was established for all ten regions over the five years. Second, the total number of graduates for each type of school in a region was calculated as a ratio of the total number of graduates in the region per year. Finally, this proportion was used to ascertain the total number of graduates required for each type of school per year in each region as a proportion of the sample population of 5,500.

In the third stage of sampling, we used individual schools (40 in number) as the unit of stratification. These schools were selected as representative of each type of school in the region and were selected according to the number of schools of that type in the region, geographical proximity, and interview efficiency. The schools selected were clustered according to the aforementioned criteria, with some attempt being made to respect our judgment on the rural/urban split in the clustering. When geographical proximity was taken into account in order to save time and cut costs of travelling over a wide area, the problem arose of respecting the rural/urban split for our population in general. The measurement aspect involved developing a highly complex index of urbanization on the basis of multiple factors, such as population density, degree of industrialization, per capita income, accessibility to major highways, etc. The other problem involved was peculiar to our study alone; this was the concept of "catchment area." Unlike students in other programs of education,

our students did not necessarily live in the immediately surrounding area of the particular school they attended; therefore, applying a highly complex index of urbanization for school areas would have been somewhat futile. We therefore adopted a crude measure of the phenomenon based on population size. We also consulted the Municipal Directory (Ontario Department of Municipal Affairs, 1972) for adaptation of terminology and classification of categories in terms of such concepts as cities, boroughs, towns and townships, and villages, according to population size.

The areas included in our sample were: Thunder Bay and Red Rock in Region I (Northwestern); Val Caron, Sudbury, and Espanola in Region II (Midnorthern); North Bay, Huntsville, and Bracebridge in Region III (Northeastern); Strathroy, Windsor, Aylmer, and St. Thomas in Region IV (Western); Kitchener and Woodstock in Region V (Midwestern); St. Catharines, Niagara-on-the-Lake, and Niagara Falls in Region VI (Niagara); Barrie, Alliston, Port Credit, and Metropolitan Toronto in Region VII (West Central); Oshawa and Newmarket in Region VIII (East Central); Belleville, Campbellford, and Bowmanville in Region IX (Eastern); and Ottawa, Richmond, Cornwall, and Carleton Place in Region X (Ottawa Valley).[1]

The final stage of sampling involved a simple random selection of students from each of the schools chosen in stage three, according to the sampling fraction determined by the proportion of graduates per type of school, per year, for each of the regions in our sample. Thus, the individual student was taken as the unit of analysis.

Table 2 is a numerical representation of the sample design and return rates obtained. In general, the initial aim of 45.0% response rate comes close to the actual rate (38.2%); the table discloses individual response rates for each region. In instances where we failed to approximate the general rate of returns, the degree of geographic mobility, which was greater than one would expect in the case of this population, was among the major reasons for failure to establish contact.

As was mentioned previously in this chapter, the telephone method of survey was adopted in an attempt to maximize response rates for a population which would be less likely to fill in mail-out questionnaires and more likely to respond to a verbal survey. For various reasons, this is a

[1] Since the time of our survey, the number of regions has been reduced to 9 with the amalgamation of Regions VII and VIII in 1974.

Table 2/ Sample Design and Graduates' Response by Administrative Region in Ontario, 1968-1972

Regions	Total No.	No. in Sample	No. Responding	% Response
Northwestern	1,209	185	60	32.4
Midnorthern	1,790	277	98	35.4
Northeastern	1,890	291	130	44.7
Eastern	2,572	406	128	31.5
Ottawa Valley	2,986	497	203	40.8
Niagara	3,074	472	231	48.9
Western	3,405	531	235	44.3
Midwestern	3,819	594	233	39.2
East Central	6,300	917	245	26.7
West Central	8,491	1,325	538	40.6
Total	35,539	5,495	2,101	38.2

difficult population to reach. They may be characterized as "transient" in one sense of the word. These graduates in many cases do not have roots in their communities. They cannot always be traced to a fixed address. They do not always remain in contact with the school from which they graduated. Many have moved elsewhere in search of employment. Also in some areas they have had their telephone disconnected to save money. Table 3 gives a regional breakdown of reasons for our being unable to contact a large number of graduates.

Fewer than 5.0% of the graduates whom we were able to reach by telephone were unwilling to answer the survey questionnaire. In some areas of the province the refusal rate was less than 2.0%. Several graduates expressed intense gratification that the Ministry of Education was interested in learning of their job experiences and their opinion of the occupational program.

The findings of this study can be interpreted correctly only if it is established who the participants in the study were. First, we were able to contact the less geographically mobile segment of occupational graduates. Researchers generally refrained from phoning long-distance while in the area of the school from which the student graduated. In Northern Ontario, it was necessary to phone long-distance because of the large catchment areas of the schools. Second, we were able to contact the graduates who had some kind of enduring ties in their community. They lived near enough to parents that our researchers were able to find out their new telephone numbers and to contact them. Third, we contacted those who had found work fairly near the area in which they attended school.

As one principal discussed at length with one of our researchers, it appears that those whom we contacted were in the middle range as far as employment was concerned. Those who had great ambition and/or ability generally took the initiative to upgrade their education and to move elsewhere for employment. In the process, their ties with the school and the family were somewhat weakened. (In some cases parents were very willing to discuss their absent offspring - such as the Cordon Bleu chef in Stockholm.)

The lowest achievers in the occupational program are the other group whom we failed to contact. In times of high unemployment, the least qualified are the first to lose their jobs. This was quite evident in Northern Ontario, where several graduates whom we did contact had been laid

Table 3/ Sources of Graduates' Non-response by Administrative Region*

Region	Information about Student Incomplete	Telephone Difficulties	Contact Difficulties	Moved	Other	Total
Northwestern	3	23	18	11	4	59
Midnorthern		19	11	1	6	37
Northeastern	18	79	12	6	7	122
Western		89	41	28	18	176
Midwestern	11	126	95	18	4	254
Niagara	20	140	75	38	26	299
West Central	21	482	95	28	32	658
East Central	132	334	90	11	12	579
Eastern	43	85	34	2	37	201
Ottawa Valley		28	36	22	63	149
Total						
N	248	1,405	507	165	209	2,534
%	9.8	55.4	20.0	6.5	8.2	100.0

*Reason for non-response not recorded in 860 cases.

off and were intending to seek work in the south. Several months later we would have been unable to reach these graduates.

Of course, the group who had dropped out of the occupational program and whose names never appeared on Ministry lists of graduates were not within the purview of this study. They would likely have been the most difficult group of all to trace.

In short, we reached a middle range of graduates who had found employment near the area where they attended school, and who still had some ties in their community. We did not reach a large proportion of the most or the least successful.

Coding

The coding scheme was devised and implemented after all the data were collected. Although this was a more time-consuming procedure than using precoded questionnaires, it was, nevertheless, more suitable for the purposes of this study because it did not involve any assumption on our part as to the types of response that were elicited and allowed the respondent to be subjective in his or her answers.

The data were transferred from the completed questionnaires to Fortran code sheets. This process was carried out by a team of twenty coders who received similar instructions but worked independently from one another. In addition, a one-in-five random check of completed work was carried out to ensure a high degree of reliability and consistency in the coding process. The information was then transferred directly onto magnetic tapes for computer analysis. Throughout the data-processing phase of the project, special attention was given to measures that would mitigate against random or systematic error in the final results.

Appendices D, E, F, and G show the school subject and job classifications that were used in the coding of the questionnaires.

Mode of Analysis

The following chapters of this report present and discuss the findings of the study in the areas of educational and employment experiences of the respondents, particularly as perceived by them and in the light of their various backgrounds. Basic distributions of our findings will be presented for all respondents in each of these areas.

A more sophisticated level of analysis involves examining these distributions in terms of the variables of year of graduation and sex. Traditional differences in educational and occupational experiences of males and females are even more pronounced for our sample population than in general, and therefore sex as a control variable is essential for a better assessment of the findings. The use of year of graduation as a control variable, on the other hand, represents an attempt to determine types and directions of change experienced by the respondents over the past five years, and to assess how these changes may be related to one another. Where it proves relevant to do so, regional differences will be taken into consideration within this analytical framework of year of graduation or sex. Also, language of ethnic affiliation will be used as a control variable in an attempt to investigate existing differences, if any, based on this variable.

To assess the influence of various aspects of the occupational program on the later employment experiences of the graduates, we have also cross-tabulated four important aspects of school experience (type of school, type of program, type of certification, and attendance in special education classes) with various aspects of employment experience.

Given the way in which our sample was drawn and the procedures for measuring many of our major variables, the chi square test of statistical significance may be usefully applied in interpreting those of our findings where two or more variables are cross-tabulated. For the purposes of our report, any value of chi square beyond the .05 level is considered statistically significant (that is, there is less than one chance in twenty that the association between the variables occurred by chance rather than being a statistically significant relationship). It should also be noted that the total number of cases on which each table is based may vary from table to table. This is a result of the fact that not all respondents answered all questions, or that because of differences in experience, not all questions applied to all respondents.

Finally, we insert here a brief comment on our approach to the measurement and classification of data on two aspects of jobs held by our respondents and/or their parents or spouses. (See Appendices D, E, and F.) The first of these is concerned with a means of classifying the general sector in which the respondent (and parent and/or spouse) was employed. The system that was adopted was that of the International Labour Office's International Standard of Classification of Occupations (Geneva 1969).

The second aspect that we wished to measure was the occupational prestige of these jobs. The scale we have used for this purpose is that developed by Professors Pineo and Porter and is based upon Canadian data (Pineo and Porter 1967).

Baseline Survey and Interview Supplement: Some Additional Notes on Methodology

The Baseline Survey

We carried out the baseline survey concurrently with the follow-up survey in order to establish without delay a baseline population of students who are still in the occupational program but who will shortly be entering the labour market.

The questionnaire design contained certain parallel aspects with the follow-up because it was a modified version of the latter. Questions on actual job experiences were omitted since these did not apply to this sample, and questions dealing with employment aspirations and expectations were included instead (see Appendix B).

Because of limitations of time and money imposed upon us by the scope of the study, the sample design had to be simple and economical. We therefore combined some of the aspects involved in this sample design with that of the follow-up. A pretest was carried out on 45 students at one occupational school. The schools included in the baseline survey were the same as those in the follow-up surveys. We aimed at a 15.0% representation of the provincial total, based on statistics on the number of occupational graduates for each year from 1966 to 1972 provided to us by the Ministry. We succeeded in obtaining approximately 11.0% representation (1,107 cases).

Lists of graduating students' names were provided by principals or vice-principals, and students were administered the questionnaire in their respective schools as a group. We did not establish a specific quota by school in order not to complicate the procedure, and yet were aware, at all times, of the 15.0% provincial representation that was to be fulfilled.

Coding and mode of analysis were the same as in the follow-up survey.

The Interview Supplement

Personal interviews are essential for gathering high quality data. For this purpose our interview supplement was compiled; this part of the study was aimed at gaining further insight into the world of the occupational student. It was used to supplement the results of the follow-up survey and to provide a cross-check on them.

The interviews were conducted in informal settings of the respondent's choice and included open-ended questions designed to elicit any additional comments on the suggested topics or others that the respondent may have expressed a willingness to discuss (see Appendix C).

A simple method of quota sampling was applied. Students contacted for the follow-up survey were asked if they would like to participate in a personal interview at their convenience. When a predetermined number of six interviews from each school was completed the interviewers simply stopped asking more students. An effort was made to distribute interviews proportionately by year of graduation and sex, however.

A total number of 216 interviews were conducted. These were all subjected to content analysis (see Chapter 4). Then they were coded into categories derived from the results of content analysis. Information gathered in this manner is invaluable in providing an overall picture of the situation. Issues that may not have been considered originally by the research team in the structured questionnaire contribute to a true-to-life account of the situation.

Organization of the Report

To summarize, we have compiled the following list of major questions to which the research is directed:

1. What are the occupational experiences of occupational graduates in the labour market?
2. What difficulty do such students experience in entering the labour market; what sorts of periods of unemployment are involved?
3. What difficulty do such students have in remaining in the labour market; how often do they change jobs?
4. What are the prospects for such students' having a meaningful career sequence as opposed to a series of dead-end jobs?
5. What is the correlation between the training received by such students and their subsequent occupational experiences?
6. In the case of jobs that provide on-the-job training, do the earlier educational experiences of the students help or hinder them in learning from such job-specific training?
7. How do such students meet the need for further education as their jobs become technologically upgraded?

8. What are the relative unemployment and underemployment experiences of students from different programs and different socio-economic backgrounds?
9. What are the factors involved in student decisions to pursue different programs of further education or retraining?
10. What implications do such decisions have on future patterns of oversupply or undersupply in selected educational and occupational categories?
11. Are present projections based on adequate data?
12. How much "social wastage" is caused by present practices?

The report has been organized in the following manner: Chapter 1 outlines the scope, objectives, and method of the study; in Chapter 2 the results of the follow-up survey in the three areas of school, job, and background information are examined. In Chapter 3 these responses are discussed with reference to patterns of variation by school variables of type of school; type of program, type of certificate attained, and attendance if any in special education classes; by the variables of year of graduation and sex; and by geographical region. A more in-depth view of the world of the occupational graduate is presented in Chapter 4, based on interviews with graduates. Then in Chapter 5 the responses to the baseline survey are discussed, with additional reference to patterns of variation by sex. Chapter 6 contains a discussion of findings and conclusions.

2 The Follow-up Survey

Introduction

In this chapter, we will look at the basic distributions of responses to the follow-up survey for those who graduated from the occupational program in the years 1968-72. The chapter is divided into three major sections: information about home background, information about changing educational experiences, and information about job experiences.

The first section presents data on the educational experiences of respondents, including characteristics of the type of program and the attitudes of the respondents toward various aspects of their educational experiences.

The second reports findings on the labour market experiences of the respondents with a comparative look at the job histories of occupational graduates and their changing attitudes toward their educational experiences in the work world.

The third section provides an overview of how the 2,101 responses to the follow-up survey are distributed according to demographic features such as age, sex, and socioeconomic background.

Basic Distributions

School Information

In this section basic distributions are presented for variables that deal with the educational experiences of the respondents. One such variable was the type of school attended. Over half (57.0%) the respondents (N=2,101) attended composite schools while they were in the occupational program. Of the rest, almost equal numbers attended occupational and vocational schools (23.4% and 19.6% respectively). The type of program is another measure of educational experience. Slightly more than half

the respondents (50.6%, N=2,086) were in a specialty shop program, while only 7.6% were enrolled in a course program (most of these students attended one particular school in Toronto and were enrolled in the commercial course); the remainder (41.8%) were in a general shop program, since many schools had not acquired a specialty shop program at the time the students graduated.

The open-ended question on reasons for being in that particular program produced a wide variety of responses. The large majority indicated that they had had some choice in choosing their program; 27.8% (N=1,548) of the respondents had had no alternative course of action. For those who had a choice, the responses most often recorded were that the program was interesting (35.0%), or useful (e.g., valuable, practical, better - 27.1%); only 4.3% were indecisive, and 5.1% enrolled in the program because they could leave school earlier.

The number of years the student spends in the program is, again, some measure of his educational experience. Two years was the modal time span (68.4%, N=1,800); one year and three years yielded almost equal distributions (13.6% and 14.2% respectively), and only very few stayed over three years (3.8%). Distributions for number of years spent in the same school indicated that a number of students who had been in the program between one and two years had changed schools during the course of their studies, while those who had been in the same school for over two years had changed programs during that time (Table 4).

Business/commercial arts ranked highest in popularity as a major subject (26%), but was slightly less popular as a minor subject (19.3%). Basic trades and mechanical/technical skills subjects yielded similar results both as a major area (23.5% and 23.1% respectively) and a minor area (24.5% each). Table 5 shows in numerical and percentage form the major and minor subjects taken by respondents. Upon graduation, 85.2% of our respondents had received a Certificate of Training (some had gone on to obtain a higher certificate, or were presently attending classes) and 14.8% a Certificate of Standing.

Although the causal link between elementary education and occupational school is not examined or assessed in this report, this variable is taken into consideration insofar as special education classes are concerned. Table 6 shows that only about one-quarter of the respondents had been exposed to special education, the majority (13.3%) for two years or less.

To determine the respondents' attitude toward school, we asked them to rank, in order of importance, different aspects of high school. This

Table 4/ Percentage of Graduates in School by Years (N=1,997) and Program (N=1,800)

Duration	School	Program
1 year	7.0	13.6
2 years	58.5	68.4
3 years	25.0	14.2
4 years	8.3	3.4
5 years	1.2	0.4

Table 6/ Percentage of Graduates Who Had Taken Special Education, Pre-vocational or Opportunity Classes in Elementary School (N=1,983)

Duration	%
1 year	6.6
2 years	6.7
3 years	2.8
4 years	1.8
5 years	1.4
6 years	1.0
7 years or more	0.7
Unspecified	1.9
None	77.2

Table 5/ Number and Percentage of Respondents Taking Major and Minor Subjects

Subjects	Major		Minor	
	N	%	N	%
English	3	0.2	23	2.6
Maths	13	0.8	12	1.3
Science	6	0.4	6	0.7
History	1	0.1	7	0.8
Social Science	6	0.4	4	0.4
Physical Education	2	0.1	5	0.6
Drama/Theatre Arts	1	0.1	3	0.3
Music	3	0.2	9	1.0
Other Academic Subjects	2	0.2	1	0.2
Arts/Arts and Crafts	28	1.8	14	1.6
Drafting	27	1.8	22	2.5
Landscaping	1	0.1		
Painting and Decorating	14	0.9	18	2.0
Photography	1	0.1		
Building Construction	15	1.0	9	1.0
Carpentry/Wood Technology	75	4.9	48	5.4
Construction Trades	8	0.5	2	0.2
Masonry/Trowel Trades	25	1.6	16	1.8
Upholstery	6	0.4	9	1.0
Welding	106	6.9	62	7.0
Printing	9	0.6	3	0.3
Pipe Fitting	1	0.1		
Plumbing	15	1.0	9	1.0
Chef Training	14	0.9	6	0.7
Clothing Construction/Tailoring	4	0.3	3	0.3

(Table 5 continued on next page.)

Table 5/continued

Subjects	Major N	Major %	Minor N	Minor %
Dressmaking	12	0.8	7	0.8
Horticulture	41	2.7	19	2.1
Sewing	28	1.8	26	2.9
Bookkeeping	6	0.4	12	1.3
Business Practices/Business Machines	26	1.7	25	2.8
Commercial	160	10.4	22	2.5
Data Processing				
Marketing/Merchandising	46	3.0	32	3.6
Retailing	40	2.6	11	1.2
Junior Business Work	27	1.8	12	1.3
Typing	101	6.6	59	6.6
Automotive	36	2.3	19	2.1
Auto Body	82	5.3	43	4.8
Auto Servicing	46	3.0	32	3.6
Blueprint Reading	3	0.2	2	0.2
Duplicating	5	0.3	4	0.4
Electricity	49	3.2	15	1.7
Gasoline Engines	3	0.2	1	0.1
Machine Operator	1	0.1	17	1.9
Machine Shop	38	2.5		
Mechanical Maintenance	8	0.5	9	1.0
Service Station Operation	2	0.1		
Small Appliances Repairs	3	0.2	5	0.6
Small Engines	36	2.3	26	2.9
Metal Fabrication	24	1.6	27	3.0
Cashier Training			1	0.1
Commercial Cooking	20	1.3	19	2.1
Barbering			1	0.1
Building Management/ Institutional Services	1	0.1	1	0.1
Driver Education				
Dry Cleaning	14	0.9	14	1.6
Laundry Services				
Oil Burner Services	1	0.2	1	0.1
Beauty Culture/Cosmetology	5	0.3	4	0.4
Child Care/Home Nursing	21	1.4	18	2.0
Family Living				
Hairdressing/Hair Care	127	8.3	29	3.3
Home Economics/Domestic Sciences	79	5.1	51	5.7
Home Management/Home Sciences	6	0.4	6	0.7
Hospital Services	36	2.3	12	1.3
Restaurant Services/Waitress Training	20	1.3	19	2.1
Total	1,539	100.0	891	100.0

question probes a very crucial aspect of assessing the effectiveness of the occupational program. Table 7 shows distributions for the first three most important aspects indicated. Job training was reported most often as the first most important aspect (43.3%); making friends and acquiring life skills yielded similarly high distributions as the second and third most important categories (26.1% and 21.4% as second, and 23.1% and 20.7% as third, respectively); job training also scored high (21.8%) as the second most important aspect of high school. To elaborate this question further respondents were asked how satisfied they were with the training they had obtained as a preparation for the work world and their first jobs, as well as a preparation for life in general. It appeared that 53.7% (N=2,005) were satisfied with the job training they had received and another 27.4% were very satisfied; thus the level of dissatisfaction was relatively low (18.9%) as far as job training was concerned. However, although life skills was reported to rank second and third in importance (and slightly less frequently than making friends, at that), the level of dissatisfaction with this aspect of high school was slightly higher at 20.6% (N=1,961). Generally, then, 81.1% of the respondents were at least satisfied with the job training they had received and 79.4% (58.1% satisfied, and 21.3% very satisfied) reported the same for their training as a preparation for life.

Nevertheless, about one-third (29.0%, N=1,732) of the respondents felt that the school had not prepared them at all for their first jobs; the other two-thirds considered their preparation at least adequate (33.4% very well, 37.6% somewhat prepared).

Table 7/ Percentage of Graduates Choosing First (N=1,962), Second (N=1,622), and Third (N=1,124) Most Important Aspects of High School

Aspects	First	Second	Third
Making friends	18.0	26.1	23.1
Good grades	8.0	11.9	13.2
Job training	43.3	21.8	15.9
Having fun	5.0	5.2	10.1
After-school activities	3.1	6.8	11.3
Life skills	15.2	21.4	20.7
Other	7.4	5.4	3.9
All aspects important	2.2	1.4	1.7

The discrepancy between the two sets of figures can be resolved with reference to remarks made by students in the interviews (see Chapter 4). In spite of official policy pronouncements that the occupational program is as much concerned with the "comfort factor" and the acquisition of confidence in dealing with life after graduation, many of the students are vastly more concerned with adequate job training. They say that the job training was satisfactory "as far as it went," but it was not necessarily related to their first job since other factors (e.g., economic conditions) may have prevented their being employed in their area of shop training.

Ease of transition from school to work (or the lack of it) may be assessed, to some extent, in terms of the kinds and number of experiences respondents have had in the labour market while attending school before their first full-time job.

The majority (79.4%, N=1,987) had had some kind of job experience, varied in duration, while in school. Because the duration of a job generally determines the kind of experience acquired, we then proceeded to examine the various lengths of employment in different situations.

The majority of respondents (68.8%, N=1,577) had experienced one kind of employment (whether full-time summer, part-time summer, part-time winter, part-time year-round, full-time year-round, or winter work obtained through the school); therefore this single experience was most valuable in terms of exposure to the working world. Fewer respondents had had two job experiences (25.0%), while 5.9% had had three, and 0.3% four job experiences. Among the single experience respondents, winter work experience constituted the largest group with 40.2% (N=1,085) (this was also important in establishing contacts for future employment); year-round part-time and summer full-time were other frequently recorded categories (26.8% and 14.9% respectively); summer part-time jobs accounted for the single experience of 9.2% of the respondents, year-round full-time for 5.9%, and winter part-time for 2.9%.

Job Information

Information about the actual job situation of occupational graduates reveals that two-thirds (66.8%, N=2,009) are presently employed, a large percentage are attending school (12.8%), and the rest are unemployed (20.4%). It should be noted, however, that these categories are not exclusive - that is, some of those who have reported being employed may also be attending school part-time, or some of those who said that they were attending school may be doing so because they are unemployed.

More than one-quarter (28.3%) of those who reported unemployment have had more than one such experience; the rest (71.7%) have been unemployed only once, but of those, 12.5% are chronically unemployed. More than half (63.3%, N=851) were unemployed less than six months altogether, 31.7% for periods up to two years, while only 5.1% were over two years. As for the duration of the unemployment, it appears that this decreases with an increase in number of times unemployed - that is, the more often one is unemployed, the more likely that the period of unemployment will be shorter (Table 8).

Among those who reported that they were employed at one time or another, we examined the means by which respondents had obtained their first job. The single most frequently used means was to approach the potential employer on their own (38.6%, N=1,748); friends, Manpower offices, previous employers, and teachers were fairly equivalent resources (10.5%, 8.5%, 8.4%, and 7.2% respectively); a surprisingly small percentage (5.2%) had used guidance counsellors and even fewer, principals or vice-principals (4.4%). Parents or other relatives assisted in 11.8% of cases, and 5.5% noted other means. For the length of time taken by the respondents to obtain the first job after leaving school, it was discovered that over one-half (54.0%, N=1,596) already had a job before leaving; about one-quarter (24.6%) obtained their first jobs in less than a month; less than one-quarter (21.4%) had to look for longer periods, and more than two-thirds of these were placed within six months.

Steady-employment was available to fewer than half the respondents. Only 42.2% (N=1,777) had held one single job since leaving school; almost one-third (31.3%) had held two, and over one-quarter (26.5%) had held three or more jobs. It was not surprising, therefore, that for the large majority of respondents (84.8%, N=1,667), the first job was not under a union contract. Consequently, period of employment tended to decrease with an increase in number of jobs held: the more frequently one changed jobs, the more likely one was to hold the present one for a shorter period than the previous one.

In terms of actual jobs held by the respondents since leaving school, we examined the type of job (major groups in the I.L.O. classification) and assessed prestige rankings by using the Pineo-Porter scale (Appendix D). As might be expected, the highest percentage of jobs held by occupational graduates were of the production/labour type. This percentage increased as a function of job number: those holding their second or subsequent jobs were more likely to fall in this category than those in their first jobs (Table 9).

Table 8/ Percentage of Respondents Unemployed by Length of Time and Frequency of Unemployment*

Duration	First Unemployment (N=845)	Second Unemployment (N=241)	Third Unemployment (N=99)
Less than 1 month	12.0	16.6	32.3
1 to 6 months	60.6	68.9	58.6
7 to 24 months	23.7	14.1	9.1
Over 2 years	3.8	0.4	

*Includes those who have been unemployed only once or twice since leaving school.

Table 9/ Percentage of Respondents in First, Second, Third, and Fourth Jobs by Category

Job Category	First Job (N=1,777)	Second Job (N=1,034)	Third Job (N=483)	Fourth Job (N=206)
Professional/Technical	4.1	1.9	2.1	1.9
Managerial/Administrative	0.1	0.8	1.0	1.5
Clerical	19.5	15.2	11.6	10.2
Sales	5.8	5.2	6.2	4.9
Service	21.2	19.1	17.6	16.5
Agriculture	4.7	4.4	4.6	6.8
Production/Labour	44.0	52.7	55.5	56.8
Unclassifiable	0.5	0.6	1.2	1.0
Armed forces	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.5

Clerical and service occupations each yielded about one-fifth of the distribution (19.5% and 21.2% respectively) for first jobs held; but these percentages declined steadily as number of jobs increased. Professional/technical employment decreased from 4.1% as a first job to 1.9% at the fourth job level.

Table 10 presents the basic distribution of prestige rankings (Pineo-Porter scale) for the first four jobs held by the respondents. The majority were in the low-prestige category regardless of the number of jobs they had held; furthermore, fourth jobs tended to be slightly lower than the others. The number of respondents' jobs that fell in the high-prestige category was not significant (for a more detailed breakdown of prestige ranking see Table 11).

Degree of satisfaction did not vary significantly with number of jobs held (Table 12). The majority, in all instances, reported that they were at least somewhat satisfied.

Because more than half the respondents had held more than one job, we examined the reasons for changing jobs. The pattern of response indicates that the more a respondent changes jobs the less likely he/she is to leave the present one for a better job. Moreover, the reason for leaving is more likely to have been because he/she was laid off (Table 13). This may be one reason why a respondent leaving his/her fourth job is twice as likely to be doing so to take retraining as one who is leaving the first job (4.2% and 1.7% respectively). On the other hand, more than a quarter (27.8%) of the respondents stated that they had taken some kind of retraining or on-the-job training; of those, only 11.5% (N=445) had taken academic training and 2.7% had taken applied arts. Distributions for training in basic trades, mechanical/technical, business/commerical arts, and services were 23.8%, 23.1%, 21.1%, and 17.8% respectively. Reasons most frequently recorded for taking retraining or on-the-job training were: it led to a better job (27.5%), it was required by the employer (19.0%), and it was seen as a means of self-improvement (18.2%); other reasons included better pay (7.6%), and present training insufficient to obtain related work (9.3%); surprisingly, only 5.2% took retraining because they were unemployed (13.2% cited other reasons).

Table 10/ Percentage of Respondents in First, Second, Third, and Fourth Jobs According to Prestige Ranking

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	First Job (N=1,747)	Second Job (N=581)	Third Job (N=289)	Fourth Job (N=113)
Low (1 - 399)	84.9	81.4	84.8	88.5
Medium (400 - 699)	14.8	18.1	13.8	11.5
High (700 - 999)	0.2	0.5	1.4	

Table 11/ Percentage of Respondents in First, Second, Third, and Fourth Jobs According to Prestige Ranking

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	First Job (N=1,770)	Second Job (N=587)	Third Job (N=289)	Fourth Job (N=115)
1 - 199	8.0	7.8	8.2	10.5
200 - 299	38.6	40.4	39.8	43.5
300 - 399	38.3	33.4	36.7	34.8
400 - 499	11.5	14.3	11.4	7.0
500 - 599	2.9	3.6	2.4	2.6
600 - 699	0.3			1.8
700 - 799	0.2	0.3	0.3	
800 - 899	0.1	0.2		
900 - 999			1.0	

Table 12/ Percentage of Respondents Satisfied by Order of Jobs Held

Degree of Satisfaction	First Job (N=1,733)	Second Job (N=996)	Third Job (N=441)	Fourth Job (N=190)
Very satisfied	23.2	22.7	27.2	23.2
Quite satisfied	31.9	34.2	32.0	36.3
Somewhat satisfied	27.8	28.1	26.1	25.3
Not very satisfied	11.5	9.6	10.0	9.5
Not at all satisfied	5.6	5.3	4.8	5.8

Table 13/ Percentage of Respondents Leaving Job by Order of Job and Reason

Reason for Leaving Job	First Job (N=1,680)	Second Job (N=848)	Third Job (N=432)	Fourth Job (N=190)
Better Job	17.4	11.4	6.5	5.8
Laid Off	18.3	20.9	23.1	25.8
To Use Training	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.1
Moved	1.2	2.0	1.2	2.1
Promotion	0.2	0.5	0.7	0.5
Better Pay	7.6	6.1	6.0	6.3
Retraining	1.7	3.6	3.5	4.2
Other	22.3	17.9	16.9	17.9
Still in Job	30.5	36.6	41.0	36.3

Background Information

This section examines the basic demographic and socioeconomic variables - that is, distributions for age, sex, and ethnic background of respondents, and occupational and educational level of parents, siblings, and spouses.

The number of respondents was evenly distributed for each of the years under study (1968-72), and an attempt was made to achieve a response rate of 20.0% for each of the five years. This was attained for all years except 1972, which is slightly under-represented with 17.7% of the total response. Distributions by sex (54.6% male, 45.4% female, N=2,054) were very similar to the general secondary school population. The modal age group was 21 (22.2%, N=2,059); almost one-half the respondents were 20 years of age and under at the time of the survey and over one-quarter (29.5%) were 22 years of age or over; over one-half (58.0%) were between the ages of 19 and 21. Further elaboration of this distribution follows in the next chaper.

As an indication of family size, we recorded the number of siblings of the respondents: 45.6% belonged to families with one to three children, while 32.1% were members of families with four or five children; 22.3% belonged to large families with six or more children. Unfortunately, we have no figures for total family size (including parents of respondents) or the percentage of respondents who were members of one-parent families. The majority of respondents (77.8%) were single at the time of the survey; 22.1% reported being or having been married.

Although the sample was drawn in proportion to the total number of graduates within the study period for each region, regional characteristics seemed to have various effects on the kind and degree of responses elicited. (A detailed analysis of this will follow in further discussions.) The most highly represented region was West Central Ontario with 25.6% (N=2,101); Western, Midwestern, and East Central Ontario regions, and the Niagara region all had equal representation in our sample (average 11.3%); 9.7% of the respondents were from the Ottawa Valley, and 12.3% were from the Eastern regions - Northeastern (6.2%) and Eastern Ontario (6.1%); Northwestern and Midnorthern regions yielded the lowest distributions for the sample (2.9% and 4.7% respectively). In general, Western regions (Western, Midwestern, West Central) including the Niagara region were most highly represented (58.9%); Eastern Ontario regions were next (27.5%); approximately half as many (13.8%) were from the Northern regions.

We also measured the percentage distributions of size of municipality where the respondent resided at the time of the survey. This measure provides a rough indicator of the rural-urban continuum mentioned earlier. It is clear that the majority of our respondents were living in relatively urbanized areas; almost two-thirds (63.2%, N=2,013) were living in cities with a population of 50,000 and over and slightly more than one-third (36.8%) in towns and villages of under 50,000. Highly urbanized (over 250,000) and rural (10,000 and under) yielded almost similar scores (29.0% and 20.4% respectively).

The limits set by this study did not permit us to explore in depth the degree or rates of geographical mobility for the population under survey. However, it was found that almost one-half (48.7%) of the respondents were not living at their place of birth. Without a complex index it is difficult to assess the mobility of respondents; nevertheless, regional variations reported in Chapter 3 do provide some elaboration.

The majority (81.3%, N=2,101) of our respondents were Canadian-born (Table 14). Of the foreign-born, Italians constituted the largest ethnic group (8.5%). In view of the current research into the various kinds of learning difficulties which immigrant children frequently experience, particularly in relation to language problems and the critical periods for the development of language skills, age on arrival in Canada was recorded in detail (Table 15). Of the immigrant population in the sample almost half (43.3%, N=372) had arrived at the age of six years or younger; slightly over one-fifth (21.4%) had arrived between the ages of seven and ten; over one-third (35.3%) were between the ages of eleven and eighteen when they came to Canada.

Of the Canadian population, the large majority (94.3%) were native Ontarians; respondents born in the provinces east of Ontario constituted 4.3% of the responding sample, those from Western provinces represented only 1.4% of the total.

Our sample included a fair number (28%) of bilingual and multilingual people. Of those, English/Italian and English/French were the most frequently reported language combinations (9.8% and 5.9% respectively); a small percentage (2.4%) were multilingual, while 72.0% spoke only English. Similarly, English was reported to be the language spoken best by the large majority (92.2%) of the respondents, and again Italian scored highest (1.6%) among the rest (Table 16).

Table 14/ Percentage of Respondents According to Country of Birth

Country	N (Total N=2,101)	%
Canada	1,708	81.3
U.S.A.	6	0.3
Britain	35	1.7
France	4	0.2
Italy	179	8.5
Portugal	40	1.9
Greece	17	0.8
Germany	19	0.9
Poland	13	0.6
Jamaica	5	0.2
Yugoslavia	7	0.3
Guyana	1	
Hong Kong	2	0.1
Israel	1	
Spain	1	
Holland	18	0.9
Hungary	7	0.3
Russia	1	
Sweden	1	
Finland	2	0.1
Argentina	3	0.1
Malta	4	0.2
Belgium	4	0.2
Austria	4	0.2
Japan	2	0.1
Morocco	3	0.1
China	6	0.3
Paraguay	1	
Mexico	3	0.1
Brazil	1	
Denmark	1	
Australia	2	0.1

Table 15/ Percentage of Respondents by Years of Age on Arrival in Canada

Age	% (N=372)
1	9.7
2	8.7
3	6.5
4	3.8
5	6.5
6	8.1
7	3.5
8	4.0
9	5.6
10	8.3
11	9.7
12	8.3
13	6.5
14	5.1
15	3.5
16	1.6
17	0.3
18	0.3

Table 16/ Language Spoken Best by Percentage of Respondents (N=1,905)

Language	%
English	92.2
French	0.9
Italian	1.6
Portuguese	0.7
Greek	0.2
German	0.1
Polish	0.2
Ukrainian	0.1
Other	4.1

To assess the socioeconomic background of our respondents, we examined the employment status and occupational characteristics of the parents and spouses. Our findings show that 83.9% (N=1,857) of the fathers were employed full time at the time of the survey, while only 29.2% (N=1,896) of the mothers worked full time; obversely, more mothers held part-time jobs than fathers - 8.3% and 1.5% respectively. Thus the overall unemployment rate was substantially higher for mothers (62.5%) than for fathers (14.6%). Spouses were in the middle range with almost three-quarters (73.2%, N=433) holding full-time positions, 4.2% working part time, and 22.6% unemployed.

Table 17 illustrates parents' and spouses' occupational type (according to the I.L.O. classification discussed previously). Production/labour occupations yielded the highest score for fathers (63.6%, N=1,620), followed by service-type industries (12.8%). Mothers' occupations were more evenly distributed, with largest percentages falling into the more traditionally female-oriented occupations (service 26.8%, production/labour 26.2%, clerical 17.7%, sales 13.4%, N=776). However, mothers outnumbered fathers in the professional/technical category (9.0% compared to 3.6%). As for spouses' occupational type, the largest category (55.9%) was again production/labour (this may be a reflection of the fact that our sample consisted of more female married respondents than male), followed by clerical and professional/technical and managerial/administrative categories (13.3%, 8.4%, and 4.1% respectively). Educational level was highest for spouses (Table 18); 84.7% had had at least some high school, compared to 43.1% for fathers and 47.2% for mothers. Distributions for the latter two were very similar in all categories.

Job prestige, in general, was relatively low (Table 19a), as indicated by the median (measure of central tendency). Mothers scored lowest with a median of 282.6; fathers' and spouses' median rank was slightly higher and almost the same (349.6 and 350.2 respectively). Although this was the case, spouses recorded a significantly higher percentage than fathers for the high-prestige (700-999) category. Table 19b gives a more detailed breakdown of prestige scores.

Table 17/ Percentage of Respondents by Parents' and Spouse's Occupation Type

Occupation	Father (N=1,620)	Mother (N=776)	Spouse (N=345)
Professional/Technical	3.6	9.0	8.4
Administrative/Managerial	1.6	0.5	4.1
Clerical	4.0	17.7	13.3
Sales	7.7	13.4	5.5
Service	12.8	26.8	9.0
Agriculture	5.6	5.9	2.9
Production/Labour	63.6	26.2	55.9
Unclassifiable	0.9	0.5	0.9
Armed Forces	0.2		

Table 18/ Percentage of Respondents by Parents' and Spouse's Level of Education

Level of Education	Father (N=1,477)	Mother (N=1,500)	Spouse (N=410)
None	3.0	3.3	1.0
At least some elementary	53.9	49.5	14.2
Some high school	29.4	33.1	60.9
Finished high school or higher	13.7	14.1	23.8

Table 19a/ Percentage of Respondents by Prestige Ranking of Parents' and Spouse's Occupation

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	Father (N=1,602)	Mother (N=774)	Spouse (N=343)
Low (1. - 399)	68.5	81.0	70.8
Medium (400 - 699)	29.1	18.6	23.0
High (700 - 999)	2.4	0.4	6.1
Median	349.6	282.6	350.2
Mode	265.0	252.0	252.0

Table 19b. Percentage of Respondents by Parents' and Spouse's Occupation According to Prestige Ranking

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	Father (N=1,602)	Mother (N=774)	Spouse (N=343)
1 - 199	7.4	16.2	3.8
200 - 299	26.2	43.3	26.8
300 - 399	34.9	21.6	40.2
400 - 499	16.1	10.8	12.3
500 - 599	11.0	3.9	7.0
600 - 699	2.1	3.9	3.8
700 - 799	2.0	0.3	5.5
800 - 899	0.3	0.1	0.6
900 - 999	0.1		

Summary

This chapter concludes with a summary in point form of the major findings and observations based on the surveys of school, job, and background information.

School Information

- 57.0% of respondents attended composite schools, 23.4% attended occupational schools, and 19.6% attended vocational schools.
- About one-half (50.6%) took a specialty shop program, 41.8% took a general shop program, and 7.6% were enrolled in a course program.
- The greatest majority (35%) stated that they were in their program because it was "interesting"; another quarter (27.8%) stated that they had no choice about being in their program.
- About two-thirds (68.4%) of respondents had spent two years in their program and 17.4% had spent more than two years.
- A smaller percentage (58.5%) had spent two years in the school attended at the time of the study with 34.5% having spent three or more years in the school.

- Approximately the same percentage of respondents took business/commercial arts (26.0%), basic trades (23.5%), and mechanical/technical skills (23.1%) as their major subject. About the same number took minor subjects in these categories.
- By far the largest majority (85.2%) of our respondents had received a Certificate of Training, and 14.8% had received a Certificate of Standing. One respondent had received a Statement of Standing.
- About 22.8% of respondents reported that they had taken at least one year of special education, opportunity, or prevocational classes in elementary school, while 77.2% stated that they had never taken any such classes.
- Job training was reported as being the most important aspect of high school by 43.3% of the respondents. The largest percentage of respondents felt that making friends was either the second most important (26.1%) or the third most important (23.1%) aspect of high school. Good grades, having fun, and after school activities were the least important aspects.
- Over three-quarters (81.1%) of respondents were at least satisfied with the job training they had received while at school, and almost the same proportion (79.4%) were at least satisfied with the training they had received as preparation for life in general. Moreover 71.0% felt the school had prepared them at least somewhat for their first job.
- About one-fifth (20.6%) had never held any kind of employment while attending school; 40.4% had participated in the winter work experience program in their school.

Job Information

- Slightly over two-thirds (66.8%) reported being presently employed, while the rest were either attending school full time (12.8%) or were unemployed (20.4%).
- The greatest proportion of respondents obtained their first job by approaching their employer on their own, while about one-fifth obtained their first jobs through parents, relatives, or friends.

- Most of the graduates (54.0%) had obtained their first job before leaving school and about one-quarter had obtained their first job within one month of leaving school.
- Very few first jobs had been under union contract (15.2%), and 13.0% of first jobs were apprenticeships.
- 42.2% had held only one job, and the respondents showed a tendency to hold subsequent jobs for a shorter period of time than their first job.
- At least 44.0% of the respondents' first four jobs fell into the production/labour category, and this percentage increased with an increase in the number of jobs held.
- Overall, the majority of jobs held fell in low-prestige categories, fourth jobs ranking slightly lower than the rest.
- Respondents reported leaving the fourth job more often as a result of layoffs, and, to a lesser extent, to take some form of retraining. The reason for leaving the first job was more likely to be "to get a better job."
- About one-quarter (27.8%) reported taking some kind of retraining or on-the-job training since leaving school with similar distributions (about 68.0%) for taking basic trades, mechanical/technical, or business/commercial arts subjects. The remaining number took academic, applied arts, or training in service subjects. The largest majority took this training to obtain a "better job."

Background Information

- The response to the follow-up survey was evenly distributed by year of graduation. A 20.0% response rate was achieved for each year (1968-72).
- Male respondents were slightly over-represented and constituted 54.6% of the total distribution; females constituted 45.4% of the sample.
- The modal age for the respondents at the time of the survey was 21 years.

- Almost half the respondents (45.6%) belonged to small families (one to three siblings), while 54.3% belonged to families with five or more offspring (including the respondents).
- 22.1% of respondents were or had been married.
- Almost half the married respondents (46.7%) had children.
- The regions under study yielded a response proportionate to the density of their population. The largest response was from West Central Ontario (25.0%) and the smallest was from the Northwestern Ontario region (2.9%). Generally speaking, the Western and Mid-western Ontario regions (including the Niagara region) are most highly represented, and the Northern regions less highly represented.
- The great majority of respondents presently live in urbanized areas; almost two-thirds (63.2%) live in areas with over 50,000 inhabitants. Slightly less than one-half (48.7%) were not living in their birth-place at the time of the study.
- 94.3% of respondents were born in Ontario and 81.3% were born in Canada.
- Almost three-quarters (72.0%) of the respondents spoke only English and 92.2% reported that they spoke English best.
- Considerably more fathers (83.9%) were engaged in full-time employment than mothers (29.2%).
- The largest percentage of fathers' occupations were of the production/labour type (63.6%), while the majority of mothers were employed in production/labour (26.2%) and in service occupations (26.8%). There were more mothers than fathers in clerical, sales, professional/technical, and administrative/managerial positions. The highest percentage of respondents' spouses were employed in production/labour (55.9%) as well.
- Generally speaking, fathers had higher prestige jobs than mothers, but similar to that of spouses.
- Educational level was highest for spouses (84.7% had at least some high school) as compared with parents (average 45.2%).

3 Patterns of Variation

In this chapter we examine patterns of variation in the data concerning school and employment experiences of occupational graduates which relate to sections 2.3 and 2.4 of the original agreement:

> 2.3 The study of the overall effectiveness of the Occupational Program in preparing students for the labour force.
>
> 2.4 The study of sources of variation, such as job turnover, socio-economic background, further education or training, in the occupational experiences of students completing the Occupational Program.

The school, employment, and background experiences and attributes of the occupational graduates will be examined with reference to several specific variables. In the first section we look at various characteristics of the students' school experience that affect their later employment experiences. The type of school attended (composite, occupational, or vocational), the type of program taken (general shop, speciality shop, or course), the type of certificate obtained (Certificate of Training or Certificate of Standing), and attendance, if any, in special education classes were the four major variables to be considered.

Some terms need clarification for this section. The term "vocational" refers to schools which admit students at or after grade 6, while the term "occupational" in this specific sense refers to schools which admit students after grade 8 (although these schools may also contain some vocational students). We have used the term "composite" to refer to schools which offer the non-occupational program in conjunction with the occupational program, although this distinction has been less clear since H.S.1.

In the second section we examine patterns of variation in our data that arise from the composition of the sample, rather than from specific experiences of students. These characteristics are year of graduation (by sex), and geographical region of residence. It will be noted that socioeconomic status is not discussed although it was mentioned in the Scope of the Research. This is because it was found that the socio-economic status of the respondents was uniformly low (as measured by parents' education and occupational status), and would not have had a differential impact on the employment experiences of graduates. It is evident from the organization of this chapter that job turnover and further education or training are considered as dependent variables affected by the independent variables of school experience(s), year of graduation, sex, and region.

School Variables

In order to discuss the direct relationship between school and employment, we undertook a detailed analysis of school variables as they affect employment opportunities and determine the scope of future experiences.

It is evident from Chapter 2 that our respondents have had different experiences in seeking, finding, and maintaining employment. As they were all graduates of the occupational program, we assumed that different experiences within that program would have to account for the differences in employment patterns to some degree.

Table 20 shows that type of school attended had some role in determining employment situation. Students from composite schools had significantly better chances (52.1%) of being employed than students from occupational schools (42.7%). These, in turn, were slightly better off than vocational students (39.2%).

The type of program taken, on the other hand, bore a direct relationship to unemployment, but not employment (Table 21). Students who had taken courses programs, which prepared them mainly for clerical employment, were least (1.3%) likely to be chronically unemployed (since leaving school), followed by students from specialty shops who were slightly more likely (2.5%); students from general shop programs had the highest likelihood (4.6%) of being unemployed since leaving school. This relationship did not hold for those employed because significantly large numbers of our respondents had had more than one experience in employment

Table 20/ Percentage of Respondents in Employment Situations Since Leaving School by Type of School Attended

Situation	Composite (N=1,168)	Occupational (N=478)	Vocational (N=406)
Continually employed since leaving school	52.1	42.7	39.2
Continually unemployed since leaving school	4.1	1.0	3.4
Continually attending school	10.4	11.3	8.6
Combination of employment and unemployment	26.4	32.8	32.0
Variety of experiences of employment, unemployment, and further education	7.2	12.1	16.7

Table 21/ Percentage of Respondents in Employment Situations Since Leaving School by Type of Program Taken

Situation	General Shop (N=856)	Specialty Shop (N=1,035)	Course (N=157)
Continually employed since leaving school	55.7	40.1	47.8
Continually unemployed since leaving school	4.6	2.5	1.3
Continually attending school	8.6	11.3	12.1
Combination of employment and unemployment	23.0	33.6	31.8
Variety of experiences of employment, unemployment, and further education	8.2	12.5	6.9

which complicated the picture and somewhat blurred it. For instance, a relatively high percentage (33.6%) of respondents from specialty shop programs had experienced both employment and unemployment (not necessarily in that order) while a smaller number of general shop students (23.0%) had done so.

Type of certificate attained (Table 22) showed somewhat similar results to the last variable. Certificate of Standing students were less likely to be unemployed (1.0%) than Certificate of Training students

Table 22/ Percentage of Respondents in Employment Situations Since Leaving School by Type of Certificate Attained

Situation	Certificate of Training (N=1,718)	Certificate of Standing (N=302)
Continually employed since leaving school	48.5	39.1
Continually unemployed since leaving school	3.6	1.0
Continually attending school	8.8	19.2
Combination of employment and unemployment	28.7	31.5
Variety of experiences of employment, unemployment, and further education	10.4	9.3

(3.6%), yet they were also less likely to be employed (39.1% and 48.5% respectively) because they were twice as likely to be attending school (19.2% as opposed to 8.8%).

Time spent in special education classes (Table 23) in elementary school had clear effects on employment experiences. Those who had been in such classes were less likely to be employed (or other combinations including employment) and more likely to be unemployed or attending school (and their combinations).

Length of time taken to obtain first job (Table 24) varied directly with type of school. Students from composite schools were more likely to have secured employment (57.1%) upon leaving school than students from the occupational (52.5%) and vocational (47.0%) schools. Yet the latter two were more likely to do so within one month after graduation (28.6% and 28.5% respectively for occupational and vocational students as opposed to 21.5% for students from composite schools).

Students from course programs (Table 25) were more likely to have secured employment (62.1%) upon graduation than those from general (56.1%) and specialty (50.9%) shops. But specialty shop students were more likely to find employment within a month upon leaving school (27.4%) than were general shop (22.3%) and course students (18.1%).

Length of time taken to obtain first job did not vary significantly by type of certificate attained but clearly did so by time spent in special education classes (Table 26).

As for means of obtaining first job, students from composite schools seemed to be more self-assured in terms of approaching potential employers on their own and contacting previous employers (Table 27). Occupational school students, on the other hand, were much more likely to enlist their principal's and/or vice-principal's help in obtaining employment (11.2%) than students from the other two types of school (1.5% for composite and 4.8% for vocational).

Table 23/ Percentage of Respondents in Employment Situations Since Leaving School by Time Spent in Special Education Classes

Situation	Yes (N=445)	No (N=1,514)
Continually employed since leaving school	41.3	49.1
Continually unemployed since leaving school	4.7	3.0
Continually attending school	13.3	9.3
Combination of employment and unemployment	31.7	29.0
Variety of experiences of employment, unemployment, and further education	9.0	9.6

Table 24/ Percentage of Respondents by Length of Time Taken to Obtain First Job by Type of School Attended

Time	Composite (N=953)	Occupational (N=396)	Vocational (N=347)
Already had job	57.1	52.5	47.0
Less than 2 weeks	14.2	17.7	21.0
3 to 4 weeks	7.3	10.9	7.5
2 to 6 months	15.2	15.2	18.7
7 to 12 months	4.0	3.0	3.7
13 to 24 months	1.9	0.3	0.6
Over 2 years	0.3	0.5	1.4

Table 25/ Percentage of Respondents by Length of Time Taken to Obtain First Job and by Type of Program Taken

Time	General Shop (N=704)	Specialty Shop (N=856)	Course (N=132)
Already had job	56.1	50.9	62.1
Less than 2 weeks	14.9	18.5	9.8
3 to 4 weeks	7.4	8.9	8.3
2 to 6 months	14.8	17.3	13.6
7 to 12 months	4.8	3.0	5.3
13 to 24 months	2.1	0.6	0.8
Over 2 years	0.4	0.8	

Table 26/ Percentage of Respondents by Length of Time Taken to Obtain First Job and by Time Spent in Special Education Classes

Time to Obtain Job	Yes (N=354)	No (N=1,273)
Already had job	47.2	55.7
Less than 2 weeks	18.1	16.7
3 to 4 weeks	10.2	7.2
2 to 6 months	17.5	15.1
7 to 12 months	4.5	3.6
13 to 24 months	1.1	1.3
Over 2 years	1.4	0.4

Table 27/ Percentage of Respondents Using Various Means of Obtaining First Job by Type of School Attended

Means	Composite (N=991)	Occupational (N=401)	Vocational (N=356)
Manpower	8.0	8.7	9.8
Parents/Relatives	13.6	11.2	7.3
Principal/Vice-Principal	1.5	11.2	4.8
Counsellor	4.0	6.5	7.0
Teachers	7.0	6.2	8.7
Friends	10.5	10.5	10.7
Own Initiative	41.4	32.7	37.4
Previous Employer	9.4	6.5	7.6
Other	4.6	6.5	6.7

Means of obtaining first job vary significantly by type of program taken (Table 28). Over four times as many course students (21.6%) and over twice as many specialty shop students (9.4%) as general shop students (5.1%) had used the Manpower office. Also the guidance counsellor's help was enlisted in finding employment significantly more often by course students (18.7%) than either specialty shop students (5.9%) or general shop students (1.9%). Yet, general shop students and specialty shop students were much more likely to approach the potential employer on their own (44.0% and 35.5% respectively) and to contact previous employers (10.0% and 8.0% respectively) than course students (28.4% approached employers; 1.5% contacted previous employers). This pattern of help obtained from various agents and/or agencies (formal or informal) of employment was repeated when type of certificate attained was used as a control variable. Certificate of Standing students were much more likely to seek the assistance of Manpower officers and guidance counsellors in obtaining employment than Certificate of Training students who were more direct in their approach in seeking employment (Table 29).

Table 30a shows students' evaluation of education received in school in terms of its relevance to the work world. Significant variations existed by type of school, type of program, and, to some extent, type of certificate attained.

In terms of type of school attended, students from composite schools showed the highest degree of dissatisfaction (31.4%), although occupational school students also scored relatively high (28.6%) in this category. Vocational school respondents were the most satisfied with their formal preparation (77.1%).

Type of program taken scored the highest variation among its categories with general shop students twice as likely to report dissatisfaction (27.4%) as course students (13.6%), and almost 10.0% more than specialty shop students (25.9%). Thus, subjectively evaluated by the students themselves, general shop programs were the least adequate in preparing students for future employment. This finding was reiterated by graduates who were interviewed. Certificate of Training students were slightly more likely to be dissatisfied with their educational preparation (30.3%) than Certificate of Standing students (21.6%). Time spent in special education classes (in elementary school) did not make any difference.

Table 28/ Percentage of Respondents Using Various Means of Obtaining First Job by Type of Program Taken

Means	General Shop (N=739)	Specialty Shop (N=871)	Course (N=134)
Manpower	5.1	9.4	21.6
Parents/Relatives	14.5	10.3	6.7
Principal/Vice-Principal	0.3	7.5	7.5
Counsellor	1.9	5.9	18.7
Teachers	6.9	7.2	8.2
Friends	11.6	10.7	3.7
Own Initative	44.0	35.5	28.4
Previous Employer	10.0	8.0	1.5
Other	5.7	5.5	3.7

Table 29/ Percentage of Respondents Using Various Means of Obtaining First Job by Type of Certificate Attained

Means	Certificate of Training (N=1,482)	Certificate of Standing (N=238)
Manpower	7.2	16.0
Parents/Relatives	11.8	11.8
Principal/Vice-Principal	4.7	2.5
Counsellor	3.9	13.9
Teachers	7.2	6.3
Friends	11.1	7.6
Own Initiative	39.0	36.1
Previous Employer	9.1	3.8
Other	6.0	2.1

	Table 30a/ Percentage of Respondents Prepared for First Job				Table 30b/ Percentage of Respondents Holding First Job			Table 30c/ Percentage of Respondents Whose First Job an Apprenticeship		
	Very Well	Somewhat	Not at All	N	Yes	No	N	Yes	No	N
Type of School Attended										
Composite	32.2	36.4	31.4	981	13.2	86.8	968	10.9	89.1	983
Occupational	31.1	40.4	28.5	596	21.9	78.1	347	19.0	81.0	342
Vocational	39.4	37.7	22.8	355	14.2	85.8	1413	13.4	86.6	351
Type of Program Taken										
General Shop	30.7	33.9	35.4	732	13.7	86.3	725	10.7	89.3	737
Specialty Shop	34.8	39.2	25.9	864	17.6	82.4	811	16.4	83.6	806
Course	38.6	47.7	13.6	501	8.7	91.3	127	5.4	94.6	129
Type of Certificate Attained										
Certificate of Training	32.9	36.8	30.3	1468	15.2	84.8	1408	12.6	87.4	1417
Certificate of Standing	36.4	41.9	21.6	236	13.9	86.1	231	15.6	84.4	231
Time Spent in Special Education Classes										
Yes	33.1	37.5	29.4	357	15.3	84.7	353	11.8	88.2	356
No	34.2	37.6	28.2	1312	15.1	84.9	1295	13.5	86.5	1300

Type of school attended was the only significant variable in determining the attainment of employment under union contract (Table 30b). Occupational school students were more likely to do so (21.9%) than composite (13.2%) or vocational (14.2%) school graduates. Although the type of program taken produced some variance between course students and the others, this was mainly due to the type of employment that such students usually obtained (usually clerical) which is less likely to be governed by union contracts.

Apprenticeships were more prevalent among specialty shop students (Table 30c) because they were able to attain the desired standard for admission. Course students who are less interested in this area scored lowest on this variable, and composite schools scored lowest for type of school. This is because composite schools were more likely to offer course programs than occupational and vocational schools.

Objective criteria, such as types of job held, prestige ranking of such jobs, and length of time spent in each job, were examined closely in reference to school variables, in order to establish a more reliable measure of assessment than personal feelings of respondents. These latter, of course, were also given due consideration.

Tables 31, 32, and 33 present a statistical picture of the types of jobs held (first and last). It is evident from these tables that type of program and type of certificate attained are major influences in determining type of jobs held.

Respondents from course programs were over ten times as likely to hold clerical jobs (76.9%) as general shop students (7.2%), and more than three times as likely as specialty shop students (21.2%). Even higher probabilities existed for the course-work student to maintain that position over a period of time (compare figures for first and last jobs). Conversely, specialty shop students and general shop students were five to six times more likely (43.5% and 50.9% respectively) to hold positions in the production/labour sector as course-work students (8.2%). Employment in the service sector, also, was more frequent among general and specialty shop students (24.6% and 20.5% respectively) than among course students (6.7%); differences were somewhat less for the last job held.

Table 31/ Percentage of Respondents in Type of First and Last Job by Type of School Attended

Type of Job	First Job			Last Job		
	Composite (N=995)	Occupational (N=428)	Vocational (N=354)	Composite (N=580)	Occupational (N=229)	Vocational (N=225)
Professional/Technical	3.7	5.8	3.1	2.4	3.5	2.2
Administrative/Managerial	0.1	0.2		1.2	1.7	0.9
Clerical	16.5	24.1	22.3	11.9	16.2	23.1
Sales	4.8	6.5	7.6	4.1	7.0	4.9
Service	21.7	21.3	19.5	17.6	20.1	16.4
Agriculture	6.7	2.3	2.0	4.7	3.1	3.1
Production/Labour	46.0	38.3	45.2	57.6	46.3	49.3
Unclassifiable	0.2	1.4	0.3	0.5	2.2	
Armed Forces	0.2					

Table 32/ Percentage of Respondents in Type of First and Last Job by Type of Program Taken

Type of Job	First Job			Last Job		
	General Shop (N=741)	Specialty Shop (N=898)	Course (N=134)	General Shop (N=456)	Specialty Shop (N=517)	Course (N=58)
Professional/Technical	4.9	3.8	2.2	2.9	2.3	3.4
Administrative/Managerial	0.1	0.1		0.7	1.7	1.7
Clerical	7.2	21.2	76.9	4.6	18.0	75.9
Sales	3.9	7.3	6.0	3.5	6.4	3.4
Service	24.6	20.5	6.7	21.1	16.2	8.6
Agriculture	7.8	2.9		4.8	3.7	
Production/Labour	50.9	43.5	8.2	61.8	50.7	6.9
Unclassifiable	0.4	0.7		0.7	1.0	
Armed Forces	0.3					

Table 33/ Percentage of Respondents in Type of First and Last Job by Type of Certificate Attained

Type of Job	First Job			Last Job	
	Certificate of Training (N=1,509)	Certificate of Standing (N=240)	Statement of Standing* (N=1)	Certificate of Training (N=900)	Certificate of Standing (N=118)
Professional/Technical	4.2	3.8		2.6	3.4
Administrative/Managerial	0.1	0.4		1.2	1.7
Clerical	16.0	42.1	100.0	12.8	33.9
Sales	5.8	5.8		4.8	6.8
Service	22.0	16.3		18.8	12.7
Agriculture	4.9	3.3		4.0	3.4
Production/Labour	46.4	28.3		55.1	38.1
Unclassifiable	0.6			0.8	
Armed Forces	0.1				

*Since only one respondent received a Statement of Standing, this column has been ommitted from further tables and discussions in the text.

Type of certificate attained also had a major influence in determining type of jobs attainable for the graduate. Significantly more Certificate of Standing graduates held clerical positions in their first jobs and also in their last jobs (42.1% and 33.9% respectively) than Certificate of Training graduates (16.0% and 12.8% respectively). Production/labour and service sectors were highly favoured by those holding Certificates of Training as first and last jobs.

It is therefore correct to assume that employers rely heavily on objective measures of evaluation, such as program taken and type of certificate attained in their hiring and firing practices, rather than less pragmatic criteria, such as type of school and special education classes attended or individual differences among job applicants.

Tables 35, 36, and 37 present the prestige ranking of the jobs in Table 34. Although some variations in a prestige ranking existed by type of school (Table 35), variation by type of program and certificate were even more significant (Tables 36 and 37). Students from course programs were over five times (50.7%) as likely to be in medium-prestige positions (400-699) as those from general shop programs (9.7%), and over four times as likely as those from specialty shop programs (13.5%); similar probabilities existed for last job prestige rankings. Certificate of Standing students were more than twice as likely to hold medium-prestige jobs (28.8%) as Certificate of Training students (12.6%) in their first jobs; last jobs yielded similar results.

Comparisons between first and last jobs held were carried out in this section in order to determine if opportunities existed to improve one's own position in employment through individual merit and/or experience acquired, as the case may be. Similarities in the results indicate that such is not the case in general. Although improvements over time in prestige ranking exist, these are so small in number that they could only be applied to individual cases and not to the group as a whole.

Satisfaction with first and last job held varied somewhat by type of school attended (Table 38). The table shows that there was not much variance in degree of satisfaction, differences by type of school arising mainly in scores of dissatisfaction. Vocational school students were almost twice as likely (8.4%) to be completely dissatisfied with their first jobs as composite (4.5%) and occupational school (5.7%) students.

Table 34/ Number of Respondents in First Jobs by Certificate Attained and Program Taken

Job	Certificate		Program		
	Certificate of Training	Certificate of Standing	General Shop	Specialty Shop	Course
Architects/Engineers/Related Technicians	1			1	
Medical/Dental/Veterinary/Related	54	5	31	27	2
Accountants		1			1
Teachers	1		1		
Workers in Religion	1		1		
Creative Artists	4	2			
Performing Artists	1			1	
Athletes/Sportsmen/Related		1		1	
Professional/Technical/Related	1		1		
Managers		1		1	
Stenographers/Typists/Related	63	48	8	49	55
Bookkeepers/Cashiers/Related	38	6	10	28	7
Computing Machine Operators		3			3
Transport/Communications Supervisors	2		2		
Mail Distribution Clerks	3		1	2	
Telephone/Telegraph Operators	2	1		2	1
Clerical/Related	131	42	30	108	37
Managers (Wholesale and Retail)	3	2	1	4	
Working Proprietors (Wholesale and Retail)	1			1	
Sales Supervisors and Buyers	3		1	2	
Technical Salesmen/Related	5			5	
Salesmen/Shop Assistants/Related	75	12	27	54	8
Managers (Catering and Lodging Services)		1		1	
Working Proprietors (Catering and Lodging Services)	1			1	
Cooks/Waiters/Bartenders/Related	112	12	65	60	2
Maids/Related Housekeeping Service Workers	11	2	9	3	1
Building Caretakers/Cleaners/Related	32	1	21	13	
Launderers/Dry-Cleaners/Pressers	19	4	9	11	3
Hairdressers/Barbers/Beauticians/Related	68	11	24	52	3
Protective Service Workers	5		4	1	
Service Workers Unclassified	85	8	51	42	
Farm Managers and Supervisors	2	1	3		
Agricultural/Animal Husbandry Workers	66	7	51	24	
Forestry Workers	7		5	2	
Production Supervisors/General Foremen	5	4	2	3	
Miners/Quarrymen/Well-Drillers/Related	6		5	1	
Metal Processors	10	1	7	4	
Wood Preparation Workers/Paper Makers	11		7	4	
Chemical Processors/Related	1			1	
Spinners/Weavers/Knitters/Dyers/Related	2		2		
Food and Beverage Processors	32	3	18	17	
Tobacco Preparers/Tobacco Products Makers	2		2		
Tailors/Dressmakers/Sewers/Upholsterers/ Related	33	1	20	14	
Shoemakers and Leather Goods Makers	6		5	1	
Cabinetmakers/Related	8	1	5	4	
Stonecutters/Carvers	2	1	2	1	
Blacksmiths/Toolmakers/Machine-Tool Operators	68	5	31	42	
Machinery Fitters/Machine Assemblers/ Operators/Related	68	9	28	51	4
Electrical Fitters/Related	31		21	11	
Plumbers/Welders/Sheet Metal Workers	66	8	28	46	
Glass Formers/Potters/Related	3		3		
Rubber and Plastic Products Makers	3		1	2	
Paper and Paperboard Products Makers		1		1	
Printers/Related	9	6	2	10	3
Painters	18	1	7	12	
Production Workers/Related	25	2	15	11	1
Bricklayers/Carpenters/Other Construction Workers	108	7	75	43	
Stationary Engine/Related Equipment Operators	1		1		
Material Handling/Related Equipment Operators	5			5	
Transport Equipment Operators	39	10	25	25	1
Labourers/Unclassified	135	12	63	81	5
Occupations Unidentifiable or Inadequately Described	8	1	2	7	
Armed Forces	2		2		
Total	1,504	240	737	892	134

Table 35/ Percentage of Respondents in First and Last Jobs (Prestige Ranking) by Type of School Attended

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	First Job			Last Job		
	Composite (N=993)	Occupational (N=423)	Vocational (N=354)	Composite (N=565)	Occupational (N=219)	Vocational (N=222)
Low (1-399)	84.7	82.5	89.0	82.8	85.8	82.0
Medium (400-699)	15.0	17.3	11.0	16.1	13.2	17.1
High (700-999)	0.3	0.2		1.1	0.9	0.9

Table 36/ Percentage of Respondents in First and Last Jobs (Prestige Ranking) by Type of Program Taken

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	First Job			Last Job		
	General Shop (N=739)	Specialty Shop (N=893)	Course (N=134)	General Shop (N=445)	Specialty Shop (N=501)	Course (N=57)
Low (1-399)	89.7	86.5	49.3	86.7	84.4	45.6
Medium (400-699)	9.7	13.5	50.7	12.6	14.2	54.4
High (700-999)	0.5			0.7	1.4	

Table 37/ Percentage of Respondents in First and Last Jobs (Prestige Ranking) by Type of Certificate Attained

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	First Job		Last Job	
	Certificate of Training (N=1,502)	Certificate of Standing (N=240)	Certificate of Training (N=874)	Certificate of Standing (N=117)
Low (1-399)	87.2	71.3	85.4	68.4
Medium (400-699)	12.6	28.8	13.7	29.9
High (700-999)	0.3		0.9	1.7

Table 38/ Percentage of Respondents Satisfied with First and Last Jobs by Type of School Attended

Level of Satisfaction	First Job			Last Job		
	Composite (N=990)	Occupational (N=387)	Vocational (N=356)	Composite (N=534)	Occupational (N=199)	Vocational (N=218)
Very satisfied	23.4	23.0	22.8	32.4	30.2	33.5
Quite satisfied	31.9	32.8	30.6	37.8	40.2	29.8
Somewhat satisfied	29.2	25.6	26.4	22.8	20.1	28.9
Not very satisfied	10.9	12.9	11.8	5.1	9.0	3.7
Not at all satisfied	4.5	5.7	8.4	1.9	0.5	4.1

Table 39/ Percentage of Respondents Satisfied with First and Last Jobs by Type of Program Taken

Level of Satisfaction	First Job			Last Job		
	General Shop (N=736)	Specialty Shop (N=859)	Course (N=134)	General Shop (N=421)	Specialty Shop (N=473)	Course (N=54)
Very satisfied	22.8	23.1	26.1	33.0	30.0	44.4
Quite satisfied	30.4	33.1	31.3	35.2	37.4	38.9
Somewhat satisfied	31.4	25.8	21.6	23.8	25.2	9.3
Not very satisfied	10.5	12.1	14.2	5.9	6.3	5.6
Not at all satisfied	4.9	5.9	6.7	2.1	2.1	1.9

Table 40/ Percentage of Respondents Satisfied with First and Last Jobs by Type of Certificate Attained

Level of Satisfaction	First Job		Last Job	
	Certificate of Training (N=1,465)	Certificate of Standing (N=240)	Certificate of Training (N=822)	Certificate of Standing (N=115)
Very satisfied	22.7	26.7	31.0	36.5
Quite satisfied	31.9	31.7	36.5	40.0
Somewhat satisfied	28.9	21.3	24.7	16.5
Not very satisfied	11.2	14.2	5.4	7.0
Not at all satisfied	5.4	6.3	2.4	

Furthermore, this same pattern existed in the last job held. Also, for last job held almost twice as many occupational students reported not being very satisfied (9.0%) as composite (5.1%) and vocational students (3.7%), while scores for the same category in first job held were quite similar. Type of program taken did not bear any significant relationship to degree of satisfaction from first job (Table 39). It should be noted, however, that satisfaction with job held increased over time, last jobs scoring consistently higher than first jobs. This was true by both type of school attended and type of program. Although the latter variable did not vary significantly with degree of satisfaction with the first job, for the last job held, satisfaction scores had increased noticeably. The largest increase was recorded by course-work students, 44.4% in this category reported being very satisfied with their last jobs while the score for the same category in first job held was 26.1%. Also, students from course programs were much more likely to be very satisfied (44.4%) with their last jobs than specialty shop students (30.0%) or general shop students (33.0%).

Similarly, although students holding Certificates of Standing scored slightly higher in degree of dissatisfaction (20.5%) with their first jobs than students holding Certificates of Training (16.6%), their scores for this same category in the last job were lower and almost similar (7.0% and 7.8% respectively); moreover, degree of satisfaction in general had increased for both groups (Table 40).

Table 41 shows length of time spent in first and last jobs by type of school attended. In both instances, students from vocational schools reported having held jobs for shorter periods of time (one to six months) than students from composite or occupational schools. For first job held, 44.0% of vocational school students reported having stayed up to six months, while there were 36.2% of composite school students and 38.8% of occupational school students who stayed for the same period of time. The latter two tended to keep their jobs for longer periods (over seven months) somewhat more often (63.8% and 61.3% respectively) than the former (56.0%). While this was the case with first jobs, more respondents from all types of schools reported having stayed in their last jobs for shorter periods of time (compare percentages of first and last job).

Table 41/ Percentage of Respondents According to Length of Time in First and Last Jobs by Type of School Attended

Length of Time	First Job			Last Job		
	Composite (N=986)	Occupational (N=387)	Vocational (N=352)	Composite (N=550)	Occupational (N=202)	Vocational (N=218)
Less than 1 month	3.5	6.5	3.7	8.7	11.4	6.9
1 to 6 months	32.7	32.3	40.3	33.5	33.7	41.3
7 to 24 months	41.5	35.7	41.2	44.7	45.5	38.5
Over 2 years	22.3	25.6	14.8	13.1	9.4	13.3

Table 42/ Percentage of Respondents According to Length of Time in First and Last Jobs by Type of Program Taken

Length of Time	First Job			Last Job		
	General Shop (N=[illegible])	Specialty Shop (N=855)	Course (N=134)	General Shop (N=431)	Specialty Shop (N=481)	Course (N=55)
Less than 1 month	4.4	4.4	2.2	8.6	9.8	3.6
1 to 6 months	34.7	35.7	21.6	34.6	36.2	32.7
7 to 24 months	40.8	39.9	38.1	44.1	42.6	47.3
Over 2 years	20.1	20.0	38.1	12.8	11.4	16.4

Table 43/ Percentage of Respondents According to Length of Time in First and Last Jobs by Type of Certificate Attained

Length of Time	First Job		Last Job	
	Certificate of Training (N=1,459)	Certificate of Standing (N=239)	Certificate of Training (N=843)	Certificate of Standing (N=113)
Less than 1 month	4.6	2.1	8.7	10.6
1 to 6 months	35.0	29.7	35.6	33.6
7 to 24 months	40.2	39.3	43.3	43.4
Over 2 years	20.2	28.9	12.5	12.4

Variations in length of time in first job were more prominent by type of program taken (Table 42). Students from course programs were less likely to hold jobs for one to six months (21.6%) than general shop (34.7%) and specialty shop (35.7%) students; also, they were almost twice as likely to hold a first job for over two years (38.1%) as the rest (20.0%). Yet, with this variable also, the tendency to hold the last job for over two years was lower for all types of programs, although there was a slight increase in the number of students who had held their last jobs for from seven to twenty-four months. Variations by type of certificate attained (Table 43) showed clearly that Certificate of Standing students had definitely the upper hand in keeping their first jobs for over two years (28.9% and 20.2% respectively), yet holders of both kinds of certificates had equal chances of keeping their last jobs for any period of time. This latter finding is obviously due to the fact that more of the Certificate of Standing graduates are still holding their first jobs.

It was also discovered that students who had taken special education classes in elementary school were much less likely to hold their first jobs for over two years (16.4%) than those who had not (23.1%), although both had similar chances for short periods of time (up to six months). However, in their last jobs, special education students were less likely to stay longer than six months (46.0%) than the rest (58.2%).

Various reasons were given for leaving a job, and some variations were apparent from the results (Tables 44, 45, and 46). The most significant variations were produced by type of program taken (Table 44). General shop students were twice as likely (19.5%) as course students (10.4%) and slightly more likely than specialty shop students (16.8%) to leave their first jobs for a better one. Almost ten times as many general shop (20.2%) and specialty shop (19.3%) students as course students (2.2%) had left their first jobs because they were laid off. Conversely, course-work students were more likely (47.0%) to be still holding their first jobs than either general shop students (27.0%) or specialty shop students (30.9%). Variations in the last job held were less prominent, although the same pattern of response was held over from the first job. It is interesting to note the extremely small number of students from all programs who had left their last job for a better one. These figures agree, of course, with those of Table 39 (satisfaction with first and last job held by type of program taken), in which degree of satisfaction had

Table 44/. Percentage Proportion of Respondents' Reasons for Leaving First and Last Jobs by Type of School Attended

Reason	First Job			Last Job		
	Composite (N=954)	Occupational (N=379)	Vocational (N=347)	Composite (N=484)	Occupational (N=194)	Vocatio..l (N=203
Better job	16.8	15.8	21.0	0.6	2.6	1
Laid off	18.8	16.4	19.3	12.4	10.3	8.4
To use training	0.4	1.1	0.9			1.0
Moved	1.4	1.1	1.2		0.5	0.5
Promotion	0.2		0.3			0.5
Better pay	8.6	5.5	7.2	1.0	1.5	0.5
Retraining	0.9	4.5	0.6	1.4	6.7	1.0
Still in job	30.5	33.5	27.4	72.1	70.1	73.4
Other	22.4	22.2	22.2	12.4	8.2	13.3

Table 45/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents' Reasons for Leaving First and Last Jobs by Time Spent in Special Education Classes

Reason	First Job		Last Job	
	Yes (N=350)	No (N=1,281)	Yes (N=188)	No (N=679)
Better job	15.7	18.0	0.5	1.5
Laid off	20.6	17.7	13.3	10.5
To use training	0.3	0.8	0.5	1.1
Moved	0.9	1.4		0.3
Promotion		0.2		0.1
Better pay	7.7	7.7	1.1	1.0
Retraining	2.9	1.2	3.7	2.2
Still in job	31.1	30.1	70.7	72.3
Other	20.9	22.9	10.1	11.9

Table 46/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents' Reasons for Leaving First and Last Jobs by Type of Program Taken

Reason	First Job			Last Job		
	General Shop (N=708)	Specialty Shop (N=834)	Course (N=134)	General Shop (N=383)	Specialty Shop (N=443)	Course (N=52)
Better job	19.5	16.8	10.4	0.8	1.8	
Laid off	20.2	19.3	2.2	13.1	9.9	3.8
To use training	0.1	1.1	0.7		0.5	
Moved	1.7	0.7	2.2		0.5	
Promotion		0.1	1.5		0.2	
Better pay	8.3	7.1	6.7	0.8	1.1	1.9
Retraining	1.4	2.0	0.7	2.6	2.7	
Still in job	27.0	30.9	47.0	70.2	72.7	78.8
Other	21.8	21.9	28.4	12.5	10.6	15.3

increased significantly for the last job held, and especially so for the higher levels of satisfaction.

Table 47 shows that type of program taken is the only variable which bears some relationship to unemployment. Students from course programs were somewhat less likely (43.2%) to have been unemployed than general shop (50.4%) and specialty shop (50.9%) students. Other variations were not significant. As for length of time in first period of unemployment, Table 48 shows that some variation existed by type of school attended. Occupational school students were much more likely (67.9%) to have been unemployed for one to six months than vocational (62.4%) or composite (57.2%) school students. On the other hand, occupational school students were least likely (2.1%) to be among the chronically (over two years) unemployed, while composite and vocational school students scored slightly higher in this category: 4.3% and 4.7% respectively. Occupational school students were also less likely (20.5%) to have been unemployed for seven to twenty-four months than the rest (25.1% and 22.9% respectively).

We can also see from Table 48 that course-work students were less likely (48.2%) to have been unemployed for one to six months, but more likely to have been so for seven to twenty-four months (33.9%) than students from general shop programs (58.0% and 24.2% respectively), and students from specialty shop programs (64.5% and 21.8% respectively). Yet general shop respondents scored highest (5.5%) in chronic unemployment and were twice as likely as specialty shop respondents (2.6%) to fall into this category.

In summary, then, although students from course programs were least likely to have been unemployed, those who had been unemployed were more likely to have been so for relatively longer periods of time (though not chronically unemployed) than the others.

Differences between Certificate of Training and Certificate of Standing students were not very significant, although the latter were more likely to have been unemployed for shorter periods of time (up to six months). The only difference between students who had been in special education classes (in elementary school) and those who had not was that the former were more likely to have been unemployed for one to six months (63.9%) and less likely to have been so for less than one month (80.4%) than the latter (59.5% and 13.0% respectively). Differences between the two in longer periods of unemployment were not significant.

Table 47/ Percentage of Respondents Unemployed by School Attended, Program Taken, Certificate Attained, and Time Spent in Special Education Classes

Background	%	N
Type of School Attended		
Composite	49.8	1,026
Occupational	52.3	384
Vocational	48.1	368
Type of Program Taken		
General Shop	50.4	766
Specialty Shop	50.9	877
Course	43.2	132
Type of Certificate Attained		
Certificate of Training	50.1	1,512
Certificate of Standing	49.6	234
Time Spent in Special Education Classes		
Yes	52.6	382
No	49.3	1,348

Table 48/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents According to Length of Time in First Period of Unemployment by School Attended, Program Taken, Certificate Attained, and Time Spent in Special Education Classes

Background	Less than 1 month	1 to 6 months	7 to 24 months	Over 2 years	N
Type of School Attended					
Composite	13.4	57.2	25.1	4.3	491
Occupational	9.5	67.9	20.5	2.1	190
Vocational	10.0	62.4	22.9	4.7	170
Type of Program Taken					
General Shop	12.4	58.0	24.2	5.5	364
Specialty Shop	11.1	64.5	21.8	2.6	431
Course	14.3	48.2	33.9	3.6	56
Type of Certificate Attained					
Certificate of Training	11.9	60.3	23.6	4.2	721
Certificate of Standing	12.1	63.8	22.4	1.7	116
Time Spent in Special Education Classes					
Yes	8.4	63.9	24.6	3.1	191
No	13.0	59.5	23.4	4.1	640

Table 49 shows differences for retraining or on-the-job training patterns. Vocational school students were the most likely (33.7%) to have undergone retraining or on-the-job training while composite school students were the least likely (25.1%). However, it is interesting to note that, contrary to what was expected, specialty shop (32.0%) and course-work (27.6%) students were more likely to have undergone training than general shop students (23.1%). Also, Certificate of Standing students were slightly more likely (33.6%) to have taken on-the-job training than Certificate of Training students (26.9%). Of those who had taken retraining or on-the-job training (Table 50) respondents from composite schools were most likely to have done so in basic trades (29.8%); vocational school students were least likely (13.2%) to have taken retraining in this category. Yet they were much more likely to have taken retraining in academic fields (19.8%) than either composite (9.4%) or occupational (7.7%) school students. Business/commercial arts attracted similar proportions of students from the three types of schools, slightly favouring vocational students. Training in the services, also, did not show major variations by type of school. Mechanical and/or technical training was more likely to be taken by occupational students (27.9%) than either composite (21.3%) or vocational (22.6%) school students.

Table 49/ Percentage of Respondents Taking Retraining or On-the-Job Training by School Attended, Program Taken, Certificate Attained, and Time Spent in Special Education Classes

Background	%	N
Type of School Attended		
Composite	25.1	1,025
Occupational	29.5	400
Vocational	33.7	374
Type of Program Taken		
General Shop	23.1	758
Specialty Shop	32.0	908
Course	27.6	134
Type of Certificate Attained		
Certificate of Training	26.9	1,526
Certificate of Standing	33.6	244
Time Spent in Special Education Classes		
Yes	31.9	386
No	26.0	1,350

Variations in kind of retraining were more significant by type of program taken and certificate attained. General shop students were fifteen times more likely (33.3%) than course students (2.8%) and one and a half times more likely than specialty shop students (20.8%) to have taken retraining in basic trades (Table 51). On the other hand, students from course programs were nine times more likely (75.0%) than general shop students (8.2%), and over three and a half times more likely than specialty shop students (21.6%) to have undergone retraining in business and/or commercial arts. They were also least likely to have taken retraining in the mechanical/technical or service sectors.

Table 50/ Percentage of Respondents in Kinds of Retraining or On-the-Job Training by Type of School Attended

Training	Composite (N=235)	Occupational (N=104)	Vocational (N=106)
Academic	9.4	7.7	19.8
Applied Arts	1.7	4.8	2.8
Basic Trades	29.8	21.2	13.2
Business/Commercial Arts	19.6	22.1	23.6
Mechanical/Technical Services	21.3	27.9	22.6
Services	18.3	16.3	17.9

Table 51/ Percentage of Respondents in Kinds of Retraining or On-the-Job Training by Type of Program Taken

Training	General Shop (N=159)	Specialty Shop (N=250)	Course (N=36)
Academic	8.8	13.6	8.3
Applied Arts	1.3	4.0	
Basic Trades	33.3	20.8	2.8
Business/Commercial Arts	8.2	21.6	75.0
Mechanical/Technical Services	27.7	22.8	5.6
Services	20.8	17.2	8.3

The largest variance by type of certificate (Table 52) was reported in business and/or commercial arts. Students holding Certificates of Standing were two and a half times more likely (41.8%) than students with Certificates of Training (17.0%) to have taken retraining in this field. The latter were twice as likely (24.6%) as the former (12.7%) to have taken retraining or on-the-job training in mechanical/technical services.

Table 53 shows reasons for taking retraining by type of school attended. Occupational students (13.3%) were more likely to have taken it for better pay than composite (5.8%) or vocational (6.5%) students. The latter two were more likely to have taken retraining (19.9% and 20.3% respectively) because it was offered by the employer than the occupational students (15.3%). Yet, composite school students were nine times more likely (9.1%) than the rest (approximately 1.0%) to have done so because they were unemployed. Vocational (27.6%) and composite (29.9%) school students were slightly more likely than occupational students (21.4%) to have taken retraining to obtain better jobs. Occupational (22.4%) and vocational (22.8%) students were equally as likely, but slightly more likely than composite school students (14.1%), to have done so for self-improvement.

Differences in reasons for taking retraining or on-the-job training by type of program taken were also interesting to note (Table 54). General

Table 52/ Percentage of Respondents in Kinds of Retraining or On-the-Job Training by Type of Certificate Attained

Training	Certificate of Training (N=358)	Certificate of Standing (N=79)
Academic	12.0	8.9
Applied Arts	2.8	2.5
Basic Trades	24.9	20.3
Business/Commercial Arts	17.0	41.8
Mechanical/Technical Services	24.6	12.7
Services	18.7	13.9

shop (7.5%) and specialty shop (8.2%) students were about two and a half times more likely than course students (3.1%) to have taken it for better pay. Yet, the latter were more likely (37.5%) than the former two (28.0% and 26.0% respectively) to have done so for better jobs. Specialty shop students were more likely (21.6%) than general shop students (14.9%) and course students (6.3%) to have taken retraining or on-the-job training for self-improvement.

Tables 55 and 56 show reasons for retraining or on-the-job training by type of certificate attained and time spent in special education classes; some of the categories included in these variables have also

Table 53/ Percentage Proportion of Reasons for Taking Retraining or On-the-Job Training by Type of School Attended

Reason	Composite (N=241)	Occupational (N=98)	Vocational (N=123)
Better pay	5.8	13.3	6.5
To use training	10.4	9.2	7.3
Offered by employer	19.9	15.3	20.3
Unemployed	9.1	1.0	0.8
Better job	29.9	21.4	27.6
Self-improvement	14.1	22.4	22.8
Other	10.8	17.3	14.6

Table 54/ Percentage Proportion of Reasons for Taking Retraining or On-the-Job Training by Type of Program Taken

Reason	General Shop (N=161)	Specialty Shop (N=269)	Course (N=32)
Better pay	7.5	8.2	3.1
To use training	6.8	10.4	12.5
Offered by employer	22.4	16.7	21.9
Unemployed	9.9	2.2	6.3
Better job	28.0	26.0	37.5
Self-improvement	14.9	21.6	6.3
Other	10.6	14.9	12.5

yielded slight variations. Certificate of Training graduates were more likely to have taken retraining for better pay, for a better job, or for self-improvement, while Certificate of Standing graduates took it because they wanted to use their training or because it was offered to them by their employer. Those who had attended special education classes took it because it was offered by an employer or because they wanted a better job.

Table 55/ Percentage Proportion of Reasons for Taking Retraining or On-the-Job Training by Type of Certificate Attained

Reason	Certificate of Training (N=375)	Certificate of Standing (N=78)
Better pay	8.5	3.8
To use training	8.5	14.1
Offered by employer	18.4	23.1
Unemployed	5.3	5.1
Better job	26.9	25.6
Self-improvement	18.9	14.1
Other	13.3	14.1

Table 56/ Percentage Proportion of Reasons for Taking Retraining or On-the-Job Training by Time Spent in Special Education Classes

Reason	Yes (N=115)	No (N=338)
Better pay	2.6	9.5
To use training	8.7	9.5
Offered by employer	22.6	18.0
Unemployed	4.3	5.3
Better job	30.4	26.0
Self-improvement	14.8	19.2
Other	16.5	12.4

Patterns of Variation by Year of Graduation and Sex

The previous section of this chapter has given a detailed analysis of the pattern of variation by school variables in the data from the follow-up survey. However, the discussion of patterns of variation by year of graduation and sex will not be as detailed in any sense. The major trends and emphases in the data by year of graduation and sex are clear, and can be summarized fairly concisely. Readers are referred to the original report for the detailed breakdown of data.

There were no significant differences in attendance of special education classes by year of graduation among respondents, although more males than females in all years attended such classes. There was a trend for male and female students to stay at high school longer. The numbers attending for three years over the five-year period rose from 18.3% to 38.7% for males and from 15.7% to 30.6% for females. There was a drop in the percentage of students attending high school for only one year. The figures for two-year attendance remained constant in the 60.0% range.

As for type of program, males were predominant in the general and specialty shop programs, while females outnumbered them in course programs. When discussing their reasons for being in the program, males were far more insistent (up to 32%) than females (up to 5.5%) that they had had no choice when they were placed in the program. Males were also more likely to say that they went into the program because it was interesting. When considering the most important aspects of high school, males put slightly more emphasis on the importance of job training than did females, who were more likely to attach importance (although only slightly) to making friends and learning life skills.

When we examined graduates' satisfaction with job training at school, there was an increase in satisfaction and a decrease in dissatisfaction by year of graduation. For example, 1968 graduates reported dissatisfaction at 27.8% (males) and 23.4% (females), whereas 1972 graduates reported dissatisfaction at 19.0% (males) and 9.5% (females). There was a slight tendency for females to be less dissatisfied than males. With respect to satisfaction with school as a preparation for life, the trends by year of graduation and sex are similar.

The distribution of major and minor subjects taken by sex is shown in Table 57. It demonstrates the clear stereotyping of business/commercial arts and services as female subjects and basic trades and mechanical/technical skills as male subjects.

Table 57/ Percentage of Male and Female Respondents Taking Major and Minor Subjects

Subjects	Major		Minor	
	Male (N=803)	Female (N=712)	Male (N=494)	Female (N=383)
Academic	1.2	3.2	4.6	11.7
Applied Arts	9.4	1.3	9.7	1.6
Basic Trades	38.7	7.3	33.4	12.8
Business/ Commercial Arts	7.4	47.8	5.2	37.5
Mechanical/ Technical Skills	41.4	2.8	40.4	4.6
Services	4.8	37.1	6.2	31.9

Table 58/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents' Present Employment Situation by Year of Graduation and Sex

Year	Sex	Present Employment Situation			Total N
		Employed	Unemployed	Attending School	
1968	M	83.3	15.2	1.5	198
	F	64.0	32.0	4.1	197
1969	M	78.4	16.5	5.2	231
	F	67.9	28.3	3.7	187
1970	M	77.4	12.0	10.7	234
	F	67.9	24.8	7.3	234
1971	M	68.3	14.9	16.7	221
	F	63.1	25.1	11.7	197
1972	M	54.1	13.9	32.1	209
	F	46.3	24.8	28.9	149

In examining job information, we noted that males were far more likely than females to be presently employed; and that the employment situation for males and females declined over the five-year span (Table 58). A significantly higher percentage of females described themselves as "unemployed." For the 1968-1970 female graduates, this situation was partially alleviated by their attending school, but by 1971 and 1972 more males were attending school than females. The figures primarily indicate, however, a worsening employment situation for males and females.

Over 50% of all respondents found their first job before leaving school, and there were no major variations by sex and year of graduation. However, if they did not have a job before leaving school, female graduates appeared to have somewhat greater difficulty than males up to the six-month period. The figures for great difficulty in obtaining jobs appeared equal for males and females. The means of obtaining the first job varied somewhat by sex. Males put slightly more emphasis on their own initiative, parents, and friends than did females, who were more likely to have been helped by formal agents of assistance, such as teachers, guidance counsellors, and principals. When asked how well prepared they felt for their first job by their school experience, males were decidedly more negative than females, whose satisfaction, in fact, increased in the five-year span.

An examination of first job held reveals the stereotyped nature of occupations, with females predominating in the clerical, sales, and service sectors, and males in the production/labour sector (Table 59). The higher percentages of females in the professional/technical category result from the predominance of nurses. The increase of both males and females in the production/labour sector over the 1968-1972 span appears to reflect worsening economic conditions. The first job for males was more likely to be under union contract, with no significant shift over time. Males were also more likely to become apprentices, although female participation in this area reached parity with males by 1972.

When the prestige level of the first job was examined, male graduates from 1968 to 1971 were more likely to obtain low-prestige jobs than were females (Table 60), and were less likely to obtain medium-prestige jobs. However, the trend by year of graduation has been for the gap between males and females to narrow, with a consequent lowering in the number of medium-prestige jobs for females.

Table 59/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents in Types of First Job by Year of Graduation and Sex

Year	Sex	Professional/ Technical	Administrative/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Service	Agriculture	Production/ Labour	Unclassifiable	Armed Forces	Total N
1968	M	1.6		8.5	5.8	13.8	11.1	58.7	0.5		189
	F	9.2		39.7	25.4	25.5	1.1	18.5	0.5		184
1969	M	2.7	0.9	8.0	4.5	16.1	6.7	60.3	0.4	0.4	224
	F	6.2		32.0	10.1	30.9	0.6	19.7	0.6		178
1970	M	0.5		6.7	4.3	20.0	5.7	61.9	1.0		210
	F	3.0		34.7	9.0	28.1	4.8	20.4			167
1971	M	1.1		6.4	4.3	13.4	8.0	65.8	0.5	0.5	187
	F	8.8		34.6	5.7	27.0		23.9			159
1972	M	0.8		9.1	3.0	13.6	7.6	65.9			132
	F	9.2		24.5	7.1	29.6		29.6			98

Table 60/ Percentage Proportions of Respondents' First Jobs According to Prestige Ranking by Year of Graduation and Sex

Year	Sex	Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale: Low (1 - 399)	Medium (400 - 699)	High (700 - 999)	N
1968	M	86.2	13.8		188
	F	77.6	22.4		183
1969	M	89.7	10.3		223
	F	80.8	19.2		117
1970	M	[illegible]3	6.7	1.0	209
	F	[illegible]6	23.4		167
1971	M	90.4	8.6	1.1	187
	F	78.6	21.4		159
1972	M	88.6	11.4		132
	F	86.7	15.3		98

Table 61/ Percentage of Respondents by Year of Graduation and Sex According to Length of Time of First Period of Unemployment

Year	Sex	Less than 1 Month	1 to 6 Months	7 to 24 Months	Over 2 Years	N
1968	M	11.0	76.9	11.0	1.1	91
	F	9.1	42.0	39.8	9.1	88
1969	M	9.4	66.0	19.8	4.7	106
	F	10.7	44.0	32.0	13.3	75
1970	M	13.2	61.3	24.5	0.9	106
	F	4.8	53.6	34.5	7.1	84
1971	M	17.2	71.7	11.5		87
	F	8.8	70.0	20.0	1.3	80
1972	M	25.4	61.2	17.4		67
	F	10.0	58.7	30.4		46

The length of time spent in the first job showed few variations by sex, although there was a slight tendency in all graduating years for females to remain longer in their first jobs than males. In terms of job satisfaction, female respondents tended to be more satisfied with their first job than males in all years. At the time of the survey, 34% of female and 28% of male respondents were in their first job, and the most common reason cited for leaving was being laid off. Males were significantly more likely than females for all years of graduation to have been laid off, and this reason increased in importance over time. Conversely, males more often than females left their first job to get a better one or to get higher pay. The picture that emerges is of greater job mobility among males than females, because of both negative economic conditions and opening opportunities. The picture for females was somewhat more static, with their entering jobs that satisfy them and provide some measure of security for a few years at any rate.

The pattern continued for second and subsequent jobs. Males and females continued with stereotyped occupations in production/labour and clerical, sales, and service occupations. Worsening economic conditions led to a decline in the number of females in the clerical and sales fields, and a substantial increase in the production/labour category. There was a slight increase in the percentage of graduates in medium-prestige positions for second job, which then lapsed again for third and subsequent job, indicating a downward career trend for graduates with frequent job changes. There was also some indication of increasing job dissatisfaction with second and subsequent jobs, primarily among males. Again, reason for leaving was predominantly because of lay-offs, which increased among females over the five-year span (from 9.5% to 28.1% for females leaving a second job).

There is clearly a bimodal distribution of responses here, which is not necessarily split by sex. Some graduates entered good jobs and made one or two moves to a good position which satisfied them. Others entered poor jobs and suffered lay-offs, unemployment, and job instability.

We also noted that one-third of the respondents had been unemployed for varying periods of time (Table 61, p. 75). Short-term unemployment was clearly predominant among males, especially in the 3-6 month category. The figures for 7-24 months show the greater likelihood of long-term unemployment among females and its increase among males in recent years.

There were relatively few respondents who had taken retraining or on-the-job training (Table 62). Although more males than females had

Table 62/ Percentage of Respondents Who Had Taken Retraining or On-the-Job Training by Year of Graduation and Sex

1968		1969		1970		1971		1972	
M (N=191)	F (N=180)	M (N=223)	F (N=177)	M (N=216)	F (N=174)	M (N=189)	F (N=159)	M (N=147)	F (N=109)
44.0	25.6	32.3	30.5	30.6	24.1	23.8	20.8	18.4	20.2

Table 63/ Percentage of Respondents in Kinds of Retraining or On-the-Job Training by Year of Graduation and Sex

Year	Sex	Academic	Applied Arts	Basic Trades	Business/ Commercial Arts	Mechanical/ Technical	Services	Total N
1968	M	9.5	4.1	35.1	9.5	35.1	6.8	74
	F			13.3	48.9	8.9	26.7	45
1969	M	8.5	5.1	39.0	3.4	33.9	10.2	59
	F		16.0	4.0	36.0	6.0	38.0	50
1970	M	19.3	1.8	31.6	10.5	28.1	8.8	57
	F		18.9	2.7	43.2	5.4	29.7	37
1971	M	2.8	5.6	33.3	11.1	47.2		36
	F		6.7	13.3	43.3	6.7	30.0	30
1972	M	18.5	7.4	33.3	3.7	33.3	3.7	27
	F		20.0	10.0	20.0	10.0	40.0	20

taken retraining, from 1968 there was a steady decline in their numbers over time, and a steady rise in the number of females taking retraining. The type of retraining taken indicated a stereotyped division of females into services and business/commercial arts, and males into basic trades and mechanical/technical subjects (Table 63, p. 75). Only males took academic retraining. There were no discernible differences by sex in reasons for taking retraining, except for the large number of males who were taking it for "self-improvement."

In summary, the employment experiences of the graduates have been affected by changing economic conditions in the years since their graduation and by differential job opportunities and expectations for males and females.

Patterns of Variation by Administrative Region

In this section the major patterns of variation by administrative region will be examined briefly. In order to put the employment experiences of graduates in the appropriate context, the economic structure of the regions in which the schools are located is first discussed.

Characteristics of Areas under Study

This section deals with some of the characteristics of the areas under study; for example, regional differences in industrialization, economic opportunities, and so on. To overcome obstacles presented by different applications of the rural/urban continuum in social-scientific literature and to supplement criteria used in this study for that purpose, we further examined such concepts as the school's "catchment area" (Eggleston 1967), regional structure in terms of economy and availability of industries, manpower needs, etc.

A school's catchment area is that geographical location from which the student population is drawn. In the case of some of the schools included in this study, the catchment area might cover an area as great as 60 square miles. We can get only a limited idea of the spatial catchment area for each school from the period of time which it takes for students to get to school by various modes of transportation.

However, the spatial aspect of the school catchment area is neither the only aspect nor the most important one. The socioeconomic structure of the school's catchment area is important in terms of the nature of

employment in the area, including parents' occupations as well as the number and types of jobs available to occupational graduates. One might expect that the kinds of jobs available in its catchment area will have some influence on the types of courses offered by the school. In fact, this is not apparent in the case of the occupational program in different schools in Ontario. But we may find some correlation between jobs available in an area and the degree of specialization offered in an occupational program.

The task of assessing the economic structure of the catchment areas is very difficult because of the apparent lack of any detailed breakdown of the industrial/commercial structure in the different regions in Ontario. The problem is compounded by the difficulty of matching what information is available for the various regions with the administrative school regions. However, we will attempt to do so in the following section.

According to the Ontario Department of Economics and Development Survey (1967), the province may be divided into ten economic structural regions. Eastern Ontario, Lake Ontario, Central Ontario, Niagara, Lake Erie, Lake St. Clair, Midwestern Ontario, Northeastern Ontario, Northwestern Ontario, and Georgian Bay.

The economies of Northeastern and Northwestern Ontario are based primarily on natural resources, particularly minerals and wood, with very little agriculture. Largely because of the dispersion of mineral deposits, the population in Northeastern Ontario lives in towns and cities scattered over the region. Nevertheless, 71.0% or more of the population lives in urban centres (O.D.E.D. Survey 1966). The Northwestern area, including the Lakehead, also has important primary industries for the extraction of mineral resources. Both primary processing and secondary manufacturing are relatively limited in the Northwest compared with that in Ontario as a whole; however, the manufacturing industry has the highest percentage rate of employment in the area.

Central Ontario is the most populous and highly urbanized region in Ontario. As might be expected, there is considerable diversity int the economic structure. Primary, secondary, and tertiary industries are found there; agriculture and mining are important in primary production, though mining consists mainly of sand and gravel extraction for building purposes. There is a wide range of secondary manufacturing industries, helped by the proximity of large urban markets and a relatively sophisticated economic infrastructure. However, 59.0% of the labour

force in Central Ontario (O.D.E.D. Survey 1961) was employed in the service sector of tertiary industries, particularly in tourism and recreation.

Tertiary industry is also the largest sector in the employment structure of the Niagara region, although there are important concentrations of manufacturing activity in various cities, and specialized agriculture (fruit growing) is found throughout most of the region. Iron and steel is produced in Hamilton and metal products in Niagara-on-the-Lake. Chemical production also takes place here on a small scale, as does the production of a diversity of goods including paper, non-metallic minerals, electrical goods, and foods.

Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair regions in Southwestern Ontario have a diversity of heavy industry, producing automobiles, chemicals, petroleum, and rubber, specialized agriculture is also found there (dairy products and fruit in the Lake Erie region and vegetables in the Lake St. Clair region). London and Windsor are the respective dominant urban marketing centres.

The Georgian Bay area has some manufacturing of ploughs, feed, boats, and foods, although agriculture and tourism are relatively more important in this area; almost 50.0% of the population lives in urban centres (O.D.E.D. Survey 1967).

In Midwestern Ontario, where 73.0% of the population lives in urban centres, the manufacturing industry is of prime importance, with food and beverage production comprising over one-quarter of this activity. Another 40.0% of manufacturing is devoted to the production of electrical goods, metal fabrication, rubber, and textiles (O.D.E.D. Survey 1967). Most of this industry is concentrated around the Kitchener-Guelph area. The lower average industrial wages obtained in this region, compared with the provincial average, reflect the relatively unspecialized and labour-intensive nature of this type of industry.

The Lake Ontario region has a relatively underdeveloped agricultural sector and little manufacturing industry, both due in some degree to intensive forest coverage and the absence of urban centres to provide large markets. Some manufacturing, chiefly of electrical products, takes place around Trenton, Picton, Cobourg, and Port Hope; this seems to provide employment primarily for females on production lines. Because of the lack of large urban centres, there is no large-scale service industry in this area, although the tourism industry in the Haliburton Highlands is quite an important source of employment.

Eastern Ontario has three main geographical features. The western part of the Canadian Shield consists of lakes, soils, and forest. The eastern portion is essentially agricultural with a number of small towns. Ottawa, the capital and administrative centre of Canada, is the third feature of this region. Three-quarters of the population is English-speaking and one-quarter French-speaking. The majority live in Ottawa or the suburbs.

Manufacturing industry is quite important in the region as a whole, because of the relative proximity of the Montreal and Toronto markets and those in the Northeastern United States. There is a diversity of industries, the most important producing food and beverages, textiles, primary metals, paper, electrical products, and chemicals. Agriculture consists mainly of highly developed dairy farming or the raising of beef cattle.

Ottawa, of course, is singular for the bias of its occupational structure toward clerical and administrative occupations. But this is a bias which may not have any notable impact on the employment market for occupational graduates as a whole, although opportunities for female occupational graduates may, in theory, be extended.

Variations by Region

When the graduates' present employment situation is examined, it can be seen that unemployment rates varied considerably by region (Table 64).

Table 64/ Percentage of Respondents by Region in Present Employment Situations

Region	Employed	Unemployed	Attending School	N
Northwestern	63.0	31.5	5.6	54
Midnorthern	55.1	27.6	17.3	98
Northeastern	67.7	22.0	10.2	127
Western	71.7	17.3	11.1	226
Midwestern	70.5	22.3	7.1	224
Niagara	55.2	27.4	17.5	212
West Central	67.3	16.3	16.4	523
East Central	72.2	19.1	8.7	230
Eastern	56.9	29.3	13.8	123
Ottawa Valley	74.5	13.0	12.5	192
Average	66.8	20.4	12.8	2,009

The highest rates of unemployment were experienced by graduates who had attended school and were looking for work in the Northwestern and Eastern regions. Highest rates of employment occurred in the Ottawa Valley, East Central, and Western regions. The greatest proportion of graduates were attending school at the time of the survey in the Midnorthern, Niagara, and West Central regions. Further examination of this table reveals that in some regions high unemployment was not necessarily offset by graduates' returning to school (e.g., Northwestern).

A more detailed breakdown is given for male and female graduates' experiences since leaving school in Table 65. The percentage of those continually employed was higher for males in all regions except West Central, Eastern, and Ottawa Valley. Rates of chronic unemployment were highest, especially for females, in Northwestern, Midwestern, and Niagara regions. The highest rates of continuous employment since leaving school were for males and females in the Northeastern region.

The sector of first job held by graduates was clearly differentiated by region (Table 66), and demonstrates the different opportunity structures in the economic makeup of the regions. Clerical opportunities were clearly limited in areas with a concentration on primary industry (Northwestern, for example), and much more profuse in areas of heavy concentration of bureaucratic organizations (e.g., West Central and East Central). Similarly, agriculture offered opportunities in areas such as the Niagara, Western, and Eastern regions. Service occupations proliferated in tourist areas. Opportunities in production/labour occupations were relatively very high in all regions except the Ottawa Valley. In general, occupational graduates took their place in the low- and medium-prestige jobs offered in the economic context of their region, and were very under-represented in higher-prestige occupations, which are not so tied to the economic vicissitudes of regional economies.

The figures for length of time in first job varied considerably by region (Table 67), especially with regard to short-term employment. In regions such as Northwestern, Midnorthern, and Niagara, males tended to remain from 1-6 months in their first job at a rate far higher than in other regions. Likewise, short-term employment for females was especially high in the Western and Niagara regions. An examination of Table 68 shows layoffs as the primary reason for such short-term employment (e.g., in Western and Niagara regions). However, in some regions the high turnover was also related to expanding opportunities, as in the Northwestern region, where a high proportion of males and females moved to a better job.

Table 65/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents' Situations Since Leaving School by Region and Sex

Region	Sex	Continually employed since leaving school	Continually unemployed since leaving school	Presently attending school	Combination of employment and unemployment	Variety of employment, unemployment, and education	N
Northwestern	M	44.4			41.7	13.9	36
	F	42.1		15.8	36.8	5.3	19
Midnorthern	M	56.1	8.8	7.0	24.6	3.5	57
	F	48.8	4.9	22.0	17.1	7.3	41
Northeastern	M	59.2	1.3	11.8	18.4	9.2	76
	F	59.2	12.2	4.1	8.2	16.3	49
Western	M	57.2	4.1	6.2	15.9	16.6	145
	F	38.6	3.7	8.0	35.2	12.5	88
Midwestern	M	58.4	1.6	9.6	26.4	4.0	125
	F	57.7	11.5	4.8	24.0	1.9	104
Niagara	M	25.7	2.2	14.7	49.3	8.1	136
	F	20.7	9.8	12.0	50.0	7.6	92
West Central	M	33.5	1.5	22.8	26.7	15.6	206
	F	52.6	1.5	7.4	30.0	8.3	323
East Central	M	47.0	0.7	6.6	37.7	7.9	157
	F	37.9	4.6	10.3	36.8	10.3	87
Eastern	M	52.1	2.0	11.0	31.5	5.5	73
	F	54.0	6.0	12.0	14.0	14.0	50
Ottawa Valley	M	54.9		6.9	21.6	16.7	102
	F	57.8		10.9	18.8	12.5	64

Table 66/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents in First Job Types by Region and Sex

Region	Sex	Professional/ Technical	Administrative/ Managerial	Clerical	Sales	Service	Agriculture	Production/ Labour	Unclassifiable	Armed Forces	N
Northwestern	M			11.1		25.0	2.8	61.6			36
	F			16.7	22.2	55.6		5.6			18
Midnorthern	M			4.2	4.2	27.1	6.3	58.3			48
	F			21.2	6.1	63.6		9.1			33
Northeastern	M			4.6	3.1	15.4	7.7	66.2	1.5	1.5	65
	F	15.8		10.5	15.8	36.8		21.1			38
Western	M	3.1		3.8	4.6	17.7	10.0	59.2	0.8	0.8	130
	F	15.0		21.3	10.0	26.3	8.8	18.8			80
Midwestern	M			14.8	2.8	8.3	3.7	70.4			108
	F	5.7		9.1	9.1	23.9		57.3			88
Niagara	M			6.3	4.5	16.1	16.1	57.1			112
	F	8.2		12.3	9.6	56.2	2.7	11.0			73
West Central	M	2.0	0.7	12.4	5.9	10.5	4.6	63.4	0.7		153
	F	6.9		60.6	4.5	13.8	0.7	13.5			289
East Central	M	1.4	0.7	6.4	5.7	13.5	4.3	67.4	0.7		141
	F	1.4		37.0	8.2	23.3		30.1			73
Eastern	M	3.0		3.0	1.5	7.6	10.6	74.2			66
	F	2.6		12.8	7.7	51.3	2.0	25.6			39
Ottawa Valley	M	3.0		7.1	6.1	27.3	9.1	46.5	1.0		99
	F	7.9		20.6	3.2	27.0		38.1	3.2		63

Table 67/ Percentage of Respondents by Region and Sex According to Length of Time in First Job

Region	Sex	Less than 1 month	1-6 months	7-24 months	Over 2 years	N
Northwestern	M	5.6	50.0	33.3	11.1	36
	F	11.1	22.2	50.0	16.7	18
Midnorthern	M		55.3	23.4	21.3	47
	F	3.0	36.4	45.5	15.2	33
Northeastern	M	3.0	21.2	51.5	24.2	66
	F	2.7	37.8	37.8	21.6	37
Western	M	6.3	36.2	35.4	22.0	127
	F	7.5	52.5	28.8	11.3	80
Midwestern	M	1.8	32.1	46.8	19.3	109
	F	2.3	31.0	42.5	24.1	87
Niagara	M	2.7	50.0	25.0	22.3	112
	F	2.8	40.3	40.3	16.7	92
West Central	M	6.0	37.7	35.8	20.5	151
	F	1.4	24.3	41.3	33.0	288
East Central	M	5.8	29.0	47.1	18.1	138
	F	5.5	28.8	46.6	19.2	73
Eastern	M	3.1	28.1	50.0	18.8	64
	F	10.3	30.8	33.3	25.6	39
Ottawa Valley	M	8.6	28.4	43.2	19.8	81
	F	5.9	39.2	45.1	9.8	51

Table 68/ Percentage of Respondents by Region and Sex According to Reason for Leaving First Job

Region	Sex	Still in Job	Better Job	Laid Off	Moved	Promoted	Better Pay	Retraining	Other	N
Northwestern	M	5.6	19.4	30.6	5.6		8.3	2.8	25.0	36
	F	12.5	25.0	31.3			6.3	6.3	25.0	16
Midnorthern	M	23.4	17.0	21.3	2.1		12.8	14.3	19.1	47
	F	33.3	3.0	12.1	9.1		6.1	6.1	33.3	33
Northeastern	M	31.7	14.3	14.3			15.9	3.2	20.6	63
	F	44.4	11.1	8.3			5.6	5.6	27.8	36
Western	M	23.8	25.4	25.4	1.5	0.8	10.8		11.5	130
	F	23.5	9.9	25.9	1.2		3.7	3.7	29.6	81
Midwestern	M	34.0	35.0	17.5	2.9		4.9		5.8	103
	F	17.1	44.7	7.9			6.6	6.6	22.4	76
Niagara	M	25.0	6.5	32.4			7.4	3.7	23.1	108
	F	32.9	2.9	22.9			4.3	4.3	28.6	70
West Central	M	27.3	18.0	17.3	0.7	0.7	11.3	0.7	23.3	150
	F	44.4	12.6	8.0	0.7		5.9	5.9	24.5	286
East Central	M	35.1	21.6	14.9			9.7		17.9	134
	F	38.4	19.2	13.7			4.1	4.1	24.7	73
Eastern	M	34.8	21.2	25.8	1.5		6.1		10.6	66
	F	18.4	15.8	10.5			7.9	7.9	44.7	38
Ottawa Valley	M	22.7	10.7	33.3			8.0	1.3	24.0	79
	F	20.5	9.1	15.9			6.8	6.8	43.2	44

Overall rates of unemployment also varied by region. Graduates who attended school and who looked for employment in the Midwestern and West Central regions were the least likely ever to have experienced any period of unemployment (Table 69). Conversely, chances of being unemployed were highest in the Northwestern and Niagara regions. Moreover, the length of such employment varied by region (Table 70). A comparison of length of unemployment in Northwestern and Niagara regions revealed that graduates in the former region, who had a high chance of becoming unemployed, at least experienced predominantly short periods of unemployment (1-6 months). However, graduates in the Niagara region were more likely to experience unemployment of 7-24 months.

In summary, the employment opportunities of o[illegible]al graduates are intimately linked to the regional economy of the area in which they live and work, and their employment and unemployment histories reflect the small-scale shifts in the opportunity structures of regional economies in Ontario.

Table 69: Number and Percentage of Respondents by Region and Sex Ever Unemployed

Region	Sex	Ever Unemployed N	Ever Unemployed %
Northwestern	M	34	67.6
	F	18	55.6
Midnorthern	M	53	56.6
	F	35	57.1
Northeastern	M	67	52.2
	F	41	53.7
Western	M	135	50.4
	F	81	58.0
Midwestern	M	113	36.3
	F	98	41.8
Niagara	M	115	67.0
	F	80	71.3
West Central	M	160	46.9
	F	288	41.0
East Central	M	142	45.1
	F	75	53.3
Eastern	M	63	50.8
	F	41	56.1
Ottawa Valley	M	79	49.4
	F	49	42.9

Table 70/ Percentage of Respondents by Region and Sex According to Length of First Unemployment

Region	Sex	Less than 1 month	1-6 months	7-24 months	Over 2 years	N
Northwestern	M	8.7	87.0	4.3		23
	F	10.0	70.0	20.0		10
Midnorthern	M	12.9	83.9		3.2	31
	F	5.0	55.0	30.0	10.0	20
Northeastern	M	14.7	67.6	14.7	2.9	34
	F		60.0	20.0	20.0	20
Western	M	15.4	69.2	13.8	1.5	65
	F	15.9	54.5	29.5		44
Midwestern	M		63.2	34.2	2.6	38
	F	2.8	52.8	25.0	19.4	36
Niagara	M	23.3	53.4	21.9	1.4	73
	F	1.8	47.3	47.3	3.6	55
West Central	M	12.2	66.2	20.3	1.4	74
	F	7.8	50.9	35.3	6.0	116
East Central	M	12.7	76.2	9.5	1.6	63
	F	7.7	64.1	25.6	2.6	39
Eastern	M	12.5	65.6	21.9		32
	F	19.0	33.3	38.1	9.5	21
Ottawa Valley	M	28.1	53.1	8.8		32
	F	31.6	52.6	15.8		19

4 The Interviews: The World of the Occupational Student

This chapter will express many facets of the occupational student's world as these were revealed by the 216 students who were interviewed in the course of this survey. The interviews had to be structured to a certain extent, both to refer to specific topics and to aid the interviewees. However, it would have defeated the purpose of gaining an insight into the feelings and attitudes of occupational graduates to have structured the interviews too much. Therefore, we neither avoid the problems of a precoded questionnaire in which information is formed into descriptive and statistical frames (Cicourel 1964: Ch. IV), nor do we avoid the dangers of interviewer idiosyncrasies imposing an unintended structure upon open-ended questions (Runciman 1967: 231).

The interviews can be coded according to a certain coding frame and the coded data then punched, processed, and analysed in a more traditional, literal, sociological sense, showing the unique features of different occupational students' experiences. Both these approaches are made in the present chapter. All the interviews were coded, processed, and analysed according to categories summarized from the interviews themselves; however, after a close reading of all the interviews certain selections were made in order to conduct the rest of the analysis. The order of analysis will be the home and family background; the students' experience of school and other students; the students' experience of school in relation to their work and intended work and to their life; the students' work experience and their attitude toward work and other people; and, for the married students, their attitude toward their own family and their children's education.

The Home and the Family Background

A child's home and family background has considerable influence on his performance at school and later ability to adjust to work (Keil et al. 1966, Douglas 1964, Breton 1972). Morris found from his research in Britain in 1966 that, of secondary school children classified as "poor readers," those who improved at secondary school "had had a more satisfactory primary schooling (including remedial education) and came from more satisfactory homes. Those children who remained backward or worse had a greater number of personal handicaps, relatively unfavourable homes and the most unsatisfactory primary schooling" (Wall 1968: 114).

One factor of importance in a child's home background is the size of the family to which he belongs. Douglas (1964) found that among the secondary school children who were surveyed, "those who had many brothers and sisters made, on the average, lower test scores than those who had few." The lower test scores were true even of children with many brothers and sisters in relatively prosperous families. Similarly in England, secondary school age children from large families do consistently less well at the General Certificate of Education examination than children from small families (Douglas, Ross, and Simpson 1968: 127). Objectively measured, then, the size of the family to which he belongs does have an effect on the child's measured intelligence; belonging to a large family has generally an adverse effect.

The effect of family size also varies according to social class. Douglas, Ross, and Simpson (1968: 221) show that aggregate test scores in both the verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests they administered are lower for children from working class families than for children from middle class families. In families of four or more children, the test scores for working class children are on average 8.0% lower than those for middle class children. Measured test scores for middle class children at ages 8, 11, and 15 years were 52.5, 53.2, and 52.4. For working class children at ages 8, 11, and 15 the measured test scores were 45.6, 45.7, and 46.2.

But from the child's point of view, belonging to a large family may have compensating features. Thus, although a few respondents from families of more than four siblings commented that they felt overcrowded at home with so many brothers and sisters, other respondents took a different view. Some respondents felt that being a member of a large family gave one a greater sense of confidence and the ability to cooperate

with others, even through personal conflicts. As one male interviewee put it, "the larger the family, the better the kids get along" (the boy's father is, however, a medical doctor).

The effect upon the respondent of having many brothers and sisters will, of course, be influenced by the fact of whether one or both parents are living with the family, and the parents' attitude toward their family. One girl, for example, mentioned the shock she had experienced when her father, upon whom she had looked as a "semi-hero," had left home in 1962. Her mother was left with five children at home to care for. Another girl spoke of her father's death from cancer when she was nine years old; he left four sons and three daughters.

One male respondent said that he had come to his present home when he was seven years old. His foster parents had adopted four other boys and two girls. This student felt his foster parents had been "very good" and "lovable" toward all their adopted children. He was thankful for his schooling which "opened him up," and felt fairly confident about his future.

The various effects of family size may, then, be compounded by the absence of one parent, the attitude of the parents, and even by the birth order of siblings (Douglas and Blomfield 1958: 34; Breton 1972). One point that is noticeable in this survey is the close birth order of children in many families. Take, for example, the ages of one male student's eleven siblings (the student was 23 years old): 27, 26, 25, 24, 23, 22, 21, 19, 17, 16; or the ages of the siblings of a girl 21 years of age who reported a feeling of overcrowding: 23, 22, 20, 19, 14. A rather wider spacing occurred in the family of a girl of 23, whose siblings were aged 30, 29, 27, 24, 21, and 14 years. Douglas, Ross, and Simpson (1968: 131-3) report in their study that medium-spaced-birth children (2-4 years between births) achieved a better performance in verbal and non-verbal tests and better General Certificate examination results. They also stayed at school longer than either short-spaced-birth (two years or less between births) or long-spaced-birth children (more than four years between births).

The proportion of two-children families with medium birth spacing in Douglas, Ross, and Simpson's study is 45.0% middle class and 30.0% manual working class (idem: 133).

The effects of belonging to a large and short-spaced-birth family are also likely to mitigate to some degree the advantages of being the eldest born in the family, as some of our interviewees were. Both Breton

in Canada (1972: Ch. III) and Douglas in England (1968: 130-3) emphasize the comparatively superior educational and occupational attainments of the eldest-born boys over those of their younger siblings. Certainly in Breton's view his data suggest "that to some extent, at least, eldest sons in large families experience similar conditions as do those in small families; they aspire to high status occupations more frequently than do their brothers. . . . At the same time, family size continues to have a discouraging effect on aspirations even among the eldest, as well as those of the youngest sons" (Breton 1972: 243). No clear patterns emerged for the comparative aspirations of daughters in Douglas's study; Breton's study did not include girls.

But even if too close a birth order of siblings increases the adverse effects of belonging to a large family, it is undoubtedly true that many of our respondents from large families felt that they were better off as a result of the companionship and comparative fullness of life that a large number of brothers and sisters offered them.

This is not to deny that some respondents felt that having a large family was an economic burden on their parents and was the cause of personal deprivations to them. One female respondent said that her parents had not enough money to enable her to stay at school to obtain higher grades and even if they had, her home situation, with four siblings and one cousin, was too noisy and overcrowded for her to continue study. In addition, her parents had taken in two boarders to help with the finances. Another girl from a large family said she had been embarrassed at school because "she did not have any money or very nice clothes." She had not taken the sewing class at school because she did not have enough money to buy material and "would have been embarrassed if I had told the teacher this in front of the class."

A number of the interviewed respondents told the interviewer that they had had better relationships with their mother than with their father or vice versa; there does not seem to be any consistent pattern of responses according to the sex of the respondent. One male respondent thought it was hard that he got on better with his mother but had lived with his father since his parents separated when he was younger. A female respondent whose parents had both died told of her adoption into a family of eight children when she was seven years old. She had found it hard to adjust at first and had fought with her adopted mother. All the girls, she said, except her, were sent to a private Catholic girls school and had finished grade 12.

She did not feel they were any better off now, however, even though she had had to leave her job as a dietician in a nursing home because she had become pregnant.

Several respondents stated that they had fathers or step-fathers who were either alcoholics or at least drank heavily. One male respondent related that his alcoholic step-father had nevertheless pushed him to stay and finish school. (In the respondent's opinion his step-father had pushed him too hard!) A few respondents spoke of broken homes and separation as a result of their fathers' drinking. For one girl it seemed that home was "O.K." after her alcoholic and belligerent father had left when she was in grade 5.

Relationships between the interviewees and their parents were on the whole reported as "good," "average," or "normal." Of 216 interviewees, 105 reported that relations with their parents were "satisfactory"; 29 respondents described them as "very good"; 28 said "difficult"; while 12 respondents said relations were "poor." Forty of the 216 interviewees did not comment on their relations with their parents. Only one girl said that she had had close discussions with her parents as to what course to specialize in at school, although several respondents quoted their parents' disapproval of their occupational program in such words as "my father said the occupational program was for the birds." A male respondent recalled that there were not many words used in his home, but that "personal communication was very good." This was unlike the girl who said her family always sat at the table and discussed matters affecting any member of the family. Communication between mother and child was not good in the eyes of one female respondent who said that she could never ask her mother for advice as her mother just gave a silly response. Another girl said she had had to learn the hard way; that is, "when I asked my mother about the birth of a baby she refused to say anything and I went elsewhere for information."

Some of the respondents were expected by their parents to take on relatively heavy responsibility. As in the case of the girl who was the eldest in a fairly large family of six children (ages 21, 18, 16, 15, 13, 12), whose father told her she should set an example for the others: "I met my husband when I was 16 and still had to be in at 10:30 p.m." The same girl, however, said that when she was younger she "hadn't gotten on too well with either parent," though "better with my father." When she started work and began paying board, relationships with her parents improved, partly because she showed more responsibility.

Several male and female respondents stated that their fathers were not interested in their education but that their mothers wanted them to get a good education. This attitude toward education on the part of working class fathers is relatively well known (Douglas 1964; Jackson and Marsden 1962). Douglas (1964) has observed that working class mothers in Britain do often take a keen interest in their son's education, possibly in the hope that the family life chances will improve if their son is educated. One of the important points made by J. W. B. Douglas in *The Home and the School* (1964) is that given equal levels of measured ability, those children in the manual working class whose parents show interest in their child's performance and aspirations are likely to be more successful at school than would be expected from their measured ability. Similarly, children of parents who showed little or no interest in their child's education were on the whole less successful at school than would be expected from their measured ability. Morris discovered that a suitable home background, including parental interest, is one of the most important factors behind the improvement in performance at school of children classified as poor readers.

The point is made by Douglas with regard to primary school children, that the children from well-kept homes who are clean, well-clothed, and fed "stand a greater chance of being put in the upper streams of primary school than their measured ability would seem to justify" (1964: 6-7). One recalls the observation of some occupational teachers and principals that "these people (occupational students) just live in shacks." Certainly may of the homes visited were little else than a shelter. We cannot say whether home and appearance had any influence on the selection of potential "occupational students" at the public school stage of their education.

There is very little evidence, apart from those occupational graduates whose fathers owned their own business in which the occupational graduates may have worked for a period of time, that there was much conversation between the occupational graduates interviewed and their parents about job aspirations or specific jobs. Carter (1966) found in his Sheffield study that not only was there a higher rate of job changing among boys and girls in the lower streams of academic ability, but that more frequent job changes were likely if there was indifference by parents and children to the kind of work undertaken or by employers to the use made of young labour. Douglas, Ross, and Simpson remark that "job horizons

are limited by lack of knowledge and job choices are frequently made within a frame of reference that is only wide enough to include those types of employment pursued by members of their families, relatives or friends" (1968: 99). But what if even these horizons are limited by lack of discussion in the home?

Language, or rather the disjunctions between the language used at school (English) and the language used at home, may sometimes provide a definite barrier to the discussion of occupational choice between parents and their offspring. One girl thinks her "childhood was a bit mixed up" by the necessity of adjustments when she immigrated from Germany to Canada at the age of six and a half years. It took her one and a half years to become "fluent" in English; now, she says, she speaks English best. Another boy remarked that as his Greek step-father, who ran a painting business, did not speak English, he had to help his step-father as painter and translator.

A French-Canadian girl who moved to the Toronto area from Montreal at the age of nine remembered she had difficulty with all her subjects at school because of language difficulties. She was sent to a vocational school, but she says she would have preferred to go to an average high school.

Thus, language difficulties may hinder parents in discussing occupations with or giving advice to their offspring. Discussion about occupational aspirations may also be hindered when parents are unable to understand the learning and personal difficulties experienced by the child, perhaps the only one out of a family of several children who is in an occupational program. A case in point is the Latvian girl who came to Canada from England when she was two years old, who felt she had learnt neither English nor Latvian properly, although Latvian was spoken at home. Her emotional problems were to her of tremendous importance and something that her parents could not understand and had "given up" on. Nevertheless this student entered a four-year program in high school where she failed grade 9 twice, because of, she thinks, her language and personal problems. She was seeing a psychiatrist at the time. Eventually the student left her high school to go to a vocational school where, she felt, the teachers proved to be more understanding, and the smaller classes helped her. On the advice of some teachers she left the vocational school to go to a community college where she majored in social sciences. The girl entered an Ontario university in 1973 to begin studies for a four-year B.A. in

in psychology. One girl, then, with the help of understanding teachers, but according to her, without the understanding of her parents, managed to overcome the immediate impact of her personal problems relatively successfully. It might have been less hard if her parents had been able to help.

Parents' interest can, however, show itself in a form which is only harmful to the occupational graduate. A student of Finnish origin and near completion of his fourth year in the school was interviewed at one school. He looked bewildered and unsure of himself in the interview. He was, he said, "in food technology, because there is a lot more jobs in that area. I saw a lot of folders and went in on my own." He said he did not know what area of the food business he wanted to enter as his marks were poor. The vice-principal of the school told the interviewer that the student was not capable of achieving higher marks, but his mother kept sending him back to school against the school's advice. He had been in the school for four years and was still in grade 10.

Of course, it is hardly an original event for eager but misunderstanding parents to make demands on their children that are beyond their child's capabilities. But when such demands are made by parents they can frustrate what limited successes the school can achieve in helping the student with learning difficulties.

It may be seen from our discussion of the home and family background of respondents who were interviewed that this background is by no means a homogeneous one in terms of family circumstances. This may not be a surprising comment, but certain characteristics of the home and family backgrounds of occupational students can appear homogeneous according to the occupational student's own account of his circumstances. Thus, being a member of a large family - whatever the objective consequences - may be looked at as a good thing by one student, a bad thing by another.

Even the apparent lack of interest shown by many parents in their offspring's education or job opportunities can have different effects upon the occupational students themselves, according to their own efforts or the efforts of the school against these influences. Some of the people we interviewed have clearly been able to break the bonds of a restrictive home and personal background; others now feel that they could have made different headway had they had the appropriate help.

One point that was noticeable in most of the interviews was the lack of any reference by the interviewees to a network of close friendships or peer groups to which they belonged. Even when prompted, by one interviewer

at least, the people to whom he was speaking seemed reluctant or unable to discuss their friends or their peer groups. However, one girl did refer in her interview to the existence of motorcycle gangs at her school, something she disliked. The influence of the child's peer groups outside school upon their attitude toward school is important as Mays indicates in his book *Education and the Urban Child* (1962: 94). "Boys also are usually to be seen in clumps and clusters. Some of the youngsters so dislike the idea of leaving their pals that they have no desire to change schools at eleven plus and have no wish to do well in the examinations." It is difficult to understand how the occupational students surveyed in this study belonged to no peer groups; but, if many do not belong to or associate with definite peer groups then this itself is significant in terms of their ability to adapt to school and work. To quote Mays again, "It is important to remember that the school is only one of three main sources of influence brought to bear upon the growing child. The other two, the home and the peer group, operate for longer periods and have a more continuous effect" (1967: 2).

A respondent's siblings do not, of course, constitute a peer group. Siblings may, however, like the peer group provide standards of reference for the respondents. Thus if the several siblings of a respondent have all been educated in an academic high school program, the respondent may consciously or unconsciously use their achievements as a standard by which he measures or directs his own performance (see Runciman 1967, on comparative and normative reference groups). If this were to happen, one might expect feelings of relative deprivation (the difference between one's own achievements and those of the person or group one takes as a standard of comparison) to be quite high when confronted with "academically educated" siblings. Of course, there are families in this study where all the children enter an occupational program. The measured effects of this on any one child could be interesting.

In a number of cases, feelings of relative deprivation in the above sense are indeed experienced by a number of interviewees. But such feelings are by no means general and it seems more common for the opposite to happen; that is, one is struck by the fairly frequent occurrence of the belief that, although brothers and/or sisters may have had an academic high school education to grade 12 or 13, "they have not had a better education than I have." This kind of outlook may, on the other hand, reflect a more subtle form of relative deprivation veiled by a sense of personal dignity. A choice of other "reasons" to rationalize

the differences between the respondent's and his/her siblings' education may take place. "I think my brother got a better education than I since he finished five years of high school and two years of college. Since my brother has to go out to work and eventually support a family it is probably right that he has a better education than I have" is the "reason" given by one girl.

The School

Even though Carter believes that the interlude at school is too short to counteract values and prejudices from a "disadvantaged" family life, he does believe that school can have a mitigating influence on such values and prejudices (1966: 58 ff.). The school is more than a stepping stone between home and work; it is part of the process of the transition of youth to the "world of work" (Keil 1966). The school and other students at the school can have an important influence on the formation of attitudes toward and expectations from work and other people, something that is perhaps even more important for the students considered in this study. How then do the interviewed respondents view their school?

Many occupational teachers and principals at the schools studied emphasized the high cost involved in keeping occupational classes small in size, although at least one occupational teacher complained that there were as many as thirty students in the class. Generally, however, it was expected that classes would be no larger than twelve students and often about seven or eight. One girl, in fact, complained that the classes were overcrowded and students required more individual attention. Many of the interviewees of both sexes remarked how important being in a small class had been to them. As one graduate put it, "they weren't so much a class, but more like a group." The girl who is going to university to study psychology thought that the small classes in the occupational program she took after transfer from another high school were very beneficial to her. One thing that does seem clear is that the small classes eased the transition into the small work-group environment that the majority of these students entered when they took jobs. Compare this to the problems faced by a school-leaver who leaves the relatively intimate small group of his class (however big) for the impersonal relationships existing in a large industrial company or clerical bureaucracy. Girls, more often than boys, mention that they made a lot of friends at school, and such friends were mainly in the occupational program. We

find from the interviews that occupational students (mainly those who attended composite schools) often did not mix well with students in other parts of the school.

We were interested to know whether the occupational students were treated differently by the other students in the school, and whether the students and/or the occupational program had a stigma attached to them. The stigmatic behaviour by other students in the school against occupational students appears to have had varying effects. One girl respondent said that there was certainly stigma from the rest of the school, but "you just ignored it and lived your own life." Another girl found a situation hard to accept where, as she poignantly put it, "you didn't choose your friends (outside the occupational program), they chose you." It was generally believed that, to quote another girl, "the occupational students were looked down on by the others." However, a boy at one school gave the impression of having reasoned out the situation when he said that there was "lots of stigma on the part of certain groups in the school; however, not against the occupational group as a whole but against certain sections of it." This latter comment puts the perspective into the more realistic confines of normal everyday school life; there is neither a monolithic group exercising stigma nor a monolithic group receiving it.

Language differences have not been mentioned as a point of stigma. The degree of stigma could, then, be overemphasized, underemphasized, or realistically assessed; it is difficult to tell. Undoubtedly where stigma was believed to exist against occupational students, it had the effect of forcing these students to use the occupational students as a whole rather than other students as their reference group, both in the normative sense of aspirations and in the comparative sense of standards (cf. Runciman 1967).

If the individual occupational student's acceptance of the aspirations and standards of the other occupational students as a group is reinforced by the stigma experienced from other students in the school, then we can expect behaviour from the group which is self-fulfilling in terms of others' expectations. This analysis ignores (mainly because of lack of evidence) the question of any institutional stigma against occupational students that might exist on the part of the school or educational administrators. Although institutional stigma is rarely mentioned by students themselves, a teacher at one school visited (not

an occupational teacher) was convinced that it existed on the part of the local school board.

Institutional stigma, which in its most blatant form is the treatment of the occupational program as an entity separate from the main school or as a peripheral concern of the school board, may be reflected in the attitude of the school personnel, especially teachers, toward the students. The student's assessment of unfair treatment accorded to him by teachers because he is an occupational student should be separated from the student's assessment of the teacher's qualities and capabilities as a teacher. The complexities of the situation are increased by the fact that institutional selection in a stigmatic form may occur in the early years of public school. Wall and Williams (1970: 46) quote David Glass from his analysis of social mobility in Great Britain: "The present system of public primary and secondary education is based upon assumptions which, even when they appear to be realistic, give that appearance because the selection mechanisms used act as self-fulfilling prophecies."

Hall and McFarlane (1962), in their study on the "Transition from School to Work," report that the study "confirms assumptions of faulty means of testing intelligence" for school entry. Some students felt strongly that they had been misdirected in the transition from public to high school, as in the case of the graduate who said that he had been "railroaded into the program." One female graduate was convinced that she had been placed in the occupational program without her parents' understanding of what was happening or having it explained to them; certainly, she said, her parents did not discuss it with her. Several times students who went directly into the occupational program felt that they should have been consulted. One girl said she was placed in the occupational program from grade 8, after her parents were told by the school that this was best. She complained that her parents and the school had not discussed it with her.

It may have been the best program in the long run for the girl just mentioned. However, there is the case of the young man who holds a responsible position in the maintenance of several schools. He was well-dressed and had the appearance of a careful, well-spoken white collar worker or teacher. This person, who was married to an occupational student who graduated in the same year, remarked that the occupational student had to "knuckle" his way into acceptance by the rest of the school. He wished now that he could have had a four-year academic high school program, and was convinced he had been "short-changed." He was a

"slow learner" at school, he said, and he failed twice in the regular grade 9 program. This failure at grade 9 was later confirmed by the occupational teacher who thought that if the student's learning disability had been discovered earlier in his school life, it could have been corrected sufficiently for him to pass through an academic high school program. By the time the student arrived at the high school, it was too late; the only action the school could take was to place him in the occupational class. This student's experience was of a more subtle form of institutional stigma; it is probably not just a case of one among many. The complaints raised by occupational students against their public school years are considerable.

Quite a number of students felt that the work pattern set by teachers was too slow; they felt that this was deliberate, as it may have been to benefit the slower ones in the class. However, if the institutional dogma says that these students are slow, it may be all too easy unintentionally to give classes at a slower pace than is really necessary. Some teachers did refer to occupational students by the colloquial term of "dummies." Commenting on the fact that many children from the same family attended the occupational program in the same school, a girl said that from her experience (she was a member of such a family), "Teachers give whole families reports they don't deserve."

A lot of students felt, however, that their teachers had been fair, considerate, and good, as well as interested in what they were doing. "It was a good school, where teachers get involved with their students and help children in difficulties." A number of students did complain that their teachers were not interested in the student's work or what he was doing. One boy felt a little bitter about the fact that his shop teacher had "made no comment on his first job (at a gas station) except 'Congratulations and nice knowing you'." Here, it seemed, an element of personal concern, if present at all, had not been shown. Another boy divided teachers into those who were interested and those who paid lip service to the students.

Quite a few graduates remarked that they considered their teachers were reasonably capable and sometimes "very well qualified." This was not so in the case of the young man who said that he knew "as much about small engines as my bloody teacher did," or the young man who thought his teachers were "dull and boring." In some cases students were full of praise for their teachers and sometimes the principal, praise which seemed

justified by the teacher's or principal's close knowledge of and interest in what the student had been doing since he or she left school.

The Occupational Program

The graduates' opinions of the program they had taken at school were quite varied, although two comments were most common. These were that the program was too short to be of any use in providng sufficient training and that the work was too simple. Forty-five out of 216 responses were coded as mentioning that the occupational program was not sufficiently job-oriented; 57 responses were coded as stating that the program was generally inadequate. Thirty-nine of 216 responses were coded as stating the program should be longer. Several interviewees complained that there was insufficient academic work, and the academic courses that existed were simple. It was often said by students of both sexes that they thought the academic work they did merely repeated grade 8 at public school. They could not understand this and resented it.

One youth, who came from another province, said that he was put in grade 10 in a high school when he came to Ontario and was given some tests to write over a period of two weeks. He claimed that he wanted to go to a vocational school, where he had learned there were "easy marks," so he "purposely did poorly in the tests." For the cynical, this youth's claim may have the appearance of a desperate *post hoc* justification of his own inability. He does in fact go on to say, "after I found what it (the vocational school) was really like, I regretted not having tried harder on the tests." In his view there was reason for regret, because the students at his school "did not use textbooks enough, or receive class assignments. . . . We should have been writing essays and locating the meaning of words."

The person just discussed did like his shops. However, he ended up in a bricklaying shop from which, he says, he was not allowed to transfer. Generally, it seems that graduates thought the shops they had taken were good, but the content was unfortunately and unnecessarily curtailed in length and depth. There were graduates of both sexes who considered the academic courses had been too restricted and constrictive; "too much in too short a time," but not really enough. A few interviewees thought the academic work was too much. One girl had been told she was "slow in math." She then found the mathematics in the occupational program "too easy." On the other hand, another girl transferred to the

four-year program but found it difficult and returned to the occupational program.

Whatever their views on the program itself, a substantial number of interviewees felt that school had helped them "to find themselves," to develop a certain amount of self-confidence, and to learn a measure of responsibility. As one girl put it, her school had "helped her to be a housewife as well as in jobs." One principal of a vocational school, who was by no means isolated in his views, in fact saw the main point of the occupational program, whether in the old or the new form, as to be "most beneficial to this kind of child; that is, to give them confidence." This is not to say, he added, that "it's a successful program." A successful program is then defined by this principal as "one in which a child could leave school without becoming a burden on society. It is most important to get them feeling successful."

Recalling Mays's comment, quoted earlier, that the home and peer group have a more continuous effect upon the growing child or youth, we realize that any school is often working against difficult and sometimes insuperable odds. Wall's (1968: 64) admonition about the effect of "culture clash" in the school, in increasing what learning difficulties exist, is well taken here: "There is a tendency to ascribe all learning difficulties of children and adolescents to cultural and social handicaps. This is certainly exaggerated, but it does seem true to assume that many of the difficulties experienced by teachers in secondary modern schools arise from the experiential deprivation of long standing in many pupils, and from a complicated form of culture clash affecting not only value systems, motivations and abilities to learn, but perhaps inherent in a curriculum which, while it must appeal to the learner, must also look forward to the needs of a desirable society." Moreover, Wall's statement does not take into account the problems of students from immigrant cultures.

Further support of the notion of culture clash for occupational students and potential occupational students appears in an article on reading tests in the issue of *Community Schools* (May/June 1973: 10). "Tests often reflect middle class values, moreover American middle class values"; such things, for example, as a trip to the dentist twice a year and travelling on yachts and jet planes. The nature of these tests is important, the author, T. Nolan, goes on to say, "because [upon] their expectations, kids [are placed] into opportunity classes while they

are still very young, from whence they go to vocational schools where they are taught little." We can remember the lament of the young man who wanted "to locate the meaning of words," of another who had wanted to study more history, and of the girl who wanted to study French and history.

To say all that we have said about culture clash within the school and in reading tests is not to forget that many of the students whom we are discussing do have learning difficulties of various kinds. Several occupational teachers we met told us of the number of students who want to get an apprenticeship but cannot because they are completely unable to read, although they try very hard. A number of questions may be raised about the occupational students with definite physiological or psychological learning disabilities. Are they sufficiently identified, moreover, at a relatively early age, from those whose learning difficulties tend to be more culturally derived, both in the sociological and sociogeographic sense? To what extent do the tests administered at public school differentiate between those children who have a basic incapacity to read or write and those children who, in the words of Mays (1962: 123), "like others derived from lower economic groups, have all suffered from some kind of intellectual retardation, if not an actual loss of basic capacity, as a result of living in an environment lacking the requisite stimulation."

The occupational program may, then, play an important role in giving students with both types of learning difficulty a sense of self-esteem. It may also help some to overcome their cultural handicaps to the extent that they can capably undertake further education at a high school or college. Gaining self-esteem may also, we have seen, be a problem of coping with stigma. Some overcome this problem successfully, as in the case of the girl who said there were "rough, snobby people at the school and that used to get me down, the way they looked at me. But I've gotten over that now; I am less sensitive. I guess some of their way of talking rubbed off on me as well, . . . (Ha ha)!"

The girl just quoted had, in fact, gone straight to work after leaving school. Others went into another program in the same or in another school, or took a further year or two in the same program. One young man who thought the teachers in his occupational program were "helpful and doing well" had transferred to a four-year program after one year in the occupational program. "I am taking more interest now. The four-year course is harder and I like to work hard. I felt the occupational course was a rejection of the school *[sic]*. I feel now if I continue with

education I will progress to a better life than I expected four years ago." This person's father had been a garage mechanic and is now disabled and unable to work.

A girl whose parents were divorced when she was six years old and who was brought up by her mother, went, after graduation, to finish grade 11 at a college. Another girl went into grade 11 for three months and then married; she was pleased with what the occupational program and her teachers had done for her. A third student said she "wanted to get out of school" when she was in the occupational program. She entered a college four-year program, however, and although she finds it a bit detailed and boring she wants to complete it and enter another college for a course in nursery-school education. Several boys interviewed at one school had graduated from the two-year occupational program and stayed at school for a third or a fourth year. Then there is the case of the young man who sells goods in a department store, who did not like school and who found "the teachers were dull and boring. The teacher did not respect me; school was not worthwhile."

The story told by the interviewees of their school days is, then, one of fears, hopes, disappointments, frustrations, and many personal successes. The school had, in the eyes of many of these people, achieved much, even if sometimes in an apparently indirect way, as for the girl who said "school was good in that the people I met were kind of rough, which I wasn't. It made me realize how good it was to come from a good and happy family." This girl is now in a commercial high school and "wishes [she] had been there from the beginning." The apparent contradiction in the two statements reflects both a desire for something more than the occupational program could offer and a recognition of the value of the occupational program to the girl's own experience. The comment on rough people echoes the desire of some students to see the teachers impose more order and discipline in the occupational class. Many students feel their education did something for them, as in the almost parodic remark of the young man who said, "Well, school teached me something anyhow."

Leaving School and Entering Work

Most of the students discussed in the last section had gone on to further high school or other education after graduation from the occupational program. But what of the majority of students who entered a job as soon as they finished the occupational program? Some felt that "the occupational

program was good for learning a trade, but not if you want a job that requires good grades and studying; the courses are not adequate." Others felt like the young man who said he "didn't need the training at school because on-the-job training is more important," or the young woman, a secretary, who said she had "learned far more about handling different business machines and secretarial methods than [she] ever learned at school." Every job she had had she said, she "had to learn from the beginning." It is perhaps a small measure of this girl's success that she is able to learn every new job from the beginning. The same girl is at present selling in a discount store, primarily because she says that for her the prime aspect of a job is having the opportunity to meet people.

Many students were pleased, or at least had been able to find a job, with the training they had received at school. Sometimes, however, the job might appear as a cynical comment on a person's training; one girl who had "majored in sewing" held a job in which she sewed buttons on shirts in a shirt factory. Other students remarked that they were pleased with their occupational training even if they had never used it as such, but had taken other education before obtaining a job in which they did not use their occupational training.

But the school's part in the process of introducing the occupational student to the world of work has one other aspect besides occupational training and personal development. The other aspect is the actual provision of job guidance and advice for students leaving school to start work. Not every student used the school guidance counselling service in order to obtain advice on getting a job (69 students out of 216 reported using it), but among those who did, two main patterns are discernible. One of these is the habit of school counsellors in certain regions actually to discuss the content of jobs with the students and sometimes to mention available job openings or vacancies of which they have knowledge. In some other regions there is an emphasis upon *how* to apply for a job rather than on *what* jobs to apply for.

"We went to the student counselling service and they told us how to fill out application forms and how to conduct ourselves in an interview" is a paraphrase of a common comment from students who received this type of job counselling only (or this was all they mentioned). There is an air of comedy and pathos in the comment of the young lady who said she did not need job counselling because "all my grades in deportment classes were high." One man, in an air of resigned resentment, said that the

school did little for him in finding a job. There was "little special help in finding a job - everybody knew they would have to get work of some kind."

Some students were quite sure they did not receive any job counselling while at school. Many others could not remember if they had received counselling, as in the case of the girl who did not "remember any counselling at the school, [they] told me to go out myself for work and to go to Manpower. One job I went out to told me that I needed grade 12 and experience." A few (6 out of 216) students were lucky enough to obtain a job through the school guidance counsellor. More students received help in finding their first job, or advice on how to present themselves, from teachers (18 of 216 students), the vice-principal or principal (7 of 216 students). As one girl said, "I didn't receive any counselling in the school, but the commerce teacher did give them pointers on how to apply for work, such as neatness, how to act, etc." One youth apparently felt that any "interest" shown by the school in whether he had a job or not was a nuisance. "I was asked if I had a job yet, I said yes, so they didn't trouble me anymore." "Anyway," he said, "I was not much for school to begin with." This person had at the time of the interview, three prospective jobs "in my pocket." He was at the time delivering oil for a heating company.

Both aspects of finding work, the formal presentation of self in person or in writing and the actual location of job vacancies, although not mutually exclusive, are, according to the interviewees, given different emphases by the various school counsellors and other school staff. It does seem, however, from the interviews, that teachers, vice-principals, or principals were more likely than guidance counsellors to have been the source of information on actual job vacancies.

One young man said that "both my guidance teacher and occupational teacher were very helpful and made clear the kinds of problems students would encounter when they started to look for work. The teacher did a good job in fixing students up with work and telling them about job opportunities."

A number of students, even where not advised to go, as was the girl mentioned above, went straight to the Manpower centre to obtain help in finding work. Seventeen respondents successfully found a job through the Manpower centre's help. But sometimes Manpower seemed almost a last resort as it was for the girl who said that "Manpower got my present job,

because I really pushed Manpower into getting me the job. I told them that I had been looking for work for one year, and that I had a horse to support and board to pay."

For many students, the job they worked at in the school winter-work program became in fact their first job after leaving school as their employers asked them to stay on. One problem for the school-leaver entering work is often the difficulty of adapting from the relatively small classroom environment and generally informal atmosphere of the school to the relatively formal atmosphere and sometimes large environment of the work place (Venables 1968). One girl at least felt that the school had helped in the transition. "I feel that the job training [I received] is not good for my present job, but school did give me some idea of what to expect in a factory" (as a sewing machinist).

The school, through its teaching staff or the counselling service, did provide advice to many students either on how to address themselves to prospective employers or, more basically, on how to fill out application forms. In some cases it actually directed students to known job openings. As we have mentioned, the emphasis in counselling, according to the student's reports, tended to vary from region to region or even from school to school. Schools in some areas would concentrate mainly on formal characteristics of dress and speech for prospective job hunters. In other schools the actual nature of the job-hunting process and different types of jobs were discussed with the students. It seems from the evidence given by our interviewees that where jobs were found through an agent of the school, they were found with the help of teachers, the vice-principal, or the principal, rather than through the offices of the school counselling service. This does not mean, of course, that no students found their first job through the formal services of the school counsellor or that students were necessarily not prepared to use these services. For job advice students might have preferred the relatively more informal contact with their teachers who, in turn, may have been more aware of immediate job openings or have had more contacts in the locality.

Many students, we have said, obtained their first job with the employer under whom they worked during the week- or two-week-long school winter-work program.

Other students (21 of 216) mentioned that they found work through contacts their parents or friends had made. One young man mentioned that he was very nervous when looking for his first job and that his father

accompanied him to see different employers. But then his parents had always helped him, he thought, "They've always been good and fair to me, letting me find out by my own mistakes to be what I am now." Approaching employers directly may have been difficult for many students, but 66 of 216 students were coded as having found their first employment by approaching the employer directly.

The Job: Employers and Attitudes

Most students endeavoured or had to endeavour to get their first job by their own efforts. Many were not pleased with the reception they received from employers. Twenty-eight of the student replies to the question on employer's reactions to their applications for a first job were coded as mentioning the employer's satisfaction with the student's training. However, 18 interviewers said that employers rejected the interviewee's occupational training or were not interested. A further 14 interviews were coded as reporting employers' willingness to offer only a poor low-class job. One hundred and fifty interviews were coded as making no comment on employers' reactions. This means that 28.0% of students felt rebuffed by employers when they made applications for their first jobs after leaving school. For example, a male graduate thought that "the guidance people [at his school] were very energetic but that they were working in a vacuum, because employers recognized occupational graduates had little training and ignored their enquiries."

A female graduate put the situation more strongly when she said that "employers just looked down on occupational graduates." One girl said she had been told that the Certificate of Training would help her get a job, "but I don't think it helps because it is not accepted by employers." A third girl thought it was "impossible to get jobs without lying and laying on bullshit." Her hairdressing certificate, she said, had not been recognized.

Graduates of both sexes had often had harsh and summary rebuttals from employers, because, they said, of their occupational certificate. But one male graduate at least said that even though "the program was a waste of time in terms of my getting a job, . . . employers have more respect for you when they see the Certificate of Training."

It might be argued that the animosity of prospective employers toward their qualifications, which many occupational graduates said they experienced in looking for jobs, was more a result of their own frustration at being unable to obtain a job than a realistic assessment of employers'

attitudes. But certainly many of the cases reported of employers "looking down on" or "disregarding" occupational graduates have an air of strong authenticity about them. One girl who is now working in the shipping department of a bakery said forcefully, "I think the best education for me after grade 8 would have been the street," because after she graduated from the occupational program, "employers were not even approachable."

In the view of many students then, even when they applied for available jobs, the employers' attitudes toward occupational graduates would often prevent them from giving occupational graduates jobs. Even if we assume that sometimes an employer's refusal to employ one of the interviewees who complained of employers' bias was in fact based on a reasonable assessment of the candidate's abilities and qualities, the picture that emerges is still one of occupational graduates feeling a stigma against them.

This leads directly to the topic of the following section - what, for those who found jobs, did their jobs mean to occupational graduates?

Jobs: Attitudes and Aspirations

The tale told by interviewees of their job experiences and hopes is neither one of complete sorrow nor one of complete joy. It is often a tale of frustration, as it was for the girl (whose father is an accountant) who had worked for three and a half years as a waitress since leaving school and who said she could not see a place for her "in this society" where she could be happy. A young man who has had to change jobs frequently since he left school, says that they have all been "tolerable." He blames the fact that he did not like any of the jobs he had on their lack of challenge and boring routine. He does hope, one day, to find a satisfying job. A different tale is told by a male graduate who, after specializing in welding and carpentry at school, had worked for the same welding firm for two and a half years. He said he was doing the job he wanted to do and wanted one day "to weld bigger things, such as bridges," and "to make good money."

One girl, who had specialized in nursing and hairdressing at school, had only been able to find work as a part-time mail delivery helper, a job she had held for nine months. She was not exactly hopeful for the future, "I wish I had been smart enough to take a four- or five-year program because I wanted to be a nurse and you needed grade 10 to become a Registered Nursing Assistant." A few girls had better hopes for their

nursing future; they had been able to complete their education sufficiently to enable them to take the RNA examinations. Some others wished they could take the examinations, but began asking the interviewer if he knew of any way in which they could now gain the requisite education, as they could not financially afford to leave their jobs.

A male graduate in one small Ontario town had had a varied pattern of jobs in the two years or so since he left school. He was now enrolled in an apprenticeship program with a fried-chicken restaurant chain and hoped one day to achieve management status. Another young man had worked as a short-order cook in a local restaurant and was manager of the restaurant at the time of the survey. Several other male graduates expressed hopes of following a similar route. A few other male graduates had become or hoped to become managers of small service stations. Two young men had their own service stations; one of them hoped to open a body shop with his father.

A male graduate who had held jobs respectively as a shoe clerk, radio dispatcher in a police department, hospital orderly, and ambulance driver, did not "hate the jobs I've had," but had always really wanted to be in the police force, for entry into which he was of insufficient height and weight. The employer of another male graduate lived next door to the school principal. The principal was able to get the young man a job in his neighbour's printing press where the graduate had worked for four years. This graduate's future was, he felt, secure enough; if he tired of paper printing he had received sufficient training in silk screen work at school to "move into that field." An enterprising female graduate had combined the tasks of being a housewife with children and working at a job by setting up her own dressmaking business at home.

A female graduate who said she was hired for her first job as a clerk typist in a metal industry plant without taking any tests, worked in her first job for two years. Her second job, as a girl Friday typist in a government ministry, she had held for two and a half years. She could speak French and planned to attend night school to become qualified as a legal secretary and then obtain a "translating position." Also, she said, she would like to be more independent and responsible in her work than she has been allowed to be in her past jobs.

Some of the graduates mentioned in the above paragraphs had changed jobs fairly frequently as had many other graduates. One young man had had nine jobs in three years, three of them, obviously temporary, in tobacco

harvesting. Another male student who feels that his school did not give him any training had also had a number of different jobs, spending only a matter of months in each. He wishes he had been in the four-year academic course at school, but intends to attend IBM computer programming classes at weekends.

The graduates discussed in the preceding paragraphs had been able to find jobs of some sort or another, even if they were often of very short duration. However, some graduates had been unable to find any employment at all since they had left school. At the time of the survey two male interviewees had been unemployed for one year since graduation, although one of them at least had attended many interviews. A girl had been unemployed for two and a half years since leaving school. A male graduate from Northern Ontario who had been unemployed since graduation, said resignedly, "There is not much hope of my getting a job, I should have had less academics and more training at school." (Others, we remember, thought they could not get a job because they had insufficient academic education.) He was one of a few male interviewees who blamed the lack of specialization at school for their not obtaining jobs, as did the extremely articulate young man who had had three cleaning jobs and two other jobs in four years. He had been laid off his last job and told he was not strong enough (it was heavy factory work and he was slightly built, though wiry). He felt if he had had more specialization at school he would have been able to obtain a job. Female graduate interviewees did not emphasize lack of specialization at school as a reason for not obtaining a job or obtaining one they did not like. Sometimes they emphasized the importance of them of not having specialized, as in the case of the girl who worked in a boutique where "I'm able to use many different skills." Whatever the reasons for their unemployment, some students made remarks in the interview which made it seem as if unemployment had become a way of life to them - as it almost had for the man who said he felt that since he left school he had been "more laid off than working," or the man who had been working as a welder and wanted "to stay there, as long as it stays open."

If graduate interviewees tended to put the blame for their unemployment elsewhere than upon themselves, except those who blamed themselves for their "lack of education," then the majority seemed to blame themselves if they were in a job they did not like. "I would blame myself if I was in a job I didn't like," is a common remark from graduates of both

sexes. For one girl, the school could not be blamed if she did not like her job: "They trained me quite well." The graduates who would blame themselves if they did not like the job seemed to fall into two categories. One of these categories was reflected in the words of the girl who said she did not like any of the jobs she had had and "I blame myself, although I don't know why." This sort of self-negativism is opposed by the apparently more rational view of a number of students who said that if they had a job they did not like they would "leave," "quit," "find another one," etc., and would blame themselves if they did not.

The implicit assumption of those graduates who said they would leave a job they did not like and get another one was that it was easy to get another job at any time. However, one graduate who had left several jobs he did not like said that he was finding it "harder than hell" to get another one. Thus, many graduates thought they had a certain amount of personal control over the situation if they were in a job they did not like, whether this assessment was realistic or not in terms of the ease of finding another job.

Only one or two interviewees blamed the school or family background for their not liking the job they had had. One student blamed "economic conditions," although it is impossible to tell how he interpreted this phrase. The interviewee might have found it easier just to reply "self" than select any of the other alternatives such as "economic conditions" even if these were more applicable.

On the other hand, depreciation of the self is thrown into a different perspective by those interviewees who, when they did not like a job, said they would blame themselves if they did not leave the job. This implied that they did not blame themselves for not liking the job. One graduate at least is of the opinion that one should try to like one's job. "If I didn't like a job, I'd blame myself for not trying hard enough, for not working to improve my skills." Of course, there may be the implication of "trying hard" to get a better job rather than trying hard to like and improve the job she is in.

One last point should be made about the tendency of occupational graduates to blame themselves (or say they would) if they did not like the job they were in; that is, the distinction between not liking a job in itself (intrinsic dissatisfaction) and the day-to-day variation of feeling about the job. Only one male student explicitly made this distinction. He liked his job, he said, but there were days when he could not stand it. However, it is probably correct to assume that most students do not like

various jobs they had because of their intrinsic dissatisfaction with the jobs.

We should not forget those students who thought they were to blame if they did not like a job, however boring and routine. A good example is the girl who had been sticking labels on boxes for two years and yet said, "It is my own fault if I don't like it."

The intrinsic satisfaction some students look for in a job lies for them somewhere in the future, as opposed to those students who do not for cannot care, or those who look for extrinsic satisfaction in the form of pecuniary rewards. "I need the money, so I wanted the job, you know." Another man told us that the jobs he had been doing in construction and logging - have been sort of what I wanted for the time being, but not for a career." He hoped to lay the foundations of his career by going to community college in the next academic year and majoring in recreational leadership. The "future," to those who considered it, is a mixture of hopes for personal well-being and for job satisfaction.

The Future

Relatively few students had in fact considered their future. Most students, in reply to the question on their future hopes and aspirations, said that they did not know or they were "hopeful" or "very hopeful." For those who had considered their future, the time span in which the future was placed varied considerably. Many replies of the kind "it's no good thinking more than one month, or a week ahead," were typical. Or "I just take life as it comes, from day to day." If graduates had planned their future for any lengthy period of time, they tended to discuss their plans in terms of occupational advancement. This was the case particularly for single graduates, although also true of married graduates. Married interviewees would sometimes discuss their future family life, although not often. Many made remarks about their desires for their children's education.

One girl was possibly talking of the future in terms of both occupational advancement and personal happiness, when she said, "I think it's what you make of your future that's important. If you don't want to get anywhere then you just don't try." We recall, on the other hand, the comment of the girl who felt this society has no place for her "where I can be happy." Some people would agree with one boy's apparently realistic interpretation of his future and his fate. "Well there are workers and there are brains and I am happy to be a worker."

Another young man saw the future as a continuation of the succession of similar jobs he had had in the past. He would continue to feel "somewhat of a sucker," as would the man who felt he was "doing a job everybody can do." We have mentioned the young welder who hopes one day to weld bridges. Another youth is a site foreman in his brother's construction company and is very "hopeful about the future." A girl for whom money was a "secondary consideration," said she "gets bored easily" and wants "a position of authority" and "to be respected in the future." The graduate who had had three cleaning jobs, was married with three children and was unemployed, said he felt "fairly happy about the future, but resigned." Another young man apparently considered his future in terms of material satisfaction: "I got a new car and I am happy about that. The job at the new store will give me a raise, you know." Another thought he would make job advances in the future as he had in the past "through friends and contacts."

We have mentioned that many interviewees were unable or unwilling to talk about their personal hopes for the future, outside their occupational goals, or lack of them. One young man, however, was tired of people who ran around being dismal and moaning about life. He felt that one should take a forceful and cheerful approach toward events in order to ensure personal well-being. This is probably an attitude similar in some respects to the girl who said she was more mature than the other students at school because she was older, and that most of her friends when at school were older people outside school. She felt she had a good attitude toward life.

One general point may be made about the general attitudes of male graduates and female respondents toward their future. Male respondents who felt dissatisfied with and "trapped" by their jobs would express their dissatisfaction in a manner of resignation or, less often, in a manner of hopefully being able to improve their job prospects. Married female interviewees would often state that they were bored with their job but found, as it were, compensations in their family life. Some unmarried women were clearly looking to marriage as a relief from the boredom of work.

A married mother of two children took a fairly long-term view of the future. She had not worked since she left school. (She was compelled to leave school because she was pregnant.) She hoped to work as a hairdresser "when the children were older." She said she was hopeful about

the future; she and her husband hope to move relatively quickly from their small apartment into a mobile home. She said, "We are wondering what's going to happen in three or four years time . . . you've got to work for your goals. I'm going to get out and see the world and try for myself."

The note of dogged intention in this young woman's stated intention of making something out of life, like that of the young man who is fed up with the "dismal outlook" of so many people, is not expressed by many of the occupational graduates we have interviewed. Far more, it is a case of "I am happy to be a worker" or "I am fairly happy about the future, but resigned." To male graduates more than female graduates, it seems that their own future happiness is largely dependent on the kind of work they do: "The man is the breadwinner." Except for those young men who, by dint of luck or by their own efforts, secure more personally rewarding jobs, the male occupational graduate often feels he is destined for a life of repetitious, insecure, and relatively low-paid employment.

In his article in *New Society* (1973: 348), "Need Jack Be a Dull Boy?" Andrew Greig remarks in a manner reminiscent of Huxley, on the type of young person who works on the assembly line in British factories. "The fact that there are several million assembly-line workers in this country demonstrates to me (as do other social ills) another deep deficiency in our educational system. It shows that there are several million people who will *put up with* such work. Either children are being taught not to expect to enjoy the work or very many of them are being sadly disappointed." But for some, even working on the assembly line may be a matter of choice, as Goldthorpe, Lockwood, and Platt (1970: vol. 3) found in their study of three mass production-line factories in Luton, England. Here they found that many highly skilled craftsmen had relinquished their former craft employment for what were, to the craftsmen, more monotonous and routine jobs, in order to earn the higher wages that could be earned.

This option of taking monotonous employment to earn higher wages we might assume is not generally open to the occupational graduate in Ontario, although about five men worked on the assembly lines in motor vehicle plants in Windsor. Most of those working on assembly lines were women and they said they earned low wages and sometimes worked three shifts to earn them. For the majority, occupational graduates find their work both monotonous and relatively underpaid. Relatively underpaid is perhaps so in comparison to certain other unskilled workers or semi-skilled workers.

To borrow Carter's (1962) phrase on school-leavers' occupational aspirations, many of the occupational students in this survey had "depressingly" realistic horizons for their expectations of earnings. Typical is a boy who proclaimed to the interviewer in almost excited manner that he had just received a raise from $1.60 to $1.70 an hour.

Whatever occupational graduates' attitudes toward their life, their education, and their jobs, the attitudes of those who are married are likely to influence their own children consciously or unconsciously. The replies to the question, "What do you hope for your children?" were often in the general form, "I hope they will be happy," "I hope they will have a good home," etc. On the aspect of their children's education, however, interviewees were quite specific.

Almost all husbands and wives were emphatic that their children should get a better education than they did. Some parents thought their children should at least obtain a good high school education. One mother told us, "I would want them to have more education. I'd like them to finish grade 12, if they could." She thought that today "kids need a greater education than they did before, or a trade of some kind." One husband and his wife (both occupational graduates) disagreed a little on their children's prospective education, he arguing that children of both sexes should get a good high school education, she putting the view that the girls did not need as much education as the boys.

However, an interviewer was told by one mother that she agreed with her husband when he said he "would kick his [their son's] arse all the way from here to school." Other parents said they would like their children to finish high school but they were not "going to push them." One man seemed almost to dispense with his parental authority as he said he hoped his children would "not be like their old man, and go to school so that they would not have to drive a bulldozer." Compare the mother who said of her daughter's education, "She'll pick it up on her own; she'll probably need more education."

Other parents were more ambitious for their children's education. They thought their children should go to high school and then to college or to high school and then to university. One man definitely wanted his children to go through high school and university. A mother would like her children to go to university, but she was not going to force them. A husband said he would force his children to go through high school; "college would be their own decision."

In the main, both husbands and wives hope their children will get at least a good high school education. Comparatively few hope their children will go to college, or to university. One or two parents said it was up to their children whether they would go to school or not. Apart from those parents who would make sure that their children attended high school at least, it is interesting that so many parents said they would leave the choice of where to stop their formal education to their children. "I hope their feelings towards school is [*sic*] more mature than the one I had" is a typical remark. One mother hopes her daughter "goes as far as is needed; I'm not going to force her."

The apparent importance to some parents of their children's being allowed to choose how far they go even in their high school education (choice is more realistic after high school graduation) is perhaps a sign of the changing times. Perhaps it is partly a result of their own memories of being "railroaded" into school programs. It is probably also a result of the increasing public recognition that, today, school plays an important part in a person's social mobility. A certain type of schooling can lead to social promotion.

However, as Brian Jackson (*New Society*, 1972: 234) points out, "School can do hardly anything to alter that lack of money and power which makes the poor poor." Even though education is about the only vehicle for social mobility available to the working class child, it is still a very limited vehicle. Moreover, parental aspirations which affect the child's use of the educational opportunities available are often more reflective of current social convention than such factors as the parents' ages or social class. Thus Douglas, Ross, and Simpson (1968: 85) report that from their own study, "It seems that parents, irrespective of when they themselves were at school, have the opinions and standards that are current at the time their own children are being educated." In the case of our own interviewees, it also appears that the current social emphasis upon education and higher education in Canada is indeed reflected in the demands of a number of parents for not only a full high school, but a postsecondary education for their own children.

Douglas, Ross, and Simpson (1968: 89) also remark that, "Parents in the different social classes have very different ambitions for their children, even if on our tests their ability appears to be similar," however, as they say, "The effect of the parents' own education is even more marked than the effect of social class." To the extent that the

aspirations of many of the parent interviewees for their children's educational success reflect the parents' own interest in this success, these aspirations are not solely a reflection of the social educational milieu.

The fact remains that a few parents make such comments on their children's getting an education as "society thinks it is good" for them. This last attitude is more of a depressingly realistic attitude than an optimistic one. The attitude recalls Durkheim's statement, quoted by A. C. Ottoway (1968: 8), that "The man which education is obliged to make of us is not the man as nature has made him, but as society wishes him to be; and it wishes him to be such as its internal economy calls for."

Whether or not they see it as a result of "society's demands," some parents view even the attainment of a high school occupational education as an arduous task for their children. Such was the view of the young man who wanted his children to get a high school education "at least, even the hard way that I had to."

The break through the barrier of "realism" we have described is at times attained through parents' hopes for children which are only fantasy (cf. Carter 1962). Thus one man hopes all his children will be millionaires; another hopes his son will "inherit a million, because education is no good to him." A mother hopes her children will be educated enough to get a good position as a doctor or lawyer.

Apart from these one or two fantasies, there is little explicit mention of parents' hopes for their children's general (as opposed to educational) future. According to the coding scheme used on the interviews, the responses on hopes for their children's general future are almost identical for children of each sex. For both boys and girls, one parent (out of 216) reported that they hoped their children's life would be the same as theirs. Twenty parents hoped the life of their sons would be "somewhat" different from their own and twenty parents hoped their daughter's life would be somewhat different from their own. Eight parents hoped their sons' lives in general would be very different; nine parents hoped their daughters' lives would be very different. One hundred and eighty interviewees made no comment on their hopes for their children's life in general.

It does seem that most parents had some difficulty in expressing their hopes for their children's future outside of the children's education. This may not reflect so much a lack of consideration about their children's

future, but more a concern with the concrete everyday events and occurrences of life. Remarks sometimes made, such as "you have to take life as it comes," confirm this interpretation. On the other hand, the parents' difficulty in expressing their hopes for their children fits the attitude of depressing "realism" we referred to earlier, whether founded in concrete experiences or not.

For purposes of comparison, we can look at the interviewees' opinions of their own future in general, their job future, and their educational future. One hundred and eight of the 216 interviewees were coded as saying they were "quite hopeful" about their future in general; 16 said they were "very hopeful." Thirty-four of the 216 interviewees made no comment. However, 6 interviewees saw their future as "quite hopeless" and three saw it as "very hopeless." One hundred and twenty-three interviewees were coded as having made no comment on their job future. Fifty-six had made some plans and fifteen no plans for their job future. Sixteen responses were coded as having mentioned making "careful plans" for their job future.

One hundred and fifty-nine interviewees made no comment on their educational future while 32 said they had made some plans. Nine were coded as having made "careful plans" for their educational future and another 9 as having made no plans at all. It is difficult to give any precise interpretation of these figures, but it does seem surprising from the small number of interviewees who viewed their future with some gloom that so many parents did not express their general aspirations for their children's future, in general. The significant feature of the parents' comments is not that such hopes were not expressed in even slightly optimistic terms, but that they were not expressed at all.

The apparent inability of parents to express their hopes and wishes for the future of their offspring may be partly accounted for by a general inability to conceptualize such hopes beyond a relatively immediate concrete period, if at all (Hoggart 1962, Lawton 1968, Bernstein 1960, 1961). Lack of ability in verbal conceptualization is not the whole explanation as hopes were usually not expressed even in terms of the limited concrete future faced by their children. All we can say is that the emphasis given by parents on their hopes for their children's education probably reflected their interpretation of their own educational and occupational backgrounds as relatively deprived.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have taken a closer look at the lives, attitudes, and beliefs of occupational graduates as these were revealed through the interviews given by over two hundred graduates. We found that many respondents belong to fairly large families. Although taking note of the possible objectively measured adverse effects of belonging to a large family upon a young person, we found that there were differences in the individual respondent's subjective response to his or her membership in a large family. Some respondents looked upon it as an educative experience in the broadest sense of learning to cooperate with others. Other respondents had a greater sense of being overcrowded and were more sensitive to intra-family conflicts.

The parents' attitudes toward its members can mitigate to some extent the adverse effects of belonging to even a large family. Responses on parents' attitudes were mixed and by no means imply that parents' attitudes toward respondents were either more generally negative or more generally positive. However, one has the impression that where parents had showed greater interest and concern in the welfare of their offspring, respondents conveyed a greater sense of self-esteem.

Several respondents spoke with regret of the loss of a mother or a father sometime in the respondent's early childhood. There is no sign that they felt thereby actually deprived of the many relative advantages respondents with both parents had. The performance at school particularly of those who lost a father may not have been affected at all. Douglas, Ross, and Simpson (1968: 188), in fact, found that insecurity in a family whether from the father's absence, unemployment, illness, or death, is associated with poor performance at school and early leaving. It is prolonged insecurity that seems to be important; the sudden death of a father, whether early or late in the life of his child, has no apparent effect on school work. Certainly insecurity caused by the father's illness and/or poor material circumstances existed for a number of our respondents.

There is no indication from this study that insecurity caused by poor material circumstances was a general experience of our respondents, although some did expressly convey a feeling of insecurity so caused. The effect of the comparative poverty of many of the families of occupational graduates should not be underestimated, however. The comments of two different principals perhaps put the problem in perspective. One remarked on the poverty of circumstances exemplified by the parents of

many of his occupational students insulating their homes with straw around the outside walls during the winter. The other principal agreed about the poor conditions of the homes of many occupational students, but remarked that they were not really poor. After all prices were relatively low in the area, and all families had a car and many a snowmobile.

The close birth order of children in the respondents' families is an important point. The adverse effects of a too-close birth order upon a child's capacity to develop his general and educational abilities are noted by Douglas and Blomfield (1958). Relationships of respondents with their parents were on the whole good, according to over one half of respondents. About two-fifths of respondents said relations were poor or difficult. We are unable to assess accurately the influences upon the respondent of family size and birth order as against such factors as parental interest and care.

We appear to have encountered fewer cases of language difficulties actually experienced by interviewees than we could reasonably expect. This does not mean that many of the occupational graduates considered in this study do not have personal language difficulties. Language may also be an important factor inhibiting parental advice and guidance in the education and job career of immigrant occupational graduates.

There is no evidence from the interviews of any definite peer groups to which interviewees had belonged. This does not mean that they did not belong to any peer groups, although many may not have done. Their failure to mention any network of extra-familial relationships that could be described as a peer group is perhaps significant in itself. It is, of course, possible that interviewers could have pursued this aspect of peer groups more fully.

The reactions of interviewees to more "highly educated" siblings did not reflect a general pattern of relative deprivation. Some graduates did voice feelings of deprivation. Other graduates felt they had had as good an education as their siblings who had had an academic high school education. It is possible that the latter remarks sometimes reflected more a sense of personal dignity than feelings of being relatively deprived.

Many interviewees had experienced a sense of stigma, exercised against them by other students in the school. The stigma undoubtedly hurt and stayed with some students. Others regarded it in a more

philosophical light and assumed it was something associated with school and not to be encountered after they left school. One young man thought it was not necessarily stigma against the whole group of occupational students but against certain sections of it. Accordingly, he had put the question of stigma as it occurred at his school on the plane of personal likes and dislikes.

Institutional stigma was not clearly identified as such by all the interviewees who mentioned stigma, although some did comment, as we have mentioned, on a feeling of being pushed into the occupational program, even while at public school. Although not directly asked, many graduates made comments upon their teachers. Taken as a whole, their comments were neither wholly praiseworthy, nor wholly derogatory. Except in a few cases, interviewees who commented on teachers believed they were "well qualified" in their subject area. Inevitably a number of respondents felt their teachers had been fair, considerate, and helpful while some respondents thought their teachers' classes were unhelpful and uninteresting. Many respondents thought the work patterns set by teachers were too slow.

The occupational program had met with varied responses from interviewees. Most interviewees thought it was a good program for those who, like one male interviewee, "were good with their hands but not with the writing." On the other hand, several respondents of both sexes complained of the comparative lack of academic content in the program and the superficiality of what academic content existed. Two common adverse complaints about the program were that it was too short, both for what it covered and what it could cover, and that it lacked sufficient depth.

We discussed the question of culture clash within the schools and in the reading tests given to students in their earlier years. The success students had in reconciling the conflicts produced by this culture clash was probably in the degree to which students considered they had gained a sense of self-esteem. A principal of a vocational school told us that the major objective of the occupational program in his school was to give students self-assurance and the ability to fit into the everyday world of work and other people. The problems of the self-adjustment and self-esteem of the occupational student are great for them and their teachers. Institutional and social stigma from an early age may prevent solutions to what Wall (1968: 62) sees as a major problem in all children's education, " . . . to find the means whereby a child's scholastic achievement, though still seen as important, is *not* to be the unique criterion for self-esteem or the esteem of those around him." Rightly or wrongly, we

have seen that many students believed that prospective employers did consider scholastic achievement as the sole criterion by which they were to be employed or turned down.

Although some students went on after graduation to further their education in the same school or another, the majority found or tried to find a job. In general, it was felt by interviewees that teachers and in some cases principals, were more helpful in findings jobs than the school counselling service. Teachers appear to have been the agents for finding actual jobs; advice on how to apply for a job was given by teachers and the counselling service in different schools. Some schools emphasized the aspects of presenting oneself for a job more than the attributes of particular kinds of jobs. Interviewees from other schools suggest the school personnel emphasized the discussion of various kinds of employment, or the actual availability of suitable positions.

It seems that in quite a few schools the winter-work program was the means by which many students obtained their first full-time job after leaving school. It does not, of course, follow that the winter-work program is an ideal method of choosing employment. Clearly some students got their first jobs in this way because either it was necessary or it saved time and energy that would be spent looking around for a suitable opening.

Job experiences and aspirations among the interviewees were as varied as many of their other experiences and attitudes. A number of graduates were clearly depressed and somewhat defeated over the jobs they had had and those they thought they could have. Some had had equally disappointing experiences in monotonous, routine jobs but refused to let this make them feel depressed. Not all these persons proposed to change the situation, even if they had sufficient self-confidence to meet it. Life is as it comes for these students. Others desired to change and hoped to change what they saw was an unfortunate position. Many of those who hoped or intended to get more interesting and personally rewarding employment were at a loss as to how to go about seeking advice or gaining the requisite education. Often such people endeavoured to use the interviewer as a counsellor. It was with regret that interviewers said they could not help directly; it was with hope that (in some cases) they suggested alternatives. A few students seemed reluctant to go back to their schools to seek advice; many had not considered approaching other social agencies. This may reflect a failure or inability of the schools, in many cases, to offer advice and help to ex-students.

Of interviewees who had changed jobs frequently, some were disillusioned; others had eventually found a more permanent position with or without definite future prospects. An underlying spark of determination was evident in many cases, even for those interviewees who had been clearly disillusioned and frustrated by their experiences. One sensed that with the appropriate advice and help they could do much to alleviate their personal and social difficulties.

However, the fact remains that most of the people interviewed were very negatively self-critical. We have discussed how many graduates said they would blame themselves if they did not like a job, not because they felt they could leave the job (though several gave this reason), but because it was almost as if they had no right to complain. Such an apparent feeling of resignation is probably linked to personal experiences of stigma and most certainly conveys a lack of training in the ability to differentiate and judge the intrinsic aspects of the job itself. In respect to an ability to assess and weigh the different formal aspects of a job, the present study is fully in accord with Venables's (1967: 161) point that "any assumption that school leavers make job and career choices consciously and rationally has been seriously questioned by research here [Britain] and in America." Such a reminder casts a different light on the tendency of many schools in Ontario to emphasize the "presentation of self" aspect of job counselling for occupational students rather than formal guidance as to different occupations.

Lee (1966: 284) has taken note of a situation which reportedly exists in Ontario, that "the complaint of those now engaged in vocational education is usually of the widespread failure of industry to recognize the qualifications they confer. Industrialists in all forms of concern continue to seek 'personal qualities' in their employees in addition to, and very often instead of, qualifications." The relatively smaller size of companies and the organizations in which the majority of occupational graduates seem to work may have the effect of increasing these employers' assessments of the "personal qualities" rather than the formal qualifications of job applicants. But clearly many of our interviewees felt that their "personal qualities" and their formal qualifications had been lost behind a conventional characterization of occupational graduates as "dummies."

It would seem that in a modern economy where, some warn, increasing emphasis will be placed, certainly in large organizations, on the

"bureaucratization of formal qualifications," the occupational graduate or his equivalent is; from his point of view, at a double disadvantage. We have seen from these interviews that there are occupational graduates who through luck or by sheer determination have won some success against any one or a combination of home, school, and work disadvantages. Equally, we have seen that many others have or might have the determination to overcome their difficulties if they can be helped through their resignation and the sense of futility cast upon them. This determination, where it exists, does not often result in a close consideration of the long-term occupational and personal future, but rather in a view that present circumstances could (surely) be changed, if only we knew how.

5 The Baseline Survey

This chapter contains a detailed account of general characteristics of respondents who expected to graduate in 1973. The discussion is divided into three major sections. Each section is discussed with reference to three principal areas of analysis: school information, job information, and background information.

In the first half of the chapter these data are discussed for the entire baseline sample, while in the second half the data are presented showing differences in response by sex. The findings for the baseline survey are summarized at the end of the chapter, and include patterns of variation by geographical region.

Basic Distribution

School Information

In this section, variables pertaining to respondents' educational experiences are presented. At the time of the survey, the largest proportion of students (50.3% N=1,107) were attending composite schools, although nearly one-third (32.5%) were in vocational schools. The rest were in occupational schools. Over half (52.7% N=1,105) of the respondents were taking a specialty shop program where one or two subjects were emphasized. Of the rest, the majority were in general shop programs (36.1%) in which four or five different courses are pursued. A small group (11.2%) reported taking "courses." It should be noted, however, that information on programs taken is not as clearcut as it may appear. Disregarding, for the moment, the difficulty in distinguishing between shop programs and courses, we note that many schools require a general shop program for the first year and allow specialization only in the second and subsequent years. Nevertheless, some schools do have general shop

throughout the duration of the occupational program. These differences may have proven confusing to some of our respondents, but generally information and verification were sought and obtained from the occupational teacher present while the survey was being administered.

When asked the reason for being in an occupational program, respondents reported a large variety of answers, with only a small minority reporting ambivalence ("don't know" - 2.7% N=842). Fewer than half the respondents (41.8%) described the program as "interesting" and gave that as a reason for choosing it. Others had used more functional or pragmatic aspects of the program as a criterion of choice - that is, they reported that the program was "valuable," "practical," and "better" (5.2%, 13.2%, and 4.5% respectively). Almost one-third (30.6%) of the respondents reported that they had had no choice in the matter, although from our discussions with principals and teachers, we have reason to believe this percentage is somewhat lower than the reality, considering the relatively large number of students who have no choice but to enter the program after leaving elementary school. Only 1.5% gave the opportunity to leave school early as a reason for entering the program.

As for freedom to choose specific courses within the program, over two-thirds (68.4% N=1,081) reported having had at least some choice. Of the major subjects actually taken, the largest percentage fell in the mechanical/technical category (26.5% N=835) with business/commercial arts and basic trades following as a close second (23.1% and 23.8% respectively). A somewhat lower, yet quite significant, percentage of students (18.7%) had taken services as a major subject. Applied arts subjects were significantly low (6.8%) while academic subjects were almost non-existent (0.7%). Minor subjects ranked in a similar manner to major subjects, although basic trades, in this instance, was the most frequently reported answer (27.2% N=574); and business/commercial arts had fallen slightly behind services (14.4% and 17.9% respectively). Mechanical/technical, applied arts, and academic subjects were chosen by 23.6%, 11.8%, and 4.6% respectively. Table 71 shows the detailed breakdown of major and minor subjects taken.

The majority had spent two years in the program and in the school (50.8% N=888 and 43.5% N=1,071). Yet, some of those who were in the same school for more than two years had transferred from a different program (30.7% in same school but 27.7% in the program for three years, 16.2% and 9.1% respectively for four years), and some of those who were

Table 71/ Number and Percentage of Respondents Taking Major and Minor Subjects

Subjects	Major		Minor	
	N	%	N	%
English			3	0.5
Maths	2	0.2	6	1.0
Science			3	0.5
History	1	0.1		
Social Science			1	0.2
Physical Education	1	0.1	1	0.2
Drama/Theatre Arts			2	0.3
Music	1	0.1	10	1.7
Other Academic Subjects	2	0.2	1	0.1
Arts/Arts and Crafts	18	2.2	26	4.5
Drafting	20	2.4	22	3.8
Landscaping	3	0.4	3	0.5
Painting and Decorating	9	1.1	17	3.0
Photography	6	0.7		
Building Construction	11	1.3	19	3.3
Carpentry/Wood Technology	20	2.4	23	4.0
Construction Trades	2	0.2	3	0.5
Masonry/Trowel Trades	22	2.6	13	2.3
Upholstery	7	0.8	5	0.9
Welding	56	6.7	22	3.8
Printing	5	0.6	8	1.4
Pipe Fitting			1	0.2
Plumbing	6	0.7	4	0.7
Chef Training	17	2.0	18	3.1
Clothing Construction/Tailoring	6	0.7		
Dressmaking	2	0.2	3	2.5
Horticulture	20	2.4	13	2.3
Sewing	27	3.2	24	4.2
Bookkeeping				
Business Practices/Business Machines	2	0.2	3	0.5
Commercial	85	10.2	2	0.3
Data Processing				
Marketing/Merchandising	35	4.2	16	2.8
Retailing	20	2.4	28	4.9
Junior Business Work	9	1.1	8	1.4
Typing	42	5.0	26	4.5
Automotive	25	3.0	13	2.3
Auto Body	48	5.7	27	4.7
Auto Servicing	29	3.5	17	3.0
Blueprint Reading	2	0.2	3	0.5
Duplicating	2	0.2	3	0.5
Electricity	18	2.2	7	1.2
Gasoline Engines	5	0.6	4	0.7
Machine Operation			1	0.2
Machine Shop	17	2.0	12	2.1
Mechanical Maintenance	22	2.6	4	0.7
Service Station Operation				
Small Appliance Repairs	3	0.4	2	0.3
Small Engines	17	2.0	14	2.4
Metal Fabrication	15	1.8	20	3.5

(Table 71 continued on next page.)

Table 71/ continued

Subjects	Major N	Major %	Minor N	Minor %
Cashier Training			2	0.3
Commercial Cooking	18	2.2	7	1.2
Barbering				
Building Management/Institutional Services	2	0.2	4	0.7
Driver Education	1	0.1	5	0.9
Dry Cleaning	2	0.2	2	0.3
Laundry Services			2	0.3
Oil Burner Services	2	0.2	6	1.0
Beauty Culture/Cosmetology	18	2.2	3	0.5
Child Care/Home Nursing	11	1.3	2	0.3
Family Living				
Hairdressing/Hair Care	40	4.8	23	4.0
Home Economics/Domestic Sciences	35	4.2	38	6.6
Home Management/Home Sciences	2	0.2		
Hospital Services	28	3.4	8	1.4
Restaurant Services/Waitress Training	12	1.9	9	1.6
Other Services			2	0.3
Total	835	100.0	574	100.0

in the program for two years or less, had transferred from other schools (8.2% and 11.7%).

Almost half the respondents (40.6% N=1,059) reported having taken special education classes in elementary school, for different lengths of time; of those, the largest percentage had spent at least two years (30.7%) and a small percentage (9.9%) had spent only one year in special education classes in elementary school. (For 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 years or more the figures are 11.6%, 6.8%, 4.1%, 2.2%, 1.0%, and 1.3% respectively.)

As noted in Chapter 2, the respondent's attitude toward school constitutes a crucial aspect of assessing the "effectiveness" of the occupational program. Thus, it was asked of them that they rank, in order of importance, the different aspects of school. The results (Table 72) were very similar to that of the follow-up survey. Job training scored highest as the first and second most important aspect of high school (44.6% and 28.2% respectively); acquiring life skills scored highest (25.4%) as the third most important aspect. Although these results were similar in rank to that of the follow-up survey, actual percentages indicate that the 1973 graduates, faced with a greater problem

of unemployment because of the general conditions of the economy and the labour market, stressed job training more emphatically, consideration of such aspects as making friends and acquiring life skills was somewhat less important. On the other hand, obtaining good grades increased in popularity quite significantly.

Respondents' feelings about school were measured by examining attitudes and feelings both upon entering school and at the present time. It is apparent from Table 73 that feelings about school improved during this period, and the degree of apathy decreased. Slightly more than half the respondents (56.2%) reported happy feelings upon entering school as compared to more than two-thirds (69.5%) at the time of the survey.

Looking at the parents' feelings about the school their offspring are attending, we find much the same pattern as that of the respondents' feelings (Table 74). However, the increase is slightly less in the proportion of parents who felt rather happy about their offspring's being at the school after the passage of time than is the case with respondents. Of course, it is the respondent's perception of what he believed his parent's feelings to be rather than the parents' perceptions themselves that are shown here, hence the reason for the two sets of reported feelings being remarkably proportionate. This may be either a reflection of the respondent's

Table 72/ Percentage of Respondents Reporting Most Important Aspects of High School

Aspects	First Most Important (N=1,067)	Second Most Important (N=1,038)	Third Most Important (N=1,010)
Making friends	15.2	14.5	23.5
Good grades	20.8	21.8	16.4
Job training	44.6	28.2	11.6
Having fun	1.8	5.7	12.1
After-school activities	0.6	4.0	6.6
Life skills	15.8	24.4	25.4
All important	0.9	1.2	3.4
Other	0.3	0.2	1.0

Table 73/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents' Feelings About School

Feelings	At First (N=1,102)	Present (N=1,[illegible])
Very unhappy	13.1	7.[illegible]
Rather unhappy	11.3	8.5
Don't care	19.4	14.8
Rather happy	39.0	43.5
Very happy	17.2	26.0

Table 74/ Percentage Proportion of Parents' Feelings About School

Feelings	At First (N=1,064)	Present (N=1,068)
Very unhappy	6.9	3.4
Rather unhappy	11.7	7.7
Don't care	14.8	12.6
Rather happy	47.3	49.1
Very happy	19.4	27.2

inculcation of his parents' attitudes or the projection of his own feelings upon his parents' views.

Two levels of satisfaction were explored: satisfaction with training as a preparation for life and satisfaction with training for work. In general, the large majority were satisfied with both aspects of school training (88.5% N=1,084, and 89.8% N=1,094 respectively); however, there was greater satisfaction with training for work (30.[illegible]%) than with training as a preparation for life (18.1%). This satisfaction factor is perhaps reflected in the plans the respondents reported to have for the future. More than three-quarters (79.2% N=1,090) intended to work after leaving school; of these, 13.9% planned to get apprenticeships. A relatively large number intended to continue their education (17.6%); of these the largest group (6.8%) intended to transfer to a community college, while 5.9% and 4.8% intended to transfer to another school or another program respectively.

Job Information

Variables pertaining to respondents' job experiences and aspirations are presented.

Although there is a general feeling of contentment toward school and a high level of satisfaction, our data show that in more subjective matters, the school staff does not play an important role. If we consider what influences the respondent considered most important in helping him decide what to do after leaving school, we find that parents and/or relatives were of major importance (43.3% N=1,098). Also a large number (27.1%) reached a decision of their own accord; teachers came next with 16.5%, followed by friends (13.9%) and guidance counsellors (9.6%). Principals and/or vice-principals ranked last with only 1.2%. Since these categories are not mutually exclusive (the respondent may have mentioned more than one source of influence), the influence principals/vice-principals, guidance counsellors, and teachers have had on the students' decision-making as a sole source may be even less.

We now turn to the means respondents expected to use to obtain their first jobs. Nearly one-half (46.5% N=1,053) expected to obtain their first job by approaching employers personally. One-sixth (16.7%) thought they would try Manpower offices and one-tenth (10.4%) thought they would obtain their first job with the help of parents and/or relatives. Only small proportions of students expected to obtain their first job through their teachers (5.2%), the guidance counsellors (4.7%), or friends (4.2%); however, 8.3% expected to use sources other than those listed.

As for type of job expected upon graduation, over one-third (36.1% N=800) expressed a wish to enter an occupation in the production/labour sector; services were next with 19.6%; clerical work was the goal of 16.2%.

A relatively large percentage (14.0%) planned to enter professional/technical occupations; however, intended jobs coded in this category were nearly all nursing positions at different levels and were quasi-professional in nature (e.g., nurses' aide) rather than professional (e.g., registered nurse). Sales and agriculture were the expected occupations of 5.2% and 4.6% respectively.

Almost three-quarters (72.5% N=789) of the respondents expected low-prestige jobs, although the percentage for medium-prestige positions was slightly higher (27.5%) than that for actual positions held by the follow-up respondents. Nobody aspired to high-prestige occupations. Table 75 presents a detailed breakdown of prestige ranking.

In order to assess the students' attitudes toward work in general, respondents were asked to rank, in order of preference, the most important characteristics of a job (Table 76). Good pay (39.1%) and the right kind of work (38.0%) were felt to be the first most important characteristics which respondents sought in their jobs. Good pay also elicited the highest response (26.2%) as the second most important characteristic, although a large number also felt regular hours to be increasingly important (23.9%). The right kind of work (21.6%), good pay (20.5%), and regular hours (19.1%) elicited the highest response as the third most important job characteristics.

Generally speaking, then, good pay and the right kind of work are the most important aspects of employment for the majority of respondents. Regular hours are of slightly less importance, and factors such as security, meeting people, and interesting work are of least importance to respondents.

Background Information

In this section, data are presented on demographic features and on the socioeconomic background of respondents.

Slightly over half (57.6% N=1,107) of our respondents were male. The largest group (94.3%) were between the ages of 16 and 19, the modal age group being 17-18 years (Table 77). Only a small fraction were 21 years of age or older. Contrary to the popularly-held opinion that a large number of occupational students come from immigrant families, only 16.9% (N=1,107) of our respondents were born outside Canada. Taking the modal age group of our sample into consideration, even if your respondents' families were immigrants at one time, they had been in the country for well over ten years, a period long enough to make them full-fledged citizens. Language spoken best, and other languages spoken were further investigated in order to establish ethnic affiliation. While 92.1% cited English as the language spoken best, 70.3% spoke English only and were of Canadian, English, or American descent. The second largest ethnic group was Italian, with 9.0% of all respondents, followed by those of French origin (6.1%). Other ethnic groups had only fractional representation and did not constitute significant numbers.

The forty schools were selected with some attention to a rural/urban split. However, as we have indicated, the selection of schools in rural and urban areas was largely determined by sample requirements.

Table 75/ Percentage Proportion of Job Expectations According to Prestige Ranking

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	% (N=789)
1 - 199	3.2
200 - 299	26.2
300 - 399	43.1
400 - 499	17.8
500 - 599	7.6
600 - 699	2.1
700 - 799	
800 - 899	
900 - 999	

Table 77/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents' Ages

Age	% (N=1,094)
15	0.5
16	11.2
17	33.1
18	34.8
19	15.2
20	3.8
21	0.9
22	0.2
23	0.1
24	0.1

Table 76/ Percentage of Respondents Reporting Most Important Job Characteristics

Job Characteristics	First Most Important (N=1,074)	Second Most Important (N=1,050)	Third Most Important (N=1,038)
Good pay	39.1	26.2	20.5
Security	6.5	9.9	11.5
Regular hours	5.0	23.9	19.1
Meeting people	6.4	15.6	15.5
Interesting	4.3	8.8	11.3
Right kind of work	38.0	15.5	21.6
All important	0.7	0.1	0.5
Other			0.1

Because of the difficulties of presenting a precise breakdown of the rural/urban split, Table 78 is drawn up to show population size in the various areas where respondents reside. Our sample has a slight urban bias - 63.1% live in areas with a population of 50,000 and over - but this is due to the sample design's respecting proportional representation of type of school.

Among important background variables, family size is one which deserves particular attention insofar as it may help or hinder the respondent's performance in school. For instance, a sense of overcrowding in

Table 78/ Percentage Distribution of Sample in Present Locale

Population	% (N=1,076)
Under 1,000	12.5
1,000 - 9,999	12.2
10,000 - 49,999	12.5
50,000 - 250,000	31.9
Over 250,000	31.2

Table/79 Mean Education of Siblings 16 Years of Age and Older

Education	% (N=504)
At least 8 years	23.0
At least 10 years	43.3
At least 12 years	17.9
13 years	7.9
Non-university post-secondary training	2.2
University	5.8

a large family may hinder the development of the ability the occupational student may have. On the other hand, the student from a large family may learn to accommodate to situations arising from everyday life within the family setting and thus may be better prepared for the cooperation required in a workshop than the student who is an only child or comes from a small family. A student with one or more siblings who have attended a regular high school or have had further education may be at an advantage compared to one with siblings who have not had such an education or one with no siblings at all. However, the beneficial effect of the presence of relatively highly educated siblings may be mitigated by the adverse effects of a large family.

Almost two-thirds of our sample (62.6% N=521) belong to large families with four children or more (1-3 children: 37.4%; 4 or 5: 38.1%; 6 or more: 24.5%). However, Table 79 shows that siblings' educational level is relatively high; two-thirds of them have advanced beyond our respondent's level, whether it be in completing regular high school, post-secondary training, or a university education. This latter group (although small in actual numbers because of sample size) presents a relatively high percentage (5.8%) in comparison to the general population from which our sample was drawn. Only 23.0% had had eight years of schooling or less.

Parents' employment status is another important background variable. Only 10.0% (N=977) of the fathers were unemployed at the time of the survey, and a small fraction (2.6% were only employed part time). The great majority (87.4%) were gainfully employed. Of the mothers, the majority were housewives (unemployed: 54.9% N=1,016) although we have no data to show how many were in search of employment. Thirty-three

percent were employed full time and 12.1% part time. Table 80 shows parents' occupation by type. The majority of fathers (67.5%) were in the production/labour category, while mothers were evenly distributed between the service (27.0%), clerical (22.2%), and production/labour (22.0%) sectors. Service industries were relatively high for fathers also (12.3%) compared to those in other sectors.

Parents' occupational prestige ranking (Table 81) of this survey was similar to that of the follow-up survey, especially for fathers; mothers seemed to be doing slightly better in this survey. The majority (of fathers and mothers) fell in the low (1-399) categories with only a small fraction in the high (700-999) ones. Table 82 shows the detailed breakdown of prestige ranking of parents' present jobs.

Parents' level of education, on the other hand, had improved significantly from that of the follow-up survey. Table 83 shows that over half the respondents' fathers (52.8%) had had at least some high school education and of these 24.4% were high school graduates or better. Only 3.7% had had no formal education. Mothers' level of education was slightly higher than fathers' level of education.

Our last area of interest was the school's "catchment area." For this purpose, questions were asked to establish the length of time spent to reach the school and the means of transportation used. The majority

Table 80/ Percentage Proportion by Type of Parents' Occupations

Type of Occupation	Father (N=818)	Mother (N=419)
Professional/ Technical	3.2	13.0
Administrative/ Managerial	2.4	1.0
Clerical	2.4	22.2
Sales	6.6	9.3
Service	12.3	27.0
Agriculture	4.0	3.1
Production/ Labour	67.5	22.0
Unclassifiable	1.0	0.2
Armed Forces	0.5	0.2

Table 81/ Percentage Proportion of Parents' Occupations by Prestige Ranking

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	Father (N=812)	Mother (N=422)
Low (1 - 399)	68.3	75.1
Medium (400-699)	30.4	24.6
High (700-999)	1.2	0.3

Table 82/ Percentage Proportion of Parents' Occupations by Prestige Ranking

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	Father (N=812)	Mother (N=422)
1 - 199	5.4	12.2
200 - 299	28.1	37.5
300 - 399	34.8	25.1
400 - 499	15.9	15.1
500 - 599	12.5	5.2
600 - 699	2.0	4.3
700 - 799	0.8	0.2
800 - 899	0.3	
900 - 999		

Table 83/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents' Parents by Level of Education Attained

Level of Education	Father (N=898)	Mother (N=904)
None	3.7	3.8
At least some elementary	43.7	35.3
Some high school	28.4	30.9
Finished high school or higher	24.4	30.1

(75.6% N=1,054) spent up to half an hour to get to school, and a further 20.8% spent from half an hour to a full hour to do so. The means of transportation most frequently reported was public transit (56.1% N=1,106). Almost one-quarter of the respondents lived within walking distance (24.5%) and a further one-tenth (10.4%) drove by car to school every day. We are justified in assuming, therefore, that the school's "catchment area" stretched beyond the immediate neighbourhood generally. In more specific cases it took over an hour (3.7%) and a combination of different means of transportation (9.1%) to reach the school.

Distribution by Sex

A more detailed analysis is presented in this section as we look at the distribution of baseline responses by sex. The discussion will be pursued along the same lines as in Chapter 3 of the report. We will try to take into account variations in educational experiences and job experiences that may be more pronounced when considered by sex.

School Information

In this section, we will concern ourselves with looking at major variations in response by sex of respondent in relation to educational variables.

A slightly higher percentage of males attended the composite (52.4% N=636) and occupational (18.6%) schools; while there were more females than males in vocational schools (37.3% to 29.1%). This difference is emphasized by the inclusion of an all-female school in Region VII.

Our sample shows a distinct trend in males attending shop programs, while females take course programs which lead to traditional female positions in the labour market. Although one-third (32.9% N=436) of the female respondents were in a general shop program, significantly more males (61.1% N=635, as opposed to 41.5% of females) were in specialty shop programs. Perhaps the most significant finding was the extremely large percentage of females in course programs (25.6%) as opposed to their male counterparts (0.5%).

The major and minor subjects taken by the respondents vary significantly by sex as we see in Table 84. The largest proportion (44.4%) of male respondents took mechanical/technical subjects, while the largest proportion (44.7%) of female respondents took business and commercial subjects. About one-third (32.4%) of males took basic trades, 10.5% took applied arts, 5.9% took services, 5.8% took business and commercial arts, and only 0.6% took academic subjects. Slightly over one-third (35.0%) of females took services, 13.6% took basic trades, 3.6% took mechanical/technical, and 1.9% and 1.2% took applied arts and academic subjects, respectively.

There were no significant differences by sex in terms of reasons for program choice and number of years in school; however, there was some indication that a larger percentage of male respondents spent three to four years in the program than did female respondents. Both sexes spent approximately the same lengths of time in special education, opportunity, or pre-vocational classes in elementary school.

In Table 85 we recorded the most important aspects of high school mentioned by male and female respondents. The most important aspect of high school was reported to be job training for both sexes (48.6% and 39.2% respectively) yet more females (24.6%) than males (18.1%) opted for good grades as the most important aspect of high school.

In terms of the second most important aspect of high school, 26.5% of the males and 30.5% of the females reported job training again. However, life skills (25.0% for males and 23.6% for females) and good grades (21.5% and 22.3% respectively) become increasingly important. Making friends (24.2%) and acquiring life skills (24.9%) are equally important for males as the third most important aspects and the same held true for females (22.4% and 26.4% respectively).

Table 86 shows the first and present feelings of respondents about school. Both males and females were considerably happier at the time of

Table 84/ Number and Percentage by Sex of Respondents Taking Major and Minor Subjects

Subject	Major				Minor			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
English					1	0.3	2	0.9
Maths	1	0.2	1	0.3	1	0.3	5	2.3
Science					2	0.6	1	0.5
History			1	0.3				
Social Science							1	0.5
Physical Education	1	0.2					1	0.5
Drama/Theatre Arts							2	0.9
Music			1	0.3	6	1.7	4	1.8
Other Academic Subjects	1	0.2	1	0.3			1	0.5
Arts/Arts and Crafts	13	2.8	5	1.4	17	4.8	9	4.1
Drafting	18	3.9	2	0.5	22	6.2		
Landscaping	3	0.6			3	0.8	1	
Painting & Decorating	9	1.9			11	3.1	6	2.7
Photography	6	1.3						
Building Construction	11	2.4			18	5.1	1	0.5
Carpentry/Wood Technology	20	4.3			23	6.5		
Construction Trades	2	0.4			3	0.8		
Masonry/Trowel Trades	22	4.7			13	3.7		
Upholstery Trades	7	1.5			5	1.4		
Welding	55	11.8	1	0.3	22	6.2		
Printing	5	1.1			6	1.7	2	0.9
Pipe Fitting					1	0.3		
Plumbing	6	1.3			4	1.1		
Chef Training	9	1.9	8	2.2	9	2.5	9	4.1
Clothing Construction/ Tailoring			6	1.6				
Dressmaking			2	0.5			3	1.4
Horticulture	13	2.8	7	1.9	9	2.5	4	1.8
Sewing	1	0.2	26	7.1	2	0.6	22	10.0
Bookkeeping								
Business Practices/ Business Machines			2	0.5	1	0.3	2	0.9
Commercial	5	1.1	79	21.5		0.3	1	0.5
Data Processing								
Marketing/ Merchandising	8	1.7	27	7.3	2	0.6	6	2.7
Retailing	11	2.4	9	2.4	4	1.1	24	10.9
Junior Business Work			9	2.4	2	0.6	6	2.7
Typing	3	0.6	39	10.6	6	1.7	20	9.1
Automotive	21	4.5	4	1.1	10	2.8	3	1.4
Auto Body	48	10.3			27	7.6		
Auto Servicing	29	6.2			17	4.8		
Blueprint Reading	2	0.4			3	0.8		
Duplicating	2	0.4			2	0.6	1	0.5

(Table 84 continued on next page.)

Table 84/ continued

Subject	Major				Minor			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Electricity	18	3.9			7	2.0		
Gasoline Engines	5	1.1			4	1.1		
Machine Operator					1	0.3		
Machine Shop	16	3.4	1	0.3	12	3.4		
Mechanical Maintenance	22	4.7						
Service Station Operation					3	0.8	1	0.5
Small Appliances Repairs	3	0.6			2	0.6		
Small Engines	17	3.6			14	4.0		
Metal Fabrication	15	3.2			20	5.6		
Cashier Training					1	0.3	1	0.5
Commercial Cooking	10	2.1	8	2.2	2	0.6	5	2.3
Barbering								
Building Management/ Institutional Services	2	0.4			4	1.1		
Driver Education			1	0.3	2	0.6	3	1.4
Dry Cleaning	1	0.2	1	0.3			2	0.9
Laundry Services					2	0.6		
Oil Burner Services					6	1.7		
Beauty Culture/ Cosmetology			18	4.9	1	0.3	2	0.9
Child Care/Home Nursing			11	3.0			2	0.9
Family Living								
Hairdressing/Hair Care	1	0.2	39	10.6	3	0.8	20	2.1
Home Economics/ Domestic Sciences	14	3.0	21	5.7	13	3.7	25	11.4
Home Management/Home Sciences			2	0.5				
Hospital Services	1	0.2	27	7.3	1	0.3	7	3.2
Restaurant Service/ Waitress Training	7	1.5	9	2.4	1	0.3	8	3.6
Other Services					2	0.6		
Total	466	55.9	368	44.1	354	61.7	220	38.3

Table 85/ Percentage Proportion by Sex of Respondents Reporting Most Important Aspects of High School

Reason	First Most Important		Second Most Important		Third Most Important	
	Male (N=613)	Female (N=452)	Male (N=596)	Female (N=440)	Male (N=583)	Female (N=425)
Making friends	15.3	15.0	15.3	13.6	24.2	22.4
Good grades	18.1	24.6	21.5	22.3	15.4	17.6
Job training	48.6	39.2	26.5	30.5	10.1	13.6
Having fun	1.6	2.9	6.0	5.2	12.7	11.3
After-school activities	0.6	0.7	3.7	4.3	8.2	4.5
Life skills	14.8	17.0	25.0	23.6	24.9	26.4
All important	0.7	1.3	1.8	0.2	3.6	3.1
Other	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.9	1.2

Table 86/ Percentage Proportion by Sex of Respondents' Feelings About School

Feelings	At First		Present	
	Male (N=634)	Female (N=466)	Male (N=631)	Female (N=464)
Very unhappy	13.2	12.9	8.1	6.0
Rather unhappy	10.3	12.4	7.9	9.3
Don't care	18.6	20.6	14.7	14.9
Rather happy	39.7	38.0	45.0	41.6
Very happy	18.1	16.1	24.2	28.2

the survey than when they first entered the school, with a slight tendency for females to be happier at the present time than males.

There were no significant differences with regard to the respondents' perceptions of the amount of choice in courses. Satisfaction with training for work elicited similar results for males and females alike (Table 87), yet females tended to score slightly higher on degree of satisfaction with training as a preparation for life. Sixteen percent (15.9%) of males were very satisfied with training as preparation for life while over one-fifth (21.1%) of females responded similarly. More males (72.5%) than females (67.8%) were just satisfied with training as preparation for life. Therefore it appears that in measuring overall satisfaction/dissatisfaction, there is no difference between the sexes; that is, the difference is one of degree and not one of kind.

Job Information

There were no differences with regard to the help received in job choice. It is perhaps worth noting that a considerably higher proportion of males than females held some kind of employment while in school, with the exception of winter-work experience. About one-quarter of male respondents had participated in the winter work program while almost one-third (32.0%) of females had done so.

According to our findings (Table 88) 59.8% of males intended to get a job after graduation while almost three-quarters (72.8%) of the female responses fell into this category. On the other hand, slightly over one-fifth (21.0%) of males planned to seek apprenticeships (traditionally male-oriented jobs), yet only 4.3% of females intended to do so.

Table 89 shows the jobs expected by respondents after leaving school for each of the sexes. Female respondents were expecting clerical jobs (32.9%), service jobs (25.9%), and professional/technical jobs (23.0%). The overwhelming majority of male respondents were expecting jobs of the production/labour type (61.2%) while 14.1% were expecting service jobs. Prestige of expected jobs did not vary significantly by sex; females were slightly more frequent in the low categories (73.2% to 72.0%) and less so in the medium categories (26.8% to 28.0%).

Respondents were asked to indicate what they felt were the three most important job characteristics (Table 90). In terms of the first most important job characteristic, the largest proportion of males (42.3%)

Table 87/ Percentage Proportion of Respondents Satisfied with Training

Degree of Satisfaction	As Training for Work		As Preparation for Life	
	Male (N=629)	Female (N=463)	Male (N=622)	Female (N=460)
Dissatisfied	10.3	9.7	11.6	11.1
Satisfied	59.3	59.6	72.5	67.8
Very Satisfied	30.4	30.7	15.9	21.1

Table 88/ Percentage Proportion by Sex of Respondents' Plans After Leaving School

Plan	Male (N=625)	Female (N=463)
Get a job	59.8	72.8
Apprenticeship	21.0	4.3
Transfer to another school	4.5	7.6
Transfer to another program	5.3	4.1
Transfer to another school and program	0.3	
Transfer to community college	6.6	7.1
Something else	2.6	4.1

Table 89/ Percentage Proportion by Sex of Respondents' Job Expectations

Type of Job	Male (N=425)	Female (N=374)
Professional/Technical	6.1	23.0
Administrative/Managerial	0.5	
Clerical	1.9	32.4
Sales	3.3	7.5
Service	14.1	25.9
Agriculture	7.3	1.6
Production/Labour	61.2	7.8
Unclassifiable	4.5	0.8
Armed Forces	1.2	1.1

Table 90/ Percentage of Respondents by Sex Choosing First, Second, and Third Most Important Job Characteristics

Job Characteristics	First Most Important		Second Most Important		Third Most Important	
	Male (N=612)	Female (N=458)	Male (N=599)	Female (N=449)	Male (N=591)	Female (N=445)
Good pay	42.3	34.9	25.4	27.4	19.8	21.1
Security	6.9	6.1	11.4	8.0	12.4	10.3
Regular hours	5.4	4.6	27.5	19.2	20.1	17.8
Meeting people	3.9	9.8	10.5	22.3	13.5	18.2
Interesting	3.6	5.2	8.3	9.1	9.6	13.5
Right kind of work	36.9	39.1	16.9	13.8	23.7	18.9
All important	1.0	0.2		0.2	0.7	0.2

felt that good pay was most important while the largest proportion of females (39.1%) felt the right kind of work was the most important. Over one-third (34.9%) of female respondents felt good pay was most important, while slightly fewer males (36.9%) than females felt the right kind of work was most important. The largest percentage of males (27.5%) felt regular hours was the second most important job characteristic, the largest percentage of females (27.4%) stated that good pay was the second most important characteristic. The right kind of work was the third most important characteristic for males (23.7%) while good pay was of highest importance (21.1%) for females.

From Table 91 it would appear that males were more likely to find parents and relatives useful in obtaining employment or to approach a potential employer on their own, while females were more likely to use formal channels, such as the Manpower offices.

Background Information

In this section we make an attempt to trace variations by sex of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of respondents.

Table 92 shows the representation of respondents by sex and by region. Clearly the highest percentage of male respondents is found in East Central Ontario (25.2%) while the highest percentage of females is found in West Central Ontario (34.9%). Generally speaking, males are slightly overrepresented in East Central Ontario, Northwestern Ontario,

Table 91/ Percentage Proportion by Sex of Expected Means of Obtaining First Job

Means	Male (N=606)	Female (N=445)
Manpower	13.5	20.9
Parents/Relatives	12.5	7.2
Principal/Vice-Principal	1.2	1.1
Guidance Counsellor	3.8	5.8
Teachers	4.0	7.0
Friends	4.8	3.4
Own initiative	48.0	44.7
Previous employer	3.8	1.8
Other	8.4	8.1

Table 92/ Percentage Regional Distribution of Respondents by Sex

Region	Male (N=636)	Female (N=464)
Northwestern	3.6	2.4
Midnorthern	4.7	3.4
Northeastern	6.0	4.3
Western	11.5	7.1
Midwestern	11.6	13.1
Niagara	10.2	5.8
West Central	15.9	34.9
East Central	25.2	19.4
Eastern	5.2	5.6
Ottawa Valley	6.1	3.9

Midnorthern Ontario, Northeastern Ontario, Western Ontario, the Niagara region, and the Ottawa Valley. Females are overrepresented in West-Central Ontario, Midwestern Ontario, and Eastern Ontario. There are almost twice as many male respondents in the Niagara region; on the other hand, there are over twice as many female respondents in the West Central Ontario region (an all-girl school was included in this region).

There seem to be no significant variations with regard to age, although in general, females tend to be slightly younger than their male counterparts.

Similarly, the levels of parents' education do not seem to vary significantly by sex. However, both fathers and mothers of female respondents have slightly lower levels of education than those of the male respondents.

There were no significant differences by sex of respondent in the types of occupations held by mothers and fathers. However, both parents of female respondents have lower-prestige jobs than parents of male respondents (Table 93).

Fewer females (47.1%) than males (57.8%) reported that they were still living in the place in which they were born. Generally, females were more likely to live in relatively urbanized areas (population size) than were males.

About three-quarters (75.8%) of male respondents spoke only English while only 63.3% of female respondents did so. Twice as many females

Table 93/ Percentage Proportion by Sex of Prestige Ranking of Respondents' Parents' Occupations

Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale	Male		Female	
	Father (N=484)	Mother (N=224)	Father (N=327)	Mother (N=197)
Low (1-399)	64.3	70.1	74.3	80.7
Medium (400-699)	34.5	29.5	24.5	19.3
High (700-999)	1.2	0.4	1.2	

(12.1%) spoke both English and Italian as males (6.6%). However, in terms of language spoken best, the differences by sex were not significant.

Summary

The following is a summary in point form of major findings for the baseline survey.

- 50.3% of our respondents were attending composite schools and nearly one-third (32.5%) were in vocational schools. Occupational schools comprised 17.2% of the responses.
- Specialty shop programs were the most popular (52.7%) followed by general shop programs (36.1%).
- It was reported that 30.6% of the respondents had no say in the choice of the program which they were attending, while 41.8% chose it because they felt it was interesting.
- Freedom of choice in specific courses was somewhat higher with 68.4% of the respondents reporting at least some choice in the matter.
- The actual choices of major subjects ranked in the following manner: mechanical/technical 26.4%, basic trades 23.8%, business/commercial arts 23.1%, service industries 18.7%, applied arts 6.8%, and academic subjects 0.7%.
- The majority had spent two years in the same school (43.5%) and in the same program (50.8%).
- A large percentage (30.7%) had spent at least two years in special education classes in elementary school and a further 9.9% had taken one year for the same purpose.
- Job training scored highest as the first most important (44.6%) and the second most important (28.2%) aspect of high school. Acquiring

life skills ranked highest (25.4%) as the third most important aspect.

- Feeling toward school improved in general with the passage of time, the percentage of those who reported happy feelings increasing from 56.2% upon entering school to 69.5% at the time of the survey.
- The large majority were satisfied with the training received for work (89.8%) and as a preparation for life (88.5%).
- Over three-quarters (79.2%) intended to work after leaving school, while 17.6% intended to continue their education.
- Parents and/or relatives were the major source of influence (43.3%) in helping the student decide what to do after leaving school.
- Approaching a potential employer personally was the means most frequently reported by respondents (46.5%) to be used in obtaining employment.
- Over one-third (36.1%) of the respondents expected to be employed in the production/labour sector, 19.6% in the service sector, and 16.2% in clerical work. A further 14.0% planned to enter professional/technical occupations.
- Prestige rankings for expected jobs were quite low with only 27.5% expecting medium-prestige jobs.
- Good pay (39.1%) and the right kind of work (38.0%) ranked first in importance as job characteristics. Regular hours (19.1%) was among the highest for third most important job characteristics.
- The modal age group was 17-18 years with 94.3% falling between the ages of 16 to 19.
- Only 16.9% were born outside Canada and 92.1% reported speaking English best.
- Almost two-thirds (62.6%) belonged to large families with four children or more.
- 87.0% of respondents' fathers were employed, of whom the majority (67.5%) were in production/labour occupations.
- Mothers were evenly distributed between the service (27.0%), clerical (22.2%), and production/labour (22.0%) sectors.

- Over half of the respondents' fathers (52.8%) had had at least some high school training and of these 24.4% were high school graduates or better.
- There were more males (61.1%) than females (41.5%) taking specialty shop programs; a large number of females (25.6%) were taking course programs.
- The largest proportion of males (44.4%) took mechanical/technical subjects, while the largest proportion of females (44.7%) took business and commercial subjects.
- 16.0% of males were "very satisfied" with training as a preparation for life, while 21.1% of females responded similarly.
- 21.0% of males planned to seek apprenticeships, yet only 4.3% of females intended to do so.
- The overwhelming majority of male respondents (61.2%) were expecting to obtain employment in the production/labour sector, while female respondents expected mostly clerical jobs (32.9%).
- The largest proportion of males (42.3%) felt good pay was the first most important job characteristic; the largest proportion of females (39.1%) felt the right kind of work was most important.
- All respondents in Northeastern Ontario, Eastern Ontario, and the Ottawa Valley were taking a general shop program.
- The only respondents who were taking a course program were from West Central Ontario (45.1%); specialty shops were most popular in East Central Ontario (86.6%) and the Niagara region (79.3%).
- Basic trades as a major subject were most popular in Midnorthern (51.1%), Northeastern (53.3%), and Western Ontario (47.8%).
- Business/commercial arts were significantly popular in West Central Ontario (49.4%); mechanical/technical were most popular in Northwestern Ontario.
- In Northwestern Ontario, 42.4% felt that acquiring life skills was the most important aspect of high school; making friends was most important in Northeastern Ontario (33.3%), and good grades were most important in the Ottawa Valley (30.9%). Job training was most important for the largest proportion of students in all other regions.

- The Niagara region reported the highest proportion of respondents (29.7%) who were very satisfied with training received at school as a preparation for life; respondents in Western Ontario were the most dissatisfied (17.0%).
- The largest percentage of students who intended to obtain employment upon graduation was in Northeastern Ontario (80.7%); the lowest in Midnorthern Ontario (56.5%). Here, however, 21.7% of the respondents intended to get apprenticeships.
- Of the students from Midnorthern Ontario, 17.4% planned to transfer to a community college.
- Over one-fifth of respondents from Eastern Ontario (21.3%), the Ottawa Valley (22.6%), and Northwestern Ontario (24.0%) expected to obtain professional/technical jobs.
- The highest percentage of respondents from English backgrounds was found in Northeastern Ontario (90.9%) and the lowest in West Central Ontario (50.0%).
- Midnorthern Ontario had the largest proportion of respondents with a French background (28.3%), while West Central Ontario had the highest proportion of Italians (25.8%) and Portuguese (5.9%).

6 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter presents a summary of the major findings of the study in point form, a discussion of the implications of these findings, and some final remarks on the relationship of these findings to the original 12 questions posed at the end of Chapter 1. The summary refers to the findings of the follow-up survey, since the baseline survey has been completely summarized, as a separate entity, at the end of Chapter 5.

Summary of Findings

- In our follow-up survey, 57.0% of the respondents attended composite schools, 23.4% attended occupational schools, and 19.6% attended vocational schools.
- About one-half (50.6%) took a specialty shop program, 41.8% took a general shop program, and 7.6% were enrolled in a course program.
- Business/commercial arts (26.0%), basic trades (23.5%) and mechanical/technical skills were the most popular major subjects.
- The majority of the respondents (85.2%) had received a Certificate of Training and 14.8% had received a Certificate of Standing.
- While the majority (77.2%) reported never having taken special education, opportunity, or pre-vocational classes in elementary school, 22.8% reported having done so for at least one year.
- Job training was reported to be the first most important aspect of high school by 43.3% of the respondents. Making friends scored highest as the second (26.1%) and third (23.1%) most important aspects of high school.
- The large majority of respondents (81.1%) were at least "satisfied" with the job training they had received while at school; 79.4% were at least "satisfied" with the training they had received as a preparation for life in general.

- Slightly more than two-thirds (66.8%) reported being employed at the time of the survey, while the rest were either attending school (12.8%) or were unemployed (20.4%).
- Approaching the employer personally was the most frequently reported (38.6%) means of obtaining employment. About 20.0% obtained their first job through parents, relatives, or friends.
- Most of the respondents (54.0%) had obtained their first jobs before leaving school and about one-quarter had done so within one month of graduation.
- Slightly less than half the respondents (42.2%) had held only one job, with the tendency for subsequent jobs to be held for a shorter period of time than the first jobs.
- Overall, the majority of jobs held fell in the production/labour sector and low-prestige categories.
- About one-quarter (27.8%) reported taking some kind of retraining or on-the-job training since leaving school.
- Male respondents constituted 54.6% and female respondents 45.4% of the total distribution.
- The modal age at the time of the survey was 21.
- Almost half the respondents (45.6%) belonged to small families (1 to 3 siblings), while 22.3% belonged to large families (4 or more).
- The majority of the respondents (77.8%) were single and 22.2% were or had been married.
- Almost three-quarters (72.0%) spoke only English and 92.2% reported that they spoke English best.
- Considerably more fathers of respondents (83.9%) were engaged in full-time employment than mothers (29.2%).
- The largest percentage of fathers' occupations were of the production/labour type (63.6%) while the majority of mothers were employed in either service occupations (26.8%) or production/labour jobs (26.2%).
- A greater percentage of females than males attended occupational schools for all years except 1971 and 1972.
- In all years, more males than females thought school had not prepared them for life at all.
- The major subjects most commonly taken by males were in basic trades, while for females they were business/commercial arts subjects and the services.

- A greater percentage of female than male respondents have been unemployed since leaving school.
- The large majority of females (90.0%) attended another school after graduation, while only 11.0% of males did so.
- The majority of male respondents' first jobs were in the production/labour sector; for females they were in the clerical or service sectors.
- The most common reason given by males for leaving a job was because they were laid off; females tended to give other reasons.
- The fathers and mothers of male respondents had, on the average, a higher level of education than female respondents' parents.
- The average occupational prestige level of married respondents' wives was lower than that of the married respondents' husbands.
- Type of employment patterns by sex follow closely patterns in training received at school.
- At the time of the survey, 72.0% of all males and 62.0% of all females were employed; 13.0% of males and 11.0% of females were still attending school.
- The general shop programs were taken by 46.0% male and 38.0% female respondents; specialty shop programs were taken by 53.0% male and 46.0% female respondents.
- Midwestern Ontario had the highest overall percentage (nearly 60.0%) of respondents employed since leaving school.
- West Central Ontario had the highest percentage of unemployment among males, while Northeastern Ontario had the highest percentage of unemployment among females.
- Respondents in Midwestern Ontario had a record of high stability in employment; they also had one of the highest levels of satisfaction with the job training received at school.
- Students from composite schools (57.1%) were more likely to have secured employment upon leaving school than students from the occupational (52.5%) and vocational (47.0%) schools.
- In both first and last jobs, students from vocational schools reported having held their jobs for shorter periods of time (1 to 6 months) than students from composite or occupational schools.
- Occupational school students were least likely (2.1%) to be chronically unemployed, while composite (4.3%) and vocational (4.7%) school students were more likely to be so.

- Students from course programs were least likely to be chronically unemployed as compared to those from general or specialty shop programs.
- They were also most likely to have secured employment upon graduation.
- Respondents from course programs were over ten times as likely (76.9%) as general shop students (7.2%) and more than three times as likely as specialty shop students (21.2%) to hold clerical jobs.
- General shop students were the most likely to have taken retraining in basic trades; course students were the most likely to have taken retraining in business/commercial arts.
- From interviews, we gathered that where parents showed greater concern in the welfare of their offspring, respondents conveyed a greater sense of self-esteem.
- We encountered fewer cases of language difficulties actually experienced by interviewees than was expected.
- Many interviewees felt they were stigmatized by other students - especially in composite schools.
- Several respondents of both sexes complained of the comparative lack of academic content in the occupational programs.
- Most of the people interviewed were negatively self-critical; such an apparent feeling of resignation was linked to personal experiences of stigma.

Discussion of Findings

This study should be looked upon as the study of a process. The process is the occupational students' experiences of the transition from home to school to work (Keil 1968). Those who read this study will possibly have a notion that the process we have referred to is a homogeneous one. There are several reasons why this should be so.

In the first place, it is a fact that many of the findings in this study have been discovered in other studies in various countries at various times: for example, the effects of parental education, occupations, and income upon their children's educational and life chances. The educational and life chances of the children of middle class parents compared to the children of poor and disadvantaged parents are likely to be substantially better in most advanced industrial societies. The fact that the poor, for instance, in any country face similar barriers in their education and life easily leads to the belief that any new study which

reflects these barriers is merely a confirmation of previous studies. The homogeneity of the population studied and their experiences is then considered to exist through time and space. Such considerations often, but not always, make any administrative measures to initiate education and social change seem futile. The poor are the poor are the poor is a good, because very real, example of the kind of truism that results.

The treatment of a social group as essentially homogeneous rather than heterogeneous is also a result of the use of certain statistical procedures (Cicourel 1964). Coding frames and prestructural questionnaires do not allow for the individual details. Finally, however, and this illustrates the use of statistical procedures, the population studied may indeed have certain homogeneous characteristics which must be taken into consideration. Such a homogeneous characteristic, for example, is the various learning disabilities encountered by some of the subjects of the present study.

However, even the term "learning disability" here is a blanket term. We have asked in Chapter 4 whether learning disability refers to actual physiological or psychological difficulties or to difficulties of a cultural or socially conventional form. The argument that this distinction is not drawn sufficiently is perhaps borne out by the fact that over three-quarters, at least, of the respondents in this study were not placed in special education classes in elementary school. Thus even the experience by occupational graduates of what are homogeneously termed learning difficulties is, in fact, heterogeneous to the degree that these learning difficulties have distinctive roots. For example, there are the cases of the two young men referred to in Chapter 4. One young man's mother repeatedly sends him back to school, against the school's advice and in spite of his extreme difficulties in learning. The other young man's occupational teacher firmly believed that if his learning disabilities had been detected in time, he could have successfully completed a high school academic course.

The discussion of the interviews in Chapter 4 shows the diverse experiences and interpretations of self that arise from the apparently homogeneous qualities of the occupational graduates' home and social backgrounds. In Chapter 4, we noted the relatively large size of the families to which occupational graduates belong. We also commented on the relatively close birth order in many families. However, even here, it was clear that the various adverse effects of a too-close birth order

and membership in a large family were overcome by a number of graduates in a variety of different ways. We saw that some graduates even regarded their membership in a large family as emotionally and socially advantageous. Such views may deny the expert's opinion, but they are there to be taken seriously.

For all their shared characteristics, there are many differences in the home and family backgrounds of occupational students. These differences will in turn be emphasized or moderated to some extent by the socio-geographic situation of the home. It is probably less of a strain on a low-income family to live, in however poor conditions, in a sparsely populated rural area, than in a densely populated urban environment where rents and other costs are relatively high.

Chapters 2 and 3 have shown some of the differences among occupational graduates in terms of the specific variations of sex, language, year of graduation, school region, and school experiences. For example, one of the points we noted in Chapter 3 was that although the number of respondents gainfully employed declined through the five years of graduation 1968-72, the number of females gainfully employed declined at a faster rate than the number of males. An increasing rate of marriage among female respondents may be a factor here. Examples of respondents' different experiences of work stability were discussed in Chapter 3. There it was found that Portuguese and, to a lesser extent, Italian respondents tend to have experienced greater stability of employment than respondents in other language groups. The relative stability of employment experienced by respondents in different regions was also discussed in Chapter 3.

[redacted] the limited number of variations discussed in this study show that the transition from home to school to work is not a homogeneous process [redacted] graduates. Chapter 4 in particular throws further light on the meaning of home, school, and work to different respondents. However, it is evident in this study that there are identifiable "homogeneities" of social or administrative origin with which the occupational graduate has to contend. One such is the stigma which many respondents felt was operating against them in school, work, and society at large.

It was clear that stigma in the school was met in various ways by the respondents experiencing it. However, stigma was felt by many respondents to reflect not only social but also institutional biases and

rigidities which had operated against them from their early public school days. Whether it is justified or not, it is not surprising that so many respondents had a keen sense of their exclusion from jobs by prospective employers. It seemed to these respondents that "certification" for all its supposed neutrality in testifying an achieved standard of ability was insufficient to admit them through the gates of the employment market.

The comparatively recent reorganization of many schools into a system of levels whereby the old occupational program is integrated into the rest of the school may achieve much in the elimination of stigma from inside the school and from outside employers. The winter work experience program may also have had some effect. However, much could be done to eliminate some institutional forms of stigma if, as suggested by Hall and McFarlane (1962), more rigorous forms of testing for learning ability were employed. The overall picture of the job market for occupational students is often one where socially conventional beliefs and attitudes shape the configurations of the market itself. Stigma is one of these conventions. There are also institutional barriers such as trade union apprenticeship regulations which prevent the occupational graduate without further education from obtaining the kind of job he would like to perform.

We have seen from Chapters 3 and 4 that there have been many fluctuations in the job market for occupational graduates over the five years of the study. Some of these fluctuations are the result of general economic fluctuations, particularly the economic depression of 1970-71. Other fluctuations in particular areas, especially, were the result of the closing down or moving of a company that had been a principal employer of occupational graduates.

The relationships between job vacancies and opportunities for the occupational graduate and wider economic fluctuations are probably not simple, however. Remarks by a few interviewers suggest that many respondents felt that they had a job only as long as the company or business was able to stay in business. A business dependent on the initiative and enterprise (or the lack of these) of a single owner might easily fail and close down even in a period of apparently general economic well-being. It is not then surprising that so few of the interviewees regarded their existing or potential occupations as careers.

We have seen, too, that many respondents did look at their jobs in terms of what some authors call intrinsic satisfaction - briefly, the desirability of a job for itself. This lack of intrinsic assessment of a

job was exhibited by the number of respondents who felt that they personally were in some way to blame if they did not like their job. Only in a few cases had consideration been given to the relationship between various aspects of the job itself and the respondent's own personality and abilities.

For some respondents, it is obviously true that they were content to hold boring and monotonous low-paid jobs. Such an apparent contentment undoubtedly stems from a "depressingly realistic" view of life's chances and opportunities (Carter 1962). This depressing realism was also apparent among those many respondents who felt bored and frustrated by the prospect of the same kind of job over and over again. Their education had, it seemed, merely prepared them for a succession of unstable semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. Other respondents were considerably more fortunate; they had been given and had taken the opportunity to put their training to advantage in a job that offered some hope for the future.

A number of respondents had decided that the only way in which they could improve their job prospects was to undertake further education and/or training. It is undoubtedly true that some respondents (it is difficult to say how many) did obtain reasonable jobs after completing further high school. One or the other of two tendencies was detectable among those respondents; they condemned the occupational program as useless or praised it as a preparation for "regular high school." It is also true to say that a number of respondents who completed grades 11 and 12 found that their increased education was no panacea for the problem of finding a satisfactory job.

One striking feature of the interviews and the follow-up survey was the number of respondents who eagerly sought advice and help from the interviewers. Most of these respondents were, for example, concerned with the questions of how they could obtain more and presumably better education. A few girls, for instance, were completely frustrated by the fact that they had to work to earn a living and yet wanted wholeheartedly to take the high school classes that would enable them to qualify for nursing examinations. Even where it was economically possible for them to return to school, a number of respondents of both sexes said that they had been refused readmittance by the school from which they had graduated. These respondents had nobody in their family to turn to for advice on educational matters. Interviewers usually recommended that respondents speak with teaching or guidance personnel in their old school, only to

receive the reply that this had already been done with little or no result. The respondents who had not been to their school for advice were also clearly disturbed about the idea of taking this route. It seemed to the interviewers that their mere action of contacting respondents, even if only in the telephone survey, was sufficient proof to the interviewees of interest and expertise. The limited advice that could be given was thankfully received, but often with obvious disappointment.

Given the number of occupational graduates who had sought diligently to mitigate their relative deprivations and the number of graduates who wished to mitigate them, there is clearly a need for new formal advisory procedures that would span the home, the school, and at least the initial years of work. At least one school we know of has established such procedures for continuing advice to students, although on an informal basis.

One final point that could be raised is the question of nomenclature. The use of the terms Certificate of Training, or Certificate of Standing, has to some extent been discontinued, thus alleviating the derogatory connotations attached to the possessors of these certificates by many prospective employers and by members of the public. An attempt should be made to encourage recognition of the new awards as representing the attained standards and abilities of the student, not as *a priori* evidence of his disabilities.

Final Observations

Now we return to the 12 questions posed at the end of Chapter 1. The answers to most of them can be found within the preceding chapters of this report, but we will conclude with some summary remarks and observations.

1. *What are the occupational experiences of occupational graduates in the labour market?*

In general, occupational graduates find employment soon after graduation. Nearly half stay at the first job and find satisfaction and reward in it. However, another common tendency is for graduates to move from job to job in search of a better position.

2. *What difficulty do such students experience in entering the labour market; what sorts of periods of unemployment are involved?*

Occupational graduates face two major problems in entering the labour market. Firstly, many interested in becoming apprentices are unable to acquire the necessary qualifications for doing so. This difficulty was

mentioned specifically by graduates who were holders of a Certificate of Training. They found that it was not accepted as the grade 10 equivalent. The second difficulty in entering the labour market lies in the area of stigma. Some graduates find it difficult to present themselves to employers with confidence, for they doubt their own worth. Others are rejected outright by employers who would not consider hiring holders of a Certificate of Training or Standing. It should be emphasized, however, that many graduates have acquired sufficient self-confidence and skills in the occupational program that they have no difficulty in finding or holding a job. A very specific breakdown of periods of unemployment of occupational graduates is found in Chapters 2 and 3.

3. *What difficulty do such students have in remaining in the labour market; how often do they change jobs?*

Many graduates find and retain satisfying and rewarding jobs, although generally ones which are classified as of low prestige. Others start working at jobs which they dislike and change jobs until they find one which suits them. More often, especially in regions where economic conditions are unfavourable, they start working at a moderately satisfying job, but then are laid off because of cutbacks. They may then work in a series of similarly short-lived jobs without being able to find a permanent position. The more articulate graduates in this category express intense frustration at their predicament. There is a very small number of chronically unemployed graduates who have never been employed since graduation.

4. *What are the prospects for such students having a meaningful career sequence, as opposed to a series of dead-end jobs?*

As was emphasized in Chapter 4, a "meaningful career sequence" can be interpreted by the graduate in his own particular way, depending on the goals he has set himself in life. A number of the graduates have found jobs which they consider meaningful, offering them prospects for advancement. Others are presently employed in satisfactory jobs which provide an adequate income but which do not present, in the graduates' view, much opportunity for advancement. Another group of graduates has been employed, by choice, in a series of varied jobs none of which has led to any particular career, but which the graduate finds interesting or well paid. A fairly large group of graduates, however, consider that they have had a very unsatisfactory employment history, in which they have

moved from one dead-end job to another. These graduates feel that they lack the necessary qualifications to get a good job and that it is too late for them to improve their education.

5. *What is the correlation between the training received by such students and their subsequent occupational experiences?*

This question was interpreted in two ways throughout the period of research. The training received was always divided into two components: job-specific training and life-skills training. The goal of the occupational program is presumably to prepare students to perform a useful function in society in remunerative employment and also, equally, to prepare them to cope with the demands of everyday existence in society. Thus, job-specific training is acquired in formal lessons, whereas life skills are taught not only in formal lessons such as merchandising, food services, trowel trades, and so on, but also in informal contacts with teachers and guidance personnel.

Measuring the correlation between these two kinds of training and employment was not an easy task. However, the students' assessment of their training was discussed in questions on satisfaction with job training and on satisfaction with training for life. In interviews these graduates placed a far greater emphasis on the necessity for intensive job training than they did on the life-skills component. They very much appreciated the efforts of school personnel who taught them self-confidence and who gave them a sense of personal dignity. They also referred to the excellent physical facilities of the schools and the small pupil-teacher ratio. However, they were emphatic in their judgement that job training was the most important aspect of school life. This judgement has been brought home to them in many cases after graduation when they have found themselves unqualified to pursue an occupation that they really did want to take up as their life's work (for example, welding, auto mechanics, or electrical work). Of course, we cannot assess their own abilities and talents; however, the statistics presented in Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate that a great number of the graduates find themselves unable to find employment in their area of interest.

6. *In the case of jobs that provide on-the-job training, do the earlier educational experiences of the students help or hinder them in learning from such job-specific training?*

We were unable to find a single graduate who expressed negative

feelings toward on-the-job retraining. They were unanimously pleased to be able to take such training for a variety of reasons. Some graduates felt that the occupational program had not been of sufficient depth in their area of interest, and they wanted to acquire a more intensive knowledge of one particular area. It was not possible, however, to assess how well they had performed in their jobs after retraining. The majority of graduates who had taken retraining were still, however, employed in that job.

7. *How do such students meet the need for further education as their jobs become technologically upgraded?*

Unfortunately, in many cases the graduates whose jobs become upgraded do not get the choice of further education, since they are laid off by their employers. In other cases, the position which they performed manually (for example, pasting labels on bottles) becomes upgraded to an automated procedure. Some graduates did not have the luxury of contemplating retraining. They had financial commitments to parents or to spouse and children which made it impossible for them to stop working at a series of unskilled occupations. It was not the graduates with the most unstable employment history who took retraining but rather those in stable employment who were subsidized by employers or those who had a very clear idea of where their future lay.

8. *What are the relative unemployment and underemployment experiences of students from different programs and from different socioeconomic backgrounds?*

This is too complex a subject to summarize briefly except to say that students from course and specialty shop programs were less likely to be unemployed than those from general shop programs. Chapter 3 gives a much more detailed breakdown of the relationship of school experiences to employment experiences. When socioeconomic background of graduates was analysed in Chapter 2, it was found that the large majority of students' parents were employed in jobs of uniformly low socioeconomic status. It was decided, therefore, that such homogeneity of socioeconomic background would not lead to significant statistical differences in employment experiences. Therefore, language and regional variables were examined instead (see Chapter 3).

9. *What are the factors involved in student decisions to pursue different programs of further education or retraining?*

The majority of graduates who pursued further education or retraining stated that their education in the occupational program had not adequately prepared them to perform a specific job. They therefore wished to upgrade their practical skills in order to pursue a chosen occupation. An extremely small minority took further education in order to improve their knowledge of a particular academic field.

10. *What implications do such decisions have on future patterns of oversupply or undersupply in selected educational and occupational categories?*

There are two aspects to this question as far as educational institutions are concerned. Firstly, the input to the occupational program can be controlled by mechanisms of selection. Therefore, presumably, the question of oversupply would not arise. If any program of integration of Level I, II, III, IV, and V schools were put into effect, then the supply of students to the system would reflect merely the population trend for a particular four- or five-year period. The supply of students assigned to classes for slow learners is in any case determined by the criteria of selection for those classes.

Secondly, the students' decisions concerning further education or retraining seem to indicate that there will be an increased demand for specialty shop courses at the high school level and for community college courses at the postsecondary level. Among this population there is a relatively small interest in "straight" academic high school programs or in university studies (although some graduates are pursuing such courses).

The employment implications of this study are fairly pessimistic. Although these graduates obtain some kind of employment quite soon after graduation, many of these jobs are usually of short duration. At the present time, the unemployment rate of the male graduates in our sample is over three times the national average. It is obvious that young people in the 14-24 age group are at a disadvantage in finding employment. This disadvantage, however, does not apply only to graduates of occupational programs, but also to graduates of other high school programs and of universities. Moreover, in a situation of scarcity, the occupational graduates are in a worse position as far as certification for employment is concerned. Many of them do not view their future in a rosy light.

11. *Are present projections based on adequate data?*

Projections which are based solely on manpower requirements of various industries or on population trends in particular school board

areas do not really give an adequate picture of the factors involved in dealing with a segment of the population that appears to be at a severe disadvantage as far as employment certification and basic literacy skills are concerned. In a situation of job scarcity and increasing automation, however, the projections for their acquiring employment will become increasingly difficult.

12. *How much "social wastage" is caused by present practices?*

It cannot fail to have escaped the readers of this report that the employment pattern of the parent generation is being repeated in the employment pattern of these graduates. The results of this study raise very fundamental questions about the organization of society and of the educational system.

If equality of access to education is to be a reality, the problems of slow learners have to be identified in the earliest years of primary education. Then, hopefully, secondary education can become a matter of choice, not resigned acceptance of lack of ability. However, if jobs continue to be scarce, then any person at a disadvantage will experience difficulty in finding employment, and changes in the educational system will not change that. In other words, one could only talk about social wastage of talent, if there were, in fact, enough jobs for everyone with talent.

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This is part of a survey being undertaken for the Ministry of Education of graduates from occupational programs in Ontario schools. We would appreciate it if you would answer some questions for us. It would take about twenty minutes. Your name would not be attached to the report, and all information is kept in strict confidence.

I *School Information*

1. What is the name of the school which you attended when you received your Certificate of Training or Certificate of Standing or Statement of Standing?

_____

2.a) What program were you in?

		Major	Minor
___	a. General Shop	_____	_____
___	b. Specialty Shop	_____	_____
___	c. Course	_____	_____

b) Why did you choose that program?

_____

3. How long were you

a) in that school? _____
b) in that program? _____

4. In elementary school were you ever in opportunity/pre-vocational/special education classes?

___ Yes ___ No

If yes, then for how many years?

_____

5. What ages are your brothers and sisters and what level of education have they reached?

1. Age ___ Level reached _____
2. Age ___ Level reached _____
3. Age ___ Level reached _____
4. Age ___ Level reached _____
5. Age ___ Level reached _____
6. Age ___ Level reached _____

6. What do you think were the three most important things that you got out of high school? Rank 1, 2, and 3.

___ a. making good friends
___ b. getting good grades
___ c. the job training you received
___ d. having fun
___ e. participating in after-school activities
___ f. learning how to manage your life after you left school
___ g. other: _____

7. How satisfied are you with the training for work you received at school?

___ Unsatisfied ___ Satisfied ___ Very Satisfied

8. How well do you think your experiences at school prepared you for life in general?

___ Not at all ___ Well ___ Very Well

II *Job Information*

1. (JSU) What kind of employment did you have while you were in school?

___ a. summer full-time
___ b. summer part-time
___ c. winter part-time on your own
___ d. winter work experience (one week full-time job obtained through the school) _____
___ e. part-time all year round
___ f. none

2. (JSU) What have you been doing since you left school?

___ a. Employed
___ b. Unemployed
___ c. Attending school
___ d. Other

3. (J) How long did it take you to get your first job after you left school?

_____

4. (J) How did you get your first job?

___ a. Manpower office
___ b. Parents or relatives
___ c. Principal or vice-principal
___ d. Guidance counsellor
___ e. Teachers
___ f. Friends
___ g. Going to an employer myself
___ h. Previous employers
___ i. Others: _____

5. (J) Was your first job governed by a union contract?
___ Yes ___ No

6. (J) Was your first job part of an apprenticeship?
___ Yes ___ No

7. (J) How do you feel the school prepared you for your first job?
___ a. very well
___ b. a bit
___ c. not at all

8. Employment Experience Since Leaving School
(J)

	Job	How Long	Duties Involved	Degree of Satisfaction**	Reason for Leaving*
First					
Second					
Third					
Fourth					
Fifth					
Sixth					
Seventh					
Eighth					

* Reason for Leaving (insert letter)
a. I got a job I liked better.
b. I was laid off.
c. I wanted to use my training.
d. I moved to another place.
e. I was promoted.
f. I got a job with more pay.
g. Any other reason.

** Degree of Satisfaction
a. A great deal.
b. Quite a bit.
c. Some.
d. Not very much.
e. None.

9.a) (JU) Have you ever been unemployed since you left school?

___ Yes ___ No

b) How long?

First time _____
Second time _____
Third time _____

10.a) (JU) Have you ever had any re-training or on-the-job training since you left school?

___ Yes ___ No

b) If yes, what kind of training was it?

_____

c) Why did you take this training?

___ a. I wanted better pay.
___ b. I couldn't use my school training for a job anymore.
___ c. My employer offered it to me.
___ d. I was unemployed.
___ e. I wanted to do a more interesting job.
___ f. Other: _____

III *Background Information*

1. In what year were you born?

_____

2. What is your sex?

Male ___ Female ___

3. How far did your father go in school?

___ a. none
___ b. some elementary school
___ c. finished elementary school
___ d. some high school
___ e. finished high school
___ f. some college or university
___ g. finished college or university
___ h. other: _____

4. How far did your mother go in school?

___ a. none
___ b. some elementary school
___ c. finished elementary school
___ d. some high school
___ e. finished high school
___ f. some college or university
___ g. finished college or university
___ h. other: _____

5. Is your father employed?

___ No ___ Full-time
___ Yes ___ Part-time

6. Is your mother employed?

___ No ___ Full-time
___ Yes ___ Part-time

7. When your father works, what is his job? Please explain as fully as possible. For example, if he drives a truck put "He drives a truck for an oil company."

_____

_____

_____

When your mother works, what is her job? Please explain as fully as possible. For example, if she is a typist, put "She is a typist in an insurance company."

_____

_____

_____

9. What is the name of the place you were born?

- if in Canada, the name of village, town, or city *and* province
- if outside Canada, write the name of the country

_____

10. Where do you live *now*? Write the name of the village, town, or city.

_____

11. If you were born outside Canada how old were you when you came to Canada?

_____

12. What languages do you speak?

_____

13. What language do you speak best?

_____

14. What is your marital status?

___ a. single - answer question 20 only.
___ b. separated
___ c. married } answer questions 15-20
___ d. divorced

15. Do you have any children? How many?

___ a. none
___ b. one
___ c. two
___ d. three
___ e. four or more

16. If you are married, how far did your husband or wife go in school?

___ a. none
___ b. some elementary school
___ c. finished elementary school
___ d. some high school
___ e. finished high school
___ f. some college or university
___ g. finished college or university
___ h. other: _____

17. Is your husband or wife employed?

___ No ___ Full-time
___ Yes ___ Part-time

18. When your husband or wife works, what is his/her job? Please describe as fully as possible.

_____
_____
_____

19. Would your income be insufficient if you didn't both work?

___ Yes ___ No

20. Do you have any other comments?

_____
_____

This study is being carried out as part of a contract with the Ministry of Education. We are interested in finding out what students who will be leaving school in 1973 are planning to do in the future. All information will be kept in strict confidence.

I *School Information*

1. Write the name of the school you are now attending.

_____

2.a) What program are you in?

		Major	Minor
____	a. General Shop	_____	_____
____	b. Specialty Shop	_____	_____
____	c. Course	_____	_____

b) Why did you choose this program?

_____

3. How long have you been

a) in this school? _____
b) in this program? _____

4. In elementary school were you ever in opportunity/pre-vocational/special education classes?

____ Yes ____ No

If yes, then for how many years?

_____

5. What ages are your brothers and sisters and what level of education have they reached?

1. Age ____ Level reached _____
2. Age ____ Level reached _____
3. Age ____ Level reached _____
4. Age ____ Level reached _____
5. Age ____ Level reached _____
6. Age ____ Level reached _____

6. How did you feel about this school when you *first* came here? Check one.

____ a. I didn't want to come here at all.
____ b. I was rather unhappy to come here.
____ c. I didn't care whether I came here or not.
____ d. I was quite happy that I came here.
____ e. I was really glad that I was going here.

7. How do you feel *now* about this school? Check one.

____ a. I don't want to be here at all.
____ b. I am rather unhappy that I am here.
____ c. I don't care whether I am here or not.
____ d. I am quite happy I am going here.
____ e. I am really glad that I am going here.

8. How did your parents feel when you *first* came to this school? Check one.

____ a. They didn't want me to come here at all.
____ b. They were rather unhappy that I came here.
____ c. They didn't care whether I came here or not.
____ d. They were quite happy that I came here.
____ e. They were really glad I came here.

9. How do your parents feel about your going to this school *now*? Check one.

____ a. They don't want me to be here at all.
____ b. They are rather unhappy that I am here.
____ c. They don't care one way or another.
____ d. They are quite happy about my going here.
____ e. They are really glad I'm going here.

10. How much choice do you think you've had deciding what courses to take?

____ a. A lot.
____ b. Some.
____ c. Very little.

11.a) How long does it take you to get to school every day?

_____

b) How do you get to school every day? Check one.

____ a. By bus.
____ b. By streetcar.
____ c. By subway.
____ d. By walking.
____ e. By car.
____ f. Other: _____

12 What do you think are the three most important things that you get out of high school? Put 1, 2, and 3 in the right o[illegible].

____ a. Making good friends.
____ b. Getting good grades.
____ c. Job training.
____ d. Having fun.
____ e. Participating in after-school activities.
____ f. Learning how to manage my life after I leave school.
____ g. Other: _____

13 How satisfied are you with the training for work you received at this school? Check one.

____ Unsatisfied ____ Satisfied ____ Very satisfied

14. How satisfied are you with the preparation for life in general you receive at this school? Check one.

___ Unsatisfied ___ Satisfied ___ Very satisfied

II *Job Information*

1. Who has helped you to decide what to do after you leave school?

___ a. Parents or relatives.
___ b. Principal or vice-principal.
___ c. Guidance counsellor.
___ d. Teachers.
___ e. Friends.
___ f. Other: _____

2. What kind of employment have you had since you've been in this school? Check any that apply.

___ a. Summer full-time.
___ b. Summer part-time.
___ c. Winter part-time on your own.
___ d. Winter work experience (one week full-time job obtained through the school) _____
___ e. Part-time all year round.
___ f. None.

3. After leaving school do you want to: (check one)

___ a. get a job
___ b. start an apprenticeship
___ c. transfer to another secondary school (which one?) _____
___ d. transfer to another program (which one?) _____
___ e. transfer to a community college
___ f. anything else _____

4. What kind of job do you expect to get after you leave this school?

_____
_____
_____

5. What are the three most important things to you in a job? Put 1, 2, and 3 in the right order.

___ a. Good pay.
___ b. Security.
___ c. Regular hours.
___ d. Meeting people.
___ e. Interest and excitement
___ f. The type of work I like doing.

6. How do you plan to get a job? By means of: (Check one.)

____ a. Manpower office
____ b. Parents or relatives
____ c. Principal or vice-principal
____ d. Guidance counsellor
____ e. Teachers
____ f. Friends
____ g. By going to an employer myself
____ h. By going to an employer myself
____ i. Other: _____

III *Background Information*

1. In what year were you born?

_____

2. What is your sex?

____ Male ____ Female

3. How far did your father go in school? Please check one.

____ a. None.
____ b. Some elementary school.
____ c. Finished elementary school.
____ d. Some high school.
____ e. Finished high school.
____ f. Some college or university.
____ g. Finished college or university.
____ h. Other: _____

4. How far did your mother go in school? Please check one.

____ a. None.
____ b. Some elementary school.
____ c. Finished elementary school.
____ d. Some high school.
____ e. Finished high school.
____ f. Some college or university.
____ g. Finished college or university.
____ h. Other: _____

5. Is your father employed? Check the right ones.

____ No ____ Full-time
____ Yes ____ Part-time

6. Is your mother employed? Check the right ones.

____ No ____ Full-time
____ Yes ____ Part-time

7. When your father works, what is his job? Please explain as clearly as you can. For example, if he drives a truck, put, "He drives a truck for an oil company."

_____
_____

8. When your mother works, what is her job? Please explain as clearly as you can. For example, if she is a typist, put, "She is a typist in an insurance company."

_____

_____

9. Write the name of the place you were born,

a. If in Canada, (i) write the name of the village, town or city.

_____

(ii) write the name of the province as well.

_____

If outside Canada, write the name of the country.

_____

10. Where do you live now? Write the name of the village, town or city.

_____

11. If you were born outside Canada, how old were you when you came to Canada?

_____

12. What languages do you speak?

_____

13. What languages do you speak best?

_____

Thank you very much for your help. If you have any comments about the questionnaire, please write them here.

_____

_____

_____

We will be interested in knowing what has happened to students after they have left school. Therefore, we would appreciate your putting your name, address, and telephone number in the space below so that it would be possible to contact you after you are working.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Telephone Number _____

I School Information

1. What did you think of your experience at _____ school? Did you like going there? Was it worthwhile in terms of your present job?

2. Can you remember in detail what the procedures were for helping students choose their courses and telling them abour job opportunities?

3. Just before you left _____, were you satisfied with the whole programme or did you wish that you could have had an entirely different kind of education? If yes, what?

II Job Information

1. Tell me what it was like, finding your first job.

2. Have the jobs that you've been doing since you left school been jobs that you wanted to do, because of your training or for other reasons, e.g., occupational aspirations or personal enjoyment?

3. If you did not like the jobs you have had would you blame a) your education, b) economic conditions, c) your social and family background, d) yourself, e) any other? Try and distinguish relative importance.

4. What are you thinking of doing about employment in the future? (continue this job, find another)

5. Are you generally hopeful about your future?

III – Background Information

1. What kinds of things do you most remember about your childhood? (Pursue home life, family interrelationships, etc.)

2. How did you get along with your parents, brothers, sisters, friends, and other people?

3. What are your feelings about the education that you and your brothers and sisters got?

4. What do you hope for your own children? (Distinguish between education and other hopes)

Comments

Do you have anything you'd like to add?

D/The Pineo-Porter Prestige Scale

Professional

Accountant	634
Architect	781
Biologist	726
Catholic Priest	728
Chemist	735
Civil Engineer	731
County Court Judge	825
Druggist	693
Economist	622
High School Teacher	661
Lawyer	823
Mathematician	727
Mine Safety Analyst	571
Mining Engineer	688
Physician	872
Physicist	776
Protestant Minister	678
Psychologist	749
Public Grade School Teacher	596
University Professor	846
Veterinarian	667

Semi-Professional

Airline Pilot	661
Author	648
Ballet Dancer	491
Chiropractor	684
Commercial Artist	572
Computer Programmer	538
Disc Jockey	380
Draughtsman	600
Funeral Director	549
Jazz Musician	409
Journalist	609
Medical or Dental Technician	675
Musician	521
Musician in a Symphony Orchestra	560
Physiotherapist	721
Playground Director	428
Professional Athlete	541
Professionally Trained Forester	600
Professionally Trained Librarian	581
Registered Nurse	647
Research Technician	669
Sculptor	569
Social Worker	551
Surveyor	620
TV Announcer	576
TV Cameraman	483
TV Director	621
TV Star	656
YMCA Director	582

Proprietors, Managers, and Officials, Large

Administrative Officer in Federal Civil Service	688
Advertising Executive	565
Bank Manager	709
Building Contractor	565
Colonel in the Army	708
Department Head in City Government	713
General Manager of a Manufacturing Plant	691
Mayor of a Large City	799
Member of Canadian Cabinet	833
Member of Canadian House of Commons	848
Member of Canadian Senate	861
Merchandise Buyer for a Department Store	511
Owner of a Manufacturing Plant	694
Provincial Premier	899
Wholesale Distributor	479

Proprietors, Managers, and Officials, Small

Advertising Copy Writer	489
Beauty Operator	352
Construction Foreman	511
Driving Instructor	416
Foreman in a Factory	509
Government Purchasing Agent	568
Insurance Claims Investigator	511
Job Counsellor	583
Livestock Buyer	396
Lunchroom Operator	316
Manager of a Real Estate Office	583
Manager of a Supermarket	525
Member of a City Council	629
Motel Owner	516
Owner of a Food Store	478
Public Relations Man	605
Railroad Ticket Agent	357
Sawmill Operator	370
Service Station Manager	415

Ship's Pilot	596
Superintendent of a Construction Job	539
Trade Union Business Agent	492
Travel Agent	466

Clerical and Sales

Air Hostess	570
Bank Teller	423
Bill Collector	294
Bookkeeper	494
Cashier in a Supermarket	311
Clerk in an Office	356
File Clerk	327
IBM Keypunch Operator	477
Insurance Agent	473
Manufacturer's Representative	521
Post Office Clerk	372
Real Estate Agent	471
Receptionist	387
Sales Clerk in a Store	265
Shipping Clerk	509
Stenographer	460
Stockroom Attendant	258
Telephone Operator	381
Telephone Solicitor	267
Travelling Salesman	402
Truck Dispatcher	322
Typist	419
Used Car Salesman	312

Skilled

Airplane Mechanic	503
Baker	389
Bricklayer	362
Butcher in a Store	348
Coal Miner	276
Cook in a Restaurant	297
Custom Seamstress	334
Diamond Driller	445
Electrician	502
House Carpenter	389
House Painter	299
Locomotive Engineer	489
Machinist	442
Machine Set-Up Man in a Factory	421
Mucking Machine Operator	315
Plumber	426
Power Crane Operator	402
Power Lineman	409
Pumphouse Engineer	389
Railroad Brakeman	371
Railroad Conductor	453
Saw Sharpener	207
Sheet Metal Worker	359
TV Repairman	372
Tool and Die Maker	425
Typesetter	422
Welder	418

Semi-Skilled

Aircraft Worker	437
Apprentice to a Master Craftsman	339
Assembly Line Worker	282
Automobile Repairman	381
Automobile Worker	359
Barber	393
Bartender	202
Book Binder	352
Bus Driver	359
Cod Fisherman	234
Firefighter	435
Fruit Packer in a Cannery	232
Logger	249
Longshoreman	261
Loom Operator	333
Machine Operator in a Factory	349
Newspaper Pressman	430
Oil Field Worker	353
Oiler in a Ship	276
Paper Making Machine Tender	316
Policeman	516
Private in the Army	284
Production Worker in the Electronics Industry	508
Professional Babysitter	259
Quarry Worker	267
Sewing Machine Operator	282
Steam Boiler Fireman	328
Steam Roller Operator	322
Steel Mill Worker	343
Textile Mill Worker	288
Timber Cruiser	403
Trailer Truck Driver	328
Troller	236
Worker in a Meat Packing Plant	252

Unskilled

Carpenter's Helper	231
Construction Labourer	265
Elevator Operator in a Building	201
Filling Station Attendant	233
Garbage Collector	148
Hospital Attendant	349

Housekeeper in Private Home	288
Janitor	173
Laundress	193
Mailman	361
Museum Attendant	304
Newspaper Peddler	148
Railroad Sectionhand	273
Taxicab Driver	251
Waitress in a Restaurant	199
Warehouse Hand	213
Whistle Punk	184
Worker in a Dry Cleaning or Laundry Plant	208

Farmer	
Commercial Farmer	420
Dairy Farmer	442
Farm Labourer	215
Farm Owner and Operator	441
Hog Farmer	330
Part-time Farmer	251

Not in Labour Force	
Archaeopotrist	637
Biologer	642
Occupation of my family's main wage earner	509
Occupation of my father when I was 16	425
Someone who lives off inherited wealth	458
Someone who lives off property holdings	487
Someone who lives off stocks and bonds	569
Someone who lives on relief	76

Source: P. Pineo and J. Porter, "Occupational Prestige in Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 4, 1: 24-40, 1967.

MAJOR, MINOR AND UNIT GROUPS

Major Group 0/1: Professional, Technical and Related Workers

0-1 Physical Scientists and Related Technicians
- 0-11 Chemists
- 0-12 Physicists
- 0-13 Physical scientists not elsewhere classified
- 0-14 Physical science technicians

0-2/0-3 Architects, Engineers and Related Technicians
- 0-21 Architects and town planners
- 0-22 Civil engineers
- 0-23 Electrical and electronics engineers
- 0-24 Mechanical engineers
- 0-25 Chemical engineers
- 0-26 Metallurgists
- 0-27 Mining engineers
- 0-28 Industrial engineers
- 0-29 Engineers not elsewhere classified
- 0-31 Surveyors
- 0-32 Draughtsmen
- 0-33 Civil engineering technicians
- 0-34 Electrical and electronics engineering technicians
- 0-35 Mechanical engineering technicians
- 0-36 Chemical engineering technicians
- 0-37 Metallurgical technicians
- 0-38 Mining technicians
- 0-39 Engineering technicians not elsewhere classified

0-4 Aircraft and Ships' Officers
- 0-41 Aircraft pilots, navigators and flight engineers
- 0-42 Ships' deck officers and pilots
- 0-43 Ships' engineers

0-5 Life Scientists and Related Technicians
- 0-51 Biologists, zoologists and related scientists
- 0-52 Bacteriologists, pharmacologists and related scientists
- 0-53 Agronomists and related scientists
- 0-54 Life sciences technicians

0-6/0-7 Medical, Dental, Veterinary and Related Workers
- 0-61 Medical doctors
- 0-62 Medical assistants
- 0-63 Dentists
- 0-64 Dental assistants
- 0-65 Veterinarians

0-66 Veterinary assistants
0-67 Pharmacists
0-68 Pharmaceutical assistants
0-69 Dietitians and public health nutritionists
0-71 Professional nurses
0-72 Nursing personnel not elsewhere classified
0-73 Professional midwives
0-74 Midwifery personnel not elsewhere classified
0-75 Optometrists and opticians
0-76 Physiotherapists and occupational therapists
0-77 Medical X-ray technicians
0-79 Medical, dental, veterinary and related workers not elsewhere classified

0-8 Statisticians, Mathematicians, Systems Analysts and Related Technicians
0-81 Statisticians
0-82 Mathematicians and actuaries
0-83 Systems analysts
0-84 Statistical and mathematical technicians

0-9 Economists
0-90 Economists

1-1 Accountants
1-10 Accountants

1-2 Jurists
1-21 Lawyers
1-22 Judges
1-29 Jurists not elsewhere classified

1-3 Teachers
1-31 University and higher education teachers
1-32 Secondary education teachers
1-33 Primary education teachers
1-34 Pre-primary education teachers
1-35 Special education teachers
1-39 Teachers not elsewhere classified

1-4 Workers in Religion
1-41 Ministers of religion and related members of religious orders
1-49 Workers in religion not elsewhere classified

1-5 Authors, Journalists and Related Writers
1-51 Authors and critics
1-59 Authors, journalists and related writers not elsewhere classified

1-6 Sculptors, Painters, Photographers and Related Creative Artists
1-61 Sculptors, painters and related artists
1-62 Commercial artists and designers
1-63 Photographers and cameramen

1-7 Composers and Performing Artists
1-71 Composers, musicians and singers
1-72 Choreographers and dancers
1-73 Actors and stage directors
1-74 Producers, performing arts
1-75 Circus performers
1-79 Performing artists not elsewhere classified

1-8 Athletes, Sportsmen and Related Workers
- 1-80 Athletes, sportsmen and related workers

1-9 Professional, Technical and Related Workers Not Elsewhere Classified
- 1-91 Librarians, archivists and curators
- 1-92 Sociologists, anthropologists and related scientists
- 1-93 Social workers
- 1-94 Personnel and occupational specialists
- 1-95 Philologists, translators and interpreters
- 1-99 Other professional, technical and related workers

Major Group 2: Administrative and Managerial Workers

2-0 Legislative Officials and Government Administrators
- 2-01 Legislative officials
- 2-02 Government administrators

2-1 Managers
- 2-11 General managers
- 2-12 Production managers (except farm)
- 2-19 Managers not elsewhere classified

Major Group 3: Clerical and Related Workers

3-0 Clerical Supervisors
- 3-00 Clerical supervisors

3-1 Government Executive Officials
- 3-10 Government executive officials

3-2 Stenographers, Typists and Card- and Tape-Punching Machine Operators
- 3-21 Stenographers, typists and teletypists
- 3-22 Card- and tape-punching machine operators

3-3 Bookkeepers, Cashiers and Related Workers
- 3-31 Bookkeepers and cashiers
- 3-39 Bookkeepers, cashiers and related workers not elsewhere classified

3-4 Computing Machine Operators
- 3-41 Bookkeeping and calculating machine operators
- 3-42 Automatic data-processing machine operators

3-5 Transport and Communications Supervisors
- 3-51 Railway station masters
- 3-52 Postmasters
- 3-59 Transport and communications supervisors not elsewhere classified

3-6 Transport Conductors
- 3-60 Transport conductors

3-7 Mail Distribution Clerks
- 3-70 Mail distribution clerks

3-8 Telephone and Telegraph Operators
- 3-80 Telephone and telegraph operators

3-9 Clerical and Related Workers Not Elsewhere Classified
- 3-91 Stock clerks
- 3-92 Material and production planning clerks
- 3-93 Correspondence and reporting clerks
- 3-94 Receptionists and travel agency clerks
- 3-95 Library and filing clerks
- 3-99 Clerks not elsewhere classified

Major Group 4: Sales Workers

4-0 Managers (Wholesale and Retail Trade)
- 4-00 Managers (wholesale and retail trade)

4-1 Working Proprietors (Wholesale and Retail Trade)
- 4-10 Working proprietors (wholesale and retail trade)

4-2 Sales Supervisors and Buyers
- 4-21 Sales supervisors
- 4-22 Buyers

4-3 Technical Salesmen, Commercial Travellers and Manufacturers' Agents
- 4-31 Techical salesmen and service advisers
- 4-32 Commercial travellers and manufacturers' agents

4-4 Insurance, Real Estate, Securities and Business Services Salesmen and Auctioneers
- 4-41 Insurance, real estate and securities salesmen
- 4-42 Business services salesmen
- 4-43 Auctioneers

4-5 Salesmen, Shop Assistants and Related Workers
- 4-51 Salesmen, shop assistants and demonstrators
- 4-52 Street vendors, canvassers and newsvendors

4-9 Sales Workers Not Elsewhere Classified
- 4-90 Sales workers not elsewhere classified

Major Group 5: Service Workers

5-0 Managers (Catering and Lodging Services)
- 5-00 Managers (catering and lodging services)

5-1 Working Proprietors (Catering and Lodging Services)
- 5-10 Working proprietors (catering and lodging services)

5-2 Housekeeping and Related Service Supervisors
- 5-20 Housekeeping and related service supervisors

5-3 Cooks, Waiters, Bartenders and Related Workers
- 5-31 Cooks
- 5-32 Waiters, bartenders and related workers

5-4 Maids and Related Housekeeping Service Workers Not Elsewhere Classified
- 5-40 Maids and related housekeeping service workers not elsewhere classified

5-5 Building Caretakers, Charworkers, Cleaners and Related Workers
- 5-51 Building caretakers
- 5-52 Charworkers, cleaners and related workers

5-6 Launderers, Dry-Cleaners and Pressers
- 5-60 Launderers, dry-cleaners and pressers

5-7 Hairdressers, Barbers, Beauticians and Related Workers
- 5-70 Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians and related workers

5-8 Protective Service Workers
- 5-81 Fire-fighters
- 5-82 Policemen and detectives
- 5-89 Protective service workers not elsewhere classified

5-9 Service Workers Not Elsewhere Classified
- 5-91 Guides
- 5-92 Undertakers and embalmers
- 5-99 Other service workers

Major Group 6: Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters

6-0 Farm Managers and Supervisors
- 6-00 Farm managers and supervisors

6-1 Farmers
- 6-11 General farmers
- 6-12 Specialised farmers

6-2 Agricultural and Animal Husbandry Workers
- 6-21 General farm workers
- 6-22 Field crop and vegetable farm workers
- 6-23 Orchard, vineyard and related tree and shrub crop workers
- 6-24 Livestock workers
- 6-25 Dairy farm workers
- 6-26 Poultry farm workers
- 6-27 Nursery workers and gardeners
- 6-28 Farm machinery operators
- 6-29 Agricultural and animal husbandry workers not elsewhere classified

6-3 Forestry Workers
- 6-31 Loggers
- 6-32 Forestry workers (except logging)

6-4 Fishermen, Hunters and Related Workers
- 6-41 Fishermen
- 6-49 Fishermen, hunters and related workers not elsewhere classified

Major Group 7/8/9: Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers

7-0 Production Supervisors and General Foremen
- 7-00 Production supervisors and general foremen

7-1 Miners, Quarrymen, Well Drillers and Related Workers
- 7-11 Miners and quarrymen
- 7-12 Mineral and stone treaters
- 7-13 Well drillers, borers and related workers

7-2 Metal Processers
- 7-21 Metal smelting, converting and refining furnacemen
- 7-22 Metal rolling-mill workers
- 7-23 Metal melters and reheaters
- 7-24 Metal casters
- 7-25 Metal moulders and coremakers
- 7-26 Metal annealers, temperers and case-hardeners
- 7-27 Metal drawers and extruders
- 7-28 Metal platers and coaters
- 7-29 Metal processers not elsewhere classified

7-3 Wood Preparation Workers and Paper Makers
- 7-31 Wood treaters
- 7-32 Sawyers, plywood makers and related wood-processing workers
- 7-33 Paper pulp preparers
- 7-34 Paper makers

7-4 Chemical Processers and Related Workers
- 7-41 Crushers, grinders and mixers
- 7-42 Cookers, roasters and related heat-treaters
- 7-43 Filter and separator operators
- 7-44 Still and reactor operators
- 7-45 Petroleum-refining workers
- 7-49 Chemical processers and related workers not elsewhere classified

7-5 Spinners, Weavers, Knitters, Dyers and Related Workers
- 7-51 Fibre preparers
- 7-52 Spinners and winders
- 7-53 Weaving- and knitting-machine setters and pattern-card preparers
- 7-54 Weavers and related workers
- 7-55 Knitters
- 7-56 Bleachers, dyers and textile product finishers
- 7-59 Spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers not elsewhere classified

7-6 Tanners, Fellmongers and Pelt Dressers
- 7-61 Tanners and fellmongers
- 7-62 Pelt dressers

7-7 Food and Beverage Processers
- 7-71 Grain millers and related workers
- 7-72 Sugar processers and refiners
- 7-73 Butchers and meat preparers
- 7-74 Food preservers
- 7-75 Dairy product processers
- 7-76 Bakers, pastrycooks and confectionery makers
- 7-77 Tea, coffee and cocoa preparers
- 7-78 Brewers, wine and beverage makers
- 7-79 Food and beverage processers not elsewhere classified

7-8 Tobacco Preparers and Tobacco Product Makers
- 7-81 Tobacco preparers
- 7-82 Cigar makers
- 7-83 Cigarette makers
- 7-89 Tobacco preparers and tobacco product makers not elsewhere classified

7-9 Tailors, Dressmakers, Sewers, Upholsterers and Related Workers
- 7-91 Tailors and dressmakers
- 7-92 Fur tailors and related workers
- 7-93 Milliners and hatmakers
- 7-94 Patternmakers and cutters
- 7-95 Sewers and embroiderers
- 7-96 Upholsterers and related workers
- 7-99 Tailors, dressmakers, sewers, upholsterers and related workers not elsewhere classified

8-0 Shoemakers and Leather Goods Makers
- 8-01 Shoemakers and shoe repairers
- 8-02 Shoe cutters, lasters, sewers and related workers
- 8-03 Leather goods makers

8-1 Cabinetmakers and Related Woodworkers
- 8-11 Cabinetmakers
- 8-12 Woodworking-machine operators
- 8-19 Cabinetmakers and related woodworkers not elsewhere classified

8-2 Stone Cutters and Carvers
- 8-20 Stone cutters and carvers

8-3 Blacksmiths, Toolmakers and Machine-Tool Operators
- 8-31 Blacksmiths, hammersmiths and forging-press operators
- 8-32 Toolmakers, metal patternmakers and metal markers
- 8-33 Machine-tool setter-operators
- 8-34 Machine-tool operators
- 8-35 Metal grinders, polishers and tool sharpeners
- 8-39 Blacksmiths, toolmakers and machine-tool operators not elsewhere classified

8-4 Machinery Fitters, Machine Assemblers and Precision Instrument Makers (except Electrical)
- 8-41 Machinery fitters and machine assemblers
- 8-42 Watch, clock and precision instrument makers
- 8-43 Motor vehicle mechanics
- 8-44 Aircraft engine mechanics
- 8-49 Machinery fitters, machine assemblers and precision instrument makers (except electrical) not elsewhere classified

8-5 Electrical Fitters and Related Electrical and Electronics Workers
- 8-51 Electrical fitters
- 8-52 Electronics fitters
- 8-53 Electrical and electronic equipment assemblers
- 8-54 Radio and television repairmen
- 8-55 Electrical wiremen
- 8-56 Telephone and telegraph installers
- 8-57 Electric linemen and cable jointers
- 8-59 Electrical fitters and related electrical and electronics workers not elsewhere classified

8-6 Broadcasting Station and Sound Equipment Operators and Cinema Projectionists
- 8-61 Broadcasting station operators
- 8-62 Sound equipment operators and cinema projectionists

8-7 Plumbers, Welders, Sheet Metal and Structural Metal Preparers and Erectors
- 8-71 Plumbers and pipe fitters
- 8-72 Welders and flame-cutters
- 8-73 Sheet-metal workers
- 8-74 Structural metal preparers and erectors

8-8 Jewellery and Precious Metal Workers
- 8-80 Jewellery and precious metal workers

8-9 Glass Formers, Potters and Related Workers
- 8-91 Glass formers, cutters, grinders and finishers
- 8-92 Potters and related clay and abrasive formers
- 8-93 Glass and ceramics kilnmen
- 8-94 Glass engravers and etchers
- 8-95 Glass and ceramics painters and decorators
- 8-99 Glass formers, potters and related workers not elsewhere classified

9-0 Rubber and Plastics Product Makers
- 9-01 Rubber and plastics product makers (except tire makers and tire vulcanisers)
- 9-02 Tire makers and vulcanisers

9-1 Paper and Paperboard Products Makers
- 9-10 Paper and paperboard products makers

9-2 Printers and Related Workers
- 9-21 Compositors and typesetters
- 9-22 Printing pressmen
- 9-23 Stereotypers and electrotypers
- 9-24 Printing engravers (except photo-engravers)
- 9-25 Photo-engravers
- 9-26 Bookbinders and related workers
- 9-27 Photographic darkroom workers
- 9-29 Printers and related workers not elsewhere classified

9-3 Painters
- 9-31 Painters, construction
- 9-39 Painters not elsewhere classified

9-4 Production and Related Workers Not Elsewhere Classified
- 9-41 Musical instrument makers and tuners
- 9-42 Basketry weavers and brush makers
- 9-43 Non-metallic mineral product makers
- 9-49 Other production and related workers

9-5 Bricklayers, Carpenters and Other Construction Workers
- 9-51 Bricklayers, stonemasons and tile setters
- 9-52 Reinforced-concreters, cement finishers and terrazzo workers
- 9-53 Roofers
- 9-54 Carpenters, joiners and parquetry workers
- 9-55 Plasterers
- 9-56 Insulators
- 9-57 Glaziers
- 9-59 Construction workers not elsewhere classified

9-6 Stationary Engine and Related Equipment Operators
- 9-61 Power-generating machinery operators
- 9-69 Stationary engine and related equipment operators not elsewhere classified

9-7 Material-Handling and Related Equipment Operators, Dockers and Freight Handlers
- 9-71 Dockers and freight handlers
- 9-72 Riggers and cable splicers
- 9-73 Crane and hoist operators
- 9-74 Earth-moving and related machinery operators
- 9-79 Material-handling equipment operators not elsewhere classified

9-8 Transport Equipment Operators
- 9-81 Ships' deck ratings, barge crews and boatmen
- 9-82 Ships' engine-room ratings
- 9-83 Railway engine drivers and firemen
- 9-84 Railway brakemen, signalmen and shunters
- 9-85 Motor vehicle drivers
- 9-86 Animal and animal-drawn vehicle drivers
- 9-89 Transport equipment operators not elsewhere classified

9-9 Labourers Not Elsewhere Classified
- 9-99 Labourers not elsewhere classified

Major Group X: Workers Not Classifiable by Occupation

X-1 New Workers Seeking Employment
- X-10 New workers seeking employment

X-2 Workers Reporting Occupations Unidentifiable or Inadequately Described
- X-20 Workers reporting occupations unidentifiable or inadequately described

X-3 Workers Not Reporting Any Occupation
- X-30 Workers not reporting any occupation

Armed Forces: Members of the Armed Forces

Source: International Labour Office, *International Standard Classification of Occupations*, rev. ed. 1968 (Geneva: 1969), 25-33.

Occupations	Pineo-Porter	I.L.O.
Auto-body worker	359	7 - 68
Buyer	511	4 - 31
Construction worker	265	7 - 76
Dietician	693	1 - 05
Dressmaker	334	7 - 60
Factory worker	252	7 - 80
Fixes train	389	7 - 77
Food supervisor	509	1 - 05
Gardener	389	6 - 48
Hairdresser	393	5 - 43
Machine operator	349	7 - 64
Manager for a hotel firm	583	5 - 36
Mother's Allowances	073	0 - 00
Nurse's aid or assistant	356	1 - 05
Photographer	483	1 - 13
Plasterer	362	7 - 76
Protective plastic worker	288	7 - 71
Radio announcer	380	7 - 67
Salesman	265	4 - 34
Shoemaker	389	7 - 61
Training and breaking horses	251	6 - 48
Warrant officer (sergeant in army)	539	9 - 84

Six Categories

Academic Subjects	:	1 - 14
Applied Arts	:	15 - 29
Basic Trades	:	30 - 44
Business & Commercial Arts	:	45 - 59
Mechanical & Technical Services	:	60 - 79
Services	:	80 - 99

Academic Subjects

1 English

2 Maths

3 Science

4 History

5 Social Science

6 Physical Education

7 Drama - Theatre Arts

8 Music

9 Other Academic Subjects

10

11

12

13

14

Applied Arts

15 Arts, Arts & Crafts, General Crafts & Skills

16 Drafting

17 Landscaping

18 Painting & Decorating

19 Photography

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

Basic Trades

Boys

30 Building Construction

31 Carpentry, Wood Working, Wood Technology

32 Construction Trades

33 Masonry, Trowel Trades

34 Upholstery

35 Welding, Gas & Arc Welding

36 Printing, Offset Printing

37 Pipe Fitting

38 Plumbing

39

Girls

40 Chef Training (Boys & Girls)

41 Clothing, Clothing Construction, Tailoring

42 Dressmaking

43 Horticulture (Boys & Girls)

44 Sewing, Power Sewing

Business & Commercial Arts

Boys

45 Bookkeeping (Boys & Girls)

46 Business Practices, Business Machines

47 Commercial

48 Data Processing

49 Marketing, Merchandising

50 Retailing, Retail Sales, Retail Clerking

51

52

Girls

53 Junior Business Work, Clerical Filing, Office Practice (Boys & Girls)

54 Typing (Boys & Girls)

55

56

57

58

59

Mechanical-Technical Skills

Boys

60 Automotive

61 Auto Body, Auto Body Work

62 Auto Servicing, Car Servicing

63 Blueprint Reading

64 Duplicating (Boys & Girls)

65 Electricity

66 Gasoline Engines

67 Machine Operator

68 Machine Shop

69 Mechanical Maintenance

70 Service Station Operator

71 Small Appliances Repairs

72 Small Engines

73 Metal Fabrication

74

75

Girls

76 Cashier Training

77 Commercial Cooking

78

79

Services

Boys

80 Barbering

81 Building Management, Building Maintenance, Institutional Services

82 Driver Education (Boys & Girls)

83 Dry Cleaning (Boys & Girls)

84 Laundry Services (Boys & Girls)

85 Oil Burner Services

86

Girls

87 Beauty Culture, Cosmetology

88 Child Care, Home Nursing

89 Family Living

90 Hairdressing, Hair Care, Grooming

91 Home Economics, Domestic Sciences, Baking, Food Preparation, Food Nutrition

92 Home Management, Home Sciences

93 Hospital Services

94 Restaurant Services, Waitress Training, Table Services

95

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98

99

It came to the attention of the researchers during the course of this project that the occupational program contained several students with various degrees of hearing impairment. It is not our purpose here to review the literature on learning difficulties and hearing impairments; suffice it to say that some students from the public school system do find their way into the occupational program and that their problems in the labour market are somewhat different from those of the other graduates. The purpose of this brief appendix is merely to raise the matter for consideration as a special case. The life history and employment history of one particular female graduate is outlined here in some detail to illustrate some pertinent points.

The diagnosis and medical treatment of partial or complete deafness may occur when a child is very young, but often the problems of providing him or her with an adequate education drag on for many years without an adequate solution being found. Judging from the spate of correspondence from parents of deaf children that was published in the Toronto *Globe and Mail* in early 1973, one can conclude that the problem of teaching deaf children an adequate mode of communication (by the oral or sign-language methods) is still quite unresolved. If some occupational graduates have difficulties in finding employment with their faculties unimpaired, the deaf occupational graduate faces even greater problems. The case history which follows touches on some of these problems.

The young woman who was interviewed was unable to communicate by sign language or lip-reading, and her twin sister, who had evolved a system of gestural communication with her, spoke on her behalf. These sisters are the only offspring of Italian parents, who emigrated to Canada when the two girls were six years old. The parents both completed

some years of elementary school. The father is now working full-time (occupation unspecified), and the mother is at home.

The respondent remembers having a very happy childhood, and her friends never had any trouble understanding her. The two sisters had several friends in common. It was a close-knit family, and her twin sister taught her such things as spelling. She realized as a child that she was unable to communicate in the way that her sister did, and she became frustrated. Her elementary education was spent at three schools. The first two schools were equipped to handle deaf children, and she attended them for three years. Then, for reasons not made clear, she was transferred to the regular public school system and placed in an opportunity class where she was the only deaf child. Her teacher there had never taught deaf children previously, and wrote such things on her report card as "she is doing as well as can be expected." Her report cards show that she lost her lip-reading ability after moving to the public school. Her teacher was sympathetic to her plight but confessed his lack of ability to help her in a concrete way. He considered after three years that she would be best placed in a vocational-training program.

Her experiences at the vocational school seem to have been frustrating for her, but somewhat less so in the shops than in the academic classes. She complained to her sister that she was unable to understand what was going on. She took a general shop program for five years, with emphasis on dressmaking. She considers that job training and acquiring life skills were the most important aspects of high school. However, she is unsatisfied with both aspects of the program.

Her entry into the world of work was facilitated by the help of one of her teachers, who found her employment as a seamstress at the C.N.I.B. This job is covered by a union contract. She reports that she is "quite a bit" satisfied with the job, but does not feel that the school prepared her for it at all. She has been working there for three years. The family has never questioned the job she has or how she got it, according to the twin sister. The sister feels that the respondent is severely limited in her knowledge of what jobs actually exist and therefore does not contemplate alternatives. There is no one in the family or a social agency to whom she turns for advice on possible future employment (although the sister voices her own concern about this). It is difficult to ascertain how she feels about the future since she is not able to communicate very abstract thoughts.

At present, the respondent does not really give much thought to the prospect of finding another job, although the sister would try to contact the vocational school again. The picture her sister gives of her is of a young woman severely limited in scope in her employment opportunities and her personal life. She is unable to communicate with other deaf people and has no real "outside activities." She is unable to read, and so cannot read for pleasure, and she belongs to no clubs. She is the only person in the province-wide sample who replied on the telephone survey (mailed to her).

Q. What languages do you speak?

A. None.

The case of graduates with partially or completely impaired vision deserves a special note, as their problems are different again from sighted or deaf graduates. As in the case of graduates with impaired hearing, there will be no attempt here to generalize from a particular person or to discuss the relationship between blindness and learning difficulties. The following summary of an interview with a blind graduate is presented here in order to touch on some of his particular problems.

The young man interviewed had 5% visual ability. He is the only offspring of his parents, who both had some high school education. His father is a high school graduate and is a yardman on the railways. His mother formerly managed a clothing store. He is a very articulate individual and he discussed his school experience at length with the interviewer.

He recalls having (and still has) a very happy home life. His parents have been a great source of help and encouragement to him. He has never had a great number of friends outside his family, but finds a great deal of satisfaction within it. He likes his friends to be "logical, reasonably intelligent, and conservative."

He failed the early grades of elementary school because no one realized that he had impaired vision. The school authorities wanted to put him into an opportunity class, but his mother had him put in a class for children with visual handicaps. He spent his elementary years in these classes at several schools. In grade 7 his parents were told that he would have to go to an occupational school at the grade 7 level, but "after 6 months heated discussion" with the school authorities, he was allowed to enter regular grade 8. After graduation he was told that his only choice was the occupational program. At that time, he did not realize that he would not be taking a regular high school course.

This person clearly feels that he was wrongly placed in the occupational program. His remarks on the program itself can be described as scathing. He discussed his intense dissatisfaction with the courses and with the lack of motivation of his fellow students. He was also not happy with the role played by teachers and guidance counsellors. His remarks are clearly not those of a rebel or ne'er-do-well who has a personal grudge; he feels that he was placed in the program because of his blindness, without his general level of intelligence being taken into account.

After he left the occupational school, he transferred to a regular commercial high school where he is finishing grade 12 with an over 75% average. He found that he had a great deal of catching up to do in his studies in mathematics, English, and accounting. He plans to attend a community college to pursue a course he is currently taking in computer programming. He hopes to find permanent employment as a computer programmer.

In summary, in this particular case there seems to have been more emphasis on this person's handicap than on his abilities.