
in focus: labour market engagement

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# FROM POVERTY TO PROSPERITY: Literacy's Impact on Canada's <br> <br> Economic Success 

 <br> <br> Economic Success}
a research report prepared for
Canadian Literacy and Learning Network
by Scott Murray and Richard Shillington
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## Chapter 1

## Introduction

This report was produced by DataAngel Policy Research Incorporated on behalf of the Canadian Literacy and Learning Network (CLLN). The report provides a succinct summary of how literacy skill and low income are related and what these relationships imply for public policy.

All errors and omissions are those of the authors. Readers are invited to direct questions of clarification to:
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## Chapter 2

## Rationale for the study

This study was motivated by a belief that policy makers should consider investing in adult literacy as a means to reduce income inequality and the incidence of poverty in Canada. The rationale for doing so is simple - research has identified literacy skill has the single most important determinant of Canadians' labour market success. Among other things, literacy influences their likelihood of being in the labour force, their ability to get a job, the length of time they get to keep a job, their likelihood of promotion, the likelihood that they will become unemployed, the number of weeks that they take to find a new job and, most importantly, their rate of pay. The fact that most of the poverty in Canada is the result of people failing to find and keep good paying jobs creates an interest in how investments in literacy might serve to reduce poverty. Apart from these direct effects on adult's ability to earn, low literacy has been shown to impair individuals' health, access to adult education and training and access to power and influence in the broader society - all factors that further impair the labour market success of Canada's poor.

Apart from its impact on individual outcomes, literacy has been shown to have a marked impact on macro-economic outcomes. Differences in average literacy skill explain over 55\% of differences in the rate of GDP per capita and productivity growth over the long term. More importantly, the proportion of adults with low literacy skill has been shown to have an impact on long term growth rates. The higher the proportion of low skilled adults, the lower the employment rate and the lower the rate of growth. We thus have a collective interest in reducing skill-based barriers to participation and growth.

In light of these data, it reasonable to assume that weak literacy skills explain a significant proportion of who becomes poor and, by extension, a significant fraction of what we spend by way of income replacement and support through Worker's Compensation, Employment Insurance and Social Assistance. It is thus reasonable to assume that investments designed to raise adult literacy and numeracy skill would serve to reduce the number of adults living in poverty in Canada and would contribute to the reduction in the growing rate of income inequality we see.

Research suggests that it would take an investment of $\$ 13.7 \mathrm{~B}$ to eliminate Canada's occupational literacy skill shortages and an additional $\$ 2 \mathrm{~B}$ to raise the prose literacy skills of those outside the labour force to Level 3 - the level needed to support full and active participation in our information-rich society. The same research suggests that investments of these magnitudes would precipitate annual increases in earnings of some $\$ 62.8 \mathrm{~B}$ for those already in the labour market and an additional $\$ 52.5 \mathrm{~B}$ for those currently out of the labour market, enough to raise incomes by an average of $\$ 4,515$. (DataAngel, 2011).

The higher the proportion of low skilled adults, the lower the employment rate and the lower the rate of growth. We thus have a collective interest in reducing skill-based barriers to participation and growth.

## From Poverty to Prosperity: Literacy's Impact on Canada's Economic Success

Investment on this scale would represent an important departure for Canadian public policy - away from passive income support to active education policy.

It is important to note that investment on this scale would represent an important departure for Canadian public policy - away from passive income support to active education policy. Philosophically this departure would also signal a move away from treating the symptoms of the poverty "disease" to addressing one of its root causes.

Maintaining the status quo on the manner in which we currently manage poverty will become increasingly difficult as government fiscal capacity comes under pressure from health, education and pension expenditures and falling employment population ratios.

## Literacy Defined

Before we turn to what is known about the relationship between literacy and poverty, it is worthwhile to review what literacy is, lest readers mistakenly think that is simply recognizing the letters of the alphabet. The most recent international assessment - the International Adult and Skills Survey (IALSS) tested three distinct literacy domains:

Prose literacy - the knowledge and skills needed to understand and use information from texts including editorials, news stories, brochures and instruction manuals.

Document literacy - the knowledge and skills required to locate and use information contained in various formats, including job applications, payroll forms, transportation schedules, maps, tables and charts.

Numeracy - the knowledge and skills required to effectively manage the mathematical demands of diverse situations.

Proficiency data from the study is summarized on a 500-point scale and then grouped into 5 proficiency levels. These proficiency levels reveal what skills people have. These levels can be compared to the occupational skill standards identified in HRSDC's Essential Skills Profiles to identify workers whose skills are below, at or above the requisite levels. (DataAngel, 2010).

It is also important to clarify why our analysis restricts it self to literacy. The theory upon which IALSS rests posits a hierarchy of skills acquisition and application. Sensory and motor skills sit at the bottom of the hierarchy followed by oral fluency, prose literacy, document literacy and numeracy. Relatively small numbers of adults face physical and mental barriers that limit their earnings potential. Even fewer adults have oral fluency levels that impair their labour market success. In contrast roughly half of all adults have literacy skills below the level demanded by the economy, a fact that renders literacy singularly important to reducing the incidence of poverty in Canada.

Recent research has clarified the nature of prose literacy and document literacy proficiency levels in a way that carries great import for thinking about how literacy influences poverty and what sort of upgrading would be required to reduce current levels of skill based poverty. Figure 2.1 highlights the fact that below a score of 250 adults are still in the process of learning to read, in the sense that they have yet to master the mechanics of reading that underlie the emergence of fluid and automatic reading. Above a score of 250 adults are fluid and automatic readers, a fact that frees up space for building meaning and higher order problem-solving. The majority of jobs in Canada require at least Level 3 literacy skill, yet 43\% of all students leaving the Canada's high schools still do so with Level 1 and 2 skills. (DataAngel, 2011).

Figure 2.1
The transition from learning to read to reading to learn
$\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { Learning } \\ \text { to read } \\ \text { proficiency dominated by } \\ \text { mechanics of reading }\end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c}\text { Reading } \\ \text { to learn } \\ \text { proficiency dominated by } \\ \text { cognitive strategies }\end{array}\right)$

## Improving the utility of IALSS

In an effort to improve the utility of the IALSS assessment framework for informing instruction Hardt extended and refined the framework to include a more detailed set of predictive variables (Performance by Design, 2010). As illustrated below, the refined framework includes three dimensions - type of requested information, type of processing and type of match - that define a matrix of 216 combinations that can be used to predict the relative difficulty of any literacy task with great accuracy.
The Mosenthal Taxonomy

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { م } \\ & \text { 0. } \\ & \text { N } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { + } \\ & \text { di } \\ & \text { N } \end{aligned}$ | 我 | m |  | $\begin{aligned} & N \\ & \underset{O}{O} \\ & \text { N } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{array}{ll} \text { T } & \text { e } \\ \text { © } \\ \text { N } \\ \hline \end{array}$ |

Source: Performance by Design Inc, 2000.

The variables identified in this framework, plus a fourth dimension that introduces the notion of plausible distractors ${ }^{1}$, allows one to predict the difficulty of any reading task. The same variables can be used to systematically reduce the relative difficulty of tasks to render them accessible to a higher proportion of the population.

Hardt also was able to link the framework explicitly to the underlying cognitive functions taking place in the brain. Based on a refinement of the IALSS framework, researchers have been able to conclude that tasks at Levels 1 and 2 involves the activation of very simple mental models and, more importantly, depend almost exclusively on the retrieval of information from the parietal lobe. This is the part of the brain that supports the lower order functions of remembering, understanding and applying information presented in print (Performance by Design, 2010). In contrast, the mental processes underpinning Level 3 and more difficult tasks engender increasingly complex mental models that involve reasoning. They utilize the pre-frontal cortex, which is involved with reasoning and higher level functions of analyzing and evaluating alternatives.

Finally, instructors who are able to explicit by embed these determinants in their practice achieve better results.

Recent research has identified distinct groups of adults with literacy and numeracy skills below the level needed to take full advantage of the educational, economic and social opportunities (Statistics Canada and HRSDC, 2007; CCL, 2008). Borrowing terminology from the world of marketing, each of these groups can be described as a literacy market segment with shared patterns of strength and weakness in the mechanics of reading, learning needs and demographic characteristics. Figures 2.3.A and 2.3.B show the numbers of adults in each literacy market segment.

Figure 2.3.A
Estimated numbers of adults by literacy market segment, English market, population aged 16 and over, Canada, 2006


Recent research has identified distinct groups of adults with literacy and numeracy skills below the level needed to take full advantage of the educational, economic and social opportunities

[^0][^1]Figure 2.3A
Estimated numbers of adults by literacy market segment, French market, population aged 16 and over, Canada, 2006


Source: DataAngel, 2010

The key insight afforded by this analysis is that most adults in need of literacy skill up grading would require small investments of time and effort to increase their skills to the desired levels. As we will see later in this report these investments would yield modest increases in worker productivity and wage rates.

In contrast, the least skilled adults would require 350-375 hours of focused instruction to raise their skill levels. These investments would yield dramatic increases in both employment and wage rates and would, by extension, precipitate rapid reductions in the number of adults in poverty

## Chapter 3

## Understanding the relationship between literacy and poverty

This chapter sets out what is known about the relationship between literacy and poverty.

### 3.1 Impact of literacy on participation rates

The first and most important impact that literacy has on individuals' labour market outcomes is on the probability that they will be in the labour market.

Individuals with low levels of literacy skill are much less likely to be employed at some point in the course of a year than their more skilled peers. Figure 3.1 plots the rate of labour market participation by literacy skill proficiency level. The chart reveals that adults with Level 1 and 2 literacy skills appear to be systematically excluded from paid employment.

Figure 3.1
Labour market participation rate by literacy skill proficiency level, adults aged 16 to 65, Canada, 2003


[^2]
### 3.2 The impact of literacy on the quantity of labour supplied

Literacy skill also influences the amount of work adults are able to find. Individuals with low levels of literacy skill work fewer weeks on average, are more likely to experience periods of unemployment and remain unemployed for much longer periods.

Figure 3.2 plots the relationship between prose literacy skill and the number of weeks worked in the course of a year for adults that were employed at some point in the year.

Figure 3.2
Average weeks worked per year by prose literacy level, adults aged 16 and over who were employed at some in the year, Canada, 2003


Source: IALSS 2003.

The figure reveals that the number of weeks of employment increases steadily with skill level. Adults with Level 1 prose literacy skills appear to be at a particular disadvantage in this regard - they work an average of 21 fewer weeks per year when looking at all adults and of adults that work, 3 fewer weeks per year.

These data show that the primary effect of skill on labour market success is to exclude the lowest skilled from employment entirely.

Figure 3.3 plots the average hours worked in the course of a year.

Figure 3.3
Average hours worked per year, adults aged 16 and over who were employed at some in the year, Canada, 2003


Source: IALSS 2003.

This chart reveals a different relationship between literacy skill and hours worked. The number of hours worked per year is drops slightly with rising prose literacy skill level. Adults with Level 1 prose skills work an average of 22 more hours per year than their Level 5 peers.

It is important to put these results in international context. Notwithstanding the strong relationship between skills and hours worked within Canada, one of the most striking IALS finding is that the overall average hours worked per year at the country level falls with rising average prose skill scores. More skilled workforces actually work fewer hours than their less skilled peers. Economists interpret this as a sign that more skilled workers are able to take some of the collective productivity benefits that accrue to skill in the form of shorter work hours.

Figure 3.4 plots the average number of weeks it takes for half of individuals in two skill levels to exit unemployment, once unemployed. This analysis groups compares those in prose literacy Levels 1 and 2 to those in Levels 3, 4 and 5.

Figure 3.4
Average half-life of unemployment, by skill level, Canada, 2003


Source: IALSS 2003.
The figure shows that the low skilled group bears a disproportionate share of unemployment. It takes an average of 38 weeks for half of low skilled workers to find a job compared to nine weeks for high skilled workers, over 4 times longer.

Collectively, these charts show that prose literacy skill has a marked influence on the amount of work that workers are able to find.

### 3.3 The impact of literacy on wage rates

Literacy also has a marked impact on adults' wage rates, a finding that economists interpret as an indication of higher skills on worker's productivity.

Figure 3.5
Average hourly earnings by prose literacy level, adults aged 16 and over who were employed at some in the year, Canada, 2003


Source: IALSS 2003.

The figure shows that wage rates are highly correlated with literacy skill. Adults with Level 5 skills earn $\$ 9$ more per hour, or roughly $68 \%$ more than their Level 1 peers do.

Figure 3.6 documents just how big the effect of literacy on earnings is.

Figure 3.6
Percent increase in weekly earnings per increase of 10-percentiles on the document literacy scale, and per increase of additional year of schooling, adjusted three stage least squares model, labour force populations aged 16 to 65, 2003


Countries are ranked by the effect of numeracy.
Source: IALSS 2003.

The figure shows that a $10 \%$ increase in skill yields an average of a $7 \%$ increase in annual earnings (Green and Riddell, 2007). Some of the observed wage differences are attributable to the selection of higher skilled workers into higher paid occupations, with the balance being attributed to higher skilled workers being more productive than their peers within their occupations.

It is important to remember that these effects are not simply the effect of education on wages observed one step removed. While it is true that average literacy skill rises with average years of schooling the relationship is far from perfect, in the sense that one sees significant variance in literacy skill at every level of education ${ }^{2}$. Literacy has been shown to have a strong and independent effect that is stronger than work experience or education. The inescapable conclusion is that lower skilled adults work less and earn less when they do work, effects that greatly increase their probability of finding themselves in poverty.

Figure 3.7 captures the net effect of literacy skill-based disadvantage on employment, wage rates and earnings.

[^3]The figure shows that a $10 \%$ increase in skill yields an average of a $7 \%$ increase in annual earnings

Figure 3.7
The relationship between prose literacy skill and earnings, Canada, 2003


Source: IALSS 2003.

As expected the figure shows what appears to be a strong linear relationship between document literacy skill across the entire range of skill.

Before turning to how these effects translate into reliance on Canada's social transfer systems it is necessary to take the time to dispel a myth i.e. that differences in literacy skill are simply a reflection of differences in education among groups.

The following chart illustrates the basic relationship between education and literacy skill level. Based on an analysis of the 2003 International Adult Literacy and Skills Survey (IALSS), it demonstrates, not too surprisingly, that literacy levels vary with educational attainment. Very few of those with low level of educational attainment have literacy at levels 4 or 5 and very few of those with post-secondary education are at literacy level 1.

Figure 3.8
Population by education and literacy level, adults aged 16 and over, Canada, 2003


Source: IALSS 2003.

The following chart is also taken from the IALSS. It shows the average earnings of respondents by literacy level and educational attainment. Average earnings increase by education from $\$ 23,000$ for those with "Less than High School" to $\$ 60,000$ for those a "University Degree". This pattern persists with small adjustments for literacy levels 1 to $4 .{ }^{3}$

Of more interest is that the are significant economic returns to literacy exist regardless of educational level. For example, for those with a college diploma average earnings rise from $\$ 37,000$ at level 2 to roughly $\$ 50,000$ at levels 4 and 5 .

The chart below illustrates that at each level of education those with higher levels of literacy have high average earnings. This pattern is stronger for those with some level of education after high school.

[^4]Figure 3.9
Unadjusted average annual earnings by education and literacy level, adults aged 16 and over, Canada, 2003


Source: IALSS 2003.

These patterns are influenced by the age distributions of the population. Age is also known to influence literacy independently of other factors. Those with lower levels of education will tend to be older than those at higher literacy levels. The next section removes the influence of age on the findings.

Figure 3.10 shows average earnings by literacy and education standardized for age. These are the average earnings that would have existed if the distributions of education had been the same at all ages ${ }^{4}$.

The same pattern persists i.e. average earnings levels increase with literacy, this is in part due to the increases in participation rates.

[^5]Figure 3.10
Average earnings by education and literacy level, age standardized, adults aged 16 and over, age standardized, Canada, 2003


Source: IALSS 2003.
So literacy his highly correlated with education but at each education level on sees a great deal of variation in skill levels.

Just how much literacy skill influences adults chances of being in poverty is provided in Figure 3.11 that plots the proportions of individuals living below Statistics Canada's low income cut-offs by literacy skill level.

Figure 3.11
Estimate ${ }^{1}$ of the population below the LICO (before tax), by prose literacy level, 2003


1. The estimate is approximate as the urban/rural categories were not the same as that used for LICO's.

The figure shows that low skilled adults are much more likely than their more skilled peers to be classified as poor. The analysis uses odds ratios to reveal the size of the gap in risk among income groups.

Figure 3.12 confirms the profound impact that literacy skill has on poverty in Canada. The figure plots the proportions of Canadian adults in receipt of social assistance by prose skill level.

Figure 3.12
Adjusted and unadjusted odds ratios ${ }^{1}$ showing the likelihood of low-skilled adults (Levels 1 and 2 ) collecting social assistance payments, numeracy scale, populations aged 16 to 65 , selected countries, 2003


Countries are ranked according to the difference in the unadjusted odds.

1. Odds estimates that are not statistically different from one at conventional levels of significance are set to one in the figure.
Source: IALSS 2003.

The figure shows that adults with Level 1 and 2 numeracy skill are 5 times more likely to be in receipt of Social Assistance Benefits. Even after adjusting for differences in the characteristics between those at Levels 1 and 2 and Level 3 and over, low skilled adults are 2.5 times more likely to be in receipt of Social Assistance benefits.

The effects of literacy on income effect some groups than others. Figure 3.13 shows how much more likely low skilled foreign-born workers are to have earnings in the lowest quartile.

An odds ratio is the ratio of the odds of occurring in one group. If for example $25 \%$ adults with level 1 prose literacy are in poverty and $10 \%$ of level 5 adults are in poverty the level 1 adults and 2.5 times as likely to be poverty than level 5 adults (.25/.10).

Figure 3.13
Adjusted odds ratios ${ }^{1}$ indicating the likelihood of low skilled (Levels 1 and 2) and medium to high skilled (Levels 3 and 4/5) foreign-born and native-born populations aged 16 to 65 of being in the lowest personal earnings income quartile, prose literacy scale, selected countries 2003


Countries are ranked by the odds ratios of foreign-born adults who score at Levels 1 and 2.

1. Odds estimates that are not statistically different from one at conventional levels of significance are reported as one in the figure.
For the actual estimate and its corresponding significance, see Table 9.7 in the annex to this chapter.
Source: IALSS 2003.

The figure shows that only low-skilled Canadian born adults face elevated risks of having incomes in the lowerst quartile after controlling for background characteristics.

### 3.4 The value of increased literacy

While the previous section makes it clear that literacy has a profound effect on what people earn and their incomes, the available evidence is somewhat contradictory about whether the economic benefits of higher literacy are distributed equally among all groups in the population. Analysis that looks at how much wages increase in response to 10 percentile increase in literacy scores suggests that returns are stable across the distribution (Riddell and Green, 2007). DataAngel found similar results using different methods. The DataAngel analysis, that looked at the wage returns after controlling for a large number of variables including province/territory education, age, gender, immigrant status and Aboriginal status, found that each additional point of literacy point yielded an estimated $\$ 155$ more per year in earnings across the entire skill distribution (DataAngel, 2010). The DataAngle analysis goes to estimate the magnitude of the potential economic benefits that would accrue to an investment that was large enough to ensure that all workers have the literacy skill level demanded by their occupations. The estimated annual increase in earnings of $\$ 100+\mathrm{B}$ is large enough to move a large number of adults out of poverty, provided that the benefits are shared equally across the skill distribution.

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Unfortunately, some analyses suggest that this will not be the case. Desjardins and Murray both find that wage returns to literacy skill are largely restricted to jobs that demand prose literacy Level 3 or above, so called knowledge jobs in which job performance depends on workers handling large amounts of information (Desjardins, 2011; Murray, 2010). Other research has found that wage returns to literacy are highest in knowledge jobs (Raudenbush and Kasim, 1998). Given that the majority of jobs in the Canadian labour market demand Level 3 skills or above there is reason to believe that most of the benefits would accrue to relatively skilled workers.

Analysis undertaken in 2010 by the authors provides a clear sense of how the economic benefits of a literacy investment would be shared (DataAngel, 2010). The analysis estimated the size of wage increases that would be precipitated by moving workers to prose literacy Level 3 using a technique called propensity matching. Propensity matching reduces differences between those receiving the "treatment", in this case literacy upgrading, and a group of adults that are identical in all other respects. This analysis suggests that training investments that are large enough to precipitate large increases in earnings and significant reductions in the proportions of Canadians using the Employment Insurance and Social Assistance systems.

The following table, reproduced from DataAngel's analysis, reveals just how large these implied effects are for Level 1 adults moving to Level 3.

Table 3.14
Estimates of the increase in earnings and income taxes associated with moving adults with Level 1 prose literacy skills to level 3, Canada and the jurisdictions 2003

| Actual employment and earnings of adults at prose literacy Level 1 aged 16 and over |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Population level 1 | Incidence of employment | Average months worked | Average <br> hours worked per month | Inci- <br> dence of welfare | Incidence of El | Hourly wage rate (approx.) | Average earnings for those with earnings | Average earnings including those with no earnings | Aggregate earnings level 1 | Average <br> federal and provincial income tax rates | Current <br> income <br> tax revenue for level 1 | Number <br> with welfare income | Number with income |
| Jurisdiction | number | \% | months | hours | \% | \% | dollars | \$ millions | \$ millions | \$ millions | \% | \$ millions | number | number |
| N.L. | 68,041 | 53 | 7.1 | 187 | 27 | 25 | 14 | 20,675 | 11,057 | 752 | 13 | 100 | 19,000 | 17,000 |
| P.E.I. | 13,248 | 81 | 8.2 | 184 | 43 | 13 | 11 | 18,143 | 14,678 | 194 | 13 | \$26 | 6,000 | 2,000 |
| N.S. | 72,942 | 54 | 8.5 | 158 | 16 | 16 | 13 | 21,950 | 11,930 | 870 | 13 | 115 | 12,000 | 12,000 |
| N.B. | 87,920 | 71 | 8.5 | 170 | 28 | 11 | 17 | 23,888 | 16,934 | 1,489 | 14 | 208 | 25,000 | 10,000 |
| Que. | 800,749 | 63 | 9.0 | 157 | 14 | 21 | 18 | 26,074 | 16,488 | 13,203 | 14 | 1,844 | 112,000 | 164,000 |
| Ont. | 1,348,495 | 65 | 9.6 | 165 | 6 | 9 | 20 | 33,611 | 21,937 | 29,582 | 16 | 4,690 | 83,000 | 120,000 |
| Man. | 93,182 | 66 | 9.6 | 162 | 9 | 16 | 18 | 29,052 | 19,125 | 1,782 | 15 | 268 | 8,000 | 15,000 |
| Sask. | 46,276 | 70 | 8.4 | 178 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 25,111 | 17,541 | 812 | 14 | 113 | 8,000 | 7,000 |
| Alta. | 212,393 | 79 | 9.1 | 161 | 8 | 12 | 18 | 26,395 | 20,740 | 4,405 | 14 | 615 | 17,000 | 26,000 |
| B.C. | 407,495 | 54 | 7.9 | 165 | 9 | 18 | 15 | 22,632 | 12,273 | 5,001 | 14 | 699 | 38,000 | 73,000 |
| Yukon | 1,717 | 75 | 7.7 | 149 | 13 | 27 | 21 | 25,152 | 18,936 | \$33 | 14 | 5 | - | - |
| N.W.T. | 4,051 | 72 | 7.4 | 164 | 11 | 8 | 22 | 28,249 | 20,314 | \$82 | 15 | 12 | - | - |
| Nunavut | 5,389 | 68 | 7.7 | 161 | 10 | 36 | 20 | 22,731 | 15,429 | \$83 | 14 | 12 | 1,000 | 2,000 |
| Canada | 3,161,899 | 64 | 9.0 | 163 | 10 | 14 | 18 | 28,503 | 18,254 | 58,288 |  | 8,708 | 329,000 | 448,000 |

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Table 3.14 (continued)
Estimates of the increase in earnings and income taxes associated with moving adults with Level 1 prose literacy skills to level 3, Canada and the jurisdictions 2003


Source: Special computations using the 2003 Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey and the 2004 International Survey of Reading Skills by Doug Willms and Richard Shillington.

Among other things the table reveals:
Dramatic improvements in the quantity of work adults with Level 1 and 2 literacy skill are able to find. The incidence of employment and, the average number of months both rise. As expected the average hours worked per month fall as skill rises.

Marked reductions in the proportions of adults drawing benefits from the Employment Insurance and Social Assistance systems.

Significant increases in wage rates
Overall, annual earnings are projected to rise by $\$ 25 \mathrm{~B}, 17,000$ fewer Social Assistance recipients and 384,000 fewer Employment Insurance recipients. These latter reductions translate into savings in the Social Assistance of $\$ 115 \mathrm{M}$ and $\$ 3.3 \mathrm{~B}$ respectively.

The following table presents parallel information for moving adults at Level 2 to Level 3.

Table 3.15
Estimates of the increase in earnings and income taxes associated with moving adults with level 2 prose literacy skills to level 3, Canada and the jurisdictions 2003

| Actual employment and earnings of adults at prose literacy Level 2 aged 16 and over, Canada and the provinces, 2003 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Population level 2 | Incidence of employment | Average months worked | Average hours worked per month | Inci- <br> dence of welfare | Incidence of E.I. | Average wage rate | Average earnings for those with earnings | Average earnings including those with no earnings | Aggregate earnings level 2 | Average federal and provincial income tax rates | Current income tax revenue for level 2 | Number <br> with <br> welfare <br> income | Number <br> with E.I. income |
| Jurisdiction | number | \% | months | hours | \% | \% | dollars | \$ millions | \$ millions | \$ millions | \% | \$ millions | number | number |
| N.L. | 71,291 | 68 | 8.1 | 164 | 29 | 11 | 17 | 22,690 | 15,358 | 1,095 | 14 | 153 | 21,000 | 8,000 |
| P.E.I. | 19,757 | 81 | 8.6 | 166 | 33 | 5 | 13 | 19,739 | 15,922 | 315 | 13 | 42 | 6,000 | 1,000 |
| N.S. | 110,053 | 74 | 8.9 | 161 | 19 | 6 | 19 | 25,128 | 18,608 | 2,048 | 14 | 286 | 21,000 | 7,000 |
| N.B. | 124,261 | 77 | 9.0 | 173 | 26 | 5 | 27 | 32,333 | 24,848 | 3,088 | 15 | 465 | 32,000 | 6,000 |
| Que. | 1,241,940 | 79 | 9.8 | 157 | 14 | 5 | 21 | 35,198 | 27,875 | 34,619 | 16 | 5,489 | 178,000 | 67,000 |
| Ont. | 1,595,153 | 79 | 9.5 | 158 | 9 | 5 | 19 | 34,119 | 27,107 | 43,240 | 16 | 6,856 | 138,000 | 76,000 |
| Man. | 142,048 | 84 | 10.0 | 167 | 8 | 3 | 31 | 48,216 | 40,472 | 5,749 | 20 | 1,127 | 12,000 | 5,000 |
| Sask. | 112,957 | 78 | 10.2 | 162 | 5 | 9 | 17 | 28,636 | 22,306 | 2,520 | 15 | 380 | 6,000 | 11,000 |
| Alta. | 435,327 | 84 | 9.9 | 165 | 6 | 6 | 19 | 33,501 | 28,275 | 12,309 | 16 | 1,952 | 24,000 | 24,000 |
| B.C. | 391,871 | 79 | 9.3 | 156 | 10 | 3 | 23 | 33,934 | 26,878 | 10,533 | 16 | 1,670 | 40,000 | 11,000 |
| Yukon | 2,729 | 81 | 8.9 | 162 | 16 | 13 | 23 | 37,801 | 30,572 | 83 | 17 | 14 | - | - |
| N.W.T. | 5,212 | 86 | 9.7 | 167 | 10 | 9 | 27 | 38,782 | 33,389 | 174 | 17 | 30 | - | - |
| Nunavut | 2,125 | 82 | 8.1 | 151 | 12 | 23 | 26 | 34,581 | 28,220 | 60 | 16 | 10 | - | - |
| Canada | 4,254,724 | 79 | 9.6 | 159 | 11 | 5 | 21 | 34,063 | 27,068 | 115,831 |  | 18,472 | 478,000 | 216,000 |

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Table 3.15 (concluded)
Estimates of the increase in earnings and income taxes associated with moving adults with level 2 prose literacy skills to level 3, Canada and the jurisdictions 2003


[^6] Willms and Richard Shillington.

The predicted increases in labour market outcomes for Level 2 adults moving to Level 3 translate into large gains in both estimated annual labour earnings and income tax revenues. At the national level labour earnings of the group are predicted to rise $\$ 27.4 \mathrm{~B}$ per year. Predicted reductions in the number of welfare recipients and employment insurance beneficiaries are expected to yield expenditure reductions of an additional $\$ 427$ million and $\$ 1.1 \mathrm{~B}$ respectively.

The following table summarizes the predicted direct economic benefits of moving all adults at Levels 1 and 2 to Level 3.

Table 3.16
Estimated aggregate economic benefits and associated rate of return of raising literacy skill levels to Level 3 for all adults aged 16 and over, Canada, 2003

|  | Impact of taking level 1's <br> and 2's to level 3 |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Level 1 to 3 | Level 2 to 3 | Combined |
|  |  | \$ million |  |
| Return in public taxes/savings | 8,062 | 8,021 | 16,083 |
| Income tax revenue | 4,677 | 6,513 | 11,190 |
| Social assistance | 115 | 427 | 542 |
| Total cost of raising skill to level 3 |  | 6,401 |  |
| Estimated simple annual rate of return |  | $251 \%$ |  |

The table indicates annual Social Assistance (SA) savings of over half a billion dollars and 84,000 fewer (SA) recipients per year. Clearly, investments in literacy represent a powerful tool that might be deployed in the fight against poverty in Canada.

### 3.5 Other economic benefits

Literacy is an asset that has economic value other than its impact on employment and wage rates. Among other things, literacy influences adults access to adult learning, individual health and levels of community engagement.

Figure 3.17
Adjusted odds ratios showing the likelihood of adults aged 16 to 65 receiving adult education and training during the year preceding the interview, by document literacy levels, 2003


Countries are ranked according to the odds of persons who score at Level 4/5.

1. Odds estimates that are not statistically different from one at conventional levels of significance are reported as one in the figure. For the actual estimate and its corresponding significance, see Table 4.4 in the annex to this chapter.
Source: IALSS 2003.

The figure reveals that less skilled workers have far less access to adult education and training. Adults with document literacy skills at levels $4 / 5$ are almost 4 times more likely than their level 1 peers to have participated.

Figure 3.18 plots the impact that health literacy - literacy and numeracy applied to health information - have on the probability of being in fair or poor health and on not participating in community activities.

Figure 3.18
Odds of having fair or poor health, being on income support and of not participating in community activities by health literacy level, adults aged 16 and over, Canada, 2003


Source: International Adult Literacy and Skills Survey, 2003
The figure shows that adults at Level 1 are over 2.5 times more likely to be in fair or poor health, Level 2 adults over 1.5 times more likely to be in fair or poor health. These results are the product of several factors. Adults with low skills are less able to afford a healthy diet and health-promoting recreation, have less access to health information and tend to work in occupations that expose them to more risk of workplace illness and accident. Similar results are seen for community participation.

### 3.6 Future rewards to skill

The economic effects of literacy are a function of skill supply and demand. The demand for literacy skill is projected to grow over the coming decade as jobs become more knowledge and skill intense.

## How skill demand is expected to change

Figure 3.19 plots the projected changes in the occupational distribution of employment by the level of literacy skill demanded by the job.

Figure 3.19
Projected aggregate job gains by average literacy skill demand, selected occupations, Canada, 2006/2016


Source: DataAngel, 2010.
The figure shows that the economic demand for literacy skill is likely to grow rapidly, continuing a trend that has been evident over the past decade.

## How skill supply is expected to change

Figures 3.20A and 3.20B plot the projected supply of literacy skill over the coming decade.

The first figure reveals a disconcerting fact - the absolute numbers of adults with Level 1 and 2 prose literacy skills rises over the period. By 2016 the projections suggest that there will be 996,950 additional adults with skills below prose literacy level 3 , the average level of literacy skill demanded by the Canadian economy.

The second figure reveals an even more disconcerting fact, that the proportion of adults whose skill level is judged to place them at risk remains virtually unchanged out to 2016. This spells trouble for the Canadian economy given the degree to which Canadian employers have relied on attracting workers from other jurisdictions to meet rising demand. The fact that the supply of literate workers is expected to remain stable suggests a need to look elsewhere for skill. Immigration, inter-provincial migration and adult upgrading are the three obvious options open to jurisdictions.

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Figures 3.20.A and 3.20.B
Projected number and proportion of adults aged 16 and over by prose literacy proficiency level, Canada, 2001-2016


Source: DataAngel, 2010.

## How unbalanced skill supply and demand are driving increases in earnings inequality

The combination of rising demand for literacy skill and flat literacy skill supply is almost certain to create even larger literacy skill shortages than currently exist. It is also highly likely that growing literacy skill shortages will lead to much higher levels of skill-based inequality in wage rates. Ideally, one would like to track long term trends in the relative wage returns to literacy skill to see if this has been the case. Unfortunately, comparable assessment data is only available for two years - 1994 and 2003 - not enough to look at trends.

The following analysis uses data on education as a proxy for literacy skill. It uses data from the Survey of Consumer Finances (1976-1995) and the Survey of Labour Income Dynamics (SLID for 1996-2008) to explore trends in The relative earnings of adults with different levels of education over the long term. The results are the average earnings for the population by age group and by education ${ }^{5}$.

Figure 3.21
Average earnings by education level (including those without earnings), $1976 / 2008,2008 \$$ s, both sexes, adults aged 25 to 54


Source: SCF/SLID tabulation.

[^7]
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The following series of charts use earning data that has been adjusted to account for inflation over the reference period. All earnings are expressed in 2008 dollars.

The first chart uses the age group 25 to 54, avoiding the period of post-secondary education and early retirement. The average earnings for those with a university degree have increased markedly. For the lowest educational groups average earnings have been falling. For the middle educational groups average earnings have been reasonably flat.

The following charts are for various age groups. There is some consistency in the findings that over the last 15 years. Since about 1996, the average earnings for those with a university degree have increased markedly. For the lowest educational groups average earnings have been falling. For the middle educational groups average earnings have been reasonably flat for older age groups and have been falling for younger groups, for example, 25 to 34 .

Thus, the data show that skilled adults have seen their earnings increase more than other groups, in part because their higher literacy levels as jobs become more knowledge and skill are more valuable.

Figure 3.22
Average earnings of the population (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, both sexes, adults aged 25 to 34, Canada


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Figure 3.23
Average earnings of the population (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, both sexes, adults aged 35 to 44, Canada


Figure 3.24
Average earnings of the population (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, both sexes, adults aged 35 to 44, Canada


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Figure 3.25
Average earnings of the population (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, both sexes, adults aged 55 to 64, Canada


Figure 3.26
Average earnings of the population (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, both sexes, adults aged 65 and over, Canada


## Chapter 4

## Summary and implications for policy

The evidence summarized in this report leaves little doubt that literacy and poverty are closely linked. On the positive side, adults with higher levels of literacy skill are more likely to work, work about the same hours but earn more than their less literate peers. These adults are also considerably more likely to be in good health, are more engaged in their communities and have far greater access to adult learning. Adults with low literacy skill are much more likely to have low incomes and rely to a much greater extent on income support than their more skilled peers. They are also less healthy and have much less access to adult education and training opportunities.

There is reason to believe that investment in literacy would precipitate significant increases in earnings and significant reductions in the numbers of adults receiving Employment Insurance and Social Assistance benefits. Raising every Canadian adult to Level 3 would reduce Social Assistance rolls by 84,000 and generate annual benefits savings of $\$ 542 \mathrm{M}$.

Research suggests that it would require an investment of roughly $\$ 18 \mathrm{~B}$ to eliminate occupational literacy skills shortages in Canada. As high as this amount seems this investment is likely to generate an additional $\$ 100 \mathrm{~B}$ in annual earnings. Few would turn down an investment that would yield an annual rate of return well in excess of $500 \%$. At a minimum the increased tax revenues associated with the increased earnings precipitated by such an investment would provide fiscal room at a time when government finances will be under great pressure from rising health and pension costs.

Projections of literacy skill supply and demand suggest that the economy will have to deal with rising literacy skill shortages over the medium term. These shortages are likely to drive increases in skill-based wage inequality and dampen productivity growth as employers are forced to hire more workers with weak skills. Rising employment to population ratios are not likely to precipitate large increases in labour earnings. The numbers of adults receiving Social Assistance may shrink but the ranks of the working poor are likely to grow.

Realizing the returns on a literacy investment implied above would require government action on three fronts. As noted above, the majority of workers do not have the literacy skills demanded by their occupations. Governments should encourage employers to assess their employees literacy and numeracy skills and to upgrade skills where needed. Doing so would increase labour market efficiency and overall productivity while increasing the available supply of skill. Notwithstanding the fact that there are significant literacy skill shortages in the Canadian economy, the skill loss observed between 1994 and 2003 implies a need for governments to increase the economic demand for literacy skill. Doing so would involve replacing passive income support with active education policies, avoiding job creation programs that do not include skill measures and

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creating tax incentives for individuals and employers to invest in skill upgrading. Taking these steps would reduce skill loss and ensure that any skill surpluses get put to good use.

Realizing these returns also requires a significant shift in how Canada's poverty advocates think. As a group they need to focus less on income replacement and more on removing barriers to full and equal participation of Canada's poor.

## Annex A

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## Annex B

## Statistical Tables

Figure 2.2
Estimated numbers of adults by literacy market segment, English market, population aged 16 and over, Canada, 2006

| Market segment | Number of <br> potential learners ${ }^{1}$ | Average hoursof instruction <br> required to raise to level 3 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| English A1 | 268,000 | 375 |
| English A2 | 424,000 | 375 |
| English B1 | 54,000 | 350 |
| English B2 | 482,000 | 350 |
| English C1 | $2,144,000$ | 75 |
| English D1 | $3,540,000$ | 40 |
| Total Potential English-Language Learners and hours | $6,911,000$ | $669,051,725$ |
| French A1 | 97,000 | 375 |
| French A2 | 18,000 | 375 |
| French B1 | 115,000 | 350 |
| French B2 | 39,000 | 350 |
| French C1 | 584,000 | 75 |
| French D1 | $1,297,000$ | 40 |
| Total Potential French-language Learners and hours | $2,150,000$ | $171,885,470$ |
| Total Potential Learners and hours | $9,061,000$ | $840,937,195$ |

1. The coverage of the ISRS study excluded roughly $12 \%$ of the estimated numbers of adults at Levels 1 and 2 derived from the IALSS study. The number of potential learners derived from the ISRS has been inflated by $12 \%$ to ensure that the cost-benefit analyses reflect the true magnitude of the potential literacy market.
Source: ISRS, 2005

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Table 3.1
Labour market participation rate by literacy skill proficiency level, adults aged 16 to 65, Canada, 2003

|  | Prose literacy level |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 | Level 4 | Level 5 | Total |
|  |  |  | Percent |  |  |  |
| Participation rate | 69 | 79 | 82 | 85 | 87 | 80 |

Table 3.2
Average Weeks worked, hours and hourly earnings by literacy level, adults aged 16 and over, 2003

| Prose literacy level | Weeks worked per year | Weeks worked per year for those who worked at some time in the year | Hours worked per year | Hours worked per year for those who worked at some time in the year | Hourly earnings |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Hours |  |  |  | Dollars |
| Level 1 | 18 | 45 | 923 | 1,832 | 14 |
| Level 2 | 31 | 46 | 1,405 | 1,800 | 16 |
| Level 3 | 36 | 47 | 1,625 | 1,828 | 19 |
| Level 4 | 41 | 47 | 1,702 | 1,800 | 21 |
| Level 5 | 42 | 48 | 1,763 | 1,811 | 23 |

Table 3.4
Average half-life of unemployment, by skill level, Canada, 2003

|  | Levels 1 and 2 | Levels 3 and $4 / 5$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Weeks |  | Probability |
| 0 | 0.124 | 0.161 |
| 2 | 0.253 | 0.363 |
| 4 | 0.281 | 0.392 |
| 7 | 0.345 | 0.511 |
| 9 | 0.350 | 0.530 |
| 11 | 0.395 | 0.578 |
| 13 | 0.397 | 0.583 |
| 15 | 0.420 | 0.621 |
| 17 | 0.423 | 0.626 |
| 20 | 0.448 | 0.643 |
| 22 | 0.453 | 0.647 |
| 24 | 0.468 | 0.660 |
| 26 | 0.469 | 0.663 |
| 28 | 0.474 | 0.673 |
| 30 | 0.475 | 0.675 |
| 33 | 0.484 | 0.683 |
| 35 | 0.485 | 0.683 |
| 37 | 0.494 | 0.687 |
| 39 | 0.495 | 0.687 |
| 41 | 0.500 | 0.694 |
| 43 | 0.500 | 0.696 |
| 46 | 0.502 | 0.700 |
| 48 | 0.502 | 0.701 |
| 50 | 0.502 | 0.701 |
| 52 | 0.502 | 0.701 |

[^8]Table 3.6
Percent increase in weekly earnings per increase of 10-percentiles on the document literacy scale, and per increase of additional year of schooling, adjusted three stage least squares model, labour force populations aged 16 to 65, 2003

|  | Prose literacy |  | Document literacy |  | Numeracy |  | Problem solving ${ }^{1}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 10 percentiles | Standard error | $\begin{array}{r} 10 \\ \text { percentiles } \end{array}$ | Standard error | $\begin{array}{r} 10 \\ \text { percentiles } \end{array}$ | Standard error | $\begin{array}{r} 10 \\ \text { percentiles } \end{array}$ | Standard error |
| Bermuda |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observed skills (percentiles) | 0.18*** | (0.05) | 0.37*** | (0.06) | 0.25*** | (0.05) | 0.29*** | (0.07) |
| Years of schooling | 0.01 | (0.02) | -0.07 | (0.03) | -0.02 | (0.02) | -0.01 | (0.02) |
| Years of experience | 0.04*** | (0.00) | 0.04*** | (0.01) | 0.04*** | (0.00) | 0.03*** | (0.01) |
| Years of experience-squared | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) | $0.00{ }^{* * *}$ | (0.00) |
| Male | 0.39*** | (0.04) | 0.26*** | (0.04) | 0.16*** | (0.05) | $0.41^{* * *}$ | (0.04) |
| Urban resident | 4.98*** | (0.10) | $5.16{ }^{* * *}$ | (0.12) | $5.25 * * *$ | (0.12) | 4.71*** | (0.12) |
| Canada |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observed skills (percentiles) | 0.09*** | (0.01) | 0.11*** | (0.01) | 0.13*** | (0.01) | $0.08 * * *$ | (0.01) |
| Years of schooling | 0.06*** | (0.00) | 0.05*** | (0.00) | 0.04*** | (0.01) | 0.07*** | (0.00) |
| Years of experience | $0.06{ }^{* * *}$ | (0.00) | $0.06{ }^{* * *}$ | (0.00) | $0.06{ }^{* * *}$ | (0.00) | 0.06*** | (0.00) |
| Years of experience-squared | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00 *** | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) |
| Male | $0.42^{* * *}$ | (0.02) | $0.37 * * *$ | (0.01) | 0.30*** | (0.02) | 0.39*** | (0.01) |
| Urban resident | 0.04 | (0.02) | 0.04 | (0.02) | 0.02 | (0.02) | 0.03 | (0.02) |
| Italy |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observed skills (percentiles) | 0.35*** | (0.09) | 0.40*** | (0.19) | -0.06 | (0.10) | 0.38*** | (0.10) |
| Years of schooling | -0.03 | (0.02) | $-0.05^{* * *}$ | (0.04) | 0.07*** | (0.03) | -0.03 | (0.02) |
| Years of experience | 0.01 | (0.01) | 0.01*** | (0.01) | 0.02 *** | (0.01) | 0.00 | (0.01) |
| Years of experience-squared | 0.00 | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00** | (0.00) | 0.00** | (0.00) |
| Male | 0.37*** | (0.05) | 0.21*** | (0.05) | 0.24*** | (0.03) | 0.34*** | (0.05) |
| Urban resident | 0.00 | (0.04) | 0.00*** | (0.06) | 0.07*** | (0.04) | -0.05 | (0.05) |
| Norway |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observed skills (percentiles) | 0.05 | (0.08) | 0.08 | (0.08) | 0.05 | (0.07) | 0.00 | (0.07) |
| Years of schooling | 0.06 *** | (0.02) | 0.05 *** | (0.02) | 0.06 ** | (0.02) | 0.07 *** | (0.02) |
| Years of experience | 0.07 *** | (0.01) | 0.07 *** | (0.01) | 0.07 *** | (0.01) | 0.07 *** | (0.01) |
| Years of experience-squared | 0.00 *** | (0.00) | 0.00 *** | (0.00) | 0.00 *** | (0.00) | 0.00 *** | (0.00) |
| Male | 0.34 *** | (0.04) | 0.29 *** | (0.07) | 0.28 *** | (0.08) | 0.34 *** | (0.04) |
| Urban resident | 0.30 *** | (0.05) | 0.30 *** | (0.05) | 0.31 *** | (0.05) | 0.32 *** | (0.05) |
| Switzerland |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observed skills (percentiles) | 0.03 | (0.03) | 0.04* | (0.02) | 0.02 | (0.02) | 0.03 | (0.03) |
| Years of schooling | 0.07*** | (0.01) | 0.07*** | (0.01) | 0.08*** | (0.01) | 0.08*** | (0.01) |
| Years of experience | 0.04*** | (0.00) | 0.04*** | (0.00) | 0.04*** | (0.00) | 0.04*** | (0.00) |
| Years of experience-squared | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) |
| Male | 0.72*** | (0.03) | 0.69*** | (0.03) | 0.69*** | (0.03) | 0.72 *** | (0.03) |
| Urban resident | $0.18{ }^{* * *}$ | (0.03) | $0.18{ }^{* * *}$ | (0.03) | 0.18*** | (0.03) | $0.18{ }^{* * *}$ | (0.03) |
| United States |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observed skills (percentiles) | 0.05* | (0.03) | 0.06 | (0.03) | 0.08** | (0.04) | ... | ... |
| Years of schooling | 0.09*** | (0.02) | 0.09*** | (0.02) | 0.07 *** | (0.02) | ... |  |
| Years of experience | 0.06*** | (0.01) | 0.06*** | (0.01) | 0.06*** | (0.01) | ... | $\ldots$ |
| Years of experience-squared | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) | 0.00*** | (0.00) | ... | ... |
| Male | 0.50*** | (0.04) | 0.47 *** | (0.04) | 0.42 *** | (0.05) | ... |  |
| Urban resident | 0.15*** | (0.05) | 0.15*** | (0.05) | 0.15*** | (0.06) | ... | $\ldots$ |

[^9]** $\mathrm{p}<0.05$, statistically significant at the 5 per cent level.
*** $p<0.01$, statistically significant at the 1 per cent level.
... Not applicable.

1. Switzerland (Italian) and the United States did not field the problem solving skills domain.

Note: The results reported in the table are from the first equation of the three equation system. The estimates for the other two equations are available upon request.
Source: Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey, 2003.

Table 3.8
Population by education and literacy level, adults aged 16 and over, 2003

|  | Literacy Level |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: |
|  | Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 | Level 4 | Level 5 |  |
|  |  | Number |  |  |  |  |
| Less than high school | $5,500,000$ | $4,000,000$ | $2,300,000$ | 400,000 | - |  |
| High school graduate | $2,200,000$ | $5,100,000$ | $6,700,000$ | $1,800,000$ | - |  |
| Trades certificate/diploma/apprentice | 500,000 | $1,300,000$ | $2,000,000$ | 500,000 | - |  |
| College diploma | 400,000 | $1,900,000$ | $3,400,000$ | $1,900,000$ | 100,000 |  |
| University degree | 400,000 | $1,200,000$ | $4,400,000$ | $3,100,000$ | 300,000 |  |
| Total | $9,000,000$ | $13,500,000$ | $18,800,000$ | $7,600,000$ | 400,000 |  |

Table 3.9
Average earning of the population by education and literacy level, no adjustment for the age distribution, adults aged 16 and over, 2003

|  | Literacy Level |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- |
|  | Total | Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 | Level 4 | Level 5 |
|  |  |  | Dollars |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Less than high school | 23,000 | 25,000 | 25,000 | 21,000 | 17,000 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |
| High school graduate | 32,000 | 27,000 | 31,000 | 35,000 | 29,000 | 36,000 |
| Trades certificate/diploma/apprentice | 45,000 | 31,000 | 37,000 | 49,000 | 53,000 | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ |
| College diploma | 46,000 | 31,000 | 37,000 | 49,000 | 50,000 | 49,000 |
| University degree | 60,000 | 50,000 | 45,000 | 63,000 | 63,000 | 60,000 |
| Total | 40,000 | 28,000 | 32,000 | 44,000 | 48,000 | 55,000 |

$\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ : could not be calculated because of a small sample size.
Source: Calculations using the IALSS 2003.

Table 3.10
Average earnings of the population (including those without earning) by education and literacy level, age standardized, 2004

|  |  | Literacy Level |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 | Level 4 | Level 5 |
|  |  |  | Dollars |  |  |
| Less than high school | 10,000 | 17,000 | 17,000 | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ |
| High school graduate | 15,000 | 21,000 | 25,000 | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ |
| Trades certificate/diploma/apprentice | $\ldots$ | 25,000 | 36,000 | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ |
| College diploma | $\ldots$ | 25,000 | 34,000 | 35,000 | $\ldots$ |
| University degree | 26,000 | 29,000 | 40,000 | 42,000 | $\ldots$ |
| Total | 14,000 | 21,000 | 31,000 | 35,000 | $\ldots$ |

... could not be calculated because of a small sample size.
Source: Calculations using the IALSS 2003.

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Figure 3.11
Proportions of individuals living below Statistics Canada's low income cut-offs by prose literacy skill level, Canada, 2003

| Prose literacy level | Proportion below low income cut-off (\%) |
| :--- | ---: |
| Level 1 | 30 |
| Level 2 | 16 |
| Level 3 | 11 |
| Level 4 | 6 |
| Level 5 | 6 |
| Total | 11 |

Figure 3.12
Adjusted and unadjusted odds ratios ${ }^{1}$ showing the likelihood of low-skilled adults (Levels 1 and 2) collecting social assistance payments, numeracy scale, populations aged 16 to 65, selected countries, 2003

|  | Adjusted odds ${ }^{1}$ |  | Unadjusted odds |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Odds ratios | Standard error | Odds ratios | Standard error |
| Bermuda | 1.00 | (1.0) | 2.11 | (1.0) |
| Canada | 2.45 *** | (0.2) | 4.89*** | (0.2) |
| Italy | 2.13 | (0.8) | 3.49 | (0.8) |
| Norway | 2.86** | (0.4) | $3.52^{* * *}$ | (0.4) |
| Switzerland | 1.92 | (0.7) | 2.61 | (0.6) |
| United States | 3.32** | (0.5) | 7.06*** | (0.4) |

* $\mathrm{p}<0.10$, statistically significant at the 10 per cent level.
** $p<0.05$, statistically significant at the 5 per cent level.
*** $\mathrm{p}<0.01$, statistically significant at the 1 per cent level.

1. Odds are adjusted for gender, age, educational attainment and total personal income.

Note: Standard errors are of the logarithm of the odds ratios.
Source: Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey, 2003.

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Figure 3.13
Adjusted odds ratios ${ }^{1}$ indicating the likelihood of low skilled (Levels 1 and 2) and medium to high skilled (Levels 3 and 4/5) foreign-born and native-born populations aged 16 to 65 of being in the lowest personal earnings income quartile, prose literacy scale, 2003

|  | Foreign-born |  |  |  | Native-born |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Low skilled (Levels 1 and 2) |  | Medium to high skilled (Levels 3 and 4/5) |  | Low skilled (Levels 1 and 2) |  | Medium <br> to high skilled (Levels 3 and 4/5) |
|  | 0dds ratios | Standard error | 0dds ratios | Standard error | Odds ratios | Standard error |  |
| Bermuda | 2.51 | (0.69) | 1.26 | (0.51) | 1.41 | (0.44) | 1.00 |
| Canada | 2.32*** | (0.23) | 1.83** | (0.29) | 1.52*** | (0.15) | 1.00 |
| Norway | 1.53 | (0.66) | 0.39 | (0.76) | $2.17 * *$ | (0.32) | 1.00 |
| Switzerland | $2.34 * *$ | (0.32) | 1.07 | (0.60) | 0.83 | (0.40) | 1.00 |
| United States | 2.82** | (0.45) | 1.00 | (0.43) | 2.06 *** | (0.19) | 1.00 |

* $\mathrm{p}<0.10$, statistically significant at the 10 per cent level.
** $\mathrm{p}<0.05$, statistically significant at the 5 per cent level.
*** $p<0.01$, statistically significant at the 1 per cent level.
Notes: Odds are adjusted for gender, age, educational attainment and language status.
Standard errors are of the logarithm of the odds ratios.
Source: Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey, 2003.

Figure 3.17
Adjusted odds ratios showing the likelihood of adults aged 16 to 65 receiving adult education and training during the year preceding the interview, by document literacy levels, 2003

|  | Level 1 | Level 2 |  | Level 3 |  | Level 4/5 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Odds <br> ratio | Odds <br> ratio | Standard error | Odds <br> ratio | Standard error | Odds ratio | Standard error |
| Bermuda | 1.00 | 1.77** | (0.25) | $2.04 * * *$ | (0.22) | 2.42 ** | (0.31) |
| Canada | 1.00 | 1.93 *** | (0.12) | 2.72 *** | (0.11) | 3.78 *** | (0.14) |
| Italy | 1.00 | 1.60*** | (0.16) | $2.16{ }^{* * *}$ | (0.17) | 2.69*** | (0.25) |
| Norway | 1.00 | 1.52** | (0.19) | $1.97 * * *$ | (0.18) | 2.00** | (0.25) |
| Switzerland | 1.00 | 1.53 | (0.25) | 2.37 *** | (0.22) | 2.90*** | (0.26) |
| United States | 1.00 | 2.24*** | (0.19) | 3.75 *** | (0.16) | 5.91 *** | (0.23) |

* $\mathrm{p}<0.10$, statistically significant at the 10 per cent level.
** $\mathrm{p}<0.05$, statistically significant at the 5 per cent level.
*** $\mathrm{p}<0.01$, statistically significant at the 1 per cent level.
Notes: Odds are adjusted for gender, age, educational attainment and labour force participation status. Standard errors are of the logarithm of the odds ratios.
Source: Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey, 2003.

Figure 3.18
Odds of having fair or poor health, being on income support and of not participating in community activities by health literacy level, adults aged 16 and over, Canada, 2003

|  | Health literacy level |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 | Level 4/5 |
| Civic engagement | 2.53 | 1.63 | 1.22 | 1.00 |
| Income support | 2.56 | 1.72 | 1.25 | 1.00 |
| General health | 2.56 | 1.59 | 1.23 | 1.00 |

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Table 3.19
Projected aggregate job gains by average literacy skill demand, selected occupations, Canada, 2006 to 2016

|  | Projected rate of change 2006 to 2016 | Projected absolute change in employment 2006 to 2016 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Occupation | Percent | Number |
| Senior management occupations | 120.1 | 100 |
| Specialist managers | 25.1 | 88 |
| Managers in retail trade, food and accommodation services | 42.4 | 237 |
| Other managers N.E.C. | 42.9 | 228 |
| Professional occupations in business and finance | 48.3 | 232 |
| Finance and insurance administrative occupations | 51.0 | 123 |
| Secretaries | 20.0 | 42 |
| Administrative and regulatory occupations | 47.0 | 159 |
| Clerical supervisors | 42.3 | 65 |
| Clerical occupations | 32.8 | 523 |
| Professional occupations in natural and applied sciences | 42.7 | 268 |
| Technical occupations related to natural and applied sciences | 33.9 | 181 |
| Professional occupations in health | 63.6 | 122 |
| Nurse supervisors and registered nurses | 69.4 | 184 |
| Technical and related occupations in health | 66.7 | 156 |
| Assisting occupations in support of health services | 42.8 | 126 |
| Judges, lawyers, psychologists, social workers, ministers of religion, and policy and program officers | 7.1 | 25 |
| Teachers and professors | 46.9 | 328 |
| Paralegals, social services workers and occupations in education and religion, N.E.C. | 86.6 | 324 |
| Professional occupations in art and culture | 33.8 | 75 |
| Technical occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport | 36.1 | 98 |
| Sales and service supervisors | 36.1 | 78 |
| Wholesale, technical, insurance, real estate sales specialists, and retail, wholesale and grain buyers | 24.3 | 129 |
| Retail salespersons and sales clerks | 34.7 | 192 |
| Cashiers | 19.0 | 67 |
| Chefs and cooks | 37.9 | 86 |
| Occupations in food and beverage service | 69.6 | 174 |
| Occupations in protective services | 38.3 | 85 |
| Occupations in travel and accommodation including attendants in recreation and sport | 35.3 | 40 |
| Childcare and home support workers | 63.8 | 125 |
| Sales and service occupations N.E.C. | 22.8 | 278 |
| Contractors and supervisors in trades and transportation | 40.9 | 103 |
| Construction trades | 34.9 | 126 |
| Stationary engineers, power station operators and electrical trades and telecommunications occupations | 45.2 | 82 |
| Machinists, metal forming, shaping and erecting occupations | 18.7 | 39 |
| Mechanics | 33.1 | 119 |
| Other trades N.E.C. | 9.6 | 13 |
| Heavy equipment and crane operators including drillers | 16.8 | 19 |
| Transportation equipment operators and related workers, excluding labourers | 48.1 | 246 |
| Trades helpers, construction, and transportation labourers and related occupations | 28.4 | 107 |
| Occupations unique to agriculture excluding labourers | 28.2 | 106 |
| Occupations unique to forestry operations, mining, oil and gas extraction, and fishing, excluding labourers | S $\quad 34.7$ | 48 |
| Primary production labourers | 20.5 | 25 |
| Supervisors in manufacturing | 11.1 | 15 |
| Machine operators in manufacturing | 6.4 | 31 |
| Assemblers in manufacturing | 25.9 | 59 |
| Labourers in processing, manufacturing and utilities | 7.3 | 15 |

Source: COPS, 2009.

## From Poverty to Prosperity: Literacy's Impact on Canada's Economic Success

Table 3.20
Projected number and proportion of adults aged 16 and over by prose literacy proficiency level, Canada, 2001-2016

|  | Canada |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 | Level 4/5 |
|  | Number (000) |  |  |  |  |
| 2001 | 17,000 | 3,000 | 5,000 | 6,000 | 3,000 |
| 2006 | 20,000 | 3,000 | 6,000 | 7,000 | 3,000 |
| 2011 | 22,000 | 4,000 | 6,000 | 8,000 | 4,000 |
| 2016 | 24,000 | 4,000 | 7,000 | 9,000 | 4,000 |
| 2021 | 26,000 | 4,000 | 7,000 | 10,000 | 5,000 |
| 2026 | 27,000 | 4,000 | 8,000 | 10,000 | 5,000 |
| 2031 | 29,000 | 4,000 | 8,000 | 11,000 | 6,000 |
|  | Total | Level 1 | Level 2 | Level 3 | Level 4/5 |
|  | Percentage |  |  |  |  |
| 2001 | 100 | 18 | 29 | 35 | 18 |
| 2006 | 100 | 15 | 30 | 35 | 15 |
| 2011 | 100 | 18 | 27 | 36 | 18 |
| 2016 | 100 | 17 | 29 | 38 | 17 |
| 2021 | 100 | 15 | 27 | 38 | 19 |
| 2026 | 100 | 15 | 30 | 37 | 19 |
| 2031 | 100 | 14 | 28 | 38 | 21 |

Table 3.21
Average earnings by education level (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, Earnings Including Negative and Zero

Figure 3.22
Average earnings of the population (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, Both Sexes, 25 to 34

| Earnings Including Negative and Zero |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Year | CPI | $\begin{gathered} \text { Less } \\ \text { than } 9 \\ \text { years } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 9 \text { to } \\ 10 \\ \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } \\ 13 \\ \text { years } \\ \text { no } \\ \text { grad } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } \\ 13 \\ \text { years } \\ \text { many } \\ \text { grand } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { High } \\ \text { school } \\ \text { graduate } \end{array}$ | Some PSE | University degree | Other | Total | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } 13 \\ \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Less } \\ \text { than } \\ 9 \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \text { to } 10 \\ \text { years } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } 13 \\ \text { years } \\ \text { no } \\ \text { grad } \end{array}$ | 11 to 13 <br> years may school grad graduate | High Some PSE | University degree |
|  |  |  | Dollars |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1976 | 3.605766147 | 20,295 | 25,887 | - | 28,913 | - | 34,432 | 45,568 | - | 31,203 |  | 28,913 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1977 | 3.338672359 | 20,543 | 24,960 | - | 28,684 | - | 33,134 | 43,953 | - | 30,427 |  | 28,684 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1978 | 3.063933667 | 20,341 | 23,751 | - | 28,832 | - | 32,544 | 42,601 | - | 30,165 |  | 28,832 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1979 | 2.807768721 | 20,350 | 23,923 | - | 29,082 | - | 33,579 | 44,700 | - | 30,895 |  | 29,082 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1980 | 2.548718631 | 18,882 | 24,163 | - | 28,596 | - | 34,134 | 44,166 | - | 30,982 |  | 28,596 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1981 | 2.268528371 | 18,326 | 22,814 | - | 28,438 | - | 33,349 | 43,625 | - | 30,522 |  | 28,438 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1982 | 2.046283059 | 16,413 | 21,349 | - | 26,061 | - | 31,346 | 41,506 | - | 28,484 |  | 26,061 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1983 | 1.935298215 | 16,712 | 18,379 | - | 25,497 | - | 31,593 | 41,182 | - | 28,271 |  | 25,497 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1984 | 1.85361355 | 16,010 | 20,202 | - | 25,580 | - | 30,567 | 41,995 | - | 28,293 |  | 25,580 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1985 | 1.784103042 | 15,543 | 20,806 | - | 26,539 | - | 30,848 | 42,319 | - | 28,905 |  | 26,539 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1986 | 1.71273892 | 15,235 | 20,749 | - | 26,894 | - | 31,417 | 41,677 | - | 29,199 |  | 26,894 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1987 | 1.640554521 | 17,256 | 21,888 | - | 26,749 | - | 31,418 | 40,776 | - | 29,392 |  | 26,749 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1988 | 1.577107661 | 16,505 | 22,506 | - | 28,481 | - | 32,829 | 39,121 | - | 30,294 |  | 28,481 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1989 | 1.502402561 | 16,175 | 21,506 | 25,489 | - | 27,946 | 31,834 | 42,421 | - | 30,309 |  | 27,441 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1990 | 1.433254326 | 15,019 | 19,465 | 22,198 | - | 27,960 | 31,029 | 38,886 | - | 28,932 |  | 26,682 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1991 | 1.357162377 | 11,807 | 16,904 | 20,279 | - | 25,603 | 28,663 | 39,033 | - | 27,120 | 24,447 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1992 | 1.337032724 | 14,169 | 16,454 | 18,980 | - | 23,897 | 28,179 | 39,179 | - | 26,925 | 22,935 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1993 | 1.313450092 | 9,275 | 15,567 | 20,420 | - | 23,856 | 27,232 | 37,354 | 34,152 | 26,249 | 23,137 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1994 | 1.310435287 | 12,342 | 16,037 | 19,981 | - | 24,414 | 27,603 | 37,156 | 17,620 | 26,814 | 23,538 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1995 | 1.282950502 | 12,486 | 17,141 | 19,936 | - | 23,993 | 27,768 | 34,826 | 25,466 | 26,754 | 23,133 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1996 | 1.25779461 | 11,467 | 15,861 | 19,740 | - | 23,911 | 26,684 | 36,082 | 24,362 | 26,411 | 23,093 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1997 | 1.23313197 | 12,158 | 16,318 | 21,083 | - | 24,034 | 27,448 | 37,938 | 22,868 | 27,398 | 23,451 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1998 | 1.221777164 | 14,830 | 14,696 | 18,680 | - | 23,441 | 27,827 | 43,432 | 25,868 | 28,720 | 22,476 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1999 | 1.200769231 | 11,887 | 17,327 | 18,264 | - | 24,400 | 29,074 | 40,131 | 28,202 | 29,297 | 23,234 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2000 | 1.169030837 | 11,549 | 19,775 | 18,936 | - | 26,521 | 29,749 | 43,295 | 29,523 | 30,926 | 25,140 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2001 | 1.129234043 | 13,529 | 18,833 | 17,625 | - | 25,791 | 29,362 | 42,153 | 29,951 | 30,653 | 24,316 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2003 | 1.08463035 | 14,902 | 19,652 | 21,546 | - | 25,078 | 28,891 | 41,093 | 28,945 | 30,654 | 24,413 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2002 | 1.115 | 13,559 | 20,622 | 22,532 | - | 27,959 | 30,308 | 41,255 | 30,338 | 31,731 | 27,038 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2004 | 1.064947469 | 17,272 | 22,625 | 24,355 | - | 26,097 | 30,076 | 41,007 | 30,987 | 31,929 | 25,749 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2005 | 1.042056075 | 14,255 | 19,653 | 23,778 | - | 25,202 | 29,320 | 41,900 | 30,887 | 31,365 | 24,901 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2006 | 1.021998167 | 11,639 | 18,941 | 21,095 | - | 26,103 | 29,623 | 44,098 | 31,225 | 32,042 | 25,004 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2007 | 1 | 13,564 | 20,397 | 20,224 | - | 25,696 | 29,704 | 44,378 | 29,456 | 32,185 | 24,442 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2008 | 0.977212971 | 11,019 | 19,729 | 21,516 | - | 29,343 | 29,533 | 42,398 | 36,255 | 32,858 | 27,464 |  |  |  |  |  |  |


| Year | CPI | Less than 9 years | $\begin{array}{r} 9 \text { to } \\ 10 \\ \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } \\ 13 \\ \text { years } \\ \text { no } \\ \text { grad } \end{array}$ | 11 to <br> 13 <br> years <br> many <br> grand | $\begin{array}{r} \text { High } \\ \text { school } \\ \text { graduate } \end{array}$ | Some PSE | University degree | Other | Total | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } 13 \\ \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Less } \\ & \text { than } \\ & 9 \text { years } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \text { to } 10 \\ \text { years } \end{gathered}$ | 11 to 13 years no grad | 11 to 13 years may grad | school graduate | High <br> Some PSE | University degree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Dollars |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1976 | 3.605766147 | 25,156 | 27,789 | - | 33,974 | - | 39,889 | 76,033 | - | 34,665 | 33,974 | 74 | 82 | - | 100 |  | 117 | 224 |
| 1977 | 3.338672359 | 23,904 | 28,711 | - | 32,540 | - | 37,971 | 68,217 | - | 33,157 | 32,540 | 73 | 88 | - | 100 |  | 117 | 210 |
| 1978 | 3.063933667 | 24,231 | 28,735 | - | 33,144 | - | 39,774 | 69,772 | - | 34,120 | 33,144 | 73 | 87 |  | 100 |  | 120 | 211 |
| 1979 | 2.807768721 | 24,601 | 27,986 | - | 32,883 | - | 38,664 | 66,270 | - | 33,441 | 32,883 | 75 | 85 |  | 100 |  | 118 | 202 |
| 1980 | 2.548718631 | 24,376 | 29,049 | - | 33,603 | - | 38,847 | 63,466 | - | 34,420 | 33,603 | 73 | 86 | - | 100 | - | 116 | 189 |
| 1981 | 2.268528371 | 22,939 | 28,653 | - | 32,268 | - | 38,603 | 65,501 | - | 34,171 | 32,268 | 71 | 89 | - | 100 | - | 120 | 203 |
| 1982 | 2.046283059 | 21,679 | 25,232 | - | 31,659 | - | 37,637 | 61,740 | - | 32,968 | 31,659 | 68 | 80 | - | 100 |  | 119 | 195 |
| 1983 | 1.935298215 | 20,785 | 24,895 | - | 30,984 | - | 39,172 | 61,156 | - | 33,471 | 30,984 | 67 | 80 | - | 100 |  | 126 | 197 |
| 1984 | 1.85361355 | 21,166 | 25,003 | - | 30,864 | - | 36,382 | 61,009 | - | 33,031 | 30,864 | 69 | 81 | - | 100 | - | 118 | 198 |
| 1985 | 1.784103042 | 20,854 | 25,261 | - | 31,700 | - | 38,520 | 60,687 | - | 34,221 | 31,700 | 66 | 80 | - | 100 | - | 122 | 191 |
| 1986 | 1.71273892 | 21,474 | 25,932 | - | 31,198 | - | 37,743 | 61,352 | - | 34,942 | 31,198 | 69 | 83 | - | 100 |  | 121 | 197 |
| 1987 | 1.640554521 | 21,833 | 27,313 | - | 32,695 | - | 37,358 | 61,657 | - | 35,939 | 32,695 | 67 | 84 | - | 100 | - | 114 | 189 |
| 1988 | 1.577107661 | 21,796 | 27,395 | - | 33,359 | - | 38,736 | 61,663 | - | 36,771 | 33,359 | 65 | 82 | - | 100 | - | 116 | 185 |
| 1989 | 1.502402561 | 20,970 | 25,700 | 29,293 |  | 33,157 | 39,148 | 65,955 | - | 37,438 | 32,306 | 65 | 80 | 91 | - | 103 | 121 | 204 |
| 1990 | 1.433254326 | 19,303 | 24,988 | 27,539 | - | 32,436 | 38,804 | 61,804 | - | 36,278 | 31,378 | 62 | 80 | 88 | - | 103 | 124 | 197 |
| 1991 | 1.357162377 | 16,687 | 23,332 | 27,937 | - | 30,099 | 35,931 | 62,864 | - | 34,824 | 29,650 | 56 | 79 | 94 | - | 102 | 121 | 212 |
| 1992 | 1.337032724 | 15,726 | 22,480 | 25,731 | - | 31,008 | 35,664 | 60,122 | - | 34,794 | 29,858 | 53 | 75 | 86 | - | 104 | 119 | 201 |
| 1993 | 1.313450092 | 15,469 | 22,771 | 26,639 | - | 29,615 | 33,691 | 56,100 | 37,731 | 33,526 | 28,980 | 53 | 79 | 92 | - | 102 | 116 | 194 |
| 1994 | 1.310435287 | 16,160 | 21,943 | 25,883 | - | 29,508 | 34,767 | 59,332 | 35,845 | 34,411 | 28,763 | 56 | 76 | 90 | - | 103 | 121 | 206 |
| 1995 | 1.282950502 | 15,937 | 21,769 | 26,664 | - | 29,108 | 34,260 | 57,768 | 33,856 | 34,071 | 28,634 | 56 | 76 | 93 | - | 102 | 120 | 202 |
| 1996 | 1.25779461 | 15,079 | 22,266 | 24,552 | - | 29,467 | 34,323 | 57,706 | 29,275 | 34,284 | 28,591 | 53 | 78 | 86 | - | 103 | 120 | 202 |
| 1997 | 1.23313197 | 14,745 | 22,028 | 25,766 | - | 29,891 | 34,817 | 57,884 | 29,858 | 34,678 | 29,169 | 51 | 76 | 88 | - | 102 | 119 | 198 |
| 1998 | 1.221777164 | 14,579 | 21,617 | 26,865 | - | 30,513 | 36,299 | 64,635 | 29,028 | 36,537 | 29,891 | 49 | 72 | 90 | - | 102 | 121 | 216 |
| 1999 | 1.200769231 | 15,278 | 23,727 | 26,798 | - | 31,727 | 36,893 | 67,699 | 30,972 | 37,905 | 30,921 | 49 | 77 | 87 | - | 103 | 119 | 219 |
| 2000 | 1.169030837 | 15,525 | 23,931 | 28,192 | - | 31,826 | 37,748 | 72,993 | 30,905 | 39,124 | 31,205 | 50 | 77 | 90 | - | 102 | 121 | 234 |
| 2001 | 1.129234043 | 14,900 | 22,735 | 26,490 | - | 30,996 | 37,766 | 71,568 | 32,752 | 38,969 | 30,239 | 49 | 75 | 88 | - | 103 | 125 | 237 |
| 2003 | 1.08463035 | 15,118 | 24,519 | 29,436 | - | 32,178 | 37,674 | 67,362 | 32,602 | 39,454 | 31,734 | 48 | 77 | 93 | - | 101 | 119 | 212 |
| 2002 | 1.115 | 14,652 | 25,660 | 28,145 | - | 32,447 | 37,910 | 65,672 | 34,449 | 39,085 | 31,724 | 46 | 81 | 89 | - | 102 | 119 | 207 |
| 2004 | 1.064947469 | 16,371 | 24,454 | 27,448 | - | 31,872 | 37,645 | 68,310 | 34,068 | 40,065 | 31,149 | 53 | 79 | 88 | - | 102 | 121 | 219 |
| 2005 | 1.042056075 | 16,538 | 24,043 | 30,493 | - | 32,138 | 38,132 | 65,539 | 35,949 | 40,452 | 31,884 | 52 | 75 | 96 | - | 101 | 120 | 206 |
| 2006 | 1.021998167 | 18,140 | 22,836 | 28,914 | - | 31,592 | 38,660 | 65,556 | 35,756 | 40,876 | 31,176 | 58 | 73 | 93 | - | 101 | 124 | 210 |
| 2007 | 1 | 19,168 | 23,732 | 29,927 | - | 32,126 | 39,287 | 69,754 | 35,011 | 42,484 | 31,780 | 60 | 75 | 94 | - | 101 | 124 | 219 |
| 2008 | 0.977212971 | 16,965 | 27,303 | 29,943 | - | 33,496 | 39,817 | 68,839 | 38,069 | 43,334 | 32,951 | 51 | 83 | 91 | - | 102 | 121 | 209 |

Table 3.24
Average earnings of the population (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, both sexes,45 to 54

| Year | CPI | $\begin{gathered} \text { Less } \\ \text { than } 9 \\ \text { years } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 9 \text { to } \\ 10 \\ \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } \\ 13 \\ \text { years } \\ \text { no } \\ \text { grad } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } \\ 13 \\ \text { years } \\ \text { many } \\ \text { grand } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { High } \\ \text { school } \\ \text { graduate } \end{array}$ | Some PSE | University degree | Other | Total | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } 13 \\ \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Less } \\ \text { than } \\ 9 \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 9 \text { to } 10 \\ \text { years } \end{array}$ | 11 to 13 years no grad | 11 to 13 <br> years <br> may school grad graduate | High Some PSE | University degree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Dollars |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1976 | 3.605766147 | 24,326 | 26,327 | - | 33,577 | - | 38,088 | 81,502 |  | 32,930 | 33,577 | 72 | 78 | - | 100 | 113 | 243 |
| 1977 | 3.338672359 | 23,265 | 27,930 | - | 32,473 | - | 39,047 | 69,586 |  | 31,949 | 32,473 | 72 | 86 |  | 100 | 120 | 214 |
| 1978 | 3.063933667 | 24,286 | 28,362 | - | 33,958 | - | 40,902 | 70,394 | - | 32,838 | 33,958 | 72 | 84 | - | 100 | 120 | 207 |
| 1979 | 2.807768721 | 24,380 | 27,308 | - | 32,410 | - | 39,771 | 68,354 | - | 32,010 | 32,410 | 75 | 84 | - | 100 | 123 | 211 |
| 1980 | 2.548718631 | 24,775 | 26,750 | - | 33,407 | - | 37,417 | 65,703 | - | 32,625 | 33,407 | 74 | 80 | - | 100 | 112 | 197 |
| 1981 | 2.268528371 | 22,743 | 28,229 | - | 32,206 | - | 37,312 | 72,234 | - | 32,627 | 32,206 | 71 | 88 | - | 100 | 116 | 224 |
| 1982 | 2.046283059 | 22,336 | 25,897 | - | 31,651 | - | 37,777 | 66,231 | - | 31,874 | 31,651 | 71 | 82 | - | 100 | 119 | 209 |
| 1983 | 1.935298215 | 20,760 | 24,822 | - | 30,927 | - | 39,228 | 65,812 | - | 31,641 | 30,927 | 67 | 80 | - | 100 | 127 | 213 |
| 1984 | 1.85361355 | 21,497 | 23,475 | - | 30,827 | - | 34,184 | 67,773 | - | 31,119 | 30,827 | 70 | 76 | - | 100 | 111 | 220 |
| 1985 | 1.784103042 | 21,041 | 25,179 | - | 32,489 | - | 37,092 | 63,396 | - | 32,457 | 32,489 | 65 | 78 | - | 100 | 114 | 195 |
| 1986 | 1.71273892 | 21,659 | 25,874 | - | 32,208 | - | 37,555 | 67,328 | - | 33,833 | 32,208 | 67 | 80 | - | 100 | 117 | 209 |
| 1987 | 1.640554521 | 21,839 | 27,660 | - | 33,456 | - | 38,811 | 70,958 |  | 35,493 | 33,456 | 65 | 83 | - | 100 | 116 | 212 |
| 1988 | 1.577107661 | 22,017 | 28,024 | - | 34,218 | - | 39,755 | 66,341 | - | 36,025 | 34,218 | 64 | 82 | - | 100 | 116 | 194 |
| 1989 | 1.502402561 | 21,489 | 27,154 | 30,038 | - | 33,908 | 39,504 | 68,379 |  | 36,057 | 32,974 | 65 | 82 | 91 | 103 | 120 | 207 |
| 1990 | 1.433254326 | 20,264 | 25,081 | 28,013 | - | 34,560 | 38,594 | 69,209 |  | 36,002 | 32,903 | 62 | 76 | 85 | 105 | 117 | 210 |
| 1991 | 1.357162377 | 17,506 | 23,631 | 29,088 | - | 30,917 | 36,763 | 66,273 |  | 34,754 | 30,503 | 57 | 77 | 95 | 101 | 121 | 217 |
| 1992 | 1.337032724 | 15,936 | 23,952 | 25,840 | - | 32,590 | 35,952 | 63,492 | - | 34,486 | 30,913 | 52 | 77 | 84 | 105 | 116 | 205 |
| 1993 | 1.313450092 | 16,427 | 23,351 | 24,901 | - | 30,292 | 34,630 | 59,689 | 39,453 | 33,662 | 29,160 | 56 | 80 | 85 | 104 | 119 | 205 |
| 1994 | 1.310435287 | 16,777 | 22,103 | 25,837 | - | 29,757 | 35,727 | 62,356 | 35,354 | 34,339 | 28,959 | 58 | 76 | 89 | 103 | 123 | 215 |
| 1995 | 1.282950502 | 16,609 | 21,798 | 26,927 | - | 29,739 | 35,345 | 60,545 | 34,570 | 34,346 | 29,205 | 57 | 75 | 92 | 102 | 121 | 207 |
| 1996 | 1.25779461 | 15,251 | 23,385 | 25,396 | - | 29,728 | 35,239 | 64,349 | 27,872 | 35,136 | 28,942 | 53 | 81 | 88 | 103 | 122 | 222 |
| 1997 | 1.23313197 | 15,092 | 23,231 | 27,214 | - | 29,796 | 35,294 | 63,082 | 29,273 | 35,341 | 29,351 | 51 | 79 | 93 | 102 | 120 | 215 |
| 1998 | 1.221777164 | 15,200 | 21,961 | 28,164 | - | 28,653 | 37,529 | 70,303 | 28,988 | 37,144 | 28,579 | 53 | 77 | 99 | 100 | 131 | 246 |
| 1999 | 1.200769231 | 15,002 | 23,301 | 28,188 | - | 31,191 | 37,297 | 68,084 | 30,397 | 37,264 | 30,750 | 49 | 76 | 92 | 101 | 121 | 221 |
| 2000 | 1.169030837 | 15,541 | 23,493 | 28,572 | - | 30,512 | 38,073 | 77,947 | 30,700 | 39,124 | 30,230 | 51 | 78 | 95 | 101 | 126 | 258 |
| 2001 | 1.129234043 | 14,592 | 22,977 | 29,136 | - | 30,072 | 37,661 | 74,012 | 33,230 | 38,627 | 29,924 | 49 | 77 | 97 | 100 | 126 | 247 |
| 2003 | 1.08463035 | 14,568 | 25,372 | 31,511 | - | 32,194 | 38,633 | 72,141 | 33,556 | 40,039 | 32,080 | 45 | 79 | 98 | 100 | 120 | 225 |
| 2002 | 1.115 | 13,844 | 24,940 | 29,296 | - | 33,434 | 39,115 | 68,971 | 35,170 | 39,827 | 32,746 | 42 | 76 | 89 | 102 | 119 | 211 |
| 2004 | 1.064947469 | 15,359 | 24,488 | 29,610 | - | 31,320 | 38,876 | 77,481 | 37,114 | 41,376 | 31,023 | 50 | 79 | 95 | 101 | 125 | 250 |
| 2005 | 1.042056075 | 15,341 | 24,153 | 33,680 | - | 32,869 | 40,094 | 73,908 | 36,359 | 41,888 | 32,994 | 46 | 73 | 102 | 100 | 122 | 224 |
| 2006 | 1.021998167 | 17,098 | 23,143 | 30,417 | - | 31,764 | 40,912 | 75,088 | 36,223 | 42,558 | 31,557 | 54 | 73 | 96 | 101 | 130 | 238 |
| 2007 | 1 | 19,221 | 24,754 | 31,326 | - | 32,969 | 40,604 | 80,521 | 34,784 | 43,904 | 32,720 | 59 | 76 | 96 | 101 | 124 | 246 |
| 2008 | 0.977212971 | 15,351 | 23,777 | 31,819 | - | 35,480 | 40,573 | 77,320 | 41,886 | 44,300 | 34,939 | 44 | 68 | 91 | 102 | 116 | 221 |

Table 3.25
Average Earnings of the Population (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, 55 to 64

| Year | CPI | $\begin{gathered} \text { Less } \\ \text { than } 9 \\ \text { years } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 9 \text { to } \\ \text { 10 } \\ \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } \\ 13 \\ \text { years } \\ \text { no } \\ \text { grad } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \text { to } \\ 13 \\ \text { years } \\ \text { many } \\ \text { grand } \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { High } \\ \text { school } \\ \text { graduat } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Some } \\ \text { PSE } \end{gathered}$ | University degree | Other | Total | $\begin{gathered} 11 \text { to } 13 \\ \text { years } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} \text { Less } \\ \text { than } \\ 9 \text { years } \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9 \text { to } 10 \\ \text { years } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 11 \text { to } 13 \\ \text { years } \\ \text { no } \\ \text { grad } \end{gathered}$ | 11 to 13 years may school grad graduate | $\begin{gathered} \text { High } \\ \text { Some } \\ \text { PSE } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Univer- } \\ \text { sity } \\ \text { degree } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Dollars |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1976 | 3.605766147 | 17,392 | 21,058 |  | 24,615 |  | 31,610 | 79,906 |  | 24,509 | 24,615 | 71 | 86 |  | 100 | 128 | 325 |
| 1977 | 3.338672359 | 17,496 | 19,453 | - | 26,322 | - | 29,371 | 57,748 |  | 23,256 | 26,322 | 66 | 74 |  | 100 | 112 | 219 |
| 1978 | 3.063933667 | 16,093 | 21,194 |  | 25,328 | - | 29,346 | 66,901 |  | 23,555 | 25,328 | 64 | 84 |  | 100 | 116 | 264 |
| 1979 | 2.807768721 | 17,168 | 20,243 |  | 25,689 |  | 28,794 | 60,405 |  | 23,621 | 25,689 | 67 | 79 |  | 100 | 112 | 235 |
| 1980 | 2.548718631 | 17,566 | 20,620 |  | 25,184 | - | 29,162 | 57,538 |  | 24,067 | 25,184 | 70 | 82 |  | 100 | 116 | 228 |
| 1981 | 2.268528371 | 16,406 | 20,347 | - | 23,556 | - | 32,027 | 54,440 |  | 22,786 | 23,556 | 70 | 86 |  | 100 | 136 | 231 |
| 1982 | 2.046283059 | 15,619 | 17,628 | - | 22,338 | - | 26,813 | 59,461 | - | 21,840 | 22,338 | 70 | 79 |  | 100 | 120 | 266 |
| 1983 | 1.935298215 | 14,299 | 20,980 |  | 22,902 | - | 28,751 | 58,995 | - | 22,272 | 22,902 | 62 | 92 |  | 100 | 126 | 258 |
| 1984 | 1.85361355 | 14,747 | 17,789 | - | 21,428 | - | 26,478 | 53,827 |  | 20,950 | 21,428 | 69 | 83 |  | 100 | 124 | 251 |
| 1985 | 1.784103042 | 14,303 | 17,131 | - | 21,586 | - | 25,233 | 57,882 | - | 21,169 | 21,586 | 66 | 79 | - | 100 | 117 | 268 |
| 1986 | 1.71273892 | 15,518 | 18,347 |  | 22,109 | - | 26,339 | 47,328 | - | 21,581 | 22,109 | 70 | 83 |  | 100 | 119 | 214 |
| 1987 | 1.640554521 | 14,202 | 17,268 |  | 22,315 |  | 27,724 | 54,048 |  | 22,028 | 22,315 | 64 | 77 |  | 100 | 124 | 242 |
| 1988 | 1.577107661 | 14,475 | 18,013 |  | 24,498 | - | 26,172 | 55,515 | - | 22,725 | 24,498 | 59 | 74 |  | 100 | 107 | 227 |
| 1989 | 1.502402561 | 13,633 | 17,294 | 19,527 |  | 23,297 | 24,553 | 52,028 |  | 21,448 | 22,258 | 61 | 78 | 88 | 105 | 110 | 234 |
| 1990 | 1.433254326 | 14,295 | 16,822 | 16,602 |  | 22,115 | 24,716 | 49,092 |  | 21,362 | 20,553 | 70 | 82 | 81 | 108 | 120 | 239 |
| 1991 | 1.357162377 | 11,436 | 14,949 | 18,049 |  | 18,556 | 22,541 | 57,027 |  | 20,001 | 18,415 | 62 | 81 | 98 | 101 | 122 | 310 |
| 1992 | 1.337032724 | 10,418 | 12,279 | 17,887 |  | 21,550 | 22,841 | 54,323 |  | 20,011 | 20,630 | 50 | 60 | 87 | 104 | 111 | 263 |
| 1993 | 1.313450092 | 10,339 | 14,242 | 15,900 |  | 17,522 | 20,390 | 42,715 | 19,290 | 18,086 | 17,137 | 60 | 83 | 93 | 102 | 119 | 249 |
| 1994 | 1.310435287 | 9,793 | 12,601 | 13,737 |  | 17,015 | 20,026 | 39,814 | 15,735 | 17,192 | 16,251 | 60 | 78 | 85 | 105 | 123 | 245 |
| 1995 | 1.282950502 | 10,164 | 13,699 | 19,855 |  | 17,841 | 20,236 | 41,517 | 14,821 | 18,471 | 18,324 | 55 | 75 | 108 | 97 | 110 | 227 |
| 1996 | 1.25779461 | 10,036 | 12,616 | 20,845 |  | 16,521 | 19,819 | 43,597 | 20,112 | 18,299 | 17,480 | 57 | 72 | 119 | 95 | 113 | 249 |
| 1997 | 1.23313197 | 9,563 | 13,977 | 15,197 |  | 15,842 | 20,929 | 4,503 | 14,642 | 18,610 | 15,703 | 61 | 89 | 97 | 101 | 133 | 290 |
| 1998 | 1.221777164 | 9,848 | 12,684 | 17,009 |  | 16,501 | 19,673 | 45,383 | 16,108 | 18,454 | 16,594 | 59 | 76 | 102 | 99 | 119 | 273 |
| 1999 | 1.200769231 | 10,795 | 12,538 | 17,161 | - | 16,509 | 21,660 | 39,874 | 17,443 | 19,116 | 16,625 | 65 | 75 | 103 | 99 | 130 | 240 |
| 2000 | 1.169030837 | 11,185 | 12,111 | 13,504 |  | 18,507 | 22,789 | 41,562 | 19,262 | 20,454 | 17,613 | 64 | 69 | 77 | 105 | 129 | 236 |
| 2001 | 1.129234043 | 10,196 | 12,710 | 13,591 |  | 18,941 | 22,932 | 42,221 | 20,989 | 21,268 | 17,978 | 57 | 71 | 76 | 105 | 128 | 235 |
| 2003 | 1.08463035 | 9,805 | 13,043 | 15,790 |  | 24,881 | 21,691 | 41,254 | 22,865 | 22,662 | 23,191 | 42 | 56 | 68 | 107 | 94 | 178 |
| 2002 | 1.115 | 9,998 | 12,535 | 16,046 |  | 25,466 | 20,967 | 43,333 | 21,405 | 22,253 | 23,580 | 42 | 53 | 68 | 108 | 89 | 184 |
| 2004 | 1.064947469 | 9,409 | 13,356 | 13,572 |  | 22,241 | 21,850 | 41,046 | 20,539 | 22,157 | 20,676 | 46 | 65 | 66 | 108 | 106 | 199 |
| 2005 | 1.042056075 | 9,679 | 14,253 | 14,462 |  | 24,051 | 24,568 | 41,974 | 23,609 | 24,467 | 22,325 | 43 | 64 | 65 | 108 | 110 | 188 |
| 2006 | 1.021998167 | 9,848 | 14,236 | 13,441 |  | 20,802 | 25,299 | 50,736 | 22,964 | 25,970 | 19,487 | 51 | 73 | 69 | 107 | 130 | 260 |
| 2007 | 1 | 10,432 | 14,364 | 15,658 | - | 20,614 | 25,922 | 47,989 | 22,704 | 26,068 | 19,774 | 53 | 73 | 79 | 104 | 131 | 243 |
| 2008 | 0.977212971 | 8,744 | 13,949 | 17,961 | - | 19,679 | 26,614 | 51,271 | 29,054 | 27,062 | 19,424 | 45 | 72 | 92 | 101 | 137 | 264 |

Table 3.26
Average earnings of the population (including those without earnings), 1976-2008, 2008\$s, 65+

| Year | CPI | Less <br> than 9 <br> years | $\begin{array}{r} 9 \text { to } \\ 10 \\ \text { years } \end{array}$ | 11 to <br> 13 <br> years <br> no <br> grad | 11 to <br> 13 <br> years <br> many <br> grand | High <br> school graduate | Some PSE | University degree | Other | Total | 11 to 13 years | Less <br> than 9 years | 9 to 10 years | 11 to 13 years no grad | 11 to 13 years may grad | school graduate | High Some PSE | University degree |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Dollars |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1976 | 3.605766147 | 2,576 | 3,976 | - | 6,199 | - | 4,625 | 14,085 | - | 3,877 | 6,199 | 42 | 64 | - | 100 | - | 75 | 227 |
| 1977 | 3.338672359 | 1,936 | 2,925 | - | 3,540 | - | 5,795 | 8,082 | - | 2,929 | 3,540 | 55 | 83 | - | 100 | - | 164 | 228 |
| 1978 | 3.063933667 | 2,147 | 3,635 | - | 5,286 | - | 3,625 | 17,120 | - | 3,549 | 5,286 | 41 | 69 | - | 100 | - | 69 | 324 |
| 1979 | 2.807768721 | 1,929 | 2,813 | - | 3,333 | - | 3,632 | 8,389 | - | 2,688 | 3,333 | 58 | 84 | - | 100 | - | 109 | 252 |
| 1980 | 2.548718631 | 2,243 | 2,744 | - | 5,435 | - | 3,166 | 14,547 | - | 3,499 | 5,435 | 41 | 50 | - | 100 | - | 58 | 268 |
| 1981 | 2.268528371 | 1,690 | 2,345 | - | 3,157 | - | 4,204 | 9,891 | - | 2,622 | 3,157 | 54 | 74 | - | 100 | - | 133 | 313 |
| 1982 | 2.046283059 | 1,201 | 2,611 | - | 3,859 | - | 3,851 | 9,302 | - | 2,538 | 3,859 | 31 | 68 | - | 100 | - | 100 | 241 |
| 1983 | 1.935298215 | 1,574 | 2,497 | - | 3,404 | - | 4,794 | 7,578 | - | 2,615 | 3,404 | 46 | 73 | - | 100 | - | 141 | 223 |
| 1984 | 1.853613550 | 1,485 | 1,752 | - | 3,340 | - | 3,014 | 16,623 | - | 2,802 | 3,340 | 44 | 52 | - | 100 | - | 90 | 498 |
| 1985 | 1.784103042 | 1,250 | 1,392 | - | 3,403 | - | 2,110 | 6,335 | - | 2,053 | 3,403 | 37 | 41 | - | 100 | - | 62 | 186 |
| 1986 | 1.712738920 | 1,165 | 1,975 | - | 2,799 | - | 5,218 | 4,596 | - | 2,272 | 2,799 | 42 | 71 | - | 100 | - | 186 | 164 |
| 1987 | 1.640554521 | 1,234 | 1,794 | - | 2,064 | - | 3,093 | 6,216 | - | 1,969 | 2,064 | 60 | 87 | - | 100 | - | 150 | 301 |
| 1988 | 1.577107661 | 880 | 1,797 | - | 2,452 | - | 3,346 | 6,985 | - | 1,997 | 2,452 | 36 | 73 | - | 100 | - | 136 | 285 |
| 1989 | 1.502402561 | 904 | 1,653 | 1,490 | - | 4,127 | 2,959 | 12,798 | - | 2,461 | 3,433 | 26 | 48 | 43 | - | 120 | 86 | 373 |
| 1990 | 1.433254326 | 903 | 1,057 | 1,754 | - | 1,811 | 2,356 | 7,895 | - | 1,723 | 1,793 | 50 | 59 | 98 | - | 101 | 131 | 440 |
| 1991 | 1.357162377 | 751 | 1,354 | 1,502 | - | 2,221 | 2,334 | 12,650 | - | 2,072 | 2,013 | 37 | 67 | 75 | - | 110 | 116 | 628 |
| 1992 | 1.337032724 | 845 | 913 | 640 | - | 1,644 | 1,378 | 3,686 | - | 1,230 | 1,301 | 65 | 70 | 49 | - | 126 | 106 | 283 |
| 1993 | 1.313450092 | 738 | 1,079 | 1,292 | - | 1,933 | 1,879 | 6,581 | 7,908 | 1,619 | 1,751 | 42 | 62 | 74 | - | 110 | 107 | 376 |
| 1994 | 1.310435287 | 800 | 938 | 1,528 | - | 1,390 | 1,659 | 7,836 | 12,812 | 1,559 | 1,426 | 56 | 66 | 107 | - | 97 | 116 | 550 |
| 1995 | 1.282950502 | 766 | 1,016 | 1,404 | - | 1,888 | 2,322 | 7,163 | 472 | 1,718 | 1,757 | 44 | 58 | 80 | - | 107 | 132 | 408 |
| 1996 | 1.25779461 | 692 | 847 | 1,312 | - | 1,586 | 1,590 | 6,994 | 2,562 | 1,514 | 1,520 | 46 | 56 | 86 | - | 104 | 105 | 460 |
| 1997 | 1.23313197 | 651 | 1,175 | 1,288 | - | 1,698 | 2,040 | 8,119 | 2,122 | 1,723 | 1,598 | 41 | 74 | 81 | - | 106 | 128 | 508 |
| 1998 | 1.221777164 | 512 | 828 | 1,660 | - | 1,550 | 1,234 | 8,062 | 799 | 1,379 | 1,577 | 32 | 53 | 105 | - | 98 | 78 | 511 |
| 1999 | 1.200769231 | 501 | 962 | 1,192 | - | 1,422 | 1,828 | 6,172 | 913 | 1,360 | 1,374 | 36 | 70 | 87 | - | 104 | 133 | 449 |
| 2000 | 1.169030837 | 713 | 1,124 | 1,476 | - | 1,545 | 1,666 | 5,323 | 1,171 | 1,426 | 1,531 | 47 | 73 | 96 | - | 101 | 109 | 348 |
| 2001 | 1.129234043 | 656 | 913 | 970 | - | 1,261 | 1,458 | 4,408 | 1,503 | 1,277 | 1,199 | 55 | 76 | 81 | - | 105 | 122 | 368 |
| 2003 | 1.08463035 | 834 | 1,067 | 1,837 | - | 1,777 | 2,021 | 4,207 | 1,989 | 1,666 | 1,790 | 47 | 60 | 103 | - | 99 | 113 | 235 |
| 2002 | 1.115 | 787 | 1,167 | 1,229 | - | 3,356 | 2,611 | 3,243 | 1,896 | 1,897 | 2,887 | 27 | 40 | 43 | - | 116 | 90 | 112 |
| 2004 | 1.064947469 | 868 | 1,023 | 2,220 | - | 1,430 | 2,068 | 4,306 | 2,966 | 1,791 | 1,599 | 54 | 64 | 139 | - | 89 | 129 | 269 |
| 2005 | 1.042056075 | 754 | 923 | 3,617 | - | 1,817 | 2,364 | 6,963 | 1,343 | 1,946 | 2,221 | 34 | 42 | 163 | - | 82 | 106 | 313 |
| 2006 | 1.021998167 | 739 | 1,400 | 3,044 | - | 1,752 | 2,651 | 6,705 | 1,377 | 2,085 | 2,039 | 36 | 69 | 149 | - | 86 | 130 | 329 |
| 2007 | 1 | 695 | 1,362 | 3,016 | - | 2,091 | 2,485 | 7,991 | 2,608 | 2,414 | 2,297 | 30 | 59 | 131 | - | 91 | 108 | 348 |
| 2008 | 0.977212971 | 829 | 1,493 | 1,647 | - | 2,027 | 2,834 | 8,680 | 2,555 | 2,629 | 1,949 | 43 | 77 | 84 | - | 104 | 145 | 445 |

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[^0]:    Source: IALSS 2002 and ISRS 2005.

[^1]:    1. Plausible distractors are text features that resemble the correct answer, but are not, in fact, the correct answer. The presence of distractors makes tasks more difficult.
[^2]:    Source: IALSS 2003.

[^3]:    2. If you doubt this think about the incredible range of skill that was evident in your own high school graduating class, all people with notionally the same credential.
[^4]:    3. For this analysis earnings includes wages and self-employed income but not investment income or government transfers. The averages include those with no earnings so the result is the average for the population as a whole. Part of the pattern observed is due to the increasing participation rate for those with high education and high literacy.
[^5]:    4. Some cells were suppressed because the underlying sample size is too small for some combinations of literacy level, education and age group.
[^6]:    Source: Special computations using the 2003 Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey and the 2004 International Survey of Reading Skills by Doug

[^7]:    5. The methods for measuring educational attainment have changed in these surveys over time so the categories are a compromise of those groups that can be identified consistently over time. It was not possible, in all years, to identify high school graduates.
[^8]:    Source: Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey, 2003.

[^9]:    * $\mathrm{p}<0.10$, statistically significant at the 10 per cent level.

