

Facing the future: Adults who go back to school

Dave Gower

Two decades ago, most Canadians finished their schooling as teenagers, or went on to college or university until their early twenties. They then entered adult life and left the classroom behind them.

Today, things are not so simple. When many of today's workers entered the workforce, the electric typewriter was state of the art. Today, spreadsheets and wordprocessors are standard office tools, and computerized controls and advanced communications are features of both factory work and construction. To keep up, an increasing proportion of Canadian adults have returned to school.

The number of adults (defined here as aged 25 to 64) attending school full time more than tripled between October 1976 and October 1996 (107,000 to 344,000).¹ This increase vastly outpaced the rate of growth in the adult population itself. As a consequence, the percentage of Canadian adults attending school full time more than doubled, from 1.0% to 2.1%. Over time, the cumulative number of adults upgrading their education would be far higher, although the data to calculate this effect are not readily available.

Adults can upgrade their skills and knowledge in many different ways. They can take in-house training provided by the employer. They can take part-time courses at night or on weekends.² Or they can return to school full time, which is the subject of this article (see *About the data*).

Full-time studies require a commitment of both time and money, often in short supply, especially when family

obligations vie for attention. Many people may see no other way to obtain future employment, however.

This study addresses the following questions: Are the programs related to potential employment? Is adult education in some sense a substitute for unemployment, and does it affect the measured level of unemployment? Is adult education being

pursued in regions with high unemployment? Does it help disadvantaged people "come from behind," or is it a mechanism for educated workers to maintain their advantage? Finally, do family responsibilities and the resulting financial need increase or decrease the likelihood of going back to school?

About the data

Data sources

The monthly Labour Force Survey (LFS) asks respondents whether they attended school during the reference week. The interviewer's instructions specify that persons should be included if they were taking credit courses in a recognized educational institution, such as a high school, vocational college or university. People who attended school "full-time"³ are the subject of this study.

The Adult Education and Training Survey (AETS), a supplement to the regular LFS, has been sponsored by Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) a number of times over the years. The data used here are derived from the survey conducted in January 1994, which asked about activities during 1993. An extensive report on the findings was recently published (Statistics Canada, 1997).

This supplement asked many questions, including type of course, reason for enrolment, and source of funding. It covered all people aged 17 to 64 who said they took any training. For this study, tabulations were run using a subset of the respondents to the supplement. This subset consisted of all those who reported on the regular LFS questionnaire that they were full-time students. This serves to isolate those respondents to the AETS who are in this study.

Age cut-off

The federal *Adult Occupational Training Act* of 1967 defined an adult returning to school as anyone who was one year past the normal school leaving age and who had been out of school for at least a year. This implies a minimum age of 19 or 20.

This age was considered too low for this study, for two reasons. First, it would include most people who proceed directly to university and graduate in their early twenties. Second, it would conflict with Statistics Canada's usual definition of adult (aged 25 and over).

For both these reasons, age 25 is used here as the lower cut-off. This being said, many people who have been out of school for some time and have returned and left again before age 25 will be lost. However, the advantage of this trade-off is perhaps a "tighter" definition of the term "adult." In contrast, some people who should not be captured will be included; for example, university graduate students aged 25 and over who have been in the school system continuously and thus are not, strictly speaking, returning to school.

Because the LFS does not ask about school attendance of people older than 64, this age is the maximum for "adult student." While there are anecdotal reports of increasing numbers of seniors taking university and other programs, it is unlikely that many would apply their education in future jobs.

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Major increases since the 1970s

Over the past two decades, going back to school has greatly increased in popularity, especially among women. In 1976, men were close to one-and-a-half times more likely than women to be attending school full time. By the start of the 1990s, however, around 20,000 more women than men were in school (Chart A).

This shift may be related to the steady rise in women's labour force participation rates over the period. Their attendance trends appear more volatile than men's, however (witness the sharp but temporary drops in 1984 and 1990), and by the mid-1990s men and women were found in the classroom in roughly equal numbers.

Most adult education is job-related

In January 1994, the Adult Education and Training Survey (AETS) asked people taking courses at any time during 1993 about the main reason for doing so.

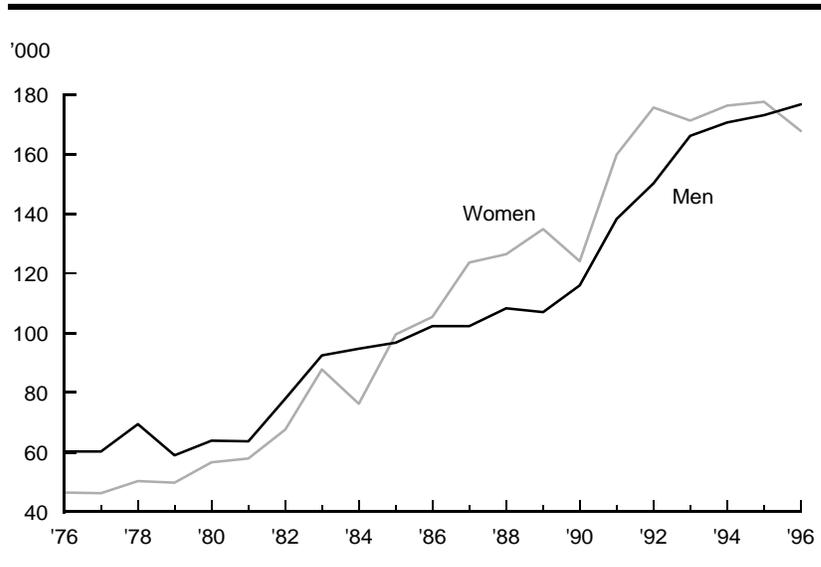
The 346,000 full-time students⁴ aged 25 to 64 who participated in the survey reported taking 429,000 separate programs or courses. Of these, the main reason given in 83% of the cases was "present or future job." "Personal interest" was the reason in another 15%.

Improving one's work prospects is clearly the pervasive and dominant reason for going back to school full time. At least 76% of respondents from all subgroups gave a positive response to the question about job-related motivation. Over 90% of men over 40 did so (Table 1).

Younger adults were much more likely to go back to school full time: those in their late twenties were more than twice as likely as people in their early thirties to do so (6.7% versus 3.0%), and ten times as likely as people aged 40 to 64 (0.7%) (Table 2). These findings are more marked for

Chart A

Since the mid-1980s, adult women attending school full time have generally outnumbered men.



Source: Labour Force Survey, average of Octobers (see note 1)

Full-time attendance is the exception

Adults who go back to school full time are a select few. While many adults take some form of training or education, most do not commit to a full-time program.

According to the Adult Education and Training Survey, 5.8 million persons aged 17 and over attended an educational course or program in 1993 (this figure excluded young people who were regular full-time students). Some 4.9 million of these were aged 25 and over (Statistics Canada, 1997).

Regardless of their age or employment status, the bulk of adults' studies were related to work rather than personal interest (by a ratio of 5:3). Of those who took job-related training, 2.9 million or 70% received some assistance from their employer. Of the 5.8 million people taking adult education, 4.6 million were working.

These three facts together indicate that job-related training is very common. In contrast, the number of adult students measured in the Labour Force Survey is much smaller. In October 1993, 820,000 persons aged 25 to 64 went to school, 483,000 on a part-time

basis, and 337,000, full-time.

This difference occurs for two reasons. One is that the AETS measures training and education at any time during 1993, whereas the LFS records activity during a particular week. At present, long-term information on the duration of training activity is unavailable. This gap, among others, will be filled eventually by longitudinal data from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics.

The second reason is that people who attend training during working hours are unlikely, when interviewed by the LFS, to say they are attending school. People who respond positively to the LFS question are a subset of all adults taking training. And those who go to school full time are only a minority of that subset.

Among adult students, going to school full time is gaining in popularity. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, well over two-thirds of adult students were attending school part time. By October 1996, the ratio was approaching one-half.

Table 1
Number of programs and courses, and proportion taken for job-related reasons, by students' age, sex and education *

	Both sexes		Men		Women	
	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%
Aged 25 to 64	429	83	210	85	218	81
Aged 25 to 29	159	86	91	87	67	85
Aged 30 to 34	133	79	74	80	59	76
Aged 35 to 39	52	81	10	85	42	81
Aged 40 to 64	85	86	35	91	50	82
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	43	83	14	85	29	81
High school graduation	63	82	17	87	46	81
Some postsecondary	96	86	55	87	41	86
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	129	82	79	86	50	77
University degree	97	82	45	82	53	81

Source: Adult Education and Training Survey, 1994

* Education refers to level already acquired, not to current studies.

men than for women. In their late twenties, a moderately higher proportion of men were in school (7.1% ver-

sus 6.3%); by their late thirties, a higher proportion of women had gone back (2.3% versus 1.8%).

While this could be related to women's preparation for the workforce after staying home to raise children, the data do not support this theory. Women who had "not worked in the past year" – which would apply to most who had been caring for children full time for an extended period – were not as likely to go back to school full time as were women with recent work histories, regardless of age. This pattern was the opposite of men's.

Long-term joblessness not a factor

Have adults who return to school been out of work for some time? To address this question rigorously would require longitudinal data not currently available. At present, the data give information only on employment in the past year. It is not known when these people started their studies, nor, consequently, how long they

Table 2
Number of adults and proportion attending school full time, by age, sex and employment status

	Number of adults				Adults attending school full time			
	Total	Employed	Not employed		Total	Employed	Not employed	
			Worked past year	Did not work past year			Worked past year	Did not work past year
	'000				%			
Both sexes								
Aged 25 to 64	15,594	11,195	1,296	3,104	2.2	0.8	8.8	4.5
Aged 25 to 29	2,259	1,687	270	302	6.7	2.8	20.9	16.1
Aged 30 to 34	2,599	1,993	236	370	3.0	0.9	11.0	9.4
Aged 35 to 39	2,468	1,928	195	344	2.1	0.5	7.8	7.3
Aged 40 to 64	8,269	5,585	596	2,087	0.7	0.2	2.8	1.5
Men								
Aged 25 to 64	7,787	6,194	639	954	2.1	0.7	9.5	6.5
Aged 25 to 29	1,132	908	139	85	7.1	2.8	23.1	26.6
Aged 30 to 34	1,306	1,100	112	93	3.0	0.9	12.3	15.9
Aged 35 to 39	1,238	1,052	94	92	1.8	0.4	7.4	12.2
Aged 40 to 64	4,111	3,134	293	683	0.6	0.2	2.7	1.9
Women								
Aged 25 to 64	7,807	5,001	657	2,150	2.2	0.9	8.1	3.6
Aged 25 to 29	1,127	780	130	217	6.3	2.8	18.5	11.9
Aged 30 to 34	1,293	894	123	277	3.1	0.9	9.8	7.2
Aged 35 to 39	1,230	877	101	252	2.3	0.7	8.2	5.5
Aged 40 to 64	4,157	2,451	302	1,404	0.8	0.3	2.9	1.3

Source: Labour Force Survey, average of Octobers, 1992 to 1996

might have been jobless before returning to school. However, if being out of work for long periods of time gives people a strong push toward school, those who had not worked in the past year would be expected to have higher school attendance rates than those who had.

One subset of those who worked in the past year is the group currently employed. School attendance rates of people with jobs are very low (less than 1%; Table 2), undoubtedly because full-time studies demand considerable attention. As evidence of this, almost three-quarters of employed adult students work part time. Put another way, only about 7% of full-time adult students reported holding down a full-time job while going to school. Even this may be an overstatement. Some of these cases may reflect co-operative arrangements in which work and study are combined. In others, people may have been on educational leave.⁵

To investigate the relationship between length of joblessness and going back to school, it is better to concentrate on those who are not currently employed, comparing those who had not worked at any time in the past year with those who had. Contrary to expectations, only around 5% of all those who had not worked in the past year went back to school, compared with almost 9% of those not currently working but who had worked in the past year.

If age, sex and education are considered, this difference is substantially reduced, though still evident (see Appendix). For whatever reason, adult education becomes less likely with prolonged joblessness.

Effect on unemployment potentially important

If past employment history does not seem to correlate with the decision to go back to school, does the other widely used measure of labour market difficulty: unemployment?

There are two aspects to this question. One has to do with the way Statistics Canada defines unemployment and school attendance. This raises the question of whether unemployment is "hiding" among the ranks of adult students.

Another issue concerns adult education's effectiveness as a defence against unemployment in a "real" rather than statistical sense. For example, if adult students came from segments of the population that already had low unemployment rates, would adult education make much difference in the battle against unemployment?

Statistics Canada defines unemployment in accordance with standard international conventions. Accordingly, full-time students are considered unemployed only if they are looking for a part-time job, and very few are. In October 1996, for example, only 9,000 full-time adult students were officially unemployed. Therefore, full-time student status drastically reduces the chance of a person's being counted among the unemployed.

What would the potential effect on unemployment be if full-time students were suddenly to re-enter the labour force? In the 1990s, the number of adult students was around one-third the size of the official unemployment count of people aged 25 to 64. Not all would join the ranks of the unemployed upon leaving the classroom, but the effect could nevertheless be substantial.

Trends are only roughly related

Have adult education rates followed unemployment trends over time, or have they moved in different directions? The relationship may give an idea of whether adult education fluctuates in response to economic conditions.

At the onset of the recessions of the early 1980s and 1990s, unemployment and adult education increased

simultaneously. However, this does not necessarily mean that the two trends are closely related. For one thing, unemployment numbers rose much more than student totals. Perhaps more significantly, unemployment dropped from 1982 to 1989 and from 1992 to 1995, but the number of full-time adult students continued to climb.

It would be instructive to ask whether adult education seems to be more common where most needed; that is, in groups and regions with high unemployment.

Adult students and provincial unemployment rates

Since by definition one cannot easily be a full-time student *and* unemployed, an inverse relationship might be expected between the two; that is, the more adult students, the fewer unemployed. On the other hand, if adults return to school because of high unemployment, a positive correlation might exist. One appropriate statistic to compare with the percentage of adult students would be provincial unemployment rates for this age group (Chart B).

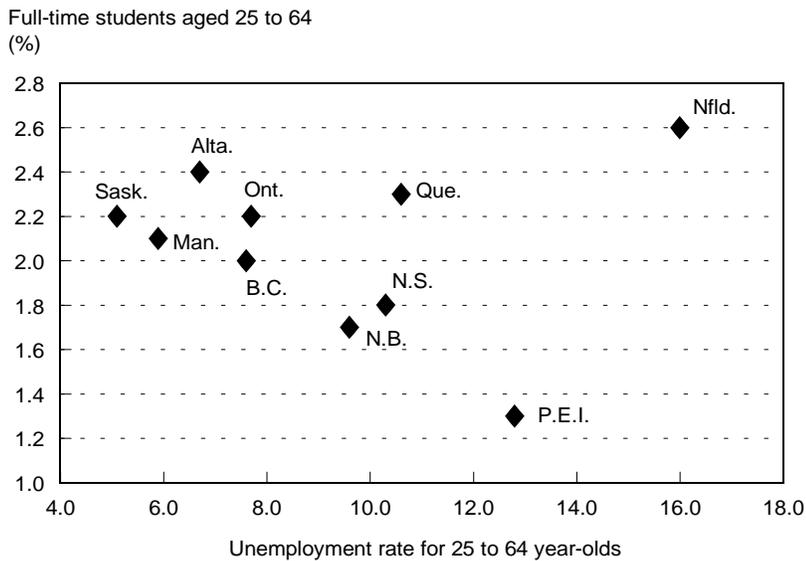
In general, with the exception of Newfoundland, and to a lesser degree Quebec, provinces with higher unemployment rates tend to have lower percentages of full-time students.

This is not to say that unemployment is negatively correlated with adult education, merely that other, more important factors are probably at play. Further analysis might involve an examination of the adult education programs and policies of the various provinces.

Coming from behind?

Up to this point, the focus has been on the relationship between unemployment and adult education. But the data can also be used to address adult education as a vehicle for reducing economic disadvantage. Are adult

Chart B
Provinces with higher unemployment rates tend to have lower percentages of full-time adult students.



Source: Labour Force Survey, average of Octobers, 1992 to 1996

students from relatively privileged groups simply improving their position even further?

Up to the end of the 1980s, adult students tended to have above-average levels of schooling (Haggard-Guénette, 1991). This implies that adult education was not a means of reducing economic inequality; if anything, it may have had the opposite effect, by polarizing educational attainment.

Because the Labour Force Survey fundamentally altered its education classification in January 1990 (Gower, 1993), direct comparison of current and earlier data is difficult. However, the basic pattern observed earlier seems to be applicable today.

Adults with a postsecondary certificate or diploma have lower school attendance rates than others with some form of post high school qualification. One reason may be that many of the latter have trades certificates or apprenticeship qualifications, rather than academic backgrounds.

Adult students aged 25 to 29 with university graduation account for less than one-sixth of adult students (53,000 out of 341,000). Many of these are undoubtedly in graduate studies; some may never have left the academic setting (except perhaps for summer jobs), so would not really fit the category of “going back.” Because the available data cannot measure this, interpretation of this subgroup is difficult.

Adult students are usually high school graduates

Adults who did not complete high school are more likely than other groups to be economically disadvantaged. Their unemployment rate is nearly three times that of university graduates (12.5% versus 4.8%) (Table 3). Furthermore, the percentage of high school leavers who return to school full time is much lower than that of graduates. This finding resembles the patterns for on-the-job training (de Brouker, 1997). It appears that people who leave school while young

are least likely to upgrade their qualifications later.

The difference is substantially greater among men than women. Men who do not finish high school are much less likely to return as adults than those who graduate (0.8% versus 1.3%). In contrast, women who return do so whether they finished high school or not (1.2%).

Why high school graduation should affect men’s decisions to go back to school is not immediately obvious. Different occupation mixes might explain some of the difference between the sexes.⁶ Perhaps female leavers are simply more willing to “start over.” Regardless of the reason, during the 1990s less than 1% of male leavers were taking full-time studies.

Family situation makes a difference

On the one hand, people with children have an obvious incentive to upgrade their income earning skills. On the other hand, family responsibilities may reduce their freedom to take such a step.

Among adults living with partners, having children seems to discourage a return to school. This is true for both men and women up to age 40 (Table 4). After that age, the relationship changes: those with children are more likely to return to school than are people with partners but without children under 18. However, the children of these older adults are probably older themselves, so child-care arrangements are not likely a consideration. In addition, people without children are more likely to be at the upper end of the 40-to-64 age range, which may explain their decision not to pursue full-time studies.

One group stands out: young women who are single parents. One in 10 female single parents under age 30 goes back to school (10.4%), more than young adults as a whole (6.7%), and over four times the rate of young mothers with husbands present (2.4%).

Table 3
Unemployment rates (UR), and proportion of full-time students, by age, sex and education

	Both sexes		Men		Women	
	UR	FT students	UR	FT students	UR	FT students
	%		%		%	
Aged 25 to 64	8.4	2.2	8.3	2.1	8.6	2.2
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	12.5	1.0	11.8	0.8	13.5	1.2
High school graduate	8.6	1.3	8.2	1.3	8.9	1.2
Some postsecondary	9.5	6.3	9.7	6.3	9.2	6.4
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	7.7	1.9	7.8	1.9	7.6	1.8
University degree	4.8	3.9	4.7	3.7	4.9	4.1
Aged 25 to 29	10.8	6.7	11.4	7.1	10.1	6.3
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	19.2	3.5	17.6	2.8	22.2	4.4
High school graduate	11.9	3.2	11.5	3.3	12.4	3.1
Some postsecondary	12.3	14.4	14.0	15.2	10.2	13.7
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	9.4	4.8	10.3	5.5	8.5	4.1
University degree	6.0	12.0	6.3	13.3	5.8	10.8
Aged 30 to 34	9.3	3.0	9.0	3.0	9.7	3.1
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	16.4	1.9	14.8	1.5	19.4	2.4
High school graduate	10.0	1.9	9.7	1.7	10.4	2.1
Some postsecondary	9.8	7.6	9.5	7.5	10.2	7.8
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	7.9	2.3	7.4	2.3	8.5	2.4
University degree	4.9	4.8	5.0	5.3	4.8	4.2
Aged 35 to 39	8.5	2.1	8.3	1.8	8.7	2.3
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	13.8	1.6	13.0	1.3	15.0	2.0
High school graduate	8.3	1.1	7.9	--	8.7	1.3
Some postsecondary	9.8	5.3	10.4	4.9	9.1	5.7
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	7.4	1.7	7.0	1.5	7.9	2.0
University degree	5.2	2.9	5.5	2.7	4.8	3.0
Aged 40 to 64	7.4	0.7	7.1	0.6	7.6	0.8
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	10.1	0.4	9.7	0.3	10.8	0.5
High school graduate	7.0	0.5	6.5	0.6	7.5	0.4
Some postsecondary	7.8	2.2	7.3	1.7	8.3	2.7
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	7.1	0.7	7.4	0.6	6.8	0.8
University degree	4.1	1.1	3.9	0.8	4.5	1.4

Source: Labour Force Survey, average of Octobers, 1992 to 1996

Note: Education refers to level already acquired, not to current studies.

It is not difficult to understand why young female single parents resume full-time studies. Their unemployment rate is 27.1%, by far the highest of all the groups studied. This finding is even more dramatic, given the dampening effect on the unemployment rate of their high full-time school attendance rates.

Summary

Adult education is a growing trend, particularly in the past decade. Most of it seems to be motivated by a desire to improve job prospects.

The link between unemployment experience and going back to school is not strong. This is true for various population subgroups, particularly older men with lower education. Also, except for Newfoundland, provinces with relatively high unemployment do not have high percentages of adult students. This is not to say that adult education is completely unrelated to unemployment, simply that it is not concentrated in the same segments of society.

Adult education does not seem to be the chosen means for reducing economic inequality. People who go back to school are largely already in favourable economic circumstances. Also, with the notable exception of young single mothers, the presence of young children seems to be a deterrent to full-time schooling.

Overall, many of the people who appear to have the greatest need for improved economic prospects are not participating in adult education. □

Table 4
Unemployment rates (UR), and proportion of full-time students, by age, sex and family composition

	Men			Women		
	Total	UR	FT students	Total	UR	FT students
	'000	%		'000	%	
Aged 25 to 64	7,787	8.3	2.1	7,807	8.6	2.2
Husband-wife family, children < age 18	3,048	6.4	1.4	3,012	8.4	1.6
Husband-wife family, no children	2,901	7.4	1.9	2,904	7.2	1.7
Single-parent family, children < age 18	108	15.5	3.2	524	16.4	6.2
All other	1,730	13.3	3.8	1,366	8.8	3.3
Aged 25 to 29	1,132	11.4	7.1	1,127	10.1	6.3
Husband-wife family, children < age 18	283	10.7	3.8	419	11.6	2.4
Husband-wife family, no children	449	9.8	7.5	391	7.5	7.3
Single-parent family, children < age 18	9	--	--	88	27.1	10.4
All other	392	13.5	9.0	229	8.9	10.3
Aged 30 to 34	1,306	9.0	3.0	1,293	9.7	3.1
Husband-wife family, children < age 18	611	7.1	1.8	748	9.7	1.8
Husband-wife family, no children	324	9.1	3.4	254	7.2	3.6
Single-parent family, children < age 18	14	--	--	118	20.8	7.7
All other	357	12.1	4.5	173	7.9	4.9
Aged 35 to 39	1,238	8.3	1.8	1,230	8.7	2.3
Husband-wife family, children < age 18	745	6.0	1.4	783	7.5	1.6
Husband-wife family, no children	200	9.3	2.0	174	8.2	2.0
Single-parent family, children < age 18	25	16.3	--	133	15.3	6.1
All other	268	13.9	2.7	139	9.7	3.0
Aged 40 to 64	4,111	7.1	0.6	4,157	7.6	0.8
Husband-wife family, children < age 18	1,409	5.4	0.8	1,062	7.0	1.0
Husband-wife family, no children	1,928	6.2	0.4	2,085	7.1	0.4
Single-parent family, children < age 18	60	12.6	--	185	11.3	3.2
All other	714	13.6	0.9	825	8.7	1.0

Source: Labour Force Survey, average of Octobers, 1992 to 1996

Notes

1 October was chosen since it seems to have had the highest and least volatile levels of full-time school attendance over the past two decades.

2 For a look at adults' enrolment in part-time credit courses, see Hagggar-Guénette, 1991.

3 Respondents were asked to report student status based on the institution's definition, not their own.

4 In this study, the data from the 1994 AETS (conducted in January) refer only to those people who stated on the regular LFS that they were full-time students. The LFS data, used elsewhere in the article, refer to October of various years.

5 About a quarter of adult students working full time reported having a job from which they were absent. Although education leave and co-op student status are not included in the LFS as reasons for being absent from work, it is likely that a large proportion of this group had been excused from their obligations. The remainder, however, seem to be putting in the hours.

6 The LFS does not produce data on the occupational history of an individual, merely on the occupation of either the current or the most recent job in the preceding year, if any. For most purposes, this is useful. For full-time students, it is more problematic. Some may have part-time jobs, and others may have gone back to school because they could no longer find work in their previous field. In either case, the last occupation may not reflect past jobs.

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Appendix

Number of adults and proportion attending school full time, by age, sex, education and employment status

	Number of adults '000	Adults attending school full time			
		Total	Employed	Not employed	
				Worked past year	Did not work past year
				%	
Both sexes					
Aged 25 to 64	15,594	2.2	0.8	8.8	4.5
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	3,962	1.0	0.1	2.6	1.9
High school graduate	3,357	1.3	0.3	5.2	3.3
Some postsecondary	1,175	6.3	2.0	21.7	15.6
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	4,501	1.9	0.6	8.8	5.2
University degree	2,600	3.9	1.9	20.2	12.2
Aged 25 to 29	2,259	6.7	2.8	20.9	16.1
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	349	3.5	--	6.4	7.9
High school graduate	488	3.2	1.0	10.7	8.5
Some postsecondary	243	14.4	5.8	37.4	33.6
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	733	4.8	1.8	17.3	16.9
University degree	446	12.0	6.0	43.2	42.0
Aged 30 to 39	5,067	2.6	0.7	9.5	8.4
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	966	1.8	--	3.9	4.5
High school graduate	1,201	1.5	--	6.3	5.5
Some postsecondary	427	6.5	1.7	20.1	21.3
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	1,594	2.0	0.5	10.0	9.0
University degree	880	3.9	1.8	18.7	16.9
Aged 40 to 64	8,269	0.7	0.2	2.8	1.5
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	2,648	0.4	--	--	0.7
High school graduate	1,668	0.5	--	--	1.3
Some postsecondary	505	2.2	--	8.7	6.0
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	2,174	0.7	0.2	3.5	1.8
University degree	1,274	1.1	0.4	5.3	4.1
Men					
Aged 25 to 64	7,787	2.1	0.7	9.5	6.5
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	2,003	0.8	--	2.7	2.2
High school graduate	1,524	1.3	--	5.9	6.3
Some postsecondary	573	6.3	2.0	23.9	20.3
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	2,274	1.9	0.5	10.0	7.3
University degree	1,413	3.7	1.7	21.3	17.2
Women					
Aged 25 to 64	7,807	2.2	0.9	8.1	3.6
Grades 0 to 8 / some high school	1,959	1.2	--	2.6	1.8
High school graduate	1,833	1.2	0.3	4.6	2.4
Some postsecondary	601	6.4	2.0	19.6	13.5
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	2,227	1.8	0.6	7.7	4.3
University degree	1,187	4.1	2.1	19.2	9.1

Source: Labour Force Survey, average of Octobers, 1992 to 1996

Note: Education refers to level already acquired, not to current studies.