Empirical Studies on Social Stratification in Quebec and Canada

Simon Langlois*

In the 1960s and 1970s, social-stratification studies in Quebec and Canada were marked by analyses of relationships between nation and class, and by the application of a large variety of theoretical and methodological approaches. Social scientists have had to deal with the same problems as their colleagues studying other societies – specification of a theoretical approach and construction of measurements appropriate to social classes – but they have also had another difficulty to overcome: that of selecting the proper entity to be studied. Are there, in Canada, two different social spaces within which people circulate? Is it necessary to study Quebec specifically as a complete society, and consequently to include the English-speaking minority? Should it be only French Quebec, or French Canadians throughout Canada? Should an identical occupational prestige scale be applied in both English and French Canada? The answers to these questions have varied both from one language group to another and from one period to the next. The question of links between nation and social stratification is not specific to Quebec sociologists; in the 1970s and 1980s, sociologists in English Canada

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studied how Canada's economic dependence on the United States affects the social-stratification system (Clement 1977).

Reference to concepts such as *dependent society* and *national oppression* has almost disappeared in contemporary Canadian sociology. Nevertheless, in the current context of globalization it seems useful to recall this debate. Indeed, with the emergence of the European Union, future European sociologists will probably have to take into account the phenomenon of belonging to specific societies in their analysis of social stratification in Europe.

In this chapter, I will briefly present the main methodological approaches used to measure individuals' social positions, discuss the main approaches adopted by Canadian and Quebec sociologists to studying social mobility and social stratification, and present approaches to studying social stratification in Canada in the 1990s. First, however, I shall briefly present some contextual elements to explain why Quebec and Canada have been singled out as two different references in social-stratification and -mobility studies, especially in the 1970s and 1980s.

1. Contextual Elements

Canada is de facto a bi-national country, and this characteristic – challenged by some English-speaking intellectuals – has important consequences for analysis of social stratification. Quebec society has been considered, from a sociological point of view, to be a complete society within the Canadian state, with its own literature, cultural production, ideologies, historiography, and language. In this society, the French-speaking majority defines itself as a nation and has developed a strong national identity, distinct from the new emerging Canadian national identity:[1] "The existence of Quebec society as the object of interpretation is, however, the most implicit and obvious postulate of our sociology" (Laurin-Frenette 1989: 458; see also Laurin-Frenette 1984).

[1] For more information and different perspectives on the Canadian and the Québécois national identities, see Dumont (1993), Bourque and Duchastel (1996), Langlois (1995, 1999), and McRoberts (1997).

Francophones have always seen "Confederation on a dualist basis, as the creation of two founding peoples, with Quebec as the center of the francophone people" (McRoberts 1997: xiv). The Canadian duality proposed by Francophones since Confederation (1867), which defined Canada as a bicultural and bi-national country, vanished at the end of the 1960s. McRoberts, for instance, showed how Trudeau's national unity strategy ran counter to the bicultural, bi-national vision of the country: "This crowning measure of the national unity strategy directly violated the basic view of Canada, including the notion of a *double compact*, held by generations of Francophones. The new national unity strategy negated the historical bases of French Canadian allegiance to Canada" (McRoberts 1997: xvi).

However, there is another explanation for these changes: Canada is a country of immigration and a multicultural society. With a population of less than 28 million in 1990, Canada received close to 1 million new immigrants over a five-year period in the mid-1990s and has now a population of more than 30 million – half the size of Great Britain, France, or Italy. In a context of such substantial immigration, new citizens tend to identify themselves not as English or French Canadians, but simply as Canadians. Thus, what can be called a new Canadian identity (Létourneau 1996) has emerged. The same process has occurred in Quebec: newcomers cannot identify themselves as French Canadians, and so they often call themselves Canadians. The new Quebec identity is self-defined as a national identity, rather than an ethnic one. In other words, two different national sentiments emerged, which contributed to defining a new, unhyphenated Canadian identity on the one hand and a Québécois identity on the other. In addition, the multi-ethnic character of Canadian society is more pronounced outside of Quebec, where almost all immigrants are concentrated in the Montreal area and few settle in the rest of the province.

2. Measurement of Status and Social Class

There are a great variety of measures proposed to characterize individuals' social positions. I have identified three types of measurement, in accordance with different premises and

differentiated along the underlying issue. The first one is descriptive, and it is in fact a nomenclature of occupations compiled by the Canadian statistical bureau, Statistics Canada. The second defines social position according to status, and the third is based on a class approach. I shall review these approaches, distinguishing between approaches taken by Quebec and Canadian sociologists, and present samples of empirical data from each to illustrate different ways to characterize the social structure. Finally, I will review the problems involved in the measurement of women's social status.

2.1 Nomenclature of occupations

Statistics Canada has formulated an occupational classification that is, in fact, a typology constructed according to profession and employment sector. In 1971, the agency gave every job title a seven-digit code and elaborated three levels for grouping occupations: the unit level, which contains 486 occupation groups; the minor level, which contains 82; and the major level, which contains 22. Because it is primarily descriptive, this classification has proved difficult to use in sociological studies: "There is a serious lack of differentiation between the 1971 Groups as well as high heterogeneity. Whenever possible it would appear desirable to ignore the Major Groups and reorganize the Unit Groups into some alternative pooling which more adequately measures socio-economic status" (Pineo, Porter, and McRoberts 1977: 95). De Sève (1986) also showed that the 22-category occupational classification was less discriminating than others that he examined. Drouilly and Brunelle (1988) proposed to group the occupations in Statistics Canada's nomenclature into 17 categories according to two dimensions: power relations and possession of knowledge. Their pioneering work led to other, similar studies, but still has not been applied in empirical research.

Statistics Canada's classification system has been used primarily for long-term studies of changes within the professional structure, such as those on women's position within the job structure and inequities between language groups or ethnic groups. Let us consider a few examples. In his analysis of work-force qualifications, Myles (1988) showed that the traditional dichotomies dividing the goods and services sectors are no longer adequate for studying trends in skill

distributions among jobs or in the class structure. His data showed that the skill content of the labor force grew at an accelerated rate during the 1960s and 1970s, followed by a deskilling trend. The same classification has been used to document structural inequality between women and men in the workforce in Canada (e.g., Fox and Fox 1986, 1987; Renaud and Bernard 1985). The sudden change in social stratification and an increasing dispersal of the workforce into diverse occupations have also been noted (Bernard 1984). Bernard hypothesized that Quebec went from a polarized society in the 1950s to a stratified society in the 1970s. The former featured "a large group of ordinary people, very similar to one another and very clearly situated well below average, and a smaller, scattered group enjoying a superior situation" (Bernard 1984: 577; my translation), whereas in the latter social groups were distributed along a continuum.

2.2 The status approach

I will distinguish two different types of measurement of social position used in social-stratification studies referring to status: prestige scales and a socio-economic index. The first ranks occupations according to their prestige in society, while the second ranks them according to socio-economic dimensions of status – income or educational level. The validity of and relations between different types of measurement of occupations in Quebec and Canada were analyzed in detail by de Sève (1986).[2]

a) Prestige Scales

Sociologists in Quebec and in Canada have developed separate prestige scales, postulating that the meaning of prestige should be different in the two societies. The first one was proposed by Guy Rocher in his lectures at Université Laval in the 1950s. Published only in research reports, this codification – known as the *Code Rocher*

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[2] De Sève compared the census classification, the Rogoff scale, the Rocher code, and the Garon-Audy and Pineo-Porter-McRoberts classifications. He considered the Blishen scale to be a variable that characterizes occupations similarly to income or educational level.

– ranked all occupations according to their prestige in Quebec, with professionals (doctors, lawyers, etc.) in the highest position of eight, and unskilled blue-collar workers and farm labourers in the lowest. In the first study on social mobility following Rogoff'sapproach, de Jocas and Rocher (1957) used a slightly modified version of this scale to compare the social mobility of Francophones and Anglophones in Quebec. Dofny and Garon-Audy (1969) applied the same scale to a comparable data set for 1964, and their data showed the speed at which the distribution of sons among the different occupational categories changed. Two groups of occupations, semi-professional and lower-level administrators and skilled and semi-skilled workers, grew substantially; two others, clerical and sales occupations and services workers, had modest growth. Table 1 presents the distribution among the different types to give an idea of the stratification of the two linguistic groups .

Table 1: Occupational distribution of fathers and sons in Quebec, total population in 1954 and 1964, and urban population, French and English speaking, 1954 (in %)

Occupational category	Total population 1954		Urban population only 1954				Total population 1964	
			French		English			
	Fathers	Sons	Fathers	Sons	Fathers	Sons	Fathers	Sons
Professional, proprietor, manager	3,2	5,8	3,2	6,8	11,8	17,3	2,2	4,7
Semi-professional and lower administrator	5,1	5,7	5,6	5,2	5,5	10,0	5,1	15,2
Clerical and sales	6,2	11,3	9,0	15,6	9,1	22,7	5,7	15,8
Skilled and semi-skilled worker	22,2	27,3	27,4	34,2	26,4	23,6	22,4	32,3
Unskilled worker	28,0	33,5	30,5	26,0	17,3	7,3	24,1	20,1
Public service and personal services	4,5	7,6	6,4	10,2	11,9	18,2	5,6	8,0
Farmer	30,8	8,9	17,4	2,0	18,2	0,9	34,9	3,9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: de Jocas and Rocher (1957, tables 2 and 4); Dofny and Garon-Audy (1969: 281)

In 1965, two Canadian sociologists, Pineo and Porter (1967), conducted a study of occupational prestige in Canada that required respondents to rank 204 occupational titles according to prestige. The authors found that "the prestige hierarchy in French Canada differs slightly from that in English Canada ... The French rankings correlated

with the English Canadian rankings: .95" (p. 32). In a paper on the history of prestige and mobility measurement in Canada, Pineo (1981) explained that he had postulated that prestige would be different in Canada and the United States, but he observed a measure of similarity between the prestige hierarchies in the two countries (r=0.98). He concluded that modernity had been established in French Canada and also that Canada was "no more a land of farmers, fishermen, and sheep-skin coats. Canada could best be interpreted as another modern industrial state" (p. 621). Three Canadian sociologists – Pineo, Porter, and McRoberts (1977) – then revised the socio-professional scale for Canada (the PPM), ranking occupations in 16 categories from professionals to farm workers; Pineo (1985) revised the PPM scale again using the 1981 census data. The 16 groups of occupations are as follows:

1. self-employed professionals
2. employed professionals
3. high-level managers
4. semi-professionals
5. technicians
6. middle-level managers
7. supervisors
8. foreman
9. skilled clerical-sales-services
10. skilled blue collar workers
11. farmers (owners)
12. semiskilled clerical-sales-services
13. semiskilled manual
14. unskilled clerical-sales-services
15. unskilled manual
16. farm workers.

This scale contains too many categories for analysis, and it has been reduced in different ways by researchers. In one study, it was suggested that the number of categories be reduced taking the Blishen socio-economic index as an example. I will return to this reduced prestige scale after presenting the Blishen index.

b) Socio-economic Index

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important Canadian contribution, the socio-economic index introduced by Blishen (1958, 1967, 1970). This scale was revised in 1976 with the 1971 census data (Blishen and McRoberts 1976), and again in 1987 with the 1981 census data (Blishen, Caroll, and Moore 1987). The index was compiled following Duncan's approach in the United States, which ranked occupations according to income and education. The last version of the scale contains a total of 514 professions ranked on a scale with a mean of 42.7 and a standard error of 13.3. Doctors and surgeons obtained the highest score (101.3) and newspaper sellers the lowest (17.8).

The Blishen index does not correlate exactly with the PPM socio-professional scale. Salaried professionals are at a higher level than are managers on the prestige scale but not the socio-economic scale; supervisors and foremen have a higher prestige score but a lower socio-economic score than do upper-white-collar workers; farmers who own their farm are in the middle of the prestige distribution but very low in terms of socio-economic status. Consequently, Statistics Canada modified the PPM prestige scale according to the Blishen scores for its analysis of the 1986 social-mobility survey (Creese, Guppy, and Meissner 1991). In the modified classification, senior management appears in the top group of occupations, followed by professionals (salaried or not). Table 2 gives the distribution of fathers, sons, and daughters among the eight modified occupational groups, and the 1986 Blishen socio-economic index mean for each group.

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Table 2: Pineo prestige scale and Blishen index for fathers and their sons and daughters, non agricultural occupational groups, Canada, 1985 (in %)

Occupational groups (modified)	Blishen index	Fathers	Sons	Daughters
Senior management	3	4	3	4
Professional	1-2	8	10	9
Middle management	6	8	9	6
Semi-professional & Technical	4-5	4	8	11
Upper white-collar	7-9	7	8	18
Upper blue-collar	8-10	31	19	2
Lower white-collar	12-14	8	14	40
Lower blue-collar	13-15	31	29	12
Total (%)		100	100	100
N		4 582	4 582	3 502

Source: Creese, Guppy, Meissner (1991: 46).

c) Comparing Quebec-Canada

Prestige scales and socio-economic indexes are based on the premise that any given social-stratification system is typical of a society. In Canada, there is debate over whether a Canadian classification adequately characterizes Quebec society. Pineo and Porter observed in 1967 that there were no significant differences between the Francophone and the Anglophone prestige scales. Similarly, de Sève (1994) found few differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada (see table 3 and 4). This means that occupational categories based on Canadian material are also appropriate for studying social stratification in Quebec. De Sève concludes, "Quebec distinguishes itself from the rest of Canada less by a different distribution of the population among social positions or by the average income of these positions than by the greater impact of these positions on income inequalities" (de Sève 1994: 25).

Table 3: Social positions measured with different schemas and classification systems, Quebec, 1981

Socio-professional category (Pineo-Porter-McRoberts)	Quebec	Canada without Quebec	Wright's Class Schema	Quebec	Canada without Quebec
Professional	11,5	11,8	Bourgeoisie	2,1	3,2
Manager	6,4	7,5	Self employed	6,3	6,3
Semi-professional and technician	7,2	10,2	Petite bourgeoisie	5,9	7,9
Supervisor and qualified white-collar	17,1	14,7	Manager	13,6	13,7
Unskilled white-collar	20,4	17,9	Supervisor	7,6	12,2
Foreman & qualified blue-collar	13,6	11,3	Semi-autonomous	28,4	18,9
Unskilled blue-collar	22,0	21,3	Worker	36,1	37,8
Farmer	1,7	5,3			
Total	100	100	Total	100	100

Source: de Sève (1994: 27-28). * $p < .05$

Table 4: Social positions measured with different schemas and classification systems, Quebec, 1981

Socio-economic scale (Blishen McRoberts)	Quebec	Canada without Quebec	Goldthorpe's Class Schema	Quebec	Canada without Quebec
1 (low)	10,2	13,3	Service class	26,0	28,9
2	14,6	12,0	Routine non-manual worker	25,2	23,2
3	10,8	12,2	Petite bourgeoisie	9,4	8,9
4	15,2	11,7	Farmer & other proprietor in primary sector	2,0	4,9
5	14,2	12,2	Foremen, inferior technician & qualified blue-collar	15,7	14,4
6	9,6	14,1	Semi- and unskilled worker	20,1	15,9
7	15,3	12,1	Worker in the primary sectors	1,6	3,9
8 (high)	10,0	12,4			
Total	100	100	Total	100	100

Source: de Sève (1994: 27-28). * $p < .05$

2.3 The Classist Approach

Prestige scales and the socio-economic index are both based on quantitative dimensions, and occupations are ranked according to one or more of these dimensions. In the late 1970s, new approaches were developed that I will call classist, in which occupations are classified in a social space defined as a typology instead of a scale. Goldthorpe's well-known class schema probably offers the best example of this approach. Again, different traditions developed in

Quebec and Canada, and different classist approaches emerged.

In Quebec, Muriel Garon-Audy, a sociologist working with the data source (marriage files of the Quebec government) described in de Jocas and Rocher's (1957) study, developed an original class approach or typology. She suggested abandoning approaches based on prestige in order to take into account the control that certain groups enjoy upon access to occupations. Garon-Audy et alii (1979) built a new database for the years 1954, 1964, and 1974 in order to replicate classic studies on social mobility in Quebec, distinguishing Francophones and Anglophones. They freely adapted Wright's approach and privileged two dimensions to build their class schema: power associated with a certain occupation and the tasks performed. "Power" refers to autonomy in the job and control over one's work; "tasks" refers to the content of the job. Garon-Audy et alii divided all occupations into 23 categories (from high-level managers to unskilled blue-collar workers) and then grouped them into the eight categories listed in table 5. I will refer to this typology as the Garon-Audy class schema.

This new categorization led to a different understanding of the evolution of social structures, compared to that of the prestige categorization based on the same data. For instance, the numbers of those in liberal and technical professions seem to have increased between 1954 and 1974 in Quebec, whereas the proportion of specialized workers in 1954 was not as low as Rocher's study assumed. The 23 detailed occupational categories proposed by Garon-Audy can also be grouped in such a way as to take prestige into account, presumably linked to socio-professional categories, as Béland and de Sève (1986) showed in their study of inequalities between Francophones and Anglophones.

Table 5: Garon Class Typology, Quebec, 1954-1974

Position	1954	1964	1974
		%	
1. Administrator and owner	4,0	3,5	5,7
2. Farmer and small owner	11,6	5,0	2,8
3. Professional and semi-professional	7,8	15,7	19,1
4. Supervisor	4,7	5,2	6,5
5. Lower white-collar	12,8	14,7	11,5
6. Specialized blue-collar woker	33,8	32,8	32,6
7. Services employee	7,2	7,2	7,6
8. Lower blue-collar	16,8	14,6	12,5
Non-declared	1.1	1,4	1,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: Garon-Audy (1979: 122).

Another researcher, Céline St-Pierre (1974), worked to operationalize Poulantzas's approach in 1970. To my knowledge, only one large survey, in 1977, adopted this categorization, but results were not completely satisfactory. The authors of the study, Belley, Hamel, and Masse (1980), compared the three classifications – Blishen's socio-economic index, Rocher's prestige categorization, and St-Pierre's class schema – and established that the first two had better discriminatory capacities.

The Canadian tradition of measuring class schemes was inspired by Wright's works. Social-mobility analyses, part of the research project named *Social Change in Canada* (1977, 1979, 1981), were performed following Wright's class scheme (see Baer, Grabb, and Johnston 1987; Johnston and Ornstein 1985); many studies on class and job income (e.g., Ornstein 1983) and on voting patterns (Nakkaie

and Arnold 1996, among many others) also used Wright's schemes in their original or a modified form. A Canadian research team also participated in an international research program, the *Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class Consciousness* (Black and Myles 1986; Boyd, Mulvihill, and Myles 1991; Clement 1990; Clement and Myles 1994), aiming at a comparative analysis of social structures and social mobility in developed countries in the early 1980s. It should be noted that Clement and Myles did not follow Wright when he made a transition from a domination-based to an exploitation-based typology of classes, and indeed retained relations of domination as a building block of their class scheme. Working within a conceptual framework similar to Wright's class analysis, Clement proposed a minimalist class structure, placing much stress on the new middle class, as opposed to Wright's notion of contradictory class location. "The new middle class has control over the labour power of others but not substantial command over the means of production (...) In contrast with Wright's formulation, making binding decisions over the means of production is equated with real economic ownership, while directing labor power is understood as possession" (Clement 1990: 466). Clement distinguished two dimensions, control over means of production and control over the labor power of others, which give four different types of classes (see table 6).

Table 6: Clement's class scheme

Control of means of production	Control of labour power of others	Class type
Yes	yes	Capitalist/Executive
Yes	no	Old middle class
No	yes	New middle class
No	no	Working class

Source: Clement (1990)

The data for Canada in 1982 are presented in table 7. The table shows that there is a clear difference in class structure for women and for

men, with women being underrepresented in the capitalist/executive and old middle classes.

Table 7: Wright's Class Schemes by sexes, Canada, 1982

Class schemes		Men	Women	Total
Capitalist/executive		8,8	2,7	6,2
New middle class		25,2	24,4	24,9
Old middle class		15,7	5,1	4,3
Working class		50,3	67,9	57,6
Total	(%)	100	100	100
	N	-	-	2115

Source: W. Clement (1990: 469 and 472).

2.4 Measuring Women's Social Position

In the early 1980s, the increasing presence of women in the labour force led many scholars to look at the issue of the invisibility of women in social-stratification studies (see Guppy and Siltanen 1977; Boyd 1982, 1986; Boyd and McRoberts 1982). In an attempt to respond to this issue, some researchers postulated gender-specific hierarchies of occupations and constructed separate indicators for the male and female parts of the labor force. Using 1971 census results, Blishen and Caroll (1978) suggested a specific index for occupations held mostly by women that offered an alternative to the male-derived scales built earlier by Blishen. This idea was rapidly abandoned, and a new index was computed using the characteristics of all members of the labour force, both male and female. Blishen et alii (1987) chose this solution for the updated index using 1981 census data, and Boyd (1986) built another index for all members of the labor force based on 1971 census data. Blishen et alii (1987) explained the reasoning behind this approach: "The solution to this problem requires a clear understanding that the unit of analysis in socio-economic indexing is not the individual incumbent in an occupation, but the occupation itself" (p. 468).

Does the gender composition of occupations implicitly affect the rated prestige of those occupations? Clearly not, according to many studies. Two variables – income and education – account for nearly all variations in prestige, no matter what data are used (male and female considered separately, or the population considered as a whole) (Boyd 1986; Fox and Suschmigg 1988; Boyd, Mulvihill and Myles 1991). Several published studies in the United States in the 1980s confirmed this observation. As a consequence of the failure of prestige scales to capture the occupational disparities between men and women, students of social stratification suggested that the measure should be removed completely from research in this field.

3. Social Mobility and Social Stratification in Canada

Some topics are specific to Canadian sociology: differences between Francophones and Anglophones, collective minority mobility, and Porter's thesis of a vertical mosaic, among others.

3.1 Pioneering Works in Quebec

Sociology in Quebec encompasses almost all of the methods and approaches used for studying social mobility, from modernization theory to status analysis to class analysis. One sociologist, Garon-Audy, developed an original class scheme, and sociologists developed the original concept of collective mobility for a national minority. I will review briefly some important work done in this field.

a) Modernization

The first model of analysis was inspired by the theory of modernization formulated by the Chicago School. The paradigm focuses on the evolution of a traditional society into modernity. This typology was used for understanding transformations to contemporary Quebec.

The first social mobility study carried out in Quebec took 1954 as a

base year and adopted Nathalie Rogoff's classification of occupations. Its results indicated that Anglophones held higher positions than Francophones and experienced greater social mobility (de Jocas and Rocher 1957), thus confirming Everett C. Hughes's (1943) observations in Cantonville. De Jocas and Rocher also observed that French Canadians rise up the scale step by step: the farmer's sons who left the farm tended to become unskilled workers; the sons of unskilled workers who left their father's occupation generally become skilled workers; and finally, sons from the clerical group had easier access to high-level occupations. Leaps of more than one or two steps were quite exceptional in the 1950s. Contrary to the Americans studied by Rogoff, French Canadians' sons who left the farm in the 1950s were not uniformly distributed in the other occupational categories and were concentrated mainly in unskilled work occupations. De Jocas and Rocher concluded that when French Canadian sons left the farm in the 1950s, they were not equipped to enter the industrial world; on the other hand, compared to Americans, the mobility of English Canadians' sons from manual to non-manual occupations seemed to be exceptionally rapid.

Dofny and Garon-Audy (1969) replicated de Jocas and Rocher's study in order to compare social mobility in 1954 and 1964. Five important results were obtained. First, there was a drastic decrease in the proportion of unskilled blue-collar workers among their sons, which indicates that Francophones were better integrated into the industrial economy. Second, the data showed very strong upward intergenerational social mobility, much more important than observed ten years before. Third, the distances covered by mobile individuals were much greater than in 1954, with half of the Francophones who were mobile having risen two or more grades in the occupational scale. Fourth, because of the above three points, there had been a major reduction in the gap between Francophones and Anglophones. Finally, the chances of being mobile and of crossing a greater distance were also greater than before in the higher social categories.

In another study, Jean-Charles Falardeau (1966) adapted Warner's perspective for analyzing the elite and defining social strata according to prestige. Falardeau demonstrated the existence of two stratification systems, one based on traditional culture and specifying a shared universe; the other typically American, based on the position

occupied within the economy.

b) The Ethnic Class Model

This model proposes a proletarianization of Quebec society and the overlapping of class and nation. Dofny and Rioux (1962) established that French Canadians were in a double system of social stratification, forming at the same time a complete society and a minority group inside Canada. Here, Quebec society was seen both as a system of social groups or social classes and as a society dominated by Canada.

> "On the one hand, the socio-cultural entity considers itself and is considered to be a total society or a nation, and in this sense the problem of social classes resembles that in any other society in the process of industrialization and urbanization; on the other hand French Canadians also regard themselves and are considered to be a recognizable ethnic minority that plays the same role within Canada, regarded in its turn as a total society, as a social class within a total society" (Dofny and Rioux 1962: 309; my translation).

In designating the status of French Quebec inside the Canadian social structure, Dofny and Rioux proposed an "ethnic class" concept, a vision that raised a great deal of controversy in the years following its publication. In fact, Dofny and Rioux wanted to show that the majority of French Canadians were concentrated at the lower levels of the social stratification scale, and English Canadians at the higher levels, which would explain the merging of the notions of class and ethnicity. This approach postulated that the status of individuals not only is influenced by individual factors – education, social origin, ethnicity, to mention but a few – but also is linked to the effects of a closely knit society. In other words, the approach postulates the existence of a link between class and nation at the macro-sociological level, and a relationship between social classes and linguistic groups at the micro level. As Dofny explained, "A class system may overlap closely with another, larger system dominated by the forces of another society" (Dofny 1978: 99; my translation). The concept of *compradore bourgeoisie* proposed by Latin American sociologists and the concept of *colonial bourgeoisie* in the 1960s illustrate a way to take into account this double reference found in the literature.

While suggesting that the principles for establishing class and

ethnicity were not the same in the early 1960s and that the composition of a given social stratum was in fact more complex than what Dofny and Rioux imagined, Bernard (1984) justified their attempt to demonstrate how class consciousness and ethnic consciousness are capable of masking one another. For instance, workers in Quebec, at the time, did not think of themselves as a vast ethnic class. Laurin-Frenette attempts to settle the question, stating that the two models are somehow pertinent for explaining the situation.

"In this context, it is possible that both camps were right, or at least that neither was absolutely wrong. Indeed (...) Quebec is an integral part of Western capitalist society: urbanized, industrialized, proletarianized. It is all that and more (...) it is a traditional society bridled with a rural, religious and communitarian ideology which defines its religious and civil institutions. The two dimensions of this organization are compatible in spite of their apparent opposition (...)" (Laurin-Frenette 1989: 460).

c) Class Studies

Inspired by Touraine, Althusser, Poulantzas, and Bourdieu, and eventually Giddens and Wright, in the 1970s a new generation of researchers proposed an understanding of Quebec society based on class relations, pure and simple. The interested reader may read at least five reviews of all these studies (Bernard 1984; Bourque 1993; Fournier and Houle 1980; Laurin-Frenette 1989; Légaré 1980). In parallel with these studies, Garon-Audy et alii (1979) developed an original measure of social class, presented above. Their research indicated that due to rapid growth of both liberal and technical professions and management and supervisory positions, structural changes were more pronounced during the 1960s than during the 1970s. They showed that position inheritance was more pronounced among executives and professionals (about 2.5 times greater than among blue-collar workers in 1974). Another analysis of these data by Béland (1982, 1987) noted that status inheritance increased among upper-management personnel and owners/operators and in the working class between 1954 and 1974, whereas it reminded relatively stable in other categories.

Along with status inheritance, social mobility increased over time, particularly for sons of professionals, farmers, and especially white-collar workers. After 1964, blue-collar workers' sons had greater mobility toward white-collar positions, showing that in Quebec, apparently, the boundary between these two major positions was not as rigid as was suggested by McRoberts et alii (1976).

d) The collective Mobility of a Minority

The development of a public-school system in Quebec and Acadia (New Brunswick) played an important role in mobility among Francophones in the 1960s and 1970s. With more education, they were able to catch up and have greater access to higher positions. Education is seen as an instrument of collective upward social mobility.

Special attention must be given here to a unique study by Hubert Guindon in the 1960s that views the emerging middle class as resulting from the modernization process led by the growing role of the state, which built institutions and created jobs in the fields of health care, social services, and education (at all levels, including university). The Quiet Revolution in Quebec is seen as having engendered a new class of technocrats and bureaucrats that replaced the traditional elites and formed the core of the new middle class: "The decisive political significance of the new middle class is now clearly assured. Its first act when it reaches actual power, I predict, will be to organize a truly competent civil service, a task which has been impossible under the old game of rural politics. Naturally, a true competent civil service means a smoothly operated bureaucracy accompanied by enhanced status for the new middle class" (Guindon 1988: 24).

3.2 Studies on Social Mobility and Stratification in Canada

Statistics Canada conducted three major surveys on social mobility in Canada. They took place in 1973, 1986, and 1994, and all followed the same approach. The first one – the Canadian Mobility Survey (CMS, 1973) – was designed to parallel the well-known survey by Blau and Duncan in 1962 and its replication in 1973 by Featherman and Hauser,

and the conceptual framework intended to measure occupational mobility and social opportunity (Boyd et alii 1985). Status attainment and the role of education were deemed important issues to study, as were ethnic origin – important in terms of whether Porter's vertical mosaic thesis was still valid – language, and gender. The CMS revealed that the correlation between the status of the father and that of the son or daughter was moderate in intensity and tended to diminish slightly over time. Overall, Canada and Quebec could therefore be considered relatively open societies, in which access to a given position was not overly affected by inheritance and in which status was acquired rather than prescribed (Boyd et alii 1985). The growth in total mobility was attributed mainly to changes in the social structure. Changes caused by industrialization and urbanization led to a decline in employment in farming and an expansion in employment in services, administration, technical occupations, and the professions (Goyder 1985; Goyder and Curtis 1977).

Analysis of the second Canadian national survey (1986), which relied on an eight-category scheme, showed that three quarters of all positions were filled with mobile people in both Quebec and Canada (Creese, Guppy, and Meissner 1991). None of the groups, except farmers, could be described as an intergenerationally reproduced social class. Most notably, half of the upper-white-collar class came from the two blue-collar working classes. On the other hand, a substantial majority of the upper-blue-collar workers came from that class (43%) or from the lower-blue-collar class (33%). The diversity in social composition of classes become obvious, given that almost eight out of ten men were intergenerationally mobile and that much of this mobility was substantial: about half of the upwardly mobile crossed at least three class boundaries, and a third of the downwardly mobile did the same. Working with this database, Wanner and Hayes (1996) compared social mobility in Canada and Australia using the Pineo-Porter prestige scale. They showed that the Canadian mobility regime is characterized by considerably more structural mobility than is the Australian regime, particularly for mobility movement involving farmers. The authors also found that a university degree in Canada neutralizes the effect of origin status on current occupational status.

According to a survey conducted in 1994, changes in mobility patterns slowed after 1986 (Gauthier 1997). This survey showed that

73% of Canadian men and 84% of Canadian women were mobile according to an eight-category schema (identical proportions for Canada and Quebec). Self-reproduction was modest at the highest level (18% in the upper service class in 1986 and 20% in 1994) but higher in the lower service class (35% in 1986 and 38% in 1994), and much higher in the blue-collar (skilled and unskilled) class (46% in 1986 and 41% in 1994).

Analyses of the two recent surveys on social mobility made by Statistics Canada have distinguished between structural mobility and circulation mobility (Gauthier 1997). In mobility tables compiled with a seven-category classification, between 1986 and 1994 circulation mobility increased from 54% to 57% for men (51% and 54% in Quebec), and from 35% to 38% for women (but dropped from 34% to 33% in Quebec). Circulation mobility is higher for men than for women because the structure of occupational positions between women and their fathers is very different. A large part of women's mobility is due to this difference, but it declines in importance when the surveys are compared. Structural mobility in both groups (men and women) is declining: it was responsible for only 20% of the total for men in Canada in 1986, and for 16% in 1994 (Laroche 1997).

A large proportion of social mobility studies conducted in the 1970s and 1980s had in common an emphasis on the odds ratio and on the inequality of opportunity between individuals with different origins rather than on total mobility (Myles and Adnam 1994). It would seem that most sociologists were more interested in analyzing the structural constraints and changing structures of society than the circulation of individuals as revealed by inflow and outflow tables. Circulation and opportunity are the two faces of the mobility phenomenon, but opportunity received the lion's share of studies. This trend is not specific to Quebec or Canada, and it has been observed elsewhere, as revealed by recent studies done by Kingston (1996) in the United States and Ringen (1996) in Great Britain, for example.

3.3 Social Mobility of Anglophones and Francophones

A variety of approaches have been proposed to study the Francophone group. The authors of the first large survey (Boyd et alii 1981, 1985)

studied Francophones in Quebec as a group in itself; this approach was abandoned in the 1986 study by Statistics Canada, which chose to study social mobility among Francophones in Canada instead. The Comparative Class Structure Project (Clement and Myles 1994) chose to study all respondents located in the province of Quebec, including the Anglophone minority.

It has been established that there was a strong increase in total social mobility, both inter- and intra-generational, from the end of the Second World War up to the late 1970s, and that, as a consequence, differences between Anglophones in Canada and Francophones in Quebec diminished considerably (Garon-Audy, Dofny, and Archambault 1979; McRoberts et alii 1976). Structural mobility in particular was clearly beneficial to Francophones (and, as we will see below, to women). The differences between Francophones and Anglophones had diminished, in terms of both inequality of distribution and mobility:

"Dofny and Garon-Audy maintained that the mobility model of the French and the English tended to approach one another, although this convergence was related more to changes in the structure of labour in Quebec and to resulting structural mobility than to a decomparmentalization of the classes (exchange mobility): On the contrary, the differences related to the latter factor appear to be maintained" (McRoberts et alii 1976: 62).

3.4 Social Mobility of Women

Gender studies also contributed to the development of new approaches for the study of social stratification (Lemieux 1996). All studies on gender, and especially those on women's place in society, can be placed in two broad categories: the majority studied inequalities and differences between the sexes at the micro-sociological level, and a few characterized gender at the same macro-sociological level as class or race. The latter perspective gained momentum in the 1990s with the publication of a number of works proposing macro-sociological analyses with gender as the structuring factor for social relations.

It is worth recalling that the first studies on stratification were done for men only, and women were neglected for many and oft-criticized reasons. The situation began to change in the early 1970s, with the

rapid growth of women's studies funded by special research grants and the creation of government bureaus to promote improvements in women's condition. Many authors began to measure and analyze women's rapid access to the labour market, their segregation on that market, and the slow but constant changes observed in the structure of occupations between the sexes.

According to the CMS, inheritance of original social status was less pronounced among women than among men, and women experienced greater intergenerational social mobility when their occupation (at the beginning of their working life or later in their career) was compared with that of their father's (Boyd 1982). In other words, the link between fathers' and daughters' statuses is weaker than that between fathers' and sons' statuses. This is due essentially to the particular structure of jobs occupied by women, who are more highly concentrated in white-collar positions and in the service sector. These jobs represent social mobility for daughters of blue-collar workers. When the differential in the occupational structure between men and women is taken into account, differences in social mobility between the sexes of one generation and the next decrease considerably. In fact, they become very small, which indicates that net intergenerational social mobility (or exchange mobility) is nearly identical for both sexes. Instead, structural mobility – or job segregation – appears to account for almost all of the difference. The survey conducted by Statistics Canada in 1986 reconfirmed that social mobility was high for women.

Although women are more mobile than men in relation to their milieu of origin, they are less likely than men to experience mobility in the course of their careers. In other words, the likelihood of experiencing intragenerational mobility is lower for women than for men (Boyd 1982). Once they have reached a given position, women have a greater likelihood of remaining there, particularly because a large proportion of them work in sectors identified as "ghettos" that are difficult to escape. If mobile individuals are considered on their own, there is little difference in the mobility of men and women at lower levels of the occupational hierarchy, since the mobility models are quite similar for both sexes. The gap widens at the higher levels, where men are more likely to be mobile. Goyder (1985b) attributes differences in mobility during work life to career interruption, since

the mobility of single women and of women who have not left the labour force is much closer to that of men.

Statistics Canada's surveys conducted in 1986 and 1994 confirmed the high level of structural mobility for women, as most were in white-collar jobs, while a large proportion of their fathers were blue-collar workers. Women's structural mobility declined in the more recent survey (1994) because more women were daughters of white-collar fathers. At the macro level, the gender nature of production relations has been studied in the context of Canada's post-industrial labour market: "For women, post-industrialism has mainly meant a shift from unpaid domestic labour to paid employment in the service industries" (Boyd, Mulvihill, and Myles 1991: 408). As a consequence, male employment patterns resemble those of a traditional industrial economy, while women predominate in the post-industrial service economy.

3.5 Gender and Class: The *Comparative Class Structure and Class Consciousness* Project

A Canadian team participated in the international *Comparative Class Structure and Class Consciousness* project, which adopted Wright's neo-Marxist conception of class structure. Boyd, Mulvihill, and Myles (1991) used this survey to show how women's numerical dominance in services jobs has in no way altered the gender gap in accessibility to positions of power and authority. In the service economy, as well as in the traditional goods-producing sectors, men rule over women. Clement and Myles suggested, in an important book – *Relations of Ruling* (1994) – that new power relations were constructed around class and gender in all advanced capitalist societies. The feminization of the class structure had an important impact on workers' claims and work issues. An industrial strike typically involved a confrontation between male workers and their male bosses over wages and working conditions. But post-industrialism and the feminization of the labor market brought new issues to the table: pay equity (an important issue in Canada), child care, paid leaves of absence to care for family, flexible work schedules, sexual-harassment policies, and so on. For Clement and Myles, the feminization of the labor market had two consequences. First, it transformed the material interests of the working class and the conditions under which the wage

relationship between capital and labor is negotiated. Second, it imposed a new agenda: "Women's struggles in the workplace are not reducible to struggles with employers for better pay and working conditions; they are also struggles against men. The target of affirmative-action, pay-equity and sexual harassment policies are not class power but male power" (Clement and Myles 1994: 245). According to these authors, power relations, constructed mainly around class and gender, also include the social cleavage of ancestry and place in Quebec society.

3.6 The Casmin Project

While there are a broad variety of class schemes adapted from Wright's works that can be found in a large number of empirical studies on social stratification in Canada, it is important to note that no Canadian team participated in the well-known research program initiated by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1989), the CASMIN Project. Nevertheless, de Sève (1994) attempted, in an original explanatory study, a comparison of Wright's and Goldthorpe's classifications based on data from the 1981 *Social Change in Canada* survey. His main conclusions are that the explanatory power of classist approaches is not clearly superior to status classification (Pineo's prestige scales) and that the notion of class is not indispensable for studying differences in income, for example. He noted, "By studying independently the relationships between income and the characteristics used to define classes, the analyst will obtain a richer and more precise perception of the differences between two societies or two periods" (de Sève 1994: 25). In another work, de Sève (1998) combined data extracted from two surveys (*Social Change in Canada* 1981; *Class Structure and Class Consciousness* 1982) to build a seven-category class schema, following Goldthorpe's approach, that enables comparisons with the CASMIN data. He then analyzed social fluidity and social mobility in order to see if the core model of social fluidity proposed by Golthorpe is valid in societies such as the United States, Australia, and Canada. Preliminary results revealed that these three non-European countries share a variant form of the core model of fluidity that characterizes European countries. Canada appears closer to the United States on many aspects (de Sève 1998).

3.7 Social Mobility and Social Reproduction

In the late 1960s and the 1970s, following Bourdieu's analysis, the role of the education system was considered to be central in social class reproduction, or an instrument serving the dominant class (Cuneo and Curtis 1975). These analyses ring somewhat false, given that during this period the education system was characterized by great openness and strong growth, which allowed students of modest backgrounds, especially women, to have access to higher levels of education. In Quebec, for instance, the number of women acceding to post-secondary education rose from about 2,000 in the late 1960s to nearly 100,000 15 years later. This is an illustration of what was often called intellectual colonialism: the importation of an issue pertinent to the analysis of a specific society – that of France in this case – without adjusting it to the target society – Canada in this case.

3.8 Ethnicity and Social Mobility: *The Vertical Mosaic* Thesis in Question

In Canada, the classic study on ethnicity and social stratification is Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965). The main conclusion of this study was that Canada is a mosaic (as opposed to a melting pot), in which ethnic groups are hierarchically arranged with respect to class and power: "In Canada ethnic segregation and intense ethnic loyalties had their origin in French, Scottish, and Irish separateness from the English. In time they became the pattern for all cultural groups" (Porter 1965: 71). Basing his diagnosis on census data from 1931 to 1961, Porter concluded that ethnic differences are perpetuated in class structures.

Porter's diagnosis was challenged when new analyses showed that the effects of ethnic status upon occupational status of native-born Canadians were quite weak in the 1970s. Vallee wondered,

> "Did Porter exaggerate the independent effects of ethnicity on socio-economic status in Canada? It seems that he did, especially insofar as these effects apply to the bulk of the population of native-born Canadians in that broad range of status positions between the very top and very bottom of the hierarchy ... Ethnic origin, as a separate variable, is a very weak predictor of

occupational status among the native born, except for those of Jewish and French origins with the Jews clustering in the professional and managerial niches and the French remaining overrepresented in the lower status occupational categories" (Vallee 1981: 645).

The *Canadian Mobility Survey* (1973) revealed some differences between groups (native-born and foreign-born, English- and French-speaking) in the process of occupational attainment, but also that these differences were less prominent than formerly thought or observed. The vertical mosaic noted by Porter before 1961 appeared to be less evident with respect to class, but not with respect to access to power and to élite positions. Equality of access to power or to an élite level seems to be a slow process (Porter 1979; Clement 1990; Olsen 1981).

Contemporary studies show that ethnicity is no longer a drawback to educational and occupational mobility. All groups studied made significant gains in occupational and educational mobility across generations (Darroch 1979; Herberg 1990; Li 1996; Wanner 1986, 1998). Ethnic groups began at different entrance levels but became more and more alike over generations. "The original differences in groups of different ethnic origins are attenuated over a few generations of Canadian living (...) This pattern clearly contradicts Porter's earlier prediction of solidification of the differences at entry level into relatively permanent status positions" (Isajiw, Sev'er, and Driedger 1993: 191). This criticism of Porter must be mitigated. Porter concluded that there was a vertical mosaic, no doubt, but after seeing the first results from the survey on social mobility revealing that ethnicity was not a drawback to mobility, he thought – according to Pineo (1981) – that he should probably have proposed a more nuanced diagnosis. Wanner (1998) found little support for the argument that widespread prejudice against ethnic minorities who have immigrated to Canada has led to economic discrimination, but he found that immigrants educated abroad do receive lower returns on their investment in education.

4. New Aspects of Social Stratification

The typical approaches of the 1960s, which stressed national oppression in Quebec and Canada's dependence on the United States, had been almost completely abandoned by the 1990s. New perspectives emerged, stressing polarization, a generational effect, social representation of inequalities, social exclusion, and poverty. I will summarize briefly the main orientation of these studies and their main empirical results.

4.1 Polarization

First, I will consider a new perspective for the study of social stratification: polarization of Canadian society and the declining middle class. The Canadian social structure changed rapidly from the 1960s to the 1990s. These changes were characterized by a radical reduction in the number of farmers – they are now almost all small entrepreneurs supported by generous state subsidies – a growing number of positions in the service economy, and an increase in the number of highly skilled positions – professionals, medium- and high-level administrators, and skilled technicians. The Canadian economy underwent profound changes in the 1990s: the breakdown of Fordist relations between capital and labor, the rise of neo-liberalism, pressures to reduce the size and role of governments, and liberalization of trade in the North American context. Myles (1988) showed that in the 1960s and 1970s, as a result of the expansion of the school system, the skill content of the labor force grew, which contributed to the expansion of a new middle class of professional, technical, scientific, and managerial occupations.

Myles, Picot, and Wannell (1993) observed, in the wake of these changes, a decline in the manufacturing workforce – a trend toward de-industrialization as the secondary sector declined in absolute and relative terms – and noted the growth and changing nature of service employment. Low-wage and low-skill jobs in services are now more numerous. According to these authors, however, de-industrialization and the growth of low-quality jobs in the service sector are not responsible for the declining middle class; rather, low-paid jobs in services are entry points or launch pads for new labor-force entrants and exit points for older workers. Myles et alii proposed a new reading of the situation, which can be summarized in two

propositions: there is an important restructuring and redistribution of jobs *within* firms rather than *between* firms; and there is a major generational effect. Young people support the cost of firms' restructuring, and their upward mobility is being threatened:

"Both Canadian and American studies of employment restructuring show job losses, and gains take place primarily through a redistribution of jobs among firms within rather than between industries ... The consequence of the restructuring is potentially even more serious than envisioned by de-industrialization theorists. Interfirm restructuring within industries has resulted in a more polarized distribution of wages and earnings *within all* industries and occupations, that is, in the economy as a whole" (Myles et alii 1993: 174).

Myles and his collaborators concluded that the "McJobs" scenario fits with reality, but also that it distracts from more fundamental changes taking place, especially intra-industry restructuring and the growth of small firms that will offer low-wage jobs in all sectors, including services, and especially to the newcomers: young people. Several authors noted that the shift of the share of employment to small firms occurred in major sectors, but was more pronounced in that of goods production. This "set of changes [is] exercising a greater impact on the distribution of wage earnings and life-chances" (Myles et alii 1993: 189). Fordist mass production, and the high salaries associated with it, is in decline, which will also affect the upward economic mobility of young people. More generally, this study based on job characteristics of individuals supports the "declining middle class" thesis.

One of the most important contributions to studies of social stratification in the 1980s and 1990s is the concept of polarization (see Bernard and Boisjoly 1992). Wolfson showed that the methods chosen to illustrate the "declining middle class" phenomenon – especially references to personal income – were often inappropriate and that there is great confusion between the concepts of inequality and polarization. He developed a new measure of polarization based on the Lorentz curve, the P index. A crude, but also satisfactory, measure of the polarization process is the proportion of units or individuals located between 0.75 and 1.50 of the median. Using the P index, Wolfson (1993) showed that the "declining middle class" thesis

– at least in terms of income – is not supported in Canada, contrary to the United States, where identical measures indicate a real decline in the middle (see Morris 1994). In fact, this decline was observed in the United States at the very beginning of the 1970s, when nobody noticed a similar phenomenon occurring in Canada. A study conducted by the C. D. Howe Institute using data on family and household disposable income found that there was no decline in the middle class and that polarization was weak (Beach and Slotsve 1996). The proportion of households located in the middle of the distribution stopped increasing in the mid-1980s, but it did not decline.

Up to the mid-1980s, the majority of empirical studies on social stratification used individual data. Social mobility was studied as an individual characteristic, and the major inequality indexes were based on individual data. With the increase in numbers of double-income families and single-parent families, it became evident that household type was more pertinent as a unit of analysis for the study of social structure. The evolution of income trends illustrates the relevance of this third approach, which stresses household characteristics. Constant individual disposable income increased steadily from the 1960s to the mid-1970s. After 1975, the trend stopped and mean constant individual disposable income remained almost at the same level for approximately 20 years, after which it grew modestly. Family disposable income grew more, mainly because of the increasing proportion of mothers working outside the home. The two-earner household became the norm after the mid-1970s; the result was a greater differentiation between types of households and families. The standard of living for households varied by number of incomes; single-parent families, single-person households, and single income families saw their relative socio-economic position decline. Two incomes had an equalizing effect on family income in the 1960s and 1970s, a well-known effect observed in many studies conducted in several countries, and the equalizing effect was greater when the number of double-income households started to expand. When it became the norm – as is now the case – increased female labor-force participation caused a disequilibrium, particularly in the lower- and middle-income ranges (Wolfson 1986).

Similar results were obtained by Langlois (1994) in a study on

Quebec: a certain decline in the middle class was observed with data on individuals, but not with data on families with at least one child at home or childless households. This result is clearly linked to a generational effect: the head of a family with children is more often a young adult, and young people are receiving a decreasing share of the total income distribution.

4.2 Generational Effect

Studying the generational effect was a dominant concern for researchers in the late 1980s. This effect was observed in the labor market (Gauthier 1994; Gauthier 1997), in income figures (Jean 1997; Myles, Picot, and Wannell 1993), and in family standard of living (Langlois 1994; Bernard, Meunier and Boisjoly 1998): young people and young families received less than had previous comparable cohorts at the same age. The turning point in this trend was probably around 1980. In the ensuing decade, the relative situation of young people deteriorated: more individuals than before were poor and unemployed, young families had to pay more for housing in both real and relative terms, and so forth. The polarization effect was more visible below age 40 and is thus to a large extent a generational effect. New research methods – such as pseudo-panel analysis – emerged for the study of life-cycle and generational effects with longitudinal data.

4.3 Social representations of inequalities

Canadian researchers also paid attention to perceived inequalities and subjective class identification. Cuneo (1996), studying ISSP data gathered in 1992, found that those at the bottom of various socio-economic scales were more likely to see society as having deep cleavages of inequalities, while the more privileged were more likely to select more egalitarian images of society. Saunders (1996) made an important observation about awareness of gender and its role in equality among Canadian women. According to her, women do not uniformly speak with a "different voice" when they speak about gender and inequality. Differences were greater among women themselves than between men and women: "Gender is not a pre-given identity that occupies a primary position in the formation of attitudes ; rather gender interacts with a series of other variables" (Saunders 1996: 158).

Laczko made many important contributions to research on subjective well-being. He studied data from surveys made in 1970, 1977, 1985, and 1991 in order to examine the social representation of

inequalities in Quebec, and found that "Francophones are much more likely to perceive inequalities than Anglophones, and within each community the more educated are more inclined to see inequalities than the less educated" (Laczko 1995: 126). In another publication, based on an ISSP study of inequalities in 1992, he observed that Quebecers were more supportive of state intervention to reduce inequalities (Laczko 1998). In light of Esping-Anderson's typology of welfare-state regimes, Laczko concluded that Canadians outside Quebec support the Anglo-Saxon liberal model of welfare state, as did Esping-Anderson, but that Quebecers' views are closer to the European corporatist model represented by France, Germany, and Italy. This study confirmed the need to take account of the "national" sub-level inside the Canadian state.

4.4 Social Exclusion

A growing body of literature deals with exclusion processes. This is a marked difference from studies conducted in the 1960s and 1970s, in which researchers studied positions occupied within the social hierarchy. Currently, more attention is being given to inclusion-exclusion aspects: unequal access to the labor market and unemployment, especially for the young, forced retirement of older workers, precariousness, homelessness, the growing proportion of people falling through the welfare safety net, and immigrants facing problems of social integration and participation.

In an industrial society, employment is the key factor in social integration and is probably the most important determinant of socio-economic status. In post-industrial society, new factors of inclusion and exclusion have emerged. Type of household is now considered to be a key factor. Having two incomes is increasingly the norm for a growing number of families, especially younger ones, and it is a key to access to a decent standard of living. Consequently, divorce is often traumatic, at least on a short-term basis, for mothers of young children who are unable to work outside the home. A majority of single-parent families are, indeed, living below the low-income cut-off level.

The role of education has also changed. Having an degree is now of crucial importance to social participation. A new dimension of the role of the education system was studied in the 1980s: the

certification process. A degree is becoming a more important element in gaining access to a great number of jobs (Murphy and Welch 1992). In the 1960s and 1970s, a great number of people had access to higher positions in the job market without a degree, because the need for labor was rapidly changing. The education system then provided an increasing number of specialized graduate students in all disciplines, and a degree became an essential entry point for a growing number of jobs, creating the unexpected effect of blocking social-mobility paths for people without appropriate educational training. The relationship between education and inequality is less pronounced in Canada than in the United States, as noted by Freeman and Needel (1991), but it is clearly increasing, as indicated in research done by Fréchet and Bernier (1991). In the 1990s, the link between degree and job quality was tighter, and those without a minimal education were more vulnerable on the labor market. Since the late 1980s, even students with medium-level schooling have been facing problems on the job market. This is an unexpected effect of the development of the education system: access to many jobs is dependent on schooling, and income differences between graduates and non-graduates are tending to increase (Morissette 1995).

4.5 Poverty

The measurement of poverty levels was an important issue in the 1990s in scientific works as well as in newspapers and political debates. There is no official poverty-line measurement in Canada. Statistics Canada's LICO (low-income cut-off) is often wrongly considered to be a measure of poverty, but in fact it corresponds to another concept: inequality. The confusion in public debates comes from the fact that some groups use the LICO measure as an equivalent measure of poverty levels in Canada. Sarlo (1992) proposed a new measure based on a basket of basic needs: food, shelter, transportation, essential furnishings, and other necessities. His work, supported by an economic think-thank corporation – the Fraser Institute – was criticized by some people, who accused him of proposing a new measure in order to lower the proportion of poor in the Canadian society. In 1998, Statistics Canada and the Human Resources Department of the Canadian government decided to

develop a genuine poverty line that corresponds to a "basic needs" basket, related to the cost of a list of basic necessities, in order to evaluate the effectiveness of state intervention in fighting poverty. This work is ongoing.

Gardes and Langlois (following an approach developed by Gardes to characterize poverty in France) have proposed a multidimensional index of poverty and wealth (MIPW) based on three dimensions: deprivation, social participation, and income. This index distinguishes two groups of poor households, poor and quasi-poor, and measures households' socio-economic status in society (Gardes and Langlois 1995). The original aspect of the MIPW index is that it describes the position of households according to a reference group, allowing longitudinal analysis without bias. It is based on the postulate that households do not share a common social space, referring themselves to different social groups in order to define their position in the society.

Conclusion

The golden age of stratification research in Canada and Quebec lasted from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s. Two major conceptual frameworks dominated the intellectual scene: status and classist approaches. Canadian and Quebec sociologists worked separately to build measures of status and classes, some of which were adapted from sociological theories elaborated elsewhere to fit in the Canadian context. Although French Marxists were influential in Quebec in the 1970s, sociologists also developed original classifications of professions: a prestige scale (Code Rocher) and a class approach specific to Quebec society (the Garon-Audy class schema). In Canada, an approach based on status analysis dominated, and sociologists built new scales to measure social status. Marxist-inspired approaches were also popular, and Olin Wright's class analysis inspired many Canadian studies of social stratification.

Studies on social stratification in Canada and Quebec have also examined social stratification at a macro level, relating the status of individuals to the state of the society as a whole vis-à-vis another one (Canada–Quebec or Canada–United States). The notion of collective

mobility of a minority is an original contribution by Canadian sociology to the study of social mobility. Last but not least, Canadian studies illustrated the importance of paying attention to the units of analysis in studying social mobility and stratification.

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