The Social Status Hand-Me-Down

Canadian Intergenerational Income Mobility Over Early Adult Life

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Introduction

Intergenerational social mobility is often studied by examining how socio-economic (dis)advantages are passed from parents on to their children. Socio-economic status (SES) influences parents' resources to invest in the development of their children's skills, education, social networks, and socialization: areas that are key indicators of future success and social standing.[i] In Canada, for example, it is estimated that the children of parents in the top 10% income bracket go on to earn incomes 20 percentiles higher than the children of parents in the bottom 10% once they enter adulthood. The general logic behind this type of analysis of intergenerational transmission is to emphasize that inequalities emerging early in the life course can at least partly account for disparities found in adulthood. While childhood inequalities—particularly those related to SES—are weaker signals to labour market outcomes than more immediate factors, they are nonetheless part of a cumulative process that can influence future standing.

Education is one example of a mechanism that has been of interest to scholars and policymakers, where it has been found to account for roughly 50% of the association between parental and child income in Canada.[ii] Similar research has extensively focused on mechanisms generating disadvantage in the early life course.[iii] Yet we know relatively little on how intergenerational (dis) advantages play out in later in life, after adult children enter the labour market —a critical oversight when it comes to understanding how we prepare future generations for Canada's workforce.

This blind spot carries significant implications. First, it prevents us from getting a full understanding of how inequalities earlier in the life course translate into labour market disadvantages over the course of one's career. Second, we know even less about how intergenerational mobility differences affect women and men separately. Early adulthood is marked by important events like couple formation and transitions to parenthood, the impact of which can differ considerably for men and women. While it is widely known that mothers tend to suffer a wage penalty,[iv] the interplay between intergenerational income inequality and gender differences in social mobility has rarely been investigated.

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i For a more thorough discussion of how SES influences economic, social, cultural, and human capital development, see research by Bailey & Dynarski, 2011; Kornrich & Furstenberg, 2013; Schneider et al., 2018; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964; Friedman & Laurison, 2020; Lareau, 2003; and Rivera, 2015.

ii See Simard-Duplain & St-Denis, 2020c

iii According to Corak (2020). this characteristic places Canada roughly in the middle range of OECD countries' intergenera-tional social mobility (the change, or lack therefore, in income between parents and the later labour market earnings of their children)

iv See, for example, Budig & England, 2001; Fuller, 2018; Zhang, 2010

This report therefore examines the income trajectories of young adults of different social origins, by focusing on three key areas:

1. Do income pathways diverge, or converge, over the lives of individuals from different social origins, and what is the role of education in this process?
2. What role, if any, does labour force attachment throughout the early careers of Canadians play on income growth rates and can it help to explain intergenerational income transmission for those from different social origins?
3. Finally, do men and women experience different intergenerational income growth rates, and what possible factors might be driving differences?

We find that while income inequalities based on parental income are observed throughout the early adult life course, these differences are exacerbated by the steeper income growth experienced among the children of higher income parents—particularly male children between 22 and 35 years. While these patterns seem to be associated with differences in educational attainment, we also find an important role for post-labour market entry factors, such as labour force attachment. Finally, we find that the presence of children in the household and weaker labour force attachment accounts for a substantial portion of the gender gap in intergenerational social mobility. At the same time, we highlight a new aspect of gender differences in intergenerational income transmission: women born in lower income families experience a much larger penalty at 22 years old than men relative to their counterparts born in higher income families.

Key Terms

Intergenerational mobility. The level of intergenerational mobility, or social mobility, in a given society is determined by how strongly the socio-economic status or well-being of children is related to that of their parents. For example, a society is considered to will be considered as having a high level of intergenerational mobility if there is only a weak relationship between the income of parents and the level of income attained by their children once they become adults. That is, the socio-economic status of children is independent from their family background or social origins. This can be measured by estimating the correlation between the income of parents and the income of their adult children.

Social origin/Socio-economic status. Social origin is a generic term that designates the family background of an individual. In this study, we focus on one dimension of social origin related to socio-economic status: income.

Parental income. The income of parents when an individual was a child. In Canada, most datasets allow to measure parental income in adolescence, generally around 15-19 years old.

"Child" Income. When studying intergenerational mobility, we focus on pairs of observations: parents, and their children. In this study, we focus more specifically on the early adult life course of children in these parent-children pairs. For that reason, "child income" is defined as the income of the child in a child-parent pair, which is measured between 22 and 35 years old for the purpose of our study.

Labour force attachment. A measure of attachment to the labour force, proxied by the number of years a given respondent has been claiming benefits for which only jobless individuals are eligible, or has reported annual income below a level that anybody working full-time with a minimum wage would earn. This measure is selected because it can be derived from administrative tax data. It is an imperfect measure capturing workers who experience joblessness spells in a given year.

Data

This report leverages data from the intergenerational family files constructed by Statistics Canada as part of the Longitudinal and International Study of Adults (LISA) data linkage initiative. We use data from Wave 3 (2016) of the LISA linked with administrative data from the T1 Family Files (T1FF), 1982-2015. Merging the LISA with the T1 Family File allows for the longitudinal analysis of the income growth of young adults when they were aged between 22 to 35 years old, while accounting for parental income level. Each respondent in LISA is matched to their tax data through an anonymous linkage key, allowing us to construct a longitudinal administrative dataset including an observation for each year that a LISA respondent filed their taxes.[v]

The T1FF data is also constructed in such a way as to create a family file that is linked to each LISA respondent, which includes a roster of tax filers who reported living at the same address as the respondent in a year when they both filed (spouses, parents, and siblings). Individuals in that roster can be linked to their tax records from 1982 to 2015. We use this feature of the data to build an intergenerational dataset linking LISA respondents to their parents.[vi]

Two sample restrictions are in place. First, we restrict the sample to LISA respondents in the 1964 to 1980 birth cohorts so that all cohorts in the sample are observed over the same age range (22-35). Second, LISA respondents reporting less than $500 of total income on more than half of the years between 22 and 35 years old (including years when not filing or not matched to a T1FF observation) are excluded from the analysis.

We analyze LISA respondents along five key measures. First, we narrow in on the role of parental income, educational attainment, labour force attachment. For those models observing the differences among women we include measures for marital and parenthood statuses. Our objective using these focal independent variables is to examine whether children from different socioeconomic backgrounds experience different rates of income growth over the early adult life course. A full discussion of the measure, sample, and analytical strategy can be found in the technical companion paper (Data and Methods section, and Appendix).

v In some years, no linkage can be established because of non-filing. In other years (or for some individuals, in all years), no linkage can be established because the linkage is based on deterministic matching that leaves some LISA respondents unmatched with their tax records even when they exist.

vi For technical details on the features of these linkages, see Hemeon, 2016; Simard-Duplain & St-Denis, 2020b, 2020a.

Key Insights

1. Social origins play a role in determining future income growth

Figure 1 presents income trajectories of adult children from 22 to 35 years old. Income growth is presented separately for respondents whose parent's income was in the bottom 10% and top 90%t of the total income distribution.[vii] The average adjusted prediction from each year of age (x-axis 0 to 13) are plotted—averaging this value allows us to track the steepness of income trajectories over this period while accounting for in-group variation.

We already can see that there is a small, yet distinct difference between adult children's incomes by parental income at age 22. The overlapping of confidence intervals at this point in time means that we cannot definitively conclude that these differences are not due to chance. Thus, this is evidence that early in the life course, children from higher- and lower-income families experience limited inequalities in their personal incomes, a finding consistent with the wider literature.

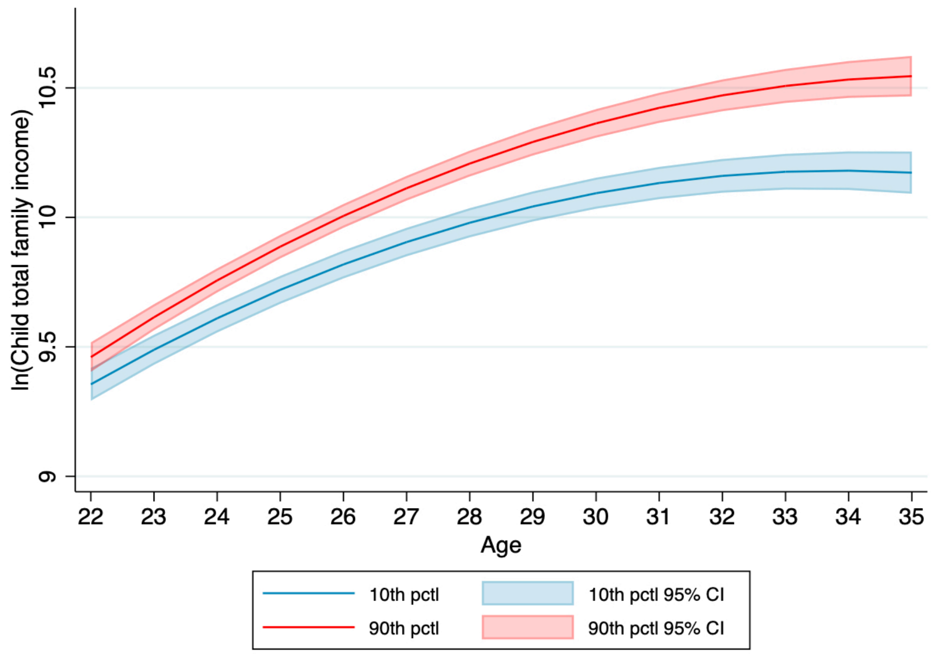
Yet this difference grows substantially and non-linearly over time as respondents reach 35 years old. That is, an increase in parental income from the 10th to 90th percentile is associated with a 40 percent increase in the child's individual total income. So, while children from different social origins have similar starting points in the labour market, their backgrounds place them on trajectories associated with diverging income growth rates. Interestingly, we see that by 30 years old, income growth has mostly stalled for children from lower income families, while the rate of growth is expected to continue for those children from families at the top of the income distribution. These are, of course, unadjusted measures and therefore we move to look at the sociodemographic factors which might influence these trajectories.

2. Education explains much—but not all—of the difference in incomes between adult children: intergenerational influence remains

It is entirely possible that the earnings differences we see in Figure 1 may be attributable to factors like educational attainment. We therefore add education as another fixed-effect, person-level variable in our models, and present the results in Figure 2. Consistent with what we know of educational attainment, adding these controls greatly reduces the gap in income growth between adult children from families at the 10th and 90th income percentiles.

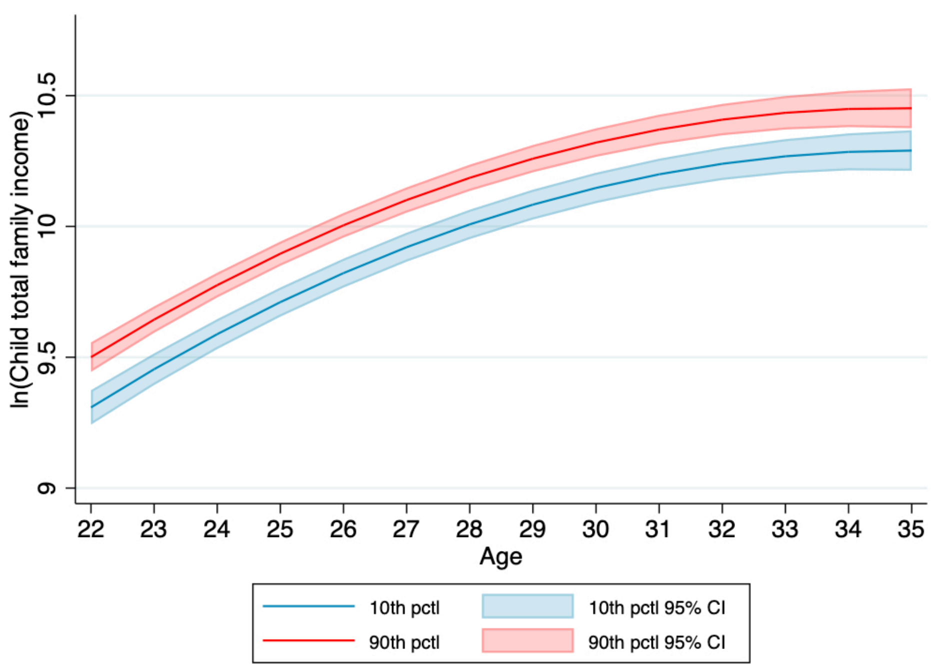
vii For all regression output as well as the detailed specifications of regression models, refer to the technical companion paper to this report.

Figure 1.
Average adjusted predictions, unadjusted models, 1964-1980 birth cohorts



Source: LISA (2016) and T1FF (1982-2015)

Figure 2.
Average adjusted predictions, models adjusting for education (age x education interaction), 1964-1980 birth cohorts



Source: LISA (2016) and T1FF (1982-2015)

Interestingly, however, accounting for education actually increases the gap slightly at our initial period, when respondents are 22 years old.[viii] In other words, income growth rates between children of higher- and lower-income families become similar when we account for the levels of education they acquire, and the gap that is visible at the time of labour market entry remains constant over the life course.

One key takeaway from these results is the importance of observing life course dynamics when assessing income growth. Given what we know of the advantages of acquiring postsecondary education, we would expect that adult children from higher- and lower-income families would have similar outcomes when we hold their educational attainment constant. Still, we see statistical advantages for those children from affluent social origins that cannot be explained by their educational pursuits. These advantages are the greatest early in their labour market careers, and likely help to explain the persistent advantage in income growth over the life course. To test this, we move on to consider respondents' labour force participation characteristics.

3. Labour force attachment is likely one of the biggest contributors to intergenerational income transmission over the life course.

We next address the labour force attachment among adult children from higher- and lower-income families. We define labour force attachment as a measure of both labour force participation and employment patterns. Figure 3 presents the average marginal effects of parental income at different ages (that is, the association between parental and child income). We plot two different curves derived from two separate regression models in order to determine if the relationship between parental and child income is operating through differences in the labour force attachment of children of different social origins. A shift of the "curve" in the data closer to zero as we introduce labour force attachment indicators is a signal that weaker labour force attachment accounts for part of the association in the income of parents and their children.

The role of labour force attachment is visible in in Panel A, where we can see that adult children's attachment to the labour force accounts for a large share of intergenerational income effects over the life course, with the slope of the line markedly less steep when compared to a fully unadjusted model, and shifting closer to zero. In other words, lower-income children have a weaker labour force attachment—and therefore incur an income penalty—that accounts for both overall intergenerational income transmission differences and the divergence in income between lower- and higher-income children over the early adult life course. More specifically, it is the accumulated years of weak labour force attachment by social origin that is driving this dynamic.

We introduce control variables for education and for its interaction with age in Panel B, in addition to our labour force attachment measures. In doing so, we see that net of cumulative years of weak labour force attachment, the incomes of lower- and higher-income children converge over the life course. In other words, the growing social origins income gap can be accounted for by labour force attachment patterns later in the life course.

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viii The output is the predicted value of the dependent variable averaged over all respondent at specific values (in this case, parental income 10th and 90th percentile, and child age), holding all other covariates at their means.

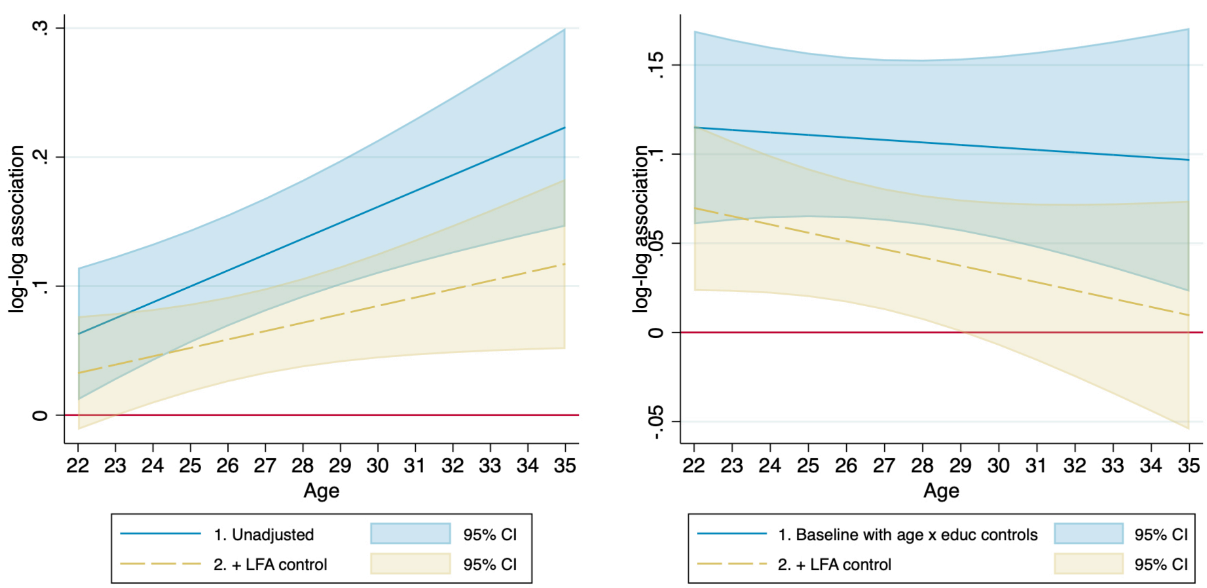
These results support our assumption that the children born to lower income parents are more likely to experience weak labour force attachments over their careers. This trend drives much of the differences in income growth rate by social origins, especially over the early life course. We argue that when looking at intergenerational labour market effects it is essential to consider career-related factors, particularly those capturing persistent disadvantage over time—such as our cumulative measure of labour force attachment. Yet, so far, we have considered adult children as a single group. Our next sections will disentangle this group to get a better sense of the dynamics we have observed.

Figure 3.

Average marginal effects (elasticities) net of controls, 1964-1980 birth cohorts

Unadjusted baseline model

Baseline with age x education controls



Source: LISA (2016) and T1FF (1982-2015)

4. Intergenerational income mobility follows different patterns over the life course of women and men

We explore gender differences next to understand the income trajectories of adult children from different social origins.[ix] Figure 4 reproduces the analyses for parental income level by age, differentiated by gender. The unadjusted estimates of income growth (Panel A) show that income diverges by social origin over the life course—though only for men. This gap between men and women starts from a small, and not statistically significant difference at 22, though grows considerably by the age of 35.

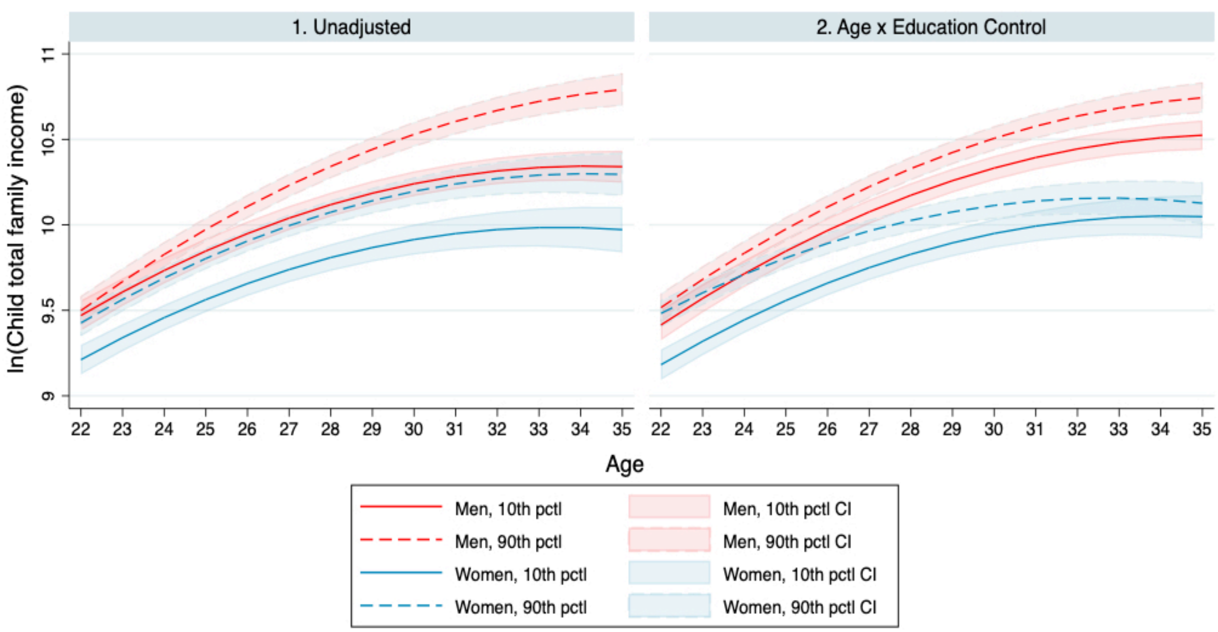
ix We do this by adding a binary gender variable to each model and interacting it with age and parental income separately, as well as a three-way interaction for parental income x age x gender.

Yet surprisingly, we find limited divergence in the income of women from higher- and lower- income families over their early life course. This lack of divergence in incomes appears to be related to the low income growth rate of women born to higher-income parents. Interpreted another way: while women from lower-income families experience similar income growth to their male counterparts, income growth among women from high-income families is lower and almost flat starting at 30 years old, unlike their male counterparts.

When we introduce control variables for education and its interaction with age in Panel B, we also see that education plays a considerably different role for women and men. For example, controlling for education does not significantly change the advantages observed for men from higher-income families, with patterns similar to those seen in the unadjusted model.[x] However, these controls fully account for intergenerational income transmission among women at age 35, and is largely attributable to income trajectories flattening for women born to parents in the higher-income percentile.[xi] Overall, this trend translates into a greater gap between men and women from similar social origins within each of the levels of educational attainment.[xii]

Figure 4.

Average adjusted predictions in gender interactions models, 1964-1980 birth cohorts



Source: LISA (2016) and T1FF (1982-2015)

x That is, men experience smaller but constant income elasticity over the early adult life course net of the education x age interaction

xi In fact, income growth for these women flattens at an even earlier age than in the unadjusted model—further pointing to education's effect on income over and above intergenerational effects. Yet this is only for women in the 90th percentile. The controls have little influence on the growth rate of women born to parents in the 10th income percentile relative to their male counterparts.

xii It is worth nothing, however, the income gap between women from higher- and lower-income backgrounds remains large at age 22 and is mostly unattributable to education differences.

These results indicate that the impact of social origins on income lessens over time for women, even if important differences are observed earlier during labour market entry. It is therefore likely that other dynamics that occur later in the life course are stronger predictors of women's income growth trajectories than socioeconomic advantages based on familial backgrounds. The case for men is different, however, where intergenerational (dis)advantages remained salient even after accounting for the different educational pathways acquired by men of different social origins. In our next section, we turn to investigate this gender gap further by considering the roles of labour force attachment and family patterns among men and women.

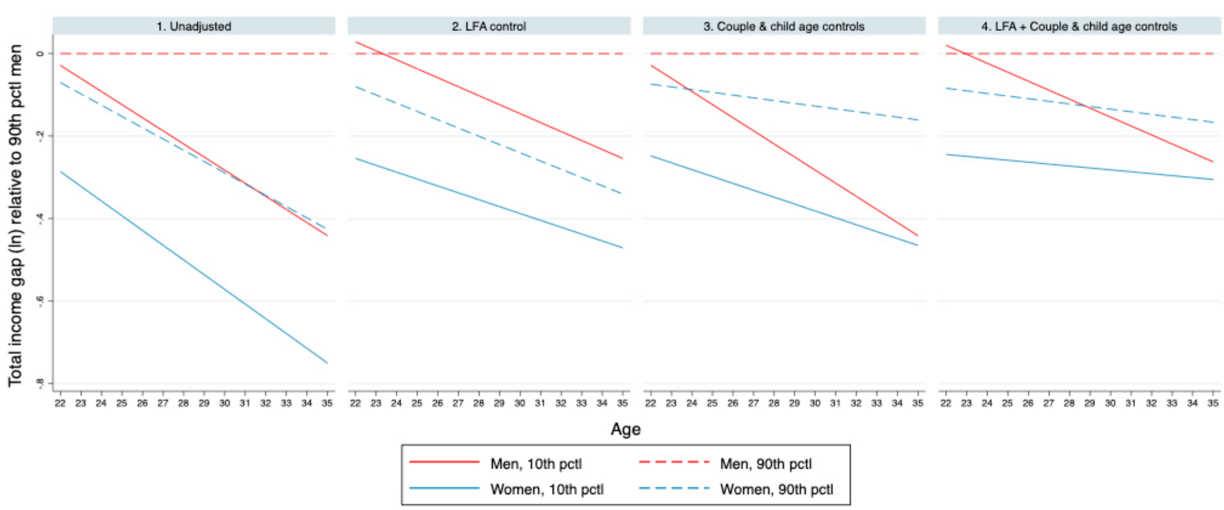
6. Childbirth, marital status, and labour force attachment are not enough to explain gender income gaps

We again explore the role of weak labour force attachment on the patterns observed in Figure 4 but include measures for couple status and childbirth that are expected to disproportionately influence the working statuses of women. To best present this data, we break analyses down to the income differences for women relative to men born to parents in the 90th total family income percentile. This way, we visualize income gaps both by social origin between men and women, as well as gender income gaps among men and women with the same parental income level.
These results are presented in Figure 5. Panel A reports results adjusting for different measures of labour force attachment, couple status, and the presence of children, in comparison with our baseline model not adjusting for education. In Panel B, we include controls for education and the interaction between education and age.

Figure 5.

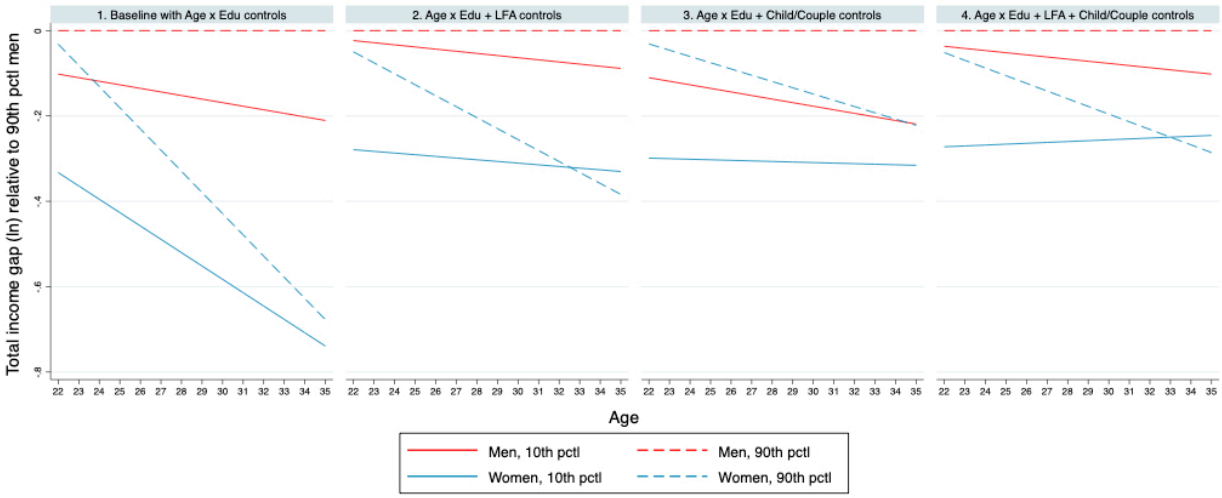
Difference in average adjusted predictions relative to men in 10th percentile of parental income, 1964-1980 birth cohort

Unadjusted baseline model



Source: LISA (2016) and T1FF (1982-2015)

Baseline with age x education controls



Source: LISA (2016) and T1FF (1982-2015)

It appears that parenthood and couple status have substantial effect on the income growth gap between women and men born to parents in the higher-income bracket. These factors also increase the gap between women from higher- and lower-income families, suggesting that net of education, having a child present in the household does account for part of the flatter income growth profiles we see for more privileged women. Our model specifications which include labour force attachment measures behave more or less as expected given our prior results; that is, men's incomes diverge at a weaker pace, and from a smaller initial gap at age 22, while for women, income growth converges faster for those from different social origins. Yet, our models do not fully account for the flatter income growth of women born to higher-income parents relative to their male peers.

This analysis confirms our expectations that the weaker difference in income growth among women is partly explained by the negative influence of motherhood on income growth rates—especially for daughters of higher-income parents. Yet childbirth, couple status, and labour force attachment do little to help explain the strong relationship between parental and daughters' incomes at the start of our age range.

Conclusion

Our goal was to provide evidence of a relationship between intergenerational income from Canadian parents to their children, and the subsequent economic mobility that provides. More specifically, we aimed to investigate whether the income growth of adult children from affluent families is steeper than those from less-advantaged social origins. Part of that story was to understand what factors might account for eventual differences in income. We considered the role of education, as well as factors related to early adult life after entering the labour market—like labour force attachment, couple status, and the presence of children in the household.

We find that there is a gap in income trajectories between adult children from higher- and lower-income families that widens with age, most predominantly among men. Our results indicate that this dynamic is driven, in part, by a trend of children from higher-income families acquiring higher levels of education, and these higher education levels are associated with steeper age-income curves. We also provide evidence for the crucial role that is played by factors that occur after labour market entry. For example, differences in the cumulative years of weak labour force attachment accounts for a large proportion of age-income profiles by parental income, though this does not fully explain the persistent inequality we observe for men.

Likewise, parenthood accounts for some of the observed gender differences in income growth. This is especially the case in explaining the lower level of intergenerational income transmission at the end of the early life course among women from higher-income parents. We expect that the greater likelihood that women entering parenthood incurs an income penalty, especially visible at older ages for more privileged women who experience childbirth later in their lives.

Taken together, these trends point to the existence of important cumulative inequality dynamics that unfold over the adult life course, but are rooted in inequalities that begin in adolescence resulting from unequal parental incomes. While education is thought to equalize this inequality to some extent, we do not find evidence of a process of catching up among men with disadvantages rooted in their family socioeconomic status or educational attainment.[xiii] At the same time, intergenerational income transmission does not appear to operate the same way for women over time, and more heavily depend upon additional characteristics involving labour force attachment and family characteristics. Still, the sizable gaps at the time of early labour market entry underline intergenerational inequalities that can influence early and midterm labour market experiences.

xiii To the contrary, our results point at persistent inequalities over time, in line with Flores et al. (2020), although not among individuals with the same level of educational attainment. We suspect that this is driven by our use of income as a measure of socio-economic status, which allows for greater heterogeneity between individuals than occupational indices or big social classes.

From a policy standpoint, our findings support interventions that are aimed to minimize longer bouts of joblessness, thereby diminishing the cumulative effect of weak labour force attachment. One obvious intervention is continued income support for jobless workers, which can soften the impact of prolonged periods of unemployment. This recommendation is particularly poignant given the persistent instability of Canada's labour market as the country continues to navigate the ongoing pandemic situation.

Aside from income supplementation, however, additional efforts placed on improving employability and decreasing risks of job loss or extended periods of joblessness would go a long way to ensuring strong labour market participation, especially for Canadians forced to find work in new careers. At the same time, offering training and supports specifically designed to attenuate the impact of early life course inequalities may also help to equalize opportunities among individuals of different social origins. Such interventions could specifically address disparities that emerge earlier in the life course during secondary and postsecondary education, which could have significant effects given the cumulative impact that sustained inequality can have on the life course down road. This suggestion is supported by recent research published by *RIES*, which noted that counselling programs for less affluent students can significantly improve postsecondary participation.[xiv]

We also recommend family policies supporting the labour force participation of mothers. Enacting measures to reduce the disadvantages experienced by employed mothers may contribute to closing the gender income gap. In fact, we have seen some evidence of this already, as women with children have been forced to forgo opportunities to build and maintain their skills due to caregiving responsibilities.[xv] These analyses should provide further support for the ongoing conversations regarding subsidized childcare and the increased demand for early childhood educators that are being considered at multiple levels of government.

As we look forward, future research would do well to explore the role of other characteristics, experiences, and events that unfold over the life course and may influence social mobility. We recommend considering the role of adult education and reskilling efforts, job loss, or the impact of geographic mobility on social standing.

xiv See Renée (2022) for a discussion on the roles that financial aid and counselling play in postsecondary enrolment.
xv See Pan, Seward, and Dhuey (2021).

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