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WORK HISTORIES AND EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES AT AGE 23

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PART A: Full Entry to the Labour Market

1. Full entry to the labour market is defined here by the criterion of at least two years continuous full time employment in one job. Five per cent of the cohort cannot be classified: these are respondents who have held more than four jobs (start and end dates being recorded in the questionnaire for up to four jobs only) and who have not satisfied the criterion in any of the four jobs for which details are recorded.

2. Of the 95% of the cohort for whom information is available, Table 1 shows that 78% had fully entered the labour market by age 23 and that 22% had not. The proportion of men (83%) who satisfied the criterion was significantly greater than the proportion of women (72%) (1).

3. Not surprisingly, the proportion of the cohort who had fully entered the labour market declined as age of first leaving continuous full time education increased (2). Eighty eight per cent of those who left before September 1974, ie. in or before the academic year in which they reached their sixteenth birthday, satisfied the criterion, compared to 44% of those who left between September 1978 and August 1979, ie during the academic year in which they reached their 21st birthday (3). Hardly any of those whose leaving date was after this had fully entered the labour market by the time they were interviewed in NCDS IV.

4. Although overall more men than women had fully entered the labour market by age 23, sex differences in the proportion satisfying the criterion were entirely confined to 16 and 17 year old leavers. In none of the five later leaving groups was there any statistically significant difference between the proportion of men and the proportion of women who had fully entered.

5. For men, there was no statistically significant difference between the proportions of 16 and of 17 year old leavers who had full entered the labour market. Among women, however, a significantly greater proportion of 17 year old leavers than of 16 year old leavers met the criterion of at least two years of continuous full time employment in one job, despite the fact that their total time between leaving full time education and interview was shorter. The reasons for this have not been investigated, but it is likely that they are associated with both a greater proportion of early pregnancies among women who left at 16 and with a greater propensity among this group of women to enter jobs with high rates of labour turnover. In contrast, many male 16 year old leavers enter apprenticeships and are thus likely to stay several years in their first job.

6. The much lower proportions of the later leaving groups who had fully entered the labour market by age 23 are the result of several factors. Not only was their total time between leaving full time education and age 23 shorter: they also entered the labour market when unemployment was higher and were more likely than earlier leaving groups to experience an initial spell of unemployment (see Working Paper 21 and paragraphs 35 and 37 below). In addition, a number later returned to full time education: this was true particularly of 18 year old leavers and particularly of men (see paragraphs 20 and 23 below). It is possible that in these later leaving groups the greater proportion of men returning to full time education offset the number of women leaving the labour market because of pregnancy and led to the overall effect of no significant sex differences.

7. It must be remembered that these data refer to men and women who entered the labour market in the middle and late seventies when unemployment rates, although high, were well below the levels they reached in the early eighties. The 16 and 17 year old leavers in the cohort left school at a time when there were still many apprenticeships available, and before the introduction of the Youth Opportunities Programme or the Youth Training Scheme. Study of a more recent generation of school leavers would be likely to give very different results.

PART B: Work Histories and Career Profiles

Introduction

8. The DE has asked for the employment histories of cohort members to be analysed in two ways. The first request is for a classification according to the major features of the work history, including the number of jobs and whether any time had been spent unemployed or out of the labour force (4). In this classification no account is taken of the sequence or duration of spells of different types: for example, someone who spent a short time out of the labour force on first leaving full time education and was continuously employed since then would appear in the same category as another who was continuously employed until the birth of the first child and was out of the labour force ever since. The second request is for a "basic outline of job/career profiles", which are distinguished from work history patterns by the fact that they incorporate the sequence of events. The present paper first describes the two different ways of classifying employment histories and gives breakdowns on them by sex and age of leaving full time education. The characteristics of people with different work history patterns are then examined in terms of qualifications and training, and the differential effects of marriage and fertility on the two sexes. The industry,occupation group and social class of the first job on entry to the labour market and the current or most recent job at age 23 is compared across groups defined by their work history. Men and women are identified whose current or most recent job at age 23 was of a different social class from their first job after leaving full time education, and the incidence and correlates of upward and downward mobility defined in this way are compared between the sexes.

9. It should be stressed that this work is largely of an exploratory and untheoretical nature. Although women's employment histories have received considerable attention in recent years (Elias and Main 1982, Stewart and

Greenhalgh 1984; Martin and Roberts 1984, Dex 1984), those of men, with some notable exceptions (Cherry 1976 and 1981), have been much less studied. There has not been time in the few weeks available to produce the present paper to develop a typology of work histories and career profiles which is grounded in theory and within which male and female experiences can be relevantly compared. Nevertheless it is hoped that the analysis made here touches on some important issues and prepares the ground for more focussed hypothesis testing.

Derivation and incidence of work history patterns

10 The classification of work history patterns covers the period between first leaving continuous full time education and the NCDS IV interview at age 23. Men and women who returned to full time education after a break of more than five months are treated as a separate category. The five categories suggested in the DE request have been used as the basis of nine more detailed categories; the original five categories can however be easily derived by addition if required. Details of how the classification was made are given in Appendix A.

11. Table 2 shows the distribution of the full cohort and of each sex separately among the various work history patterns. Thirty eight members of the cohort whom it was not possible to classify are excluded. One per cent of the cohort had held no job at all by age 23; a further 7% had returned to full time education after a break. Twenty nine per cent had been continuously employed since leaving full time education, 12% in one job and 17% in two or more. A total of 39% had had both a job or jobs and some unemployment, and 38% in all (including 16% who had also been unemployed) had spent some time out of the labour force. Continuous employment was a minority experience, though, as will be shown later, not all spells out of employment were of equal importance.

12. As would be expected there are marked differences between the proportions of each sex in every work history category except "no job ever", and

all these differences are statistically significant. Men were considerably more likely to have been continuously economically active - two-thirds of men compared to two-fifths of women - and women were more likely than men to have spent time out of the labour force. The proportion of men who had spent some time out of the labour force for reasons other than a return to full time education was, at nearly one quarter, nonetheless surprisingly high. Analysis of career profiles later in the paper sheds some light on the nature of these spells out of the labour force.

13. Among both sexes, the majority of those who had been continuously employed had changed employers at least once (5), though the proportion of the continuously employed who had worked for one employer only was greater for women than for men. This is probably due largley to the fact that women who left full time education late were less likely by age 23 than women who left at 16 to have had their employment interupted by childbirth, so that later leavers form a higher proportion of the continuously employed for women than for men. Late leavers were less likely than earlier leavers to have changed employers by age 23, simply because they had not been in the labour market for as long, and thus the result arises that a greater proportion of women than of men had only one job. There are probably other factors involved as well, as paragraph 21 below suggests.

14. The large majority of both men and women who had experienced some unemployment had held at least two jobs, and this was true regardless of whether the respondent had spent some time out of the labour force as well. This must of course be the case if the spell of unemployment followed a job and was itself ended by the respondent finding a job, but Working Paper 21 showed that apart from this statistical effect, frequent job changing was associated in this cohort with a higher risk of unemployment. This was in contrast to findings based on an earlier cohort (born in 1946) whose early labour market experiences took place at a time of national economic growth (Cherry 1981).

15. Men who had spent some time out of the labour force were equally likely to have had one job as to have had two or more jobs (7% in each case), while women who had spent time out of the labour force were more likely to have had at least two employers. Analysis presented later in the paper (paragraphs 32 and 36) shows that for men a spell out of the labour force most usually directly followed the end of full time education, and was more common among men who left full time education late (and were thus likely to have had only one employer). For women, time out of the labour force was also closely associated with childbirth following a spell in employment, and may have been followed, even by age 23, by a return to work.

Work history patterns by age of leaving full time education

16. As has already been suggested, the distribution of different patterns of work history varies substantially with age of leaving full time education. Table 3 gives the distribution by sex of work history patterns in four leaving groups where numbers are large enough to permit comparison.

17. Among men, the proportion who had been continuously employed in one job was surprisingly similar for 17, 18 and 21 year old leavers, with significantly but only slightly more among 16 year old leavers. This is probably the result of two different influences: the earlier the leaving age, the greater the time available in which to change jobs, but also the greater the proportion who had completed apprenticeships and thus had a very stable employment history.

18. As would be expected, the proportion of men who had held two or more jobs fell steadily as leaving age increased, and this is true whether or not they had also experienced unemployment. The proportion of men with some unemployment and one job only was very similar for 16, 17 and 18 year old leavers, but considerably higher for 21 year old leavers. It will be shown later that this was because young people entering the labour market in 1979 were much more likely than those entering five years previously to have had a spell of unemployment before their first job.

19. Similar proportions of male 16, 17 and 18 year old leavers had spent some time out of the labour force, and there was little difference according to whether the respondent had also experienced unemployment or whether he had held one or more than one job. However a spell out of the labour force was much more common for men who left full time education at age 21, and this was true no matter what the other features of the employment history were.

20. More than one in four men who left full time education at age 18 later returned to full time education after a break of more than five months. Included in this number may be some for whom the return represented a change of direction, but it also undoubtedly included a substantial proportion who had always intended to continue their education and who took the conventional year off between school and university. Unfortunately the NCDS IV data contain no information on intentions at this stage which would enable us to distinguish these two groups. One in ten of both 17 and 21 year old male leavers also later returned to full time education, but only 2% in the youngest leaving group.

21. Among women, as among men, the proportion who by age 23 had been continuously employed in one job only was very similar in all four leaving groups. This cannot be explained, as it was for men, by the disproportionate number of apprentices among 16 year old leavers cancelling out the effects of the shorter time spent in the labour market by the older leavers, as very few women enter apprenticeships. It is possible that the explanation in their case was that women in very stable employment were less likely than women who had changed jobs to interrupt their employment because of childbirth. If this hypothesis is correct, then as considerably more of 16 year old leavers than of later leavers had babies by the age of 23, women with one job only would form disproportionately more of continuously employed women among 16 year old leavers, and this would cancel out the effect of their longer time in the labour market on the number of jobs they had held.

22. The distribution of unemployment in relation to the number of jobs held shows similar features across leaving groups for women as for men, but there were differences between the sexes in the way that time out of the labour force was distributed among leaving groups. While for men time out of the labour force was most common among 21 year old leavers, for women there was evidence of a U-shaped distribution, with high rates also among 16 year old leavers. The durations of and reasons for spells out of the labour force were presumably very different in the two leaving groups, those of the earlier leavers being likely to be more often associated with childbearing.

23. As for men, the proportion of women who returned to full time education after a break was highest among 18 year old leavers, but it was considerably less than the corresponding proportion for men. Once more, 17 and 21 year old leavers had rates similar to each other, but the proportion in the earliest leaving group was very small.

24. Among 16 year old leavers, sex differences in the distribution of work history patterns were substantial. As leaving age increased the differences between men and women diminished, until among 21 year old leavers none remained which were statistically significant, some of the observed differences being in the same direction as in earlier leaving groups but others being in the opposite direction. This similarity between the sexes could be the product of two factors. The first is that 21 year old leavers had spent only a short time in the labour market so that distinctive patterns for each sex had not had much time to emerge. The second is that better educated women will perhaps be less likely than other women to experience any substantial interruptions to their employment because of childbearing, though evidence on this point from the Women and Employment Survey is not wholly clear (Martin and Roberts 1984, Dex 1984). Which of these two factors is of greater importance only time (and an NCDS V) will tell.

Derivation of career profiles

25. In the derivation of career profiles, and in contrast to the work history patterns described above, the sequence of spells of employment, unemployment and time out of the labour force is of importance. There are very many possible employment histories between the time of first leaving full time education and age 23, and many different possible ways of classifying them. Ideally the classification should be made with specific hypotheses in mind. In the present case the work is largely exploratory, and the grouping of different employment histories into career profiles is guided both by a general familiarity with the literature on the transition from school to work and employment patterns in early adulthood, and by the empirical distribution of different types of history observed in the sample.

26. Career profiles were constructed from the economic activity variables for each month from May 1974 to January 1982 (6). In order to make the task manageable, a number of simplifications were adopted; in particular activities were grouped into three major types, employment, unemployment and time out of the labour force, and respondents who had returned to full time education after a break of more than five months or who had spent time on a government special scheme (a very small proportion) were excluded from the classification. Respondents who had experienced more than five changes between spells of employment, unemployment and time out of the labour force were also excluded, as were respondents with missing information for two or more consecutive months. In future work it may be appropriate to modify or waive some of these simplifications; however for present purposes they were felt not to be excessively restrictive. Fuller details of how the profiles were derived are given in Appendix B (7).

27. In the career profiles spells of employment are defined as all consecutive months in which the respondent was employed, regardless of whether there was a change of employer or a switch between full time and part time work.

28. Because the classifications of work history patterns and career profiles are derived from different ways of handling the data and use different rules for dealing with missing information as well as with other activities and very interrupted employment histories, distributions on the two classifications do not tally exactly. For example, the proportion of the cohort with the career profile "continuous employment" is not the same as the proportion in the two work history categories "continuously employed, one job" and "continuously employed, two or more jobs". The main features of the distributions on the two classifications are however wholly consistent.

Sex differences in career profiles

29. Two groupings of career profiles have been made which retain differing degrees of detail. In the first, 19 profiles are distinguished in addition to the three categories of respondents who are excluded from the classification; in the second these 19 are reduced to ten. The first grouping is too fine to be of value for many purposes; the overall distribution of men and women among profiles which in subsequent analyses are aggregated is nevertheless of interest. Detailed career profiles by sex are reported in Table 4 and the corresponding distribution on the summary version is given in Table 5.

30. Some of the major features of employment histories revealed by Tables 4 and 5 have already been commented on in the section on work history patterns above. These points are not repeated here; instead attention is focussed where the sequence of states of different kinds is critical.

31. A large proportion of both men and women were unemployed at some time. Table 5 shows that for men the most common way in which unemployment was experienced was as a single spell preceded and followed by employment: this was the pattern for 9% of men in the cohort. A further 5% of men had had an initial spell of unemployment when they first left full time education and were then

employed continuously until age 23, 2% had gone straight into employment on first leaving full time education but their employment had been ended by a spell of unemployment which was still continuing when they were interviewed, and 7% had experienced other mixtures of spells of employment and unemployment. Table 4 shows that this last group was composed of 5% who had entered work on leaving full time education but had had at least two spells of unemployment since then (profile number 10), and 2% who had initially been unemployed and had had at least one subsequent spell of unemployment (profile 11). In addition, Table 5 shows that 4% of men had employment histories which included employment, unemployment and time out of the labour force, and 1% had never had a job at all.

32. For women, spells out of the labour force were not only much more common than they were for men; they also tended to be located at different points in the employment history. It can be seen from Table 5 that 8% of men and 6% of women had a single spell out of the labour force when they first left full time education, but also that 10% of women compared to less than 1% of men had experienced continuous employment which ended with a spell out of the labour force which was still continuing at age 23. In addition many more women than men experienced other mixtures of employment and time out of the labour force, or mixtures of these with unemployment.

33. The more detailed breakdowns of Table 4 reveal a great variety of ways in which women combined spells out of the labour force with spells of employment and unemployment. Only 3% of 23 year old women showed the bimodal profile 5 often associated with having children, namely initial work interrupted by a spell out of the labour force and followed by another spell of employment. The age of 23 is still very young for this profile to be established, and some of the women who were still in their first spell out of the labour force when they were interviewed at age 23 will probably in due course show the bimodal profile. Nevertheless Dex (1984) reports that the bimodal profile appears to be on the decline as women find other ways of combining work and childbearing. The

inclusion of women who had experienced unemployment either before or after this single spell out of the labour force (profiles 15 and 17) increases the number of women with the bimodal profile by age 23 to only 6%, while 8% of women had had at least two spells out of the labour force by the age of 23 (profiles 12, 18 and 19).

Career profiles of different leaving groups

34. As with work history patterns, the occurence of different career profiles is closely related to age at leaving full time education. Table 6 shows the distribution for men in six leaving groups. Once more, those trends which have already been shown in the study of work history patterns are not commented on again.

35. Overall it is the 16 year old leavers who were most likely to have experienced unemployment and, apart from those who had left full time education very recently, to be unemployed at age 23. Three per cent of them had a profile in which unbroken employment ended in a spell of unemployment which was still continuing when they were interviewed, compared to 1% of all later leaving groups, a small but statistically significant difference. This pattern may be a product of the severe recession in skilled engineering trades in the early eighties, trades which many 16 year old boys in the cohort entered as apprentices. In addition 12% of 16 year old leavers had a profile of a single spell of unemployment preceded and followed by employment, compared to progressively smaller proportions with this profile in all subsequent leaving groups, and 9% had experienced other mixtures of employment and unemployment compared to smaller proportions of later leavers. However only 3% of the youngest leaving group were unemployed on first leaving full time education but continuously employed after that, compared to 6% of 17 year old leavers, 8% of 18 and 19 year old leavers, and 14% and 13% respectively of 21 and 22+ year old leavers. This reflects the changing national economic climate in which members of the cohort entered the labour market. Those who left in 1974 left at a time

when national unemployment rates were still relatively low. Unemployment rates rose rapidly throughout the rest of the seventies with only a brief respite in 1978 and the first part of 1979, to reach record levels by the early eighties. For further evidence on the long term effects of delaying entry to the labour market on the chances of unemployment the reader is referred to Working Paper 24.

36. It has already been observed that for young men, in contrast to women, time out of the labour force most usually occurred immediately after leaving full time education, and was then followed by continuous employment. Table 6 shows that this profile was three times as common among men who left at age 21 or later than among men who left at 16. It is possible that this resulted from a conscious choice by the later leavers who wished to retain the freedom of their student days for a little longer before entering the world of work; it is also possible that for this group time spent out of the labour force was a disguised form of unemployment forced upon them because it took a long time to find their first job.

37. Summary career profiles by date of leaving full time education for the women in the cohort are given in Table 7. Clear patterns in the experience of unemployment are more difficult to discern for women than for men because of the much larger numbers whose profile involved time out of the labour force. However, overall it is true to say that, as for men, women who left full time education late were more likely than earlier leavers to experience unemployment before they found their first job, whereas unemployment occurring later in the career was more common among 16 year old leavers. There are also clear differences among leaving groups in the timing of spells out of the labour force. As with men, women who delayed their departure from full time education were much more likely than earlier leavers to have a spell out of the labour force before entering employment, while early leavers were more likely than later leavers to have a profile which involved a spell out of the labour force following a period of employment, unemployment or both.

Length of spells of employment, unemployment and time out of the labour force

38. The mean length of spells of employment, unemployment and time out of the labour force was computed for men and women of different leaving ages and with different career profiles. Table 8 shows the mean number of months in employment for men and women who were continuously employed from leaving full time education up to interview at age 23. As should be expected, the figures for men and women were very similar and the mean number of months in employment declined steadily as leaving age increased. The differences between the means for 16 and 17 year old leavers and between the means for 18 and 19 year old leavers were slightly smaller than the differences between other adjacent pairs of leaving ages, probably because more 17 and 19 year old leavers left before the end of the academic year.

39. The mean length of spells of unemployment varied according to the point in the employment history at which they occurred. Table 9 is based on 16 year old leavers only, and compares the length of spells of unemployment occurring within three different career profiles. When unemployment immediately followed departure from full time education and was followed by continuous employment its mean length was 2. 6 months for both men and women. When it occurred after a spell of employment and was itself ended by a second spell of employment it lasted on average 4. 1 months for men and 5. 2 months for women. It also tended to occur somewhat earlier for women than for men, after an average of 38. 7 months of employment compared to 43. 2 months for men. Finally, when the respondent had had a continuous spell of employment ending in unemployment which was still continuing at the time of interview, unemployment tended to be much longer: a mean of 13. 6 months for men and 21. 8 months for women.

40. These findings are probably the result of a combination of factors. It is not difficult to relate the fact that spells of unemployment tend to be

longer the later in the career that they occur to the rise in national unemployment rates during the years covered by the employment histories. The relationship is particularly striking if we take into account the fact that unemployment spells in the profile 'employment-unemployment' were incomplete, so that their completed length may be well in excess of the figures recorded in Table 9. However it is also the case that the chances of finding employment diminish as length of unemployment increases (see eg. Layard 1981), so that the completed length of spells of unemployment in the profile "employment-unemployment" is likely to be longer still, for the reason that they are already very long. Indeed these spells might be regarded as a biassed subsample of the completed spells of unemployment in the profile "employment-unemployment-employment". Also involved in the findings reported in Table 9 is the fact that young people who were unemployed immediately on leaving full time education and were continuously employed thereafter appear in many ways to be more like young people who have never been unemployed than they are like young people with a history of extensive unemployment: this will be apparent at several points in the analysis which follows. Clearly this complex of factors could only be disentangled by the use of statistical techniques, particularly survival analysis, which unfortunately there has not been time for in this case.

41. It has already been shown that while the proportions of men and women who had a profile of a spell out of the labour force on leaving full time education followed by continuous employment until interview were reasonably close, a large proportion of women and virtually no men experienced the converse. Table 10 shows that the duration of spells out of the labour force occuring before any employment was an average quite short for both men and women, while the duration of spells following employment was much longer. Women 16 year old leavers with the profile "employment-out of the labour force" had already been out of the labour force for an average of nearly three years by age 23, and for 17 and 18 year old leavers the figure was around two years.

42. Among 16 year old leavers the average duration of initial spells out of the labour force was a little longer for women than for men (3. 3 months compared to 1. 8 months), while the figures for the two sexes in subsequent leaving groups were quite similar. This is possibly because among women 16 year old leavers there were some who were already pregnant or indeed already had babies when their full time education finished.

Qualifications and training and work history

43. As explained in Appendix C, the derivation of career profiles required some special purpose programming, and because of pressure of time a number of anlyses were carried out using the classification of work history patterns before the career profile variables were ready to be used. These analyses are not as illuminating as they would have been had it been possible to include career profiles throughout; they nevertheless contain much of interest.

44. Tables 11(a), (b) and (c) show the relationship between work history and various aspects of qualifications and training for men who left full time education at 16, 17 and 18 respectively. The numbers in later leaving groups are not large enough to support detailed breakdowns of this nature. Work history patterns shared by very small numbers of men are excluded, as are men who returned to full time education after a break. In order to increase numbers some work history patterns have been grouped together; this is especially so in the two older leaving groups where time spent out of the labour force is ignored, so that in each of the three work history groups shown men either may or may not have also spent time out of the labour force. The rational for this is that, as paragraphs 32 and 41 above demonstrate, in almost all cases time spent by men out of the labour force followed immediately on the end of full time education and was of relatively short duration. It was therefore felt to be of little significance in the long term work history.

45. In classifying qualifications the present working paper,unlike previous working papers, treats as equivalent to GCE 'O' level only SCE 'O' grades and CSE grade 1; City and Guilds Craft and similar qualifications are not included. Similarly GCE 'A' level equivalents include only SCE higher grades and not ONC, OND or similar qualifications. The purpose of this is to approximate as well as can be done without much more manipulation of the data to the distinction between qualifications obtained during the course of full time education and qualifications gained in the course of employment during an apprenticeship or non-apprenticeship training. GCE type qualifications may have been obtained in school or college of further education, or they may have been obtained by part time study in conjunction with employment. The majority will however have been obtained in the former way, and the number of GCE's may be taken as an indication of the different levels of qualification possessed by young people in the various work history groups at the point of entry to the labour market and before they had acquired any work history at all. In contrast, qualifications obtained on an apprenticeship or non-apprenticeship training course were obtained during the period that the work history describes. They may therefore be both consequences and determinants of work history.

46. Table 11(a) reveals that there were substantial differences in the qualifications and training of male 16 year old leavers with different work history patterns. Differences in the proportions who had obtained "O" level GCE's were largely of the same pattern as differences in the proportion who had obtained a qualification in conjunction with their employment, but the differences between groups were much wider on the latter variable than on the former. In other words, the possession of qualifications on entry to the labour market partially determines who has access to training, but qualifications acquired during training in turn appear to influence the course of work history, as indeed the ability to acquire qualifications may itself be influenced by work history.

47. A feature of Table 11(a) is that male 16 year old leavers who had spent time out of the labour force but had not been unemployed were less likely to have no "O" levels than young men who had been continuously employed, and they were also more likely to have completed an apprenticeship. It is possible therefore that during the time they spent out of the labour force they were merely waiting for their apprenticeship to start.

48. As expected, men who had experienced unemployment, and especially those with two or more jobs, were worse qualified on entry to the labour market than other groups. Only a quarter of those with some unemployment and two or more jobs had completed an apprenticeship, but over half of those with unemployment and only one job had done so. It is probable that this latter group included both young men who were prepared to accept a period of unemployment on first leaving school while hunting for an apprenticeship, and men whose jobs were hit by heavy redundancies in a number of skilled trades in the early eighties.

49. Although apprenticeships were progressively less important for 17 and 18 year old leavers, Tables 11(b) and 11(c) are consistent in showing a strong relationship between work history and qualifications and training. Among men who had left at either 17 or 18 the best qualified group on entry to the labour market were those who were subsequently continuously employed in one job, and men who experienced unemployment and at least one change of employer were the least well qualified. The latter were also less likely to acquire qualifications during the course of their employment. In the absence of proper statistical analysis the evidence is impressionistic, but it appears that for 18 year old leavers school qualifications were more closely related to the subsequent acquisition of qualifications during the course of employment than they were for 16 year old leavers.

50. Tables 12(a), (b) and (c) present the equivalent tabulations for

women. Among 16 year old leavers women who had spent some time out of the labour force tended to have fewer GCE level qualifications than women who had been unemployed, though women who had experienced both unemployment and time out of the labour force with low qualifications

were the least well qualified of all. This association of time out of the labour force was not repeated in the 17 and 18 year old leaving groups where, as Table 7 showed, time out of the labour force was more often of a similar nature to that experienced by men.

51. . Unlike men, women were more likely to have obtained a qualification during the course of their employment if they had changed employers. This was true of all three leaving groups considered. In the 16 and 18 year old leaving groups women who had been continuously employed in two or more jobs were also likely to have more GCE qualifications than women who had held one job only. However the relationship between qualifications acquired during employment and job changing was also found, though reduced, among 17 year old leavers where those who had been continuously employed in two or more jobs had fewer GCE's than women who had held one job only. The sex difference in the relationship between job changing and the acquisition of qualifications during employment is partly explained by the fact that many fewer women than men entered apprenticeships, and apprenticeships were associated both with stable employment and with gainig qualifications. This however cannot be the whole explanation, as the sex difference also occurred among 18 year old leavers where the number of men entering apprenticeships was quite small. As will be shown later, the relationship between job changing and occupational mobility was also different for men and women, and the whole area would bear further investigation.

Marriage and employment history

52. Marriage and more particularly childbearing affects women's working lives to a great extent. Less is known about the relationship for men between family formation and work, though a number of ideas are in common circulation. For example, marriage is said to help a young man "settle down", and unemployed men with several children may be accused of being reluctant to seek work because of the financial support they receive. NCDS IV contains data for both men and women, and so allows us to compare the differential effect of marriage and children on men and women in the early part of their working lives.

53. Because only a small proportion of young people who left full time education late were married by the age of 23, investigation of the relationship between family formation and employment history is confined here largely to those who left full time education aged 16. Table 13 shows the career profiles of men and women in this leaving group according to their marital status at age 23. As expected, by this age more women than men were married and had suffered a marriage breakdown.

54. Among males, married men had the most stable employment histories. Forty-eight per cent had been continuously employed since leaving full time education compared to 38% of bachelors and 31% of men whose marriages had broken down, differences which were statistically significant. The overall incidence of unemployment was only slightly higher in the histories of single men compared to married men, but single men were a little more likely to be unemployed at the time of interview and married men a little more likely to have found another job after a spell of unemployment. However separated and divorced men (no men in this group had been widowed) were overrepresented compared to both single and married men in nearly all the career profiles which included a spell or spells of unemployment. They were also more likely than other men to have had a very interrupted employment history involving more than five changes of state. In

understanding these findings it is clearly important to establish whether unemployment preceded or followed marital breakdown, but this is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present paper. It is also worth noting that single men were more likely than others to have returned to full time education after a break. The data thus offer qualified support for the "setling down" thesis: marriage which had survived to age 23 was associated with a stable employment history, but marriages which had broken down were associated with a more interrupted pattern of employment than was experienced by men who had never married.

55. The Women in Employment Survey has established that for women the birth of a child is of much more significance in terms of its effects on employment than is marriage (Martin and Roberts 1984). The relationship for women between marital status and career profile is also shown in Table 13 and shows an association as would be expected between marriage and time spent out of the labour force. This relationship is however much weaker than the relationship between women's career profiles and the birth of children, which is disucssed below. The distinctive career profiles of women whose marriage had broken down are however worthy of comment. Like men with broken marriages they were the group least likely to have had continuous employment, but they were also more likely than other women to have returned to employment after a spell out of the labour force. The economic position of unmarried or formerly married women with children is discussed in paragraphs 64 and 65 below.

The birth of children and employment history

56. Table 14 shows the career profiles of men and women who left full time education at age 16 by whether or not they had children by age 23. Fewer men than women had children, and they tended to be older when the children were born.

57. It was noted above that married men were more likely to be continuously employed than either single or separated and divorced men. In contrast to this

finding Table 14 shows that men with children were less likely than men without children to have been continuously employed and were more likely to have experienced unemployment apart from spells which immediately followed departure from full time education. They were also more likely than men without children to have experienced more than five changes of state between 16 and 23. It does not follow from this finding that the provision of state benefits for children encourages young fathers to remain unemployed. In the present analysis it has not been possible to establish whether unemployment preceded or followed the birth of children, and even if it followed, it would require an interpretative leap to say that the birth of children encouraged men to stay unemployed. It is very difficult to establish causal links of this nature, and it is more than plausible that the same factors which are associated with early fatherhood (for example, low qualifications) are also associated with unemployment. Furthermore, men who married very young were probably more likely than other men to marry because a child was already on the way, and their marriages may well have had a high rate of breakdown by age 23. If this were the case, some unemployed fathers would no longer be receiving state benefits for their children.

58. Because the number of women with children is larger, it is possible to identify a small group of women whose youngest child was born within about two years of the mother leaving full time education, ie. before August 1976. All these children would have been of school age by the time the mother was interviewed at age 23. In classifying children by date of birth children who later died or who were not living with the mother at the time of interview were excluded.

59. As already mentioned, there were much greater differences between the career profiles of women with and without children than there were between married and unmarried women. Forty-six per cent of women who had never had a child were continuously employed between 16 and 23, compared to 2% of women with a child under school age. There were also marked differences between women according to the age of the youngest child. Twenty-nine per cent of women whose

youngest child was born within roughly five years of interview had the career profile "employment-out of the labour force", compared to 10% of women whose youngest child was born earlier. Conversely, 32% of women whose youngest child was of school age had the profile "other mixtures of employment and time out of the labour force", usually involving a return to employment after a spell out of the labour force, compared to 19% of women with younger children. Four per cent of women whose youngest child was of school age had the profile 'one spell out of the labour force followed by employment'; some of these women were possibly pregnant or even already mothers when they left full time education.

The economic activity of mothers

60. Although the birth of a child almost always disrupts a woman's employment, many later return to work and some do so quite soon after the birth. Table 15 takes women who had at least one young child living with them who was born in August 1976 or later and classifies them according to their economic status at age 23. In this classification "housewife" is not a residual category, but includes only women who described their main occupation as housework.

61. Seventy -one per cent of women with young children described themselves as housewives. Seven per cent were working full time, 11% part time, 8% were unemployed, and three per cent had some other economic status.

62. Mothers of young children who were employed full time tended to be better educated than other mothers. Fewer of them had left full time education at the minimum age and more of them had obtained "O" and "A" level GCE qualifications or their equivalents. Differences among other mothers were not large, but those working part time were more likely to have "O" levels than the unemployed, who in turn were better qualified than housewives.

63. Mothers working full time were more than twice as likely as housewives to have gained a qualification during the course of their employment (21%

compared to 9%). This of course is partly explained by the fact that they usually would have spent longer in employment and so would have had more time in which to acquire such qualifications. It is nevertheless plausible that a woman who was receiving training or had already successfully completed a course would be less willing than others to give up work for childrearing. Women in jobs with training were probably also more likely than other women to have provisions for maternity leave, and to earn enough to pay for childminders or nurseries. Mothers working part time were also more likely than non-working mothers to have a qualification gained on an apprenticeship or training course.

64. The economic status of mothers of young children was also related to their marital position. Eighty-nine per cent of both housewives and part timers were either married or living as married, compared to 74% of mothers employed full time. Unemployed mothers were also a little more likely than housewives or part timers to be lone parents. Dex (1984) reports that financial stress was an important reason why mothers of young children sought employment, and this factor would appear to have been relevant for the women in the NCDS cohort.

65. The Women in Employment Survey found that once the age of the youngest child was taken into account, there was no difference in the proportion of single and married mothers who worked (Martin and Roberts 1984). Table 16 compares directly the economic status of single mothers of young children in NCDS with that of mothers who were married or cohabiting. It shows a slightly but not significantly higher proportion of single mothers than of married mothers in employment (21% compared to 17%). The difference between this and the finding of the Women in Employment Survey may be explained by the fact that the latter refers to mothers of any age, and not just to 23 year olds. Ways of combining childrearing and employment are changing among younger women, and it may be that single mothers are differentially affected by the trends. Table 16 confirms the finding of the Women in Employment Survey that single working mothers of young children are more likely than married mothers to work full time. It also suggests a higher unemployment rate among single than among married mothers, but the difference is not statistically significant.

66. Mothers who work full time are unlikely to have achieved this status without any interruption to their employment. Table 17 takes women who were working full time at age 23 and compares the career profiles of those with and without children. Because career profiles vary substantially with age of leaving full time education and women who left full time education young were much more likely than women who left later to have had a child by age 23, the table is restricted to 16 year old leavers. Note that the table refers to women with children of all ages, and not only children under school age. The number of women in the cohort who left at 16 and were working full time with a child was quite small (129), but large enough for differences in their career histories to show up.

67. Of women working full time at age 23 who did not have children, more than half had been continuously employed since age 16. This compares to less than one fifth of women working full time with children. A further 20% of women without children and 14% of women with children had been continuously economically active but had had some unemployment, most commonly a single spell preceded and followed by employment. In contrast a total of 47% of women with children had spent some time out of the labour force compared to 13% of women without children, and for women without children this time had most usually directly followed leaving full time education.

68. Because NCDS has information about a large number of women who are all of the same age, it can be used to supplement the wealth of information on trends derived from the Women in Employment Survey with detailed information about the behaviour of a generation of women who are still in the process of establishing their families. The few paragraphs devoted to this topic here have no more than scratched the surface of these data.

Industry and work history patterns

69. Employment history depends not only on personal characteristics such as

qualifications and the birth of children, but is also closely influenced by industry and occupation. White (1983) argues cogently for the importance of changes in the industrial structure in the genesis of long term unemployment. This is apparent where skilled trades are replaced by new technology; there are also a myriad other ways in which the industry in which people work affects their employment history. Some industries, like construction, rely heavily on casual labour, and people working in them tend to change jobs frequently. If the industry is in recession, job changing will be accompanied by repeated spells of unemployment. Other industries with a high labour turnover are growing in size, and here job changing may be associated with less unemployment and possibly with upward mobility: some service industries such as hotels and catering fit this model. Yet other industries approximate to the 'primary sector' paradigm, where new employees are highly selected, there is in-service training, a promotion structure within the organisation, and long stay is encouraged and rewarded; banking is a typical example of primary sector employment.

70. Some of the importance of personal characteristics as predictors of employment history lies not in their direct influence on behaviour, but in the access which they allow to jobs of different kinds. Access to jobs also depends on purely external factors, such as the structure of the local labour market and the state of the economy as a whole when a young person finishes full time education. A proper analysis of employment histories should attempt to model the effects, both direct and interactive, of all these factors on employment history. The simple crosstabulations presented here between work history patterns and type of job are only a very first step in analysis.

71. NCDS IV contains details of the first job held after first leaving full time education and the current or last job (for those not in work) at age 23 (8), but not of any jobs held between these points. Thus we can only examine movement between two points and not the full progression of a career. Tables 18(a), (b) and (c) give the industrial division (1980 Standard Industrial Classification) of the first and the current or last job of men who left full

time education at 16,17 and 18 respectively, and Tables 19(a), (b) and (c) give the corresponding breakdowns for women. The numbers of men and women leaving at older ages than these were not large enough to permit comparison in any detail among those with different work history patterns. The associations suggested by these tables are very complex, and only some of the more conspicuous features are commented on here.

72. In both their first and their current or last job men were spread much more evenly across industrial divisions than were women. Among male 16 year old leavers the largest single source of first employment for those who had held one job only was SIC division 3, the metal goods, engineering and vehicles industries, where there were probably many apprenticeships. Those with more than one job were most likely to start their careers in division 6 (distribution, hotels and catering and repairs). By age 23 there was a net movement among those who had changed their jobs away from divisions 3, 4 (other manufacturing) and 6 into the energy and water supply industries (division 1), transport and communication (division 7), and other services (division 9). This movement resulted probably partly from the effects of age restrictions on entry to certain occupations (for example, driving), and partly from the effects of decline in some sectors and growth in others.

73. Time spent out of the labour force again appeared for men to be connected with entry to apprenticeships, in that it was most common among those going into division 3. Division 3 also accounted for a high proportion of those who had been unemployed but had only one job (see paragraphs 47 and 48 above), while the construction industry figured more prominently as the current or most recent employer of men who had changed jobs and been unemployed.

74. Among men who left full time education at 18, the most stable employment was within divisions 8 (banking, finance, insurance, business services and leasing) and 9 (other services). Among those who changed jobs, there was a net movement away from divisions 6 and 8 and, like the 16 year old leavers, into divisions 1, 7 and 9.

75. There was a considerable concentration within industrial divisions for women who left full time education at 16, with seven industrial divisions accounting for almost all women's employment. This concentration increased with age of first leaving full time education.

76. For women who left at 16 the largest first employer of those who had been continuously employed in one job was division 8, banking and related services. The largest first employer of those who later changed jobs was division 6, and this was true whether or not the women spent time out of the labour force or experienced unemployment. These women showed a net movement by age 23 out of divisions 6 and 8 and into division 9.

77. The largest single first employer for all women who left full time education at age 18, regardless of their subsequent work history, was other services, division 9. Those who were continuously employed in one job were also commonly found in division 8 and those with a more interrupted work history in division 6. For those who changed jobs with or without unemployment or time out of the labour force there was also a marked net movement between the first job and the current or most recent job at age 23 away from division 6 and into division 9, while those who changed employer but were continuously employed also moved into division 8.

Occupation group and work history

78. OPCS occupation group (1980 classification) was also coded for first and current or last job, and Tables 20(a), (b) and (c) and 21(a), (b) and (c) show the distributions for men and women with various work histories who left full time education at different ages. Because a change of job is defined as a change of employer, the industrial division of the first and the current or last

job of people with one job only must be the same. However people may change the kind of work they do while working for the same employer and so the occupation group of the first and current or last job for people with only one job may differ.

79. For men the data suggest a net movement for 16 year old leavers who changed employers out of manufacturing jobs and into jobs related to construction and mining, transport and management. This held true regardless of whether there was any unemployment. For 18 year old male leavers the largest concentration of first occupations was in the clerical and related field, but there was a large movement by age 23 into professional, semi-professional and managerial occupations. This was especially true of the group who had changed employers but experienced no unemployment, but the movement into managerial positions was also observed among those with one job only.

80. As with industry, women's work was also highly concentrated within certain occupations; most prominent among these were clerical and related occupations. All groups of women, regardless of their leaving age and work history tended to move out of selling occupations as they got older. In a small study Dex (1982) found that young women rarely chose to enter jobs in the distribution industry but ended up there after failing to get jobs of their first choice, and then had a higher turnover to get out of them. This finding was confirmed by the Women in Employment Survey which showed for women in the 'initial work phase' prior to childbirth there was a net flow out of the distribution industry and into other service industries (Dex 1984).

81. Among 16 year old leavers (Table 21(a)) women who had spent time out of the labour force and had more than one employer showed a net movement out of clerical and related occupations and into personal service and semi-skilled manufacturing occupations. The significance of this in terms of downward occupational mobility will be discussed in more detail below. In all three leaving groups the women who were most likely to move into managerial and

professional or related jobs were those who had been continuously employed but had changed employers at least once. However, taking the three leaving groups as a whole, women's movement into managerial positions was much less than the corresponding movement for men, and was very limited for those who had been continuously employed in one job.

Social class and employment history

82. The first and current or last occupation of cohort members were also classified in terms of their OPCS social class (1980 classification). This classification is intended to group jobs according to their skill level, but as such the grouping is only very rough. The bands into which occupations are grouped are very broad, and the occupations included in them heterogeneous. The classification is also unsatisfactory as a basis for comparing male and female occupations, the occupations in which women predominate tending to be allocated to different social classes from those in which men predominate. For a critique of OPCS social class in relation specifically to women's occupations the reader is referred to Martin and Roberts (1984). Limited as it is, OPCS social class is the only classification available in NCDS in terms of which occupational mobility can be examined.

83. The distribution of respondents with different work history patterns among social classes is shown separately for 16, 17 and 18 year old leavers in Tables 22(a), (b) and (c) for men and 23(a), (b) and (c) for women. As would be expected from the anaysis of occupation order already reported, the first job of men who subsequently experienced no unemployment was more often of a non-manual character (classes I, II and III non-manual) than for other groups, while those who went on to have at least one spell of unemployment were more likely than others to start their working lives in semiskilled or unskilled manual jobs, social classes IV and V. There was some net upward movement between the first and the current or last job into classes I and II amongst all groups of men, but in all three leaving groups the upward movement was greatest for those who had

changed employers and never been unemployed, and least for those who had been unemployed.

84. Women who had been continuously employed without any unemployment or time out of the labour force were more likely than other groups of women to have had a non-manual first job, and those who had spent some time out of the labour force were the least likely. The greatest net upward movement into class I and II jobs was found for women who had been continuously employed but had changed employers; this was true regardless of age of leaving full time education. For 16 year old leavers who had spent time out of the labour force and had more than one employer there was marked net downward movement into less skilled class IV jobs.

Occupational mobility

85. Tables 22 and 23 show the overall change in the social class distribution of various subgroups of the cohort, a change which is composed of many individual changes, some of which cancel each other out. In order to get a more accurate measure of occupational mobility a new variable was computed which recorded the change for each individual between the social class of the first and the current or last job. Movement between classes III non-manual and III manual was ignored, as, pay and prestige apart, it is disputable whether class III non-manual jobs (which include, for example, shop assistants) are generally of a higher skill level than class III manual jobs.

86. Two major surveys have firmly established that women who withdraw from the labour force for a period while they bring up their children often return in a less skilled and worse paid position than they held when they left (Stewart and Greenhalgh 1984, Martin and Roberts 1984, Greenhalgh and Stewart 1985). At age 23 a substantial proportion of women in the NCDS cohort had not yet had any children, and it was therefore possible to compare the occupational mobility of men and women who had exactly similar work histories. This is done in Table 24,

where three work history groups are selected for comparison: those who had been continuously employed with one employer since leaving full time education, those who had been continuously employed but had changed employers at least once, and those who had changed employers at least once and had some unemployment. Figures are presented separately for 16, 17 and 18 year old leavers, and it will be noticed that the work history groups for 17 and 18 year old leavers differ from those used in earlier tables. The change is made in order to permit exact comparison between men and women and between all three leaving groups.

87. The first two columns of Table 24 show the proportions of men and women who had been continuously employed with one employer but who at age 23 were doing work of a different social class from the job in which they began their working lives. For men the proportions who were upwardly mobile were quite similar in all three leaving groups - between 11% and 13% - and very few were downwardly mobile. Similarly very few women with this work history had been downwardly mobile, but the proportion who had been upwardly mobile was smaller than the corresponding proportion for men in all three leaving groups, and significantly so for 16 year old leavers where numbers were large. There are several possible explanations for this finding. It may be that promotion was offerred to men in preference to women doing similar work, or that women were more likely to decline promotion than men. However the occupations generally done by men are different from those commonly held by women, and the most plausible explanation is that men more often than women entered occupations which had a career structure and gave opportunities for promotion.

88. The remaining four columns of Table 24 report the mobility of men and women who had changed employers. Not surprisingly, men and women who had changed employers had higher rates of upward mobility than people of the same sex and leaving age who had stayed with one employer, regardless of whether or not they had been unemployed. There was a general tendency for people who had changed employers but had no unemployment to have a higher rate of upward mobility than people of the same leaving age and sex who had been unemployed, but none of the

differences were statistically significant. The rate of downward mobility, however, was not only greater among those who had been unemployed, but significantly so in all comparisons except one (male 17 year old leavers).

89. White (1983) reported that about a quarter of men and a fifth of women in a national sample of the long term unemployed had experienced some occupational downgrading prior to their long term unemployment. The downgrading was accompanied by a decline in the stability or security of their jobs, and though the skilled of both sexes were most vulnerable, it was not otherwise associated with personal characteristics or behaviour. White concluded that the downgrading was a result of structural changes in industry. It will be shown below that in the NCDS cohort there was an association between downward mobility and first employment in certain occupations suggesting that here too structural factors played a part.

90. Turning now to the comparison of men and women with identical work histories, in general women were less mobile than men in either direction, either upward or downward, but the differences were not always significant. It must be remembered that women, particularly 16 year old leavers, who by age 23 had not spent any time out of the labour force tended to have better GCE (or equivalent) qualifications and were more likely to have gained a qualification during the course of their employment than women who had left the labour market at some point. As there was no corresponding selection among men, it might be supposed that, in the absence of other factors, women who had been continuously economically active would have a higher rate of upward mobility than men with comparable work histories. The fact that these rates were in almost all cases lower underlines the differences in opportunities open to men and women.

91. The lower rates of downward mobility among economically active women compared to men were possibly also a result of the selection out of the labour force of less successful women. However, the OPCS classification system places

very few jobs which are generally done by women in the lowest grouping, Social Class V, which is largely taken up by male labouring jobs. The sex difference in downward mobility rates may therefore be partly an artefact of the classification system.

Comparison of upwardly and downwardly mobile men and women

92. In general the likelihood of upward mobility increased with age of leaving full time education and the likelihood of downward mobility decreased (Table 25). As age of leaving full time education was also related to a variety of characteristics associated with occupational mobility, comparison of upwardly and downwardly mobile men and women is restricted to those who first left full time education at age 16.

93. Table 26 shows that while unemployment figured largely in the career profiles of downwardly mobile men, the major feature for downwardly mobile women was time spent out of the labour force. For men unemployment immediately following departure from full time education did not have the same importance as unemployment occurring later in the career, and for women time out of the labour force was significantly associated with downward mobility only if it was followed by a return to employment. For both sexes, significantly more of the downwardly than of the upwardly mobile had very interrupted careers, with more than five changes between employment, unemployment and time out of the labour force.

94. Among 16 year old leavers, the upwardly mobile were significantly more likely than downwardly mobile respondents of the same sex to have GCE qualifications or similar and to have obtained a qualification during the course of their employment. This is what should be expected, given the relationships

which have already been shown between mobility, unemployment and time out of the labour force, and the connection of the last two with unemployment. The difference between the qualifications of the upwardly and downwardly mobile was however consistently greater for women than for men. This may indicate different routes to occupational success for the two sexes, or it may result from the early childbearing of less well qualified women and hence their greater chance of downward mobility by age 23. Further analysis would be necessary to disentangle these two hypotheses.

95. The proportion who had completed an apprenticeship, 22%, was identical for upwardly and downwardly mobile men, and very similar, though small, for women. Working Paper 26 shows that a number of men who had completed apprenticeships later moved into technical and managerial positions. The fact that over a fifth of downwardly mobile men had also completed apprenticeships suggests that many were affected by the recession in skilled trades.

96. Table 27 also shows the relationship which marital status and the birth of children had with mobility. For men, the figures mirror those relating to unemployment: upwardly mobile men were a little more likely than the downwardly mobile to be married (though not significantly so), and downwardly mobile men were more likely to have had a broken marriage. Significantly fewer of upwardly mobile men than of downwardly mobile men had children.

97. In contrast to the men, upwardly mobile women were less likely than downwardly mobile women to be married. The connection between downward mobility and the birth of children was however much stronger: 62% of downwardly mobile women had children compared to only 39% of upwardly mobile women. The Women in Employment Survey found substantial downward mobility among women who returned to work after a break for childrearing, downgrading being strongly associated with a shift to part time work. Relatively few of

these women later moved back up the occupational scale, and the most important factor in determining whether or not they recovered their original status was the resumption of full time work (Martin and Roberts 1984). NCDS IV data confirmed the relationship between the adoption of part time work and occupational downgrading. Seventy-five upwardly mobile women in the cohort had had a child born during or after August 1976 and were working at age 23. Of these, 48% were working full time and 52% part time. Seventy-six downwardly mobile women were working and had a child of similar age; of these only 13% were full time and 87% were part time.

98. Although personal characteristics like qualifications and fertility form part of the explanation of occupational mobility, structural factors are also important. Some occupations offer a clear career structure, others none, and the decline of certain industries may force redundant workers to take jobs where they cannot use the skills in which they have been trained. The analysis of structural factors is complex, and Tables 28 and 29, which simply compare the occupational distribution of first and current or last job for upwardly and downwardly mobile men and women, are a first step only.

99. For upwardly mobile men who left full time education at age 16 (Table 28) there was a net growth (of 3% or more) between the first and the current or last job in professional, managerial and related occupations of various kinds and a net fall in clerical, personal service, farming and miscellaneous occupations. For the downwardly mobile there was a net growth in personal service, farming, semiskilled manufacturing (group 13), construction, transport and miscellaneous (mostly labouring) occupations, and a net fall in technological (group 4), clerical, selling and skilled manufacturing occupations (group 11 and 12). Of course the occupations in which there was no growth or fall may have had equal numbers of men entering and leaving them, but this cannot be discerned from the table. While no single group of

occupations predominates as the starting point for upward mobility, the skilled manufacturing occupations, orders 11 and 12, together account for 56% of the first occupations of downwardly mobile men. This is consistent with White's finding already mentioned that among the long term unemployed it was the former skilled manual workers who were most vulnerable to occupational downgrading.

100. For upwardly mobile women (Table 29) there was, as for men, a net growth of 3% or more in professional, managerial and related occupations, and a net fall in clerical, personal service, farming and semiskilled manufacturing occupations. There was also, unlike men, a net growth in selling occupations and a fall in some skilled manufacturing occupations (group 11). For downwardly mobile women the change in the occupational distribution of the first and of the current or last job was more marked than for any other group. Clerical and related occupations accounted for 65% of their first jobs but only 10% of their current or last jobs; personal service occupations accounted for only 10% of first jobs but 47% of current or last jobs. There was also a large growth in the proportion in semiskilled manufacturing occupations, from 4% of first jobs to 22% of current or last jobs. Some of women's apparent downward mobility was probably a shift from shop work into other jobs which they may have regarded as equally skilled or desirable, and to this extent the mobility was an artificial product of the social class classification. However there was also a clear and substantial shift away from white collar jobs and into the kind of jobs which most commonly provide part time work for women with children.

Concluding remarks

101. This paper has covered a wide range of ground in an exploratory rather than a hypothesis testing way. It has supported a number of findings from earlier studies, in particular the effects of interruptions to women's

employment associated with childbearing and the relationship between unemployment and occupational downgrading for men. It is itself of particular interest in that it allows comparisons to be made between the employment histories of men and women and of the occupational mobility of men and women with identical employment histories.

102. If work in this area were to go forward, the next stage would be to specify hypotheses about some of the relationships suggested by the data and to test them by fitting multivariate models. For example, we might test the hypothesis that upward occupational mobility depends more heavily on educational qualifications for women than it does for men, or that among men with similar qualifications and training, those who experience unemployment at a certain stage in their career are more likely to be downwardly mobile than those who avoid unemployment.

103. This work would be helped by a more adequate classification of the level of occupations against which mobility could be measured. Consideration might be given to an expanded version of OPCS Social Class such as was used by the Women in Employment Survey, or to a ranking based on male earnings as has been developed at Warwick and used in the analysis of the National Training Survey, or to the "class schema" used by Goldthorpe in his mobility studies (Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero 1979) and now redeveloped for use with the 1980 OPCS occupational classification.

104. It has been clear in the work reported here that a classification of employment histories which incorporates information on the sequence of events is much more illuminating than one which simply describes whether, and not when, they occurred. However the classification of career profiles used in this paper does not include the number of jobs held, a dimension which has also proved to be illuminating. It would be worthwhile to combine this

dimension with a classification of career profiles to produce a single measure. It would also be useful to look again at some of the simplifications which shortage of time forced the writer to adopt, particularly the treatment of people who returned to full time education after a break and of people with very interrupted work histories.

105. The paper has built on much preparatory work which has been necessary to structure the employment history data in NCDS IV, work which is described in the final report to sponsors. It would be a big step forward if similar work could be carried out on the family formation history data which the survey contains. Such work would make it possible to match the sequence of events in the employment history against the family formation history, and would enable questions to be tackled such as whether unemployment precipitates or follows a broken marriage, or what the effects are of the birth of children on the probability of male unemployment.

106. Of course, at age 23 most men and women are still at a very early stage in their working lives. There is much of interest to be gleaned from the study of these early years, particularly perhaps in regard to access to training (the subject of future work for the MSC) and the effects of early marriage and childbearing. Our knowledge would however be greatly increased by a further sweep of the cohort some years hence, when their family formation is nearly complete and they are approaching the age of occupational maturity.

SUMMARY

PART A: Full entry to the labour market

107. Using the criterion of at least two years continuous fulltime education in one job, 78% of the cohort had fully entered the labour market by age 23. Although overall more men than women had fully entered the labour market, sex differerences were confined to 16 and 17 year old leavers. In general, the proportion who had fully entered the labour market declined as age of leaving full time education increased: this was a result not only of the shorter time between leaving full time education and interview, but also of the more difficult labour market facing older leavers and of the return of a number of older leavers to full time education after a break. In contrast to the general trend, women who left at 17 were more likely than 16 year old leavers to have fully entered the labour market, due probably both to a higher proportion of early pregnancies among the earlier leavers and to a larger proportion of 16 year old leavers entering jobs with a rapid turnover of labour.

PART B: Work history patterns and career profiles

Introduction

108. Following the request of the DE, the paper uses two different ways of classifying employment histories. The first, dubbed "work history patterns", groups respondents according to the number of jobs they have held, whether they have been unemployed, and whether they have spent any time out of the labour force. The second, termed "career profiles", uses information on the sequence of spells of employment, unemployment and time out of the labour force. The paper is exploratory as there has been little previous work which directly compares the employment histories of men and women.

Derivation and distribution of work history patterns

109. Nine work history patterns are identified, from which the original five suggested in the DE's request can be derived if required. In the classification people who returned to full time education after an interval are treated as a separate category.

110. Two-thirds of men had been continuously economically active compared to only two-fifths of women. Among both sexes, the majority who had been continuously employed had changed employers at least once, though this proportion was greater for men than for women. The large majority of both sexes who had experienced unemployment had held at least two jobs. Men who had spent some time out of the labour force were equally likely to have had one job as to have changed employers, while women who had spent time out of the labour force had usually had at least two employers.

Work history patterns by age of leaving full time education

111. Among both men and women, the proportion who had been continuously employed in one job was similar for 16, 17, 18 and 21 year old leavers, though the reasons for this similarity were probably different for the two sexes. Although unemployment was generally more common for earlier leavers, 21 year old leavers, who entered the labour market at a time of high unemployment, were considerably more likely than others to have had some unemployment and one job only. Returning to full time education after a break was quite common among older leavers, particularly those who left at age 18, and was more frequent among men than among women. Both men and women who left at age 21 had quite commonly spent time out of the labour force, and this was also true of women who left at 16.

112. Sex differences in the distribution of work history patterns among 16 year old leavers were substantial, but the differences diminished as leaving

age increased, so that among 21 year old leavers none were significant. This lack of difference among the better educated in the cohort will not necessarily persist as they grow older.

Derivation of career profiles

113. Career profiles giving information on the sequence of events were derived from a previously constructed data set. Some simplifications were adopted; in particular respondents who returned to full time education after a break or who had more than five changes between different economic states were excluded.

Sex differences in career profiles

114. Although for most purposes a summary version of the career profile classification is appropriate, sex differences are presented on a more detailed version which distinguishes 19 different profiles. For men unemployment was most usually experienced as a single spell preceded and followed by employment, though a number of other patterns were commonly found, including a single spell of unemployment on first leaving full time education which was followed by continuous employment.

115. Women were much more likely than men to spend time out of the labour force, and their experiences of unemployment occurred in a wider variety of career profiles. For men, time out of the labour force was usually a single spell on first leaving full time education which was followed by continuous employment, but for women time out of the labour force more often occurred after a period of economic activity. Only 3% of women had the bimodal profile often associated with childbearing, namely initial work interrupted by a spell out of the labour force and followed again by work, though probably more respondents will show this profile as the years go by.

Career profiles of different leaving groups

116. Among men, significantly more of 16 year old leavers than of later

leavers had profiles of unbroken employment ending in a spell of unemployment, or a single spell of unemployment preceded and followed by employment. However, the proportion who were unemployed on first leaving full time education but continuously employed afterwards rose substantially as leaving age increased. Male 21 and 22 year old leavers were also more likely than earlier leavers to have a spell out of the labour force on first leaving full time education and continuous employment thereafter.

117. For women, the picture was more complex, though the timing of spells of unemployment across leaving groups had similar features to the pattern found for men. Among women who left full time education late, time out of the labour force most commonly immediately followed departure from full time education, whilst among earlier leavers it was more likely to be preceded by economic activity.

Length of spells of employment, unemployment and time out of the labour force

118. The mean number of months in employment for people who were continuously employed between leaving full time education and age 23 showed the expected pattern. Spells of unemployment occurring immediately after departure from full time education and followed by continuous employment were on average shorter than spells which occurred after a spell of employment and were followed by a second spell of employment. In the latter pattern, the unemployment spells tended to occur earlier and to last longer for women than they did for men. Spells of unemployment which followed a period of continuous employment and where the respondent was still unemployed at the time of interview were on average considerably longer . The duration of spells out of the labour force was relatively short if they followed departure from full time education and were in turn followed by continuous employment, while spells out of the labour force which followed employment and were still continuing at the time of interview were measured in years rather than in months.

Qualifications and training and work history

119. A distinction is made between GCE type qualifications which are usually gained before entry to the labour market, and qualfications acquired during the course of employment. Qualifications acquired before entry to the labour market partially determine who has access to training, but qualifications gained while at work in turn influence and and are influenced by employment history.

120. More than half of male 16 year old leavers who had been unemployed at some time and had only one job had completed an apprenticesship. Among 16, 17 and 18 year old leavers men who had been unemployed and had changed employers at least once had the worst GCE qualifications and were less likely than other men to gain qualifications during the course of their employment.

121. The least well qualified among female 16 year old leavers (but not later leavers) were those who had both been unemployed and spent time out of the labour force. Unlike men, women were more likely to gain a qualification during the course of their employment if they changed employers: this remained true even for 18 year old leavers and so is not wholly explained by the disproportionate number of male apprentices.

Marriage and employment history

122. The analysis of marriage and fertility is restricted to 16 year old leavers. Among these, married men were more likely than single men to have been continuously employed since leaving full time education, and separated and divorced men were the least likely. The latter were also more likely than either married or single men to have experienced unemployment or to have had more than five changes of economic state since leaving full time education.

123. Women's employment histories were more closely connected with the birth of children than they were with marriage, but like men, women with broken marriages were less likely than other women to have been continuously employed

since leaving full time education and more likely to have returned to employment after a spell or spells out of the labour force.

The birth of children and employment history

124. Among 16 year old leavers, men with children were more likely than men without children to have been unemployed and to have had a very interrupted employment history. Women without children were many times more likely than women with children to have been continuously employed, and women whose youngest child was of school age were more likely than women with smaller children to have returned to employment following a spell out of the labour force.

The economic activity of mothers

125. Of the women who had children below school age, 71% were housewives, 7% were working full time, 11% worked part time, and 8% were unemployed. Working mothers, especially those working full time, tended to have had more education and to have better qualifications than other mothers; they were also more likely to have gained a qualification during the course of their employment. Mothers working full time and unemployed mothers were less likely than part timers and housewives to be married or living as married. However, women with small children who worked full time were much more likely than childless women working full time to have spent some time out of the labour force.

Industry and work history patterns

126. The largest single source of employment for male 16 year old leavers who had held one job only was SIC division 3, while those with more than one job were most likely to start their careers in division 6. By age 23 there was a net movement amongst those who had changed jobs away from divisions 3, 4 and 6 and into divisions 1,7 and 9. Division 3 accounted for a high proportion of men who had been unemployed but had only one job, while division 5 figured more prominently as the current or most recent employer of men who had changed jobs and had been unemployed.

127. Women were much more concentrated within certain industrial divisions than were men, a concentration which increased with age of leaving full time education. Among women who left at 16, the biggest employer of those who were continuously employed in one job was division 8, while division 6 was the biggest first employer of those who subsequently changed jobs. Women who changed jobs showed a net movement by age 23 out of divisions 6 and 8 into division 9. The largest single first employer of women who left full time education at 18 was division 9, regardless of their work history, and amongst those initially employed in other divisions there was some movement by age 23 into divisions 8 and 9.

Occupation group and work history

128. Male 16 year old leavers who changed employers showed a net movement out of manufacturing jobs into jobs related to construction, mining, transport and management. For 18 year old male leavers the biggest concentration of first employment was in clerical and related occupations, but by age 23 there was a movement into professional, semi-professional and managerial occupations.

129. All groups of women, regardless of leaving age and work history, tended to move out of selling jobs as they grew older. Women 16 year old leavers who had spent time out of the labour force and changed employers had a net movement out of clerical and related occupations into personal service and skilled manufacturing occupations. Among 16, 17 and 18 year old leavers the women most likely to move into managerial and professional or related jobs were those who had been continuously employed but had changed employers at least once.

Social class and employment history

130. OPCS social class is not fully adequate for comparing male and female occupations, but is at present the best classification available in NCDS IV for determining social mobility.

131. The first job of men who had no unemployment was more often non-manual than was the case for men who experienced unemployment, while the latter were more likely to start work in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Amongst all groups of men there was some net upward movement between the first and the current or last job into classes I and II. This was greatest for those who changed employers but were never unemployed, and least for men with one or more spells of unemployment.

132. Women who had been continuously employed were more likely than other women to have had a non-manual first job, and women who had spent time out of the labour force were the least likely. The greatest net upward movement into classes I and II was found for women who had been continuously employed and had changed employers. Women who left full time education at 16, spent some time out of the labour force and had more than one job showed a marked net downward movement into class IV jobs.

Occupational mobility

133. Respondents who at age 23 were doing work of a different social class from the work in which they were first employed were defined as occupationally mobile. Movement between classes III non-manual and III manual was ignored.

134. The data permitted comparison of the mobility of men and women with exactly similar work histories up to age 23. Very few of either sex who had been continuously employed with one employer were downwardly mobile, but men had higher rates of upward mobility than women in all three leaving groups compared.

135. Rates of upward mobility were higher for men and women who had changed employers than for those who had not. Comparing the continuously employed with people who had been unemployed, there was a small but general tendency

NOTES

(1) Throughout the paper, 'significant' means statistically significant beyond the .05 level.

(2) Continuous full time education is defined to allow a gap of no more than five months between consecutive full time courses.

(3) Throughout the paper the term '16 year old leavers' is used to refer to respondents who first left continuous full time education before September 1974, '17 year old leavers' refers to those who left during or at the end of the following academic year, and so on. This convention is adopted for the sake of brevity of expression, even though a minority in each case would have left in the early part of the academic year before their birthday.

(4) In NCDS IV unemployment is self-defined and is not necessarily registered unemployment.

(5) In this analysis, a change of job is defined as a change of employer, although of course a number of respondents who had worked for only one employer were doing a different kind of work at age 23 from the work they were doing when they first started employment.

(6) These variables are described in a short paper circulated to the NCDS IV Steering Committee dated March 6th 1984, and are deposited in the ESRC Data Archive. Further documentation is available from the author.

(7) I am grateful to Martin Range of the Computing and Research Support Unit, Oxford University Social Studies Faculty Centre, for writing the Fortran program to derive the career profiles.

(8) Jobs are not counted if they were holiday or part time jobs done while

the respondent was in full time education, or temporary jobs taken on leaving full time education while waiting to take up another job which had already been obtained. Jobs lasting less than one month are also excluded. The first job for which details are recorded should thus be the first 'real' job which may be validly regarded as the starting point of a career. The exceptions to this are the jobs of young people who took a year off between school and university or college, and it is partly for this reasonthat people who returned to full time education after a break are excluded from the discussion of industry and occupation, and from the later discussion of occupational mobility.

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APPENDIX A

Derivation of work history patterns

The summary variables for employment history described in Working Paper 16 were used as the basis for deriving work history patterns. The relevant SPSS code is reproduced below. Originally several categories were distinguished for which the frequencies turned out to be very small, and these were grouped with other categories as indicated by the RECODE statement.

```
COMPUTE         WORKHIS=17
IF              (NEWN4818 EQ 0 AND JOBTIME2 GT (CTAETOIV-3) AND
                NEWN4716 EQ 0 AND NEWN4144 EQ 1)
                WORKHIS=1
IF              (NEWN4818 EQ 0 AND JOBTIME2 GT (CTAETOIV-3) AND
                NEWN4716 EQ 0 AND NEWN4144 GT 1)
                WORKHIS=2
IF              (NEWN4818 EQ 0 AND ECACTIM2 GT (CTAETOIV-3) AND
                NEWN4716 GT 0 AND NEWN4144 EQ 1)
                WORKHIS=3
IF              (NEWN4818 EQ 0 AND ECACTIM2 GT (CTAETOIV-3) AND
                NEWN4716 GT 0 AND NEWN4144 GT 1)
                WORKHIS=4
IF              (NEWN4818 EQ 0 AND JOBTIME2 LE (CTAETOIV-3) AND
                NEWN4716 EQ 0 AND NEWN4144 EQ 1)
```

(continued...)

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                    WORKHIS=5
IF                  (NEWN4818 EQ C AND JOBTIME2 LE (CTAETOIV-3) AND
                    NEWN4716 EQ 0 AND NEWN4144 GT 1)
                    WORKHIS=6
IF                  (NEWN4818 EQ C AND ECACTIM2 LE (CTAETOIV-3) AND
                    NEWN4716 GT 0 AND NEWN4144 EQ 1)
                    WORKHIS=7
IF                  (NEWN4818 EQ 0 AND ECACTIM2 LE (CTAETOIV-3) AND
                    NEWN4716 GT 0 AND NEWN4144 GT 1)
                    WORKHIS=8
IF                  (NEWN4818 GT C AND NEWN4716 EQ 0 AND NEWN4144 EQ 1)
                    WORKHIS=9
IF                  (NEWN4818 GT C AND NEWN4716 EQ 0 AND NEWN4144 GT 1)
                    WORKHIS=10
IF                  (NEWN4818 GT C AND NEWN4716 GT 0 AND NEWN4144 EQ 1)
                    WORKHIS=11
IF                  (NEWN4818 GT C AND NEWN4716 GT 0 AND NEWN4144 GT 1)
                    WORKHIS=12
IF                  (NEWN4144 EQ C AND NEWN4716 EQ 0)
                    WORKHIS=13
IF                  (NEWN4144 EQ C AND NEWN4716 GT 0)
                    WORKHIS=14
IF                  ((R4535 GT CTAE2  AND (N4544 EQ 1 OR 2))
                    OR (R4564 GT CTAE2 AND N4572 EQ 1)
                     OR (R4613 GT CTAE2 AND N4621 EQ 1)
                    OR (R4625 GT CTAE2  AND N4633 EQ 1)
                    OR ECONSTAT EQ 1)
                    WORKHIS=15
IF                  (CTAETOIV EQ C)
                    WORKHIS=16
IF                  (CTAE2 EQ -1)WORKHIS=17
VAR LABELS          WORKHIS,WORK HISTORY VERSION 1
VALUE LABELS        WORKHIS(1)CONT EMP-1 JOB(2)CONT EMP-2+ JOBS
                    (3)CONT ECACT-1 JOB(4)CONT ECACT-2+ JOBS
                    (9)OLF NO UNM-1JOB(10)OLF NO UNM-2+JBS
                    (11)OLF & UNEMP-1JOB(12)OLF & UNM-2+JOBS
                    (13)NO JOB NO UNEMP(14)NO JOB SM UNEMP(17)NO INF
                    (5)INCMPLT-NOUNM1JB(6)INCMP-NOUNM2+JBS
                    (7)INCMPLT-UNEM-1JB(8)INCMPL-UNM-2+JBS
                    (15)FT ED AFTER CTAE(16)NEVER LEFT FT ED


RECODE              WORKHIS,WORKHIS2(1,5=1) (2,6=2) (3.7=3) (4,8=4)
                    (13,14=13) (15,16=15)
```

APPENDIX B

Derivation of career profiles

These were constructed via a Fortran program from the economic activity variables for months 194 to 286: see the short paper circulated to the steering committee entitled 'Economic activity variables for each month from May 1974 to interview', dated March 6 1984. The variables were first recoded as follows:

recoded value	meaning	original codes
1	employed	100-141,200-231
2	unemployed	600-603
3	out of the labour force	700,701
4	other (full time education, govt. special scheme, part time education by itself)	all remaining codes
5	no information	-1
6	month is after interview date	-2

The recoded variables were used to construct a single variable, PROFILE, which recorded the sequence of economic states between first leaving continuous full time education and interview at NCDS IV; for example, 'work - unemployment - work', or 'out of labour force - work - unemployed'. All adjacent variables which had the same code were treated as belonging to the same state; when a month was encountered which had a different code this was treated as a state change.

In constructing PROFILE the following rules were observed in order of precedence:

1 If any month has the value 4 (other), PROFILE = 4 (other).
2 If a consecutive sequence of at least two months coded 5 (no information) occurs, PROFILE = 5 (missing information).
3 If a sequence of more than six states (ie. more than five state changes) is found, PROFILE = 7 (more than six states).
4 If there is missing information for one month only, the month is allocated to the same state as the preceding month.
5 If there is missing information for the month immediately following departure from full time education, that month is ignored.

PROFILEthus took one of the following values: either 4 (other), 5 (missing), 7 (more than 6 states); or a number which had a maximum of six digits, each

either 0,1,2 or 3,which showed the sequence os states between leaving full time education and interview. For example, 123100 = employed - unemployed - out of the labour force - employed, and 100000 = employed continuously.

This process yielded 122 different sequences of events, which is obviously more than can conveniently be handled. Thus a second variable, PROFILRG, was computed which regrouped these 122 values into 19 major groups, subsequently reduced to ten for most purposes. The details of the regrouping are available if required.

In addition variables were computed which gave the nature of each state from the first to the sixth, the total number of states, and the number of months in each state.

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- means 0.5% or less, but greater than zero.
"OLF" stands for out of the labour force".

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(a) men who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

(b) men who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

(c) men who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

Table 19: Industrial division of first and of current or last job, by work history:

(a) women who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

(b) women who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

(c) women who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

Table 20: Occupation order of first and of current or last job, by work history:

(a) men who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

(b) men who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

(c) men who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

Table 21: Occupation order of first and of current or last job, by work history:

(a) women who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

(b) women who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

(c) women who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

Table 22: Social class of first and of current or last job, by work history:

(a) men who left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

(b) men who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

(c) men who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

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(a) women who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

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Table 1: Full entry to the labour market, by sex and date of first leaving continuous full time education

	leaving date							
	before Sept.1974 (16)	Sept.1974-Aug.1975 (17)	Sept.1975-Aug.1976 (18)	Sept.1976-Aug.1977 (19)	Sept.1977-Aug.1978 (20)	Sept.1978-Aug.1979 (21)	Sept.1979 or later (22+)	all leaving dates
% with at least two years continuous employment in one job:								
men	95	94	74	63	67	43	-	83
base N	(3761)	(600)	(612)	(267)	(81)	(277)	(277)	(5940)
women	79	83	76	65	62	44	1	72
base N	(3384)	(818)	(856)	(203)	(96)	(308)	(336)	(6001)
both sexes	88	87	75	64	64	44	1	78
base N	(7147)	(1418)	(1469)	(470)	(177)	(586)	(678)	(11941)

Table 2: Work histories by sex

	male %	female %	all %
continuously employed, 1 job	14	10	12
continuously employed, 2+ jobs	21	14	17
some unemployment, 1 job	5	3	4
some unemployment, 2+ jobs	26	13	19
some time OLF, 1 job	7	11	9
some time OLF, 2+ jobs	7	19	13
some unemployment & time OLF, 1 job	1	3	2
some unemployment & time OLF, 2+ jobs	9	20	14
no job ever	1	1	1
return to or continuous full time education	8	6	7
Total	100	100	100
(N)	(6243)	(6257)	(12500)

Table 3: Work histories by sex for selected dates of first leaving continuous full time education

	leaving date							
	before Sept.1974 (16)		Sept.1974-Aug.1975 (17)		Sept.1975-Aug.1976 (18)		Sept.1978-Aug.1979 (21)	
	men %	women %	men %	women %	men %	women %	men %	women %
continuously employed, 1 job	15	10	12	10	13	8	13	11
continuously employed, 2+ jobs	24	14	22	17	16	15	9	8
some unemployment, 1 job	4	2	5	3	5	4	10	9
some unemployment, 2+ jobs	32	14	25	11	17	13	8	10
some time OLF, 1 job	5	11	7	8	6	8	17	20
some time OLF, 2+ jobs	7	21	8	19	7	18	13	16
some unemployment & time OLF, 1 job	-	3	1	3	1	3	7	6
some unemployment & time OLF, 2+ jobs	10	23	9	20	7	15	13	11
no job ever	-	1	-	1	-	1	0	1
return to full time education	2	2	10	9	28	15	10	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(3561)	(4001)	(627)	(858)	(636)	(882)	(280)	(309)

Table 4: Detailed Career profile by sex

		men %	women %
	Sequence of economic states		
1	continuous employment	38	27
2	employment, unemployment	2	1
3	employment, unemployment, employment	9	5
4	employment, OLF	-	10
5	employment, OLF, employment	1	3
6	continuous unemployment	-	-
7	unemployment, employment	5	5
8	continuous OLF	-	1
9	OLF, employment	8	6
10	initial work, followed by mixture of work & unemployment	5	2
11	initial unemployment, followed by mixture of work & unemployment	2	2
12	at least two spells of work and of OLF, no unemployment	-	5
13	initial OLF, followed by mixture of work & unemployment	2	1
14	mixture of work & unemployment, ending in OLF	-	6
15	one spell OLF, preceded by unemployment or work & unemployment, and followed by work, or unemployment, or mixture of work & unemployment	1	2
16	mixture of unemployment and OLF	-	-
17	one spell OLF, preceded by work, and followed by unemployment or work & unemployment	1	1
18	at least two spells OLF, not starting with OLF, with mixture of work and unemployment	-	2
19	at least two spells OLF, starting with OLF, with mixture of work and unemployment	-	1
20	history includes return to full time education or government special scheme, or never left full time education	11	8
21	history includes missing information for at least two consecutive months	7	8
22	more than five changes of state	5	4
	Total	100	100
	(Base N)	(6243)	(6257)

Table 5: Summary career profile by sex

	men %	women %
Summary career profile		
continuous employment	38	27
employment followed by unemployment	2	1
employment interrupted by one spell of unemployment	9	5
employment followed by a spell OLF	-	10
unemployment followed by employment	5	5
one spell OLF followed by employment	8	6
other mixtures of employment and unemployment	7	3
other mixtures of employment and time OLF	2	8
mixture of employment, unemployment & time OLF	4	13
no job ever	1	1
continuous full time education, return to full time education, or government scheme	11	8
two or more consecutive months with missing information	7	8
more than five state changes	5	4
Total	100	100
(Base N)	(6243)	(6257)

Table 6: Summary career profile by date of first leaving continuous full time education: men

	date left full time education [1]					
	before Sept.1974 (16) %	Sept.1974-Aug.1975 (17) %	Sept.1975-Aug.1976 (18) %	Sept.1976-Aug.1977 (19) %	Sept.1978-Aug.1979 (21) %	Sept.1979 or later(inc.still in full time ed.) (22+) %
Summary career profile:						
continuous employment	42	40	29	30	26	25
employment followed by unemployment	3	1	1	1	1	1
employment interrupted by one spell of unemployment	12	8	5	4	4	2
employment followed by a spell OLF	-	-	0	0	0	0
unemployment followed by employment	3	6	8	8	14	13
one spell OLF followed by employment	6	9	6	5	18	18
other mixtures of employment and unemployment	9	7	5	3	5	3
other mixtures of employment and time OLF	2	2	2	2	2	-
mixture of employment,unemployment and time OLF	4	4	4	5	7	3
no job ever	-	-	-	-	0	12
continuous full time education, return to full time education, or government scheme	7	14	26	22	10	15
two or more consecutive months with missing information	4	7	13	18	13	7
more than five state changes	7	2	2	2	2	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(400I)	(627)	(636)	(275)	(280)	(342)

1 Those who left between September 1977 and August 1978 are not shown because of small numbers (N=82).

Table 7: Summary career profile by date of first leaving continuous full time education:women

	date left full time education[1]					
	before Sept.1974 (16) %	Sept.1974-Aug.1975 (17) %	Sept.1975-Aug.1976 (18) %	Sept.1976-Aug.1977 (19) %	Sept.1978-Aug.1979 (21) %	Sept.1979 or later(inc.still in full time ed.) (22+) %
Summary career profile:						
continuous employment	25	31	29	30	25	29
employment followed by unemployment	1	1	-	1	0	1
employment interrupted by one spell of unemployment	6	4	3	3	4	3
employment followed by a spell OLF	14	9	4	2	1	2
unemployment followed by employment	2	7	10	7	13	12
one spell OLF followed by employment	4	4	8	3	21	20
other mixtures of employment and unemployment	4	2	3	7	4	3
other mixtures of employment and time OLF	10	6	5	6	5	1
mixture of employment,unemployment & time OLF	16	11	9	8	6	3
no job ever	1	1	1	2	1	6
continuous full time education, return to full time education,or government scheme	5	10	15	17	9	11
two or more consecutive months with missing information	6	8	11	11	10	10
more than five state changes	6	4	1	5	1	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(3561)	(858)	(882)	(213)	(309)	(336)

1 Those who left between September 1977 and August 1978 are not shown because of small numbers (N=98).

Table 8: Mean number of months in employment, by sex and date of first leaving full time education: men and women who were continuously employed between leaving full time education and age 23

	men		women	
	mean months in employment	(N)	mean months in employment	(N)
date left full time education				
before September 1974 (16)	86.9	(1692)	86.8	(904)
Sept.1974-Aug.1975 (17)	77.1	(248)	76.9	(267)
Sept.1975-Aug.1976 (18)	64.0	(182)	63.8	(252)
Sept.1976-Aug.1977 (19)	53.0	(83)	53.1	(63)
Sept.1977-Aug.1978 (20)	40.4	(31)	40.2	(21)
Sept.1978-Aug.1979 (21)	27.5	(74)	27.7	(78)
Sept.1979 or later (22+)	11.3	(87)	12.7	(97)

Table 9: Mean length of spells of employment and unemployment in different career profiles, by sex: men and women who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	1st spell of employment				2nd spell of employment				spell of unemployment			
	men		women		men		women		men		women	
	mean length in months	(N)	mean length in months	(N)	mean length in months	(N)	mean length in months	(N)	mean length in months	(N)	mean lng in mnths	(N)
Career profile												
unemployment-employment	84.5	(104)	84.3	(58)					2.6	(104)	2.6	(58)
employment-unemployment-employment	43.2	(469)	38.7	(219)	39.7	(469)	43.0	(219)	4.1	(469)	5.2	(219)
employment-unemployment	73.2	(136)	65.1	(50)					13.6	(136)	21.8	(50)

Table 10: Mean length of spells out of the labour force in different career profiles, by sex and date of first leaving continuous full time education

	career profile: OLF-employment				employment-OLF			
	men		women		men		women	
	mean months OLF	(N)	mean months OLF	(N)	mean months OLF	(N)	mean months OLF	(N)
Date left full time education								
before Sept.1974 (16)	1.8	(257)	3.3	(134)	+		34.6	(493)
Sept.1974-Aug.1975 (17)	1.8	(55)	2.1	(35)	+		25.6	(81)
Sept.1975-Aug.1976 (18)	3.7	(40)	3.5	(68)	+		24.9	(40)
Sept.1978-Aug.1979 (21)	2.3	(50)	1.9	(66)	+		+	

+ Less than 20 observations.

Table 11(a): Qualifications and training by work history:
men who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	work history						
	continuously employed		some unemployment		some time OLF		job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%
no '0' level GCE's or equivalent	54	57	65	75	40	51	68
5 '0' level GCE's or equivalent	13	9	10	4	11	14	6
completed apprenticeship	51	40	53	25	65	51	25
obtained some qualification on apprenticeship or training course	57	49	54	31	72	60	24
(Base N)	(587)	(977)	(165)	(1287)	(192)	(278)	(401)

Table 11(b): Qualifications and training by work history: men who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

	work history (ignoring time OLF)		
	continuously employed 1 job %	2+ jobs %	unemployment and 2+ jobs %
no '0' level GCE's or equivalent	12	17	26
5+ '0' level GCE's or equivalent	47	41	33
completed apprenticeship	25	21	14
obtained some qualification on apprenticeship or training course	49	39	33
(Base N)	(122)	(192)	(212)

Table 11(c): Qualifications and training by work history: men who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

	work history (ignoring time OLF)		
	continuously employed 1 job %	2+ jobs %	unemployment and 2+ jobs %
no 'O' level GCE's or equivalent	3	4	8
5+ 'O' level GCE's or equivalent	87	75	67
'A' level GCE or equivalent	63	47	41
completed apprenticeship	8	8	4
obtained some qualification on apprenticeship or training course	40	33	23
(Base N)	(119)	(146)	(150)

Table 12(a): Qualifications and training by work history:
women who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	work history							
	continuously employed		some unemployment		some time OLF		some unemployment & time OLF	
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %
No 'O' level GCE's or equivalent	50	43	51	56	60	58	73	67
5+ 'O' level GCE's or equivalent	12	15	10	7	9	10	4	6
completed apprenticeship	5	7	0	7	5	4	2	3
obtained some qualification on apprenticeship or training course	15	25	6	21	14	13	9	12
(Base N)	(341)	(494)	(67)	(506)	(381)	(740)	(101)	(805)

Table 12(b): Qualifications and training by work history:
women who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August-1975 (age 17)

	work history				
	continuously employed		job(s) & unemployment	job(s) & time OLF	job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%	%	%
No 'O' level GCE's or equivalent	10	15	16	14	22
5+ 'O' level GCE's or equivalent	55	46	36	45	28
completed apprenticeship	1	6	1	1	0
obtained some qualification on apprenticeship or training course	28	35	20	27	15
(Base N)	(82)	(147)	(122)	(232)	(193)

Table 12(c): Qualifications and training by work history:
women who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

	work history				
	continuously employed		job(s) & unemployment	job(s) & time OLF	job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%	%	%
No 'O' level GCE's or equivalent	11	3	6	9	13
5+ 'O' level GCE's or equivalent	61	76	48	64	53
'A' level GCE or equivalent	45	49	40	35	26
completed apprenticeship	1	1	1	1	0
obtained some qualification on apprenticeship or training course	21	33	28	26	17
(Base N)	(75)	(132)	(143)	(226)	(162)

Table 13: Career profiles by marital status and sex: men and women who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	men			women		
	single %	legally married %	separated or divorced %	single %	legally married %	widowed, separated or divorced %
Summary career profile						
continuous employment	38	48	31	35	22	16
employment followed by unemployment	4	2	8	2	1	1
employment interrupted by one spell of unemployment	11	13	15	9	5	6
employment followed by a spell OLF	-	-	1	4	19	13
unemployment followed by employment	3	2	2	3	1	1
one spell OLF followed by employment	7	6	5	6	3	1
other mixtures of employment and unemployment	9	9	13	6	2	4
other mixtures of employment and time OLF	2	1	2	3	13	20
mixture of employment, unemployment and time OLF	5	3	5	10	19	17
no job ever	1	0	0	1	1	2
return to full time education, or government scheme	8	5	2	7	4	4
two or more consecutive months with missing information	5	4	5	8	5	7
more then five state changes	7	6	11	6	5	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(2182)	(1689)	(130)	(1057)	(2248)	(256)

Table 14 Career profiles by parenthood and sex: men and women who first left continuous full time education by September 1974 (age 16)

	men		women		
				with children:	
	without children	with children	without children	youngest child born before August 1976	youngest child born August 1976 or later
	%	%	%	%	%
Summary career profile					
continuous employment	44	37	46	3	2
employment followed by unemployment	3	5	2	0	1
employment interrupted by one spell of unemployment	11	15	11	2	1
employment followed by one spell OLF	-	-	2	10	29
unemployment followed by employment	3	2	3	0	-
one spell OLF followed by employment	7	4	7	4	-
other mixtures of employment and unemployment	8	13	6	0	1
other mixtures of employment and time OLF	2	1	2	32	19
mixture of employment, unemployment and time OLF	4	3	6	25	29
no job ever	-	0	1	3	2
return to full time education, or government scheme	7	6	6	3	3
two or more consecutive months with missing information	5	4	6	9	6
more than five state changes	6	10	4	8	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(3036)	(965)	(1907)	(97)	(1517)

Table 15 Characteristics of women with at least one child born August 1976 or later, by economic status at age 23

	economic status			
	employed full time %	employed part time %	unemployed %	housewife %
left full time education before Sept. 1974 (age 16)	70	83	80	80
left full time education between Sept. 1975 and Aug. 1976 (age 18)	12	5	7	7
left full time education between Sept. 1978 and Aug. 1979 (age 21)	0	-	0	-
no "O" level GCE's or equivalents	50	51	55	59
5+ "O" level GCE's or equivalents	21	13	14	13
"A" level GCE or equivalent	8	3	1	4
obtained some qualification or apprenticeship or training course	21	16	11	9
married or cohabiting at age 23	74	89	84	89
(Base N)	(131)	(208)	(161)	(1349)

Table 16 Economic status at time of interview of women whose last child was born after July 1976, by marital status

	married or cohabiting %	single, widowed, divorced or separated %
Economic status at interview:		
full time job	6	14
part time job	11	9
unemployed	8	10
housewife	72	61
other	3	6
Total	100	100
(Base N)	(1667)	(250)

Table 17 Career profiles of women working full time at the time of interview, by whether they have had a child: women who first left full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	no child %	at least one child %
Summary career profile		
continuous employment	54	18
employment interrupted by one spell of unemployment	12	8
unemployment followed by employment	4	1
one spell OLF followed by employment	8	4
other mixtures of employment and unemployment	4	5
other mixtures of employment and time OLF	2	31
mixture of employment, unemployment and time OLF	3	12
return to full time education, or government scheme	5	3
two or more consecutive months with missing information	6	6
more than five state changes	2	12
Total	100	100
(Base N)	(1569)	(129)

Table 18(a): Industrial division of first and of current or last job, by work history: men who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	work history						
	continuously employed		some unemployment		some time OLF		job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%
First job industrial division							
0 Agriculture, forestry & fishing	7	5	1	3	-	4	3
1 Energy & water supply industries	7	1	12	2	8	2	2
2 Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels; manufacture of metals, mineral products & chemicals	7	5	9	6	3	6	4
3 Metal goods, engineering & vehicles industries	21	17	26	15	33	24	18
4 Other manufacturing industries	12	12	10	19	7	9	16
5 Construction	12	19	9	18	8	14	16
6 Distribution, hotels & catering, repairs	14	28	16	24	7	15	22
7 Transport & communication	7	4	4	3	10	5	3
8 Banking, finance, insurance, business services & leasing	4	3	1	2	6	6	3
9 Other services	9	6	11	7	17	13	10
Inadequately described & not stated	1	1	2	2	1	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job industrial division							
0 Agriculture, forestry & fishing	7	4	1	2	-	2	2
1 Energy & water supply industries	7	6	12	4	8	4	2
2 Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels; manufacture of metals, mineral products & chemicals	6	4	9	5	3	6	4
3 Metal goods, engineering & vehicles industries	21	15	26	12	33	20	17
4 Other manufacturing industries	12	10	10	14	6	9	11
5 Construction	12	16	9	21	8	13	19
6 Distribution, hotels & catering, repairs	14	18	17	16	7	16	17
7 Transport & communication	7	8	4	8	10	11	7
8 Banking, finance, insurance, business services & leasing	4	4	1	2	6	4	3
9 Other services	9	13	11	11	17	12	12
Inadequately described & not stated	2	2	2	4	2	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Base N)

Table 18(b): Industrial division of first and of current or last job, by work history: men who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

		work history(ignoring time OLF)		
		continuously employed 1 job %	2+ jobs %	unemployment and 2+ jobs %
First job industrial division				
0	Agriculture,forestry & fishing	1	4	2
1	Energy & water supply industries	6	0	1
2	Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels;manufacture of metals,mineral products and chemicals	2	2	2
3	Metal goods,engineering & vehicles industries	16	10	13
4	Other manufacturing industries	8	6	13
5	Construction	6	12	8
6	Distribution,hotels & catering,repairs	13	31	26
7	Transport & communication	7	6	7
8	Banking,finance,insurance,business services & leasing	9	13	8
9	Other services	32	16	19
	Inadequately described & not stated	0	-	1
	Total	100	100	100
Current or last job industrial division				
0	Agriculture,forestry & fishing	1	3	1
1	Energy & water supply industries	6	2	2
2	Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels; manufacture of metals,mineral products & chems.	2	6	4
3	Metal goods,engineering & vehicles industries	16	9	16
4	Other manufacturing industries	8	7	10
5	Construction	6	12	8
6	Distribution,hotels & catering,repairs	13	19	21
7	Transport & communication	7	9	10
8	Banking,finance,insurance,business services & leasing	9	9	6
9	Other services	32	22	19
	Inadequately described & not stated	0	2	3
	Total	100	100	100
	(Base N)	(122)	(192)	(212)

Table 18(c): Industrial division of first and of current or last job, by work history: men who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

		work history(ignoring time OLF)		
		continuously employed 1 job %	2+ jobs %	unemployment and 2+ jobs %
First job industrial division				
0	Agriculture,forestry & fishing	4	3	3
1	Energy & water supply industries	1	1	1
2	Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels;manufacture of metals,mineral products and chemicals	2	2	7
3	Metal goods,engineering & vehicles industries	13	11	5
4	Other manufacturing industries	8	9	11
5	Construction	3	3	7
6	Distribution,hotels & catering,repairs	12	26	21
7	Transport & communication	5	2	3
8	Banking,finance,insurance,business services & leasing	26	21	16
9	Other services	24	18	23
	Inadequately described & not stated	2	2	1
	Total	100	100	100
Current or last job industrial division				
0	Agriculture,forestry & fishing	4	1	1
1	Energy & water supply industries	1	5	2
2	Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels;manufacture of metals,mineral products and chemicals	2	3	4
3	Metal goods,engineering & vehicles industries	13	13	9
4	Other manufacturing industries	8	6	9
5	Construction	3	3	5
6	Distribution,hotels & catering,repairs	12	17	19
7	Transport & communication	5	8	13
8	Banking,finance,insurance,business services & leasing	26	18	13
9	Other services	24	23	23
	Inadequately described & not stated	2	2	3
	Total	100	100	100
	(Base N)	(110)	(111)	(111)

Table 19(a): Industrial division of first and of current or last job, by work history: Women who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	work history							
	continuously employed		some unemployment		some time OLF		some unemployment & time OLF	
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %
First job industrial division								
2 Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels:manufacture of metals,mineral products & chemicals	5	3	6	2	4	3	7	3
3 Metal goods,engineering & vehicles industries	10	7	15	8	10	9	14	8
4 Other manufacturing industries	18	13	21	18	19	19	23	24
6 Distribution,hotels & catering,repairs	15	30	18	34	18	31	27	36
7 Transport & communication	4	5	4	2	4	2	3	3
8 Banking,finance,insurance,business services & leasing	26	16	9	8	22	13	4	6
9 Other services	19	23	21	22	19	20	20	16
Other industrial divisions	3	3	4	4	3	3	2	2
Inadequately described & not stated	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job industrial division								
2 Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels:manufacture of metals,mineral products & chemicals	5	3	6	2	4	3	7	2
3 Metal goods,engineering & vehicles industries	10	12	15	9	10	8	14	7
4 Other manufacturing industries	18	13	21	17	19	19	23	22
6 Distribution,hotels & catering,repairs	15	22	18	30	18	31	27	33
7 Transport & communication	4	6	4	4	4	2	3	3
8 Banking,finance,insurance,business services & leasing	26	10	9	6	22	7	4	4
9 Other services	19	28	21	26	19	25	20	22
Other industrial divisions	3	5	4	3	3	3	2	4
Inadequately described & not stated	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(341)	(494)	(67)	(506)	(381)	(740)	(101)	(805)

Table 19(b): Industrial division of first and of current or last job, by work history: Women who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

	work history				
	continuously employed		job(s) & unemployment	job(s) & time OLF	job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%	%	%
First job industrial division					
2 Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels: manufacture of metals, mineral products & chemicals	1	2	2	2	5
3 Metal goods, engineering & vehicles industries	5	3	3	4	6
4 Other manufacturing industries	2	7	8	7	9
6 Distribution, hotels & catering, repairs	8	42	27	21	32
7 Transport & communication	4	3	2	4	3
8 Banking, finance, insurance, business services & leasing	24	13	16	21	10
9 Other services	52	27	37	38	29
Other industrial divisions	1	3	5	3	4
Inadequately described & not stated	1	1	0	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job industrial division					
2 Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels: manufacture of metals, mineral products & chemicals	1	2	0	3	2
3 Metal goods, engineering & vehicles industries	5	8	6	5	6
4 Other manufacturing industries	2	5	12	8	10
6 Distribution, hotels & catering, repairs	8	10	16	17	29
7 Transport & communication	4	7	7	3	4
8 Banking, finance, insurance, business services & leasing	24	19	13	19	9
9 Other services	52	42	44	40	33
Other industrial divisions	1	5	1	3	5
Inadequately described & not stated	1	2	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(82)	(147)	(122)	(232)	(193)

Table 19(c): Industrial division of first and of current or last job, by work history: Women who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

	work history				
	continuously employed		job(s) & unemployment	job(s) & time OLF	job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%	%	%
First job industrial division					
2 Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels:manufacture of metals,mineral products & chemicals	1	1	1	3	1
3 Metal goods,engineering & vehicles industries	3	4	3	4	6
4 Other manufacturing industries	1	5	6	6	10
6 Distribution,hotels & catering,repairs	16	27	19	19	25
7 Transport & communication	3	3	4	2	1
8 Banking,finance,insurance,business services & leasing	28	19	15	18	9
9 Other services	45	36	50	46	39
Other industrial divisions	3	3	2	1	6
Inadequately described & not stated	0	2	0	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job industrial division					
2 Extraction of minerals & ores other than fuels:manufacture of metals,mineral products & chemicals	1	0	1	2	2
3 Metal goods,engineering & vehicles industries	3	1	6	2	4
4 Other manufacturing industries	1	8	6	8	7
6 Distribution,hotels & catering,repairs	16	10	10	16	24
7 Transport & communication	3	8	5	3	3
8 Banking,finance,insurance,business services & leasing	28	24	13	18	11
9 Other services	45	47	56	46	43
Other industrial divisions	3	2	1	3	4
Inadequately described & not stated	0	0	1	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(75)	(132)	(143)	(226)	(162)

Table 20(a): Occupation order of first and of current or last job, by work history: men who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	work history						
	continuously employed		some unemployment		some time OLF		job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%
First job occupation order							
4 Professional & related in science, engineering, technology & similar fields	2	3	1	1	4	6	2
5 Managerial	2	2	0	2	0	1	1
6 Clerical & related	8	6	8	4	12	11	6
7 Selling	3	6	4	5	-	2	5
8 Security & protective services	5	1	4	2	8	6	5
9 Catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal service	1	4	2	4	1	3	4
10 Farming, fishing & related	6	7	1	4	1	4	4
11 Materials processing; making & repairing (excluding metal & electrical)	14	16	8	18	8	12	14
12 Processing, making, repairing & related (metal & electrical)	41	32	47	26	55	37	33
13 Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging & related	4	5	5	7	3	3	4
14 Construction, mining & related not identified elsewhere	4	7	5	9	-	5	8
15 Transport operating, materials moving & storing & related	4	6	7	10	3	5	7
Other occupation orders	3	5	6	7	2	3	6
Inadequately described & not stated	2	1	1	1	3	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job occupational order							
4 Professional & related in science, engineering, technology & similar fields	4	3	2	1	7	8	2
5 Managerial	5	6	2	3	3	6	4
6 Clerical & related	8	5	8	3	14	8	5
7 Selling	3	5	4	4	-	4	5
8 Security & protective services	5	6	4	2	8	4	2
9 Catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal service	1	3	2	6	-	3	8
10 Farming, fishing & related	5	4	1	3	1	2	4
11 Materials processing; making & repairing (excluding metal & electrical)	13	12	8	13	10	6	9
12 Processing, making, repairing & related (metal & electrical)	39	27	49	20	48	31	21
13 Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging & related	4	5	4	6	2	4	8
14 Construction, mining & related not identified elsewhere	4	8	6	15	2	5	12
15 Transport operating, materials moving & storing & related	6	11	6	16	2	11	13
Other occupation orders	3	4	5	7	1	5	6
Inadequately described & not stated	1	-	0	1	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(Base N)

Table 20(b): Occupation order of first and of current or last job, by work history: men who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

	work history(ignoring time OLF)		
	continuously employed		unemployment
	1 job	2+ jobs	and 2+ jobs
	%	%	%
First job occupation order			
1 Professional & related supporting management; senior. national & local government managers	2	3	-
2 Professional & related in education,welfare & health	2	-	-
3 Literary,artistic & sports	2	1	2
4 Professional & related in science,engineering,technology & similar fields	10	8	9
5 Managerial	3	6	5
6 Clerical & related	29	23	22
7 Selling	3	15	9
8 Security & protective services	15	2	1
9 Catering,cleaning,hairdressing & other personal service	1	6	7
10 Farming,fishing & related	2	4	3
11 Materials processing;making & repairing (exc.metal & elec.)	7	4	9
12 Processing,making,repairing & related (metal & electrical)	18	15	16
13 Painting,repetitive assembling,product inspecting, packaging & related	2	5	2
14 Construction,mining & related not identified elsewhere	1	5	3
15 Transport operating,materials moving & storing & related	3	3	8
16 Miscellaneous	0	1	3
Inadequately described & not stated	1	0	0
Total	100	100	100
Current or last job occupation order			
1 Professional & related supporting management;senior national & local government managers	6	4	2
2 Professional & related in education,welfare & health	2	1	1
3 Literary,artistic & sports	2	3	3
4 Prof. & related in science,eng.,tech., & similar fields	10	7	9
5 Managerial	10	15	10
6 Clerical & related	24	16	14
7 Selling	1	8	5
8 Security & protective services	14	10	4
9 Catering,cleaning,hairdressing & other personal service	0	3	8
10 Farming,fishing & related	2	3	2
11 Materials processing;making & repairing(exc metal & elec.)	7	7	6
12 Processing,making,repairing & related (metal & electrical)	18	12	13
13 Painting,repetitive assembling,product inspecting, packaging & related	2	3	4
14 Construction,mining & related not identified elsewhere	0	4	2
15 Transport operating,materials moving & storing & related	3	5	16
16 Miscellaneous	0	-	-
Inadequately described & not stated	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100
(Base N)	(122)	(192)	(212)

Table 20(c): Occupation order of first and of current or last job, by work history: men who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

	work history(ignoring time OLF)		
	continuously employed		unemployment and 2+ jobs
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%
First job occupation order			
1 Professional & related supporting management;senior national & local government managers	9	3	3
2 Professional & related in education,welfare & health	2	2	2
3 Literary,artistic & sports	1	4	3
4 Professional & related in science,engineering, technology & similar fields	11	6	10
5 Managerial	9	4	6
6 Clerical & related	34	29	27
7 Selling	3	12	9
8 Security & protective services	8	3	3
9 Catering,cleaning,hairdressing & other personal service	1	13	8
10 Farming,fishing & related	2	3	5
11 Materials processing;making,repairing (exc.metal & elec.)	2	2	3
12 Processing,making,repairing & related (metal & electric.)	10	6	5
13 Painting,repetitive assembling,product inspecting, packaging & related	0	3	3
14 Construction,mining & related not identified elsewhere	1	2	2
15 Transport operating,materials moving & storing & related	3	4	7
16 Miscellaneous	0	2	5
Inadequately described & not stated	1	0	1
Total	100	100	100
Current or last job occupation order			
1 Professional & related supporting management;senior national & local government managers	11	12	7
2 Professional & related in education,welfare & health	2	4	1
3 Literary,artistic & sports	1	3	5
4 Professional & related in science,engineering,tech., & similar fields	15	12	5
5 Managerial	12	14	7
6 Clerical & related	34	20	26
7 Selling	2	8	9
8 Security & protective services	8	8	5
9 Catering,cleaning,hairdressing & other personal service	1	3	7
10 Farming,fishing & related	2	2	1
11 Materials processing;making,repairing (exc.metal & elec.)	2	3	5
12 Processing,making,repairing & related (metal & electric.)	5	7	7
13 Painting,repetitive assembling,product inspecting, packaging & related	1	1	3
14 Construction,mining & related not identified elsewhere	1	1	4
15 Transport operating,materials moving & storing & related	2	2	5
16 Miscellaneous	0	0	2
Inadequately described & not stated	1	0	0
Total	100	100	100

Table 21(a) Occupation order of first and of current or last job, by work history:
Women who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	work history							
	continuously employed		some unemployment		some time OLF		some unemployment & time OLF	
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %	1 job %	2+ jobs %
First job occupation order								
2 Professional & related in education, welfare & health	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	2
5 Managerial	-	-	0	0	-	-	0	-
6 Clerical & related	63	56	55	40	46	42	35	35
7 Selling	8	16	12	19	10	17	15	19
9 Catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal service	6	13	4	16	12	15	12	13
11 Materials processing; making & repairing (excluding metal & electrical)	9	5	13	12	15	12	17	17
12 Processing, making, repairing & related (metal & electrical)	3	1	0	2	3	1	4	2
13 Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging & related	6	4	9	7	9	6	17	9
Other occupation orders	4	3	3	4	2	2	0	3
No information	0	-	2	0	1	-	0	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job occupation order								
2 Professional & related in education, welfare & health	2	10	3	5	2	5	1	4
5 Managerial	1	7	0	4	1	3	1	2
6 Clerical & related	64	50	51	36	47	33	36	24
7 Selling	7	8	12	11	9	12	13	12
9 Catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal service	5	7	3	18	12	21	12	24
11 Materials processing; making & repairing (excluding metal & electrical)	9	6	15	12	15	11	18	13
12 Processing, making, repairing & related (metal & electrical)	3	2	2	2	3	2	5	2
13 Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging & related	5	5	10	8	9	9	13	12
Other occupation orders	5	5	4	5	2	4	2	5
No information	0	1	0	-	1	-	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(341)	(494)	(67)	(506)	(381)	(740)	(101)	(805)

Table 21(b) Occupation order of first and of current or last job, by work history:
Women who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

	work history				
	continuously employed		job(s) & unemployment	job(s) & time OLF	job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%	%	%
First job occupation order					
2 Professional & related in education, welfare & health	8	3	6	12	6
5 Managerial	1	1	1	1	1
6 Clerical & related	73	54	60	59	56
7 Selling	1	25	14	11	17
9 Catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal service	7	8	10	10	7
11,12,13 Material processing, making, repairing and related; painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging & related	1	3	5	5	7
Other occupation orders	7	5	5	2	6
No information	0	1	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job occupation order					
2 Professional & related in education, welfare & health	11	20	12	17	9
5 Managerial	2	4	0	2	3
6 Clerical & related	74	54	60	55	51
7 Selling	0	3	5	6	7
9 Catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal service	5	5	10	9	12
11,12,13 Material processing, making, repairing & related; painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging & related	0	2	7	5	8
Other occupation orders	7	11	7	5	8
No information	0	1	0	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(82)	(147)	(122)	(232)	(193)

Table 21(c) Occupation order of first job and of current or last job, by work history: women who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

	work history: continuously employed 1 job %	continuously employed 2+ jobs %	job(s) & unemployment %	job(s) & time OLF %	job(s), unemployment & time OLF %
First job occupation order					
2 Professional & related in education, welfare & health	17	11	14	17	15
1,5 Professional & related supporting managemt; senior national & local govt. managers; managerial	5	3	1	2	1
6 Clerical & related	60	49	54	50	41
7 Selling	7	14	10	6	12
9 Catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal service	9	12	12	17	19
11,12,13 Material process., making, repairing & related; painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging & related	0	5	5	3	6
Other occupation orders	1	7	4	4	7
Inadequately described & not stated	0	0	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job occupation order					
2 Professional & related in ed., welfare & hlth	17	24	17	19	16
1,5 Prof., & related supporting managemnt, senior national & local govt., managers; managerial	8	12	4	7	4
6 Clerical & related	60	51	57	46	44
7 Selling	5	3	5	4	6
9 Catering, clean., hair., & other pers. serv.	8	6	9	15	19
11,12,13 Material process., making, repair., & related; paint., repetitive assembl., product inspecting, packaging & related	0	2	3	2	4
Other occupation orders	1	3	6	6	6
Inadequately described & not stated	0	0	0	1	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(75)	(132)	(143)	(226)	(...)

Table 22(a) Social class of first and of current or last job, by work history: men who left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	work history						
	continuously employed		some unemployment		some time OLF		job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job	2+ jobs	1 job	2+ jobs	1 job	2+ jobs	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
First job social class							
I,II	4	4	1	3	4	6	3
III non-manual	13	12	12	9	14	14	11
III manual	58	54	62	52	64	50	51
IV	16	20	16	20	7	16	19
V	4	9	5	14	4	8	10
No information	4	1	4	2	8	6	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job social class							
I,II	8	11	3	5	9	16	8
III non-manual	14	12	13	7	16	13	9
III manual	60	53	62	48	59	53	44
IV	11	18	13	25	6	10	26
V	2	3	6	13	1	4	11
No information	4	4	4	2	8	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(587)	(977)	(165)	(1287)	(192)	(278)	(401)

Table 22(b) Social class of first and of current or last job, by work history: men who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

	work history(ignoring time OLF)		
	continuously employed 1 job %	2+ jobs %	unemployment and 2+ jobs %
First job social class			
I,II	17	14	14
III non-manual	40	42	30
III manual	25	27	27
IV	9	12	19
V	1	5	8
No information	8	-	2
Total	100	100	100
Current or last job social class			
I,II	24	27	23
III non-manual	35	31	22
III manual	26	29	32
IV	5	7	16
V	1	2	5
No information	9	5	2
Total	100	100	100
(Base N)	(122)	(192)	(212)

Table 22(c) Social class of first and of current or last job, by work history: men who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

	work history(ignoring time OLF)		
	continuously employed 1 job %	2+ jobs %	unemployment and 2+ jobs %
First job social class			
I	8	3	2
II	25	15	21
III non-manual	42	44	34
III manual	12	15	14
IV	8	14	21
V	1	7	6
No information	4	1	2
Total	100	100	100
Current or last job social class			
I	9	9	1
II	31	34	25
III non-manual	42	36	35
III manual	8	18	21
IV	5	3	13
V	0	1	3
No information	4	1	2
Total	100	100	100
(Base N)	(119)	(146)	(150)

Table 23(a) Social class of first and of current or last job, by work history: women who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16)

	work history							
	continuously employed		some unemployment		some time OLF		some unemployment & time OLF	
	1 job	2+ jobs	1 job	2+ jobs	1 job	2+ jobs	1 job	2+ jobs
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
First job social class								
I,II	3	3	3	2	3	4	2	2
III non-manual	70	69	66	54	55	57	46	52
III manual	11	12	6	14	12	14	14	12
IV,V	16	15	24	30	30	25	38	34
No information	0	-	2	0	-	-	0	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job social class								
I,II	5	17	6	9	4	9	4	7
III non-manual	69	59	63	45	53	45	45	35
III manual	13	8	10	14	13	10	16	11
IV,V	14	15	21	31	29	36	36	44
No information	0	1	0	1	1	-	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(341)	(494)	(67)	(506)	(381)	(740)	(101)	(805)

Table 23(b) Social class of first and of current or last job, by work history:
Women who first left continuous full time education between September 1974 and August 1975 (age 17)

	work history - continuously employed		job(s) & unemployment	job(s) & time OLF	job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%	%	%
First job social class					
I,II	13	5	10	14	7
III non-manual	78	79	72	70	73
III manual	2	3	7	5	7
IV,V	6	12	11	11	12
No information	0	1	1	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job social class					
I,II	21	26	16	23	13
III non-manual	73	62	66	60	60
III manual	2	5	6	5	5
IV,V	4	5	12	12	20
No information	0	0	0	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(82)	(147)	(122)	(232)	(193)

Table 23(c) Social class of first and of current or last job, by work history: women who first left continuous full time education between September 1975 and August 1976 (age 18)

	work history				
	continuously employed		job(s) & unemployment	job(s) & time OLF	job(s), unemployment & time OLF
	1 job %	2+ jobs %	%	%	%
First job social class					
I,II	24	18	18	21	17
III non-manual	65	63	64	57	52
III manual	9	4	6	11	10
IV,V	1	14	12	11	20
No information	0	0	0	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Current or last job social class					
I,II	27	39	27	28	23
III non-manual	64	53	60	54	50
III manual	8	5	8	11	10
IV,V	1	2	6	7	16
No information	0	0	0	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(75)	(132)	(143)	(226)	(162)

Table 24 Individual movement between social class of first and of current or last job [1]: comparison of men and women by selected dates of leaving continuous full time education and within selected work history types [2]

	work history					
	continuously employed 1 job		continuously employed 2+ jobs		unemployment and 2+ jobs	
	men %	women %	men %	women %	men %	women %
left before Sept.1974 (age 16)						
upward movement	12	6	24	21	23	19
downward movement	2	1	14	11	25	16
(base N)	(587)	(341)	(977)	(494)	(1286)	(506)
left between Sept.1974 & Aug.1975 (age 17)						
upward movement	13	9	28	29	31	20
downward movement	1	1	15	6	18	17
(base N)	(77)	(82)	(140)	(147)	(154)	(98)
left between Sept.1975 & Aug.1976 (age 18)						
upward movement	11	4	41	32	32	24
downward movement	2	1	7	3	23	10
(base N)	(84)	(75)	(100)	(132)	(108)	(111)

1 Changes between class III non-manual and class III manual are ignored.

2 Men and women who spent any time out of the labour force are excluded.

Table 25 Comparison of age of first leaving continuous full time education of upwardly and downwardly mobile men and women

	upwardly mobile		downwardly mobile	
	men	women	men	women
	%	%	%	%
Age of first leaving continuous full time education				
before September 1974 (age 16)	60	50	76	72
Sept. 1974 - Aug. 1975 (age 17)	12	16	9	13
Sept. 1975 - Aug. 1976 (age 18)	13	18	8	9
Sept. 1976 - Aug. 1977 (age 19)	6	6	3	2
Sept. 1977 - Aug. 1978 (age 20)	2	2	1	-
Sept. 1978 - Aug. 1979 (age 21)	5	6	2	2
Sept. 1979 or later (age 22+)	3	3	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(1395)	(1019)	(821)	(712)

Table 26 Comparison of career profiles of upwardly and downwardly mobile men and women: those who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16) only

	upwardly mobile		downwardly mobile	
	men	women	men	women
	%	%	%	%
Summary career profile:				
continuous employment	40	25	26	12
employment followed by unemployment	3	2	3	1
employment interrupted by one spell of unemployment	13	7	16	5
employment followed by time OLF	0	8	-	10
unemployment followed by employment	2	2	1	-
one spell OLF following by employment	6	3	3	1
other mixtures of employment and unemployment	10	4	16	5
other mixtures of employment and time OLF	3	11	1	19
mixture of employment, unemployment and time OLF	5	16	4	24
return to full time education, or government scheme	9	8	11	6
two or more consecutive months with missing information	5	7	5	6
more than five state changes	6	7	15	11
Total	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(833)	(509)	(626)	(522)

Table 27 Comparison of qualifications, training, marital status and fertility of upwardly and downwardly mobile men and women: those who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16) only

	upwardly mobile		downwardly mobile	
	men %	women %	men %	women %
no "O" levels or equivalents	65	53	73	69
1-4 "O" levels or equivalents	26	33	21	25
5 or more "O" levels or equivalents	9	14	6	5
obtained some qualifications during apprenticeship or training	34	24	27	11
completed apprenticeship	22	3	22	4
single	53	35	55	26
married	44	56	40	65
widowed, separated or divorced	2	8	4	9
no children	79	61	72	38
youngest child born before August 1976	-	2	-	5
youngest child born August 1976 or later	21	37	28	57
(Base N)	(833)	(509)	(626)	(522)

Table 28 Comparison of occupation order of first and of current or last job of upwardly and downwardly mobile men: those who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16) only

		upwardly mobile		downwardly mobile	
		first job %	current or last job %	first job %	current or last job %
OPCS Occupation Group (1980 classification)					
1	Prof. & rel[d] supporting management; senior national & local govt. managers	0	3	1	-
2	Prof. & rel[d] in education, welfare & health	0	3	1	0
3	Literary, artistic & sports	-	2	1	-
4	Prof. & rel[d] in science, engineering, technology & similar fields	2	8	6	1
5	Managerial	0	17	5	-
6	Clerical & related	7	4	4	4
7	Selling	5	5	6	3
8	Security & protective services	-	1	-	2
9	Catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal service	6	2	4	9
10	Farming, fishing & related	11	3	1	7
11	Materials processing, making & repairing (excluding metal & electrical)	7	9	24	8
12	Processing, making, repairing & related (metal & electrical)	17	17	32	14
13	Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging & related	6	4	4	9
14	Construction, mining & related not identified elsewhere	9	7	6	21
15	Transport operating, materials moving & storing & related	16	16	4	12
16	Miscellaneous	14	-	-	10
	Total	100	100	100	100
	(Base N)	(833)	(833)	(626)	(626)

Table 29 Comparison of occupation order of first and of current or last job of upwardly and downwardly mobile women: those who first left continuous full time education before September 1974 (age 16) only

	upwardly mobile		downwardly mobile	
	first job %	current or last job %	first job %	current or last job %
OPCS Occupation Group (1980 classification)				
1 Prof. & rel[d] supporting management; senior national & local govt. managers	0	4	-	0
2 Prof. & rel[d] in education, welfare & health	0	25	5	0
3 Literary, artistic & sports	1	1	2	0
5 Managerial	0	15	1	-
6 Clerical and related	30	21	34	7
7 Selling	9	12	31	3
9 Catering, cleaning, hairdressing & other personal service	23	6	10	47
10 Farming, fishing and related	4	1	0	1
11 Materials processing, making & repairing (exc. metal & electrical)	16	8	9	12
12 Processing, making, repairing & related (metal & electrical)	2	2	2	2
13 Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging & rel[d]	12	3	4	22
15 Transport operating, materials moving & storing & related	1	1	1	3
Other occupation orders	2	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100
(Base N)	(509)	(509)	(522)	(522)