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* **STRATIFICATION IN YOUTH** *
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* Paper presented to the *
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by

Gill Jones

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STRATIFICATION IN YOUTH

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Introduction

The study of youth should face two issues: firstly, the notion of youth as a transition, and secondly, the place of young people in the social structure. Research on the young has tended towards one issue or the other, and there seems to have been no success in integrating the issues of age transitions and social class context. Allen's (1968) appeal to sociologists to look at structural relationships between social groups, rather than continue to apply a "naive functionalism" to the sociological study of youth, has only met with partial success. The mid-1970s saw a debate between functionalists who continued to emphasise age (Havighurst and Dreyer, 1975, for example) and the "New Wave" sociologists who attempted to put youth in a class perspective (e.g., Hall et al., 1976). There was a polarisation between the two groups. Some of those associated with the New Wave recognised the limitations of their approach:

It is not (...) a question of simply substituting class for age in the analyses, but of examining the relations between class and age, and more particularly the way in which age acts as a mediator of class.

(Murdock and McCron, 1976:10)

Ten years on, what seems still to be missing from the sociology of youth is a conceptual framework which integrates the two approaches and sees age and class as twin dimensions of stratification in youth. Ashton and Field's (1976) typology of youth careers partially addressed the issue, but suffered from lack of suitable longitudinal data with which to test their career hypotheses. Methodologically, an approach which integrates characteristics of becoming adult with the characteristics of the social structure involves the use of both cross-sectional and longitudinal data.

This paper will seek to redress the deficiency by re-examining the concept of youth in a way which incorporates its longitudinal and cross-sectional elements. The current occupational situations of the young will be looked at in relation to their class of origin and their occupational careers, thus introducing age into a class perspective. The high degree of social and occupational mobility during early working careers, the major problem facing sociologists looking at stratification in youth, will thus become a focus rather than a deterrent, allowing us to study young people in terms of their class "trajectories" or careers.

The Measurement of Social Class

The meaning and measurement of social class in youth is problematic. Most youth studies have tended to avoid the issue through omitting class analysis, or restricting the study to a small and specific group. Thus, the New Wave sociologists provided an analysis of working class male subcultures, but failed to look at female, middle class or conventional youth (Smith, 1981; McRobbie, 1980).

Young people are occupationally mobile, so their own occupational class is often a poor indicator of their social class in the wider sense. Should their social class be assessed instead from their fathers' occupational class or even, in the case of married women, their husband's? The mother's occupational class is not appropriate, since married women with children are often in part-

time work, which tends to be a poor indicator of lifestyle (Arber, Dale and Gilbert, 1984). In order to build a picture of social class in youth, three elements will be seen to be needed: firstly, one needs to examine the occupational class of young people in the light of their class of origin, to identify those who are socially mobile on an inter-generational level; from that basis, it will be possible to look at the second element, work careers and occupational mobility; finally, the current occupational class can be examined in perspective. In other words, current occupational class needs to be seen in the light of both inter- and intra-generational mobility.

Studies of social mobility have excluded young people precisely because of the high level of their mobility. Glass (1949) and Goldthorpe (1980) both concentrated their analyses on men who were older and could be regarded as "occupationally mature", displaying less occupational mobility than younger men. The present study therefore looks at a group whose mobility has received little attention, but will draw on Goldthorpe's analysis, testing some of his mobility findings on mobility in youth both male and female.

This brings us to a further aspect of the problem. It is only in recent years that any serious attempt has been made to incorporate women into class theory directly, let alone young women. Women have been excluded from many studies of class and social mobility on the grounds that they are economically dependent on the male head of household even if they work. Thus, Goldthorpe excluded women from his mobility study with the following words:

Whatever current trends of change in women's work and family life may portend (...), it has been through the role of their male members within the social division of labour that families have been crucially articulated with the class structure and their class "fates" crucially determined. (Goldthorpe, 1980:288).

Goldthorpe's view has been combatted by many, including Heath and Britten (1984), who have shown that a woman's own occupational class does affect social outcomes in terms of fertility and voting behaviour. Gender differences in youth will be examined to see to what extent young women differ from young men in their patterns of social mobility.

Since the emphasis here is on young people, only women without children will be studied, and gender inequalities which relate to childbirth will therefore be controlled for. Dex (1984) has shown that, unlike men, women's occupational careers are adversely affected by childbirth, after which they are often unable to take on full-time work. It is expected that young childless women are likely to show mobility patterns which are comparable to those of men.

The measurement problem, at its simplest, lies in the distribution of occupational classes by gender. Table 1 shows occupational class distributions by sex for young people aged 16-29 in the General Household Survey (1979 and 1980), and illustrates the point. The socio-economic group and social class allocation described in the Classification of Occupations (1980) is used with some modifications (see Appendix). The table shows that while most men are skilled manual workers, most women are in junior non-manual

work. Most women are therefore nominally in a higher class than the majority of employed men; nevertheless, they are likely to have lower occupational prestige, earnings, and so on. The occupational distribution also means that many women who are in junior non-manual work are the daughters and wives of manual workers. The gender structure of employment can be taken into account by grouping occupational classes into higher classes (1 and 2), intermediate classes (3 and 4), and lower manual classes (5 and 6). Where gender comparisons are required (in Table 4) this basic formula will be applied.

Table 1: OCCUPATIONAL CLASS STRUCTURE BY SEX
Among all males, and among females without children aged 16-29 years

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	MALES %	FEMALES %
1 HIGHER NON-MANUAL	5	2
2 INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL	12	18
3 JUNIOR NON-MANUAL	16	53
4 SKILLED MANUAL	41	5
5 SEMI-SKILLED MANUAL	20	20
6 UNSKILLED MANUAL	6	1
ALL(=100%)	(5405)	(2569)

Source:GHS79&80

There is a further measurement difficulty. Not all young people are in work: many are students, at school or at college, or unemployed. Where people are not economically active, standard measures of social class cannot be applied. Eric Olin Wright has devised a means of conceiving a life-time structure of class positions, which enable us to examine the class of those who are not in work. Thus the long-term unemployed can be categorised as "marginalised working class", but those who are students and the temporarily unemployed can be classified according to their "class trajectories". According to Wright, the young, and students in particular are in pre-class positions, linked with greater or lesser certainty to specific class destinies or "class-trajectories" (Wright, 1978:92-94). These hypotheses will be examined.

The study is, however, chiefly concerned with the young employed. The data analysed covers a period when unemployment was nowhere near its present high levels; very few of the young people under study had never had a job and their class positions could therefore be partially based on their occupational class. Those who are in "pre-class positions" and those who have achieved a degree of "occupational maturity" can be identified.

The research involves secondary analysis of the General Household Survey (GHS) and the National Child Development Study (NCDS). The paper analyses young people between the ages of 16 and 29 in the GHS and formulates hypotheses about stratification in youth, before developing and testing these hypotheses, using data from the NCDS. The two data sets are complementary. The GHS is a continuous survey of about 10,000 households in Britain; by combining the data for 1979 and 1980 a subset of 12,036 people aged 16-29 has been created, containing information about the young in a household context. It is a cross-sectional data set, providing a picture of people's circumstances at a particular point in time (OPCS, 1979, 1980). The NCDS is a study of a cohort of all children born in one week in March 1958. The 1981 Fourth Sweep asked questions of the cohort at the age of 23 years and covers the period since the Third Sweep at 16 years of age. There has been some attrition due to death or emigration since 1958, and the sample has been supplemented by adding immigrants who were born in the same week. The current cohort size is 12,537 respondents, representing 76% of the target sample for the Fourth Sweep (Shepherd, 1985; Iyer, 1984).

The Routes to Upward Mobility

It is essential that the sociologist studying young people defines their social class according to their occupational careers and overall class mobility patterns. A purely cross-sectional analysis based on one dimension of class, without any awareness of the longitudinal dimension of career patterns over time would give little indication of life style or class affiliation. The paper will show that a cross-sectional sample of young manual workers might well include people from very different groups, yet may be attributed with homogeneity and working class lifestyles. With longitudinal data, however, the group will be found to be heterogeneous. It may only be by determining their "class trajectory" and locating their current class in a career perspective that the heterogeneity of origin and of class identity of the "group" can be seen.

What are the routes to upward social mobility? Heath (1981), Goldthorpe (1981) and others have suggested that there are three main routes to the higher professional and managerial classes in society: inheritance of privilege, the scholarship ladder, and promotion from the shop floor (Heath, 1981:68). Direct inheritance of privilege occurs rarely in the present day, and class of origin is more likely to affect social outcomes for the child in indirect ways, such as through providing access to better educational, health and housing facilities, all of which may assist in inter-generational transmission of higher social class from father to child. The scholarship ladder, or educational route, is perhaps the chief means through which the working class may gain upward social mobility and succeed despite the disadvantages of their birth. Those who lack educational success or class advantage may gain social mobility intra-generationally, through work careers.

The Education Route

The educational system provides perhaps the major possibility of enhancing one's life chances. Success in the educational sphere will often be followed by success in work, involving further upward class mobility. Conversely, lack of educational success may lead

to low prestige work and downward social mobility.

Bowles and Gintis argued that

The education system is an integral element in the reproduction of the prevailing class structure of society.

(Bowles and Gintis, 1976:125-6).

Education, according to them, is not merely a matter of personal development; its values are based in the nature of the class structure. Bernstein too has concluded that

Education is a class-allocatory device, socially creating, maintaining and reproducing non-specialized and specialized skills, and specialized dispositions which have an **approximate** relevance to the mode of production.

(Bernstein, 1975:185).

It will be seen that full-time education, though important, is only one factor in social mobility both inter- and intra-generational. It helps those of working class origin gain upward mobility to the middle class, and where the educational level is lower, its lack can result in downward mobility of the middle class as well. Access to the educational route to upward social mobility is restricted for the majority of working class children since a relatively low proportion of the working class continue in full-time education beyond the minimum school leaving age.

A simple analysis of the General Household Survey shows the effects of class of origin (based on father's current occupational class), educational level, and gender, on the respondent's current occupational class, among those in employment. Table 2 shows that 59% of working class males who stayed in full-time education beyond the age of 18 are in non-manual work, compared with only 16% of those with a lower educational level, indicating the importance of education as a potential aid to upward social mobility. The effect of class of origin can be seen when males of the same educational level but different classes of origin are compared: thus, while 16% of the less-educated working class are in non-manual work, 35% of the less-educated middle class are non-manual workers.

Table 3 shows the data for women. Analysis using a manual/non-manual dichotomy makes the effects of education and class of origin on current occupational class less clear, since women are more likely than men to be in non-manual work. Nevertheless, the effect of education can be seen, particularly for the working class, where 86% of those with longer in education are in non-manual work, compared with 63% of those who left school early. The effect of class of origin can be seen among those who left full-time education early: 76% of middle class daughters are in non-manual work, compared with 63% of working class daughters.

The Work Route

Class transmission through privilege or via education cannot wholly account for class stability between generations. Inter-generational class stability may result from intra-generational mobility where more direct means of transmission have failed. This would appear to be the case for the sons of middle class fathers who are in manual occupations. As many as 65% of sons of middle class fathers but low educational levels are in manual work. The lack of fit between the child's and the father's occupational class

Table 2: OCCUPATIONAL CLASS BY FATHER'S CLASS, EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AGEGROUP - MALES

Row percentages

FATHERS CLASS	AGE LEFT F-T EDUC	CURRENT AGEGROUP	OCCUPATIONAL CLASS		TOTAL (=100%)
			NON-MANUAL	MANUAL	
1 UNDER 18		16-19	26	74	(336)
		20-24	37	63	(349)
		25-29	43	57	(334)
MIDDLE CLASS		ALL	35	65	(1019)
2 18 & OVER		18-19	68	32	(38)
		20-24	76	24	(225)
		25-29	86	14	(294)
		ALL	81	19	(557)
3 UNDER 18		16-19	14	86	(780)
		20-24	16	84	(971)
		25-29	18	82	(1011)
WORKING CLASS		ALL	16	84	(2762)
4 18 & OVER		18-19	34	66	(29)
		20-24	59	41	(184)
		25-29	63	37	(209)
		ALL	59	41	(422)
TOTAL					(4760)
STATISTICS		Chi Square	Significance	Cramer's V	
1.		22.7	p<.001	0.15	
2.		11.8	p<.01	0.15	
3.		5.3	p (NS)	0.07	
4.		8.4	p<.05	0.02	

File:TAB2(1)

Source:GHS 79&80

Table 3: OCCUPATIONAL CLASS BY FATHERS' CLASS, EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND AGEGROUP - WOMEN WITHOUT CHILDREN

Row percentages

FATHERS CLASS	AGE LEFT F-T EDUC	CURRENT AGEGROUP	OCCUPATIONAL CLASS		ALL (=100%)
			NON-MANUAL	MANUAL	
WOMEN WITHOUT CHILDREN					
1 UNDER 18		16-19	74	26	(261)
		20-24	78	22	(220)
		25-29	77	23	(105)
		ALL	76	24	(586)
2 18 & OVER		18-19	71	29	(41)
		20-24	90	10	(230)
		25-29	97	3	(178)
		ALL	91	9	(449)
3 UNDER 18		16-19	59	41	(638)
		20-24	65	35	(528)
		25-29	69	31	(227)
		ALL	63	37	(1393)
4 18 & OVER		18-19	71	29	(34)
		20-24	85	15	(152)
		25-29	94	6	(97)
		ALL	86	14	(283)
TOTAL					(2711)
STATISTICS					
		Chi Square	Significance	Cramer's V	
1.		1.0	p (NS)	0.04	
2.		27.0	p<.001	0.17	
3.		7.6	p<.05	0.07	
4.		11.9	p<.005	0.21	
Source:GHS 79&80					

has occurred since neither direct inheritance nor education has reproduced the class of origin. In such cases, promotion "from the shop floor", the third means of class improvement, comes into play as a means of achieving inter-generational class stability.

"Counter-mobility" is the term used by Goldthorpe to describe the process whereby the middle class who lost their class status on entry into the labour market subsequently regain it through upward occupational mobility. Contrasted with this group are the upwardly mobile working class, many of whom may use similar routes to the higher social classes (Goldthorpe, 1981:125). Both groups appear to achieve upward mobility through occupational change and promotion, training, apprenticeship and further part-time education. The latter may, however, be predominantly associated with the counter-mobile; Raffe's study of the "alternative route" to mobility through part-time further education suggests that successful take-up is largely associated with the middle class (Raffe, 1979).

The GHS lacks suitable longitudinal data which would allow a study of actual counter or upward mobility, but does allow age comparisons, from which some longitudinal inferences can be drawn. Caution is needed here, since there is a confusion of cohort and time trend effects with the effect of age. Table 2 shows that among middle class sons, 74% of those in the youngest age group are manual workers, reducing to 63% in the middle age group and 57% in the oldest group of 25-29 year olds. The decrease in proportions in manual work suggests that a process, in this case of counter mobility, is occurring.

It should not be assumed that middle class sons who become manual workers will regain their class of origin in time, with age and with experience in the labour market. Many sons of non-manual workers are still in manual work in their late twenties. With age, this group may become more working class than middle class in its patterns of social relationships, and a label of downwardly mobile can be applied with increasing aptness.

Age comparisons also suggest a process of upward mobility through work careers among the middle class and working class who stayed in education beyond the age of 18, though on a smaller scale. This suggests that upward mobility is sometimes achieved through a combination of education and work routes. In contrast to the other groups, the working class who left full-time education early show no evidence of upward mobility through work routes, as the proportions in manual work remain almost static across all age groups. The education route appears to be the chief means of upward mobility for the working class.

Table 3 shows the data for women without children. With age, proportions in manual work decrease among the more educated groups, but remain the same among the less educated, of both classes of origin. In general, it seems that women are less likely than men to achieve upward mobility through work, and there is no evidence here that there exists a female equivalent of the male counter-mobile middle class. Middle class daughters who leave school early show no signs of movement with age into non-manual work. As with working class males, education seems the main route to upward mobility.

Table 4: INTER-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY IN THE GHS
SUMMARY TABLES SHOWING DIFFERENCES ACCORDING TO GENDER
AND MARITAL STATUS

The table shows respondents' class in comparison with fathers' occupational class on a three class schema, described in the Appendix. Mobility is defined as movement by one class upward or downward between father's occupational class and that of the son or daughter.

DIRECTION OF MOBILITY	ALL MALES %	SINGLE CHILDLESS WOMEN %	MARRIED CHILDLESS WOMEN %
AGE 16-19			
UPWARD	13	15	15
STABLE	42	43	38
DOWNWARD	45	42	46
ALL (=100%)	(1481)	(1246)	(65)
AGE 20-24			
UPWARD	19	19	23
STABLE	52	46	49
DOWNWARD	29	35	28
ALL (=100%)	(1810)	(735)	(463)
AGE 25-29			
UPWARD	27	30	28
STABLE	52	45	48
DOWNWARD	22	25	24
ALL (=100%)	(1875)	(225)	(393)

Source: GHS 79&80

Analysis of women's positions in relation to their father's class (inter-generational mobility) cannot be assessed with a manual non-manual dichotomy, since women are likely to be in non-manual work as a function of the female occupational structure, and therefore likely to enter an occupational class which is nominally higher than that of their fathers (as Table 3 shows). A modified class schema is needed to examine inter-generational mobility among women and to make gender comparisons.

Table 4 compares current occupational class with father's class. It shows the overall direction of movement away from the class of origin, by sex and age (controlling, in the case of women, for marital status). For the sake of gender comparisons, the three class schema described above is used, and smaller scale class movement is therefore visible. The table allows us to look at inter-generational class transmission and to form further hypotheses about intra-generational mobility, by comparing age groups.

Among men, 45% in the 16-19 year old group (mainly those with less full-time education) were in occupations which were of lower status than those of their fathers. However, among the oldest group, only 22% are downwardly mobile in comparison with their fathers. Upward mobility is significantly higher in this age group as well (27% compared with 13%). Women without children are also increasingly likely to be upwardly mobile and less likely to be downwardly mobile with age. There is little variation according to marital status: upward mobility increases from 15% to 30% among the single and from 15% to 28% among the married, suggesting that upward mobility is not impeded by marriage without children. In general, the table shows similar patterns for males and females, despite the earlier evidence in Table 3 that men and women showed different career patterns. The apparently lack of career mobility among women may therefore have been an artifact of the class schema.

Stability and Mobility

What, then, can be deduced from the GHS data presented here? Most importantly, the data suggest that the point of entry into the labour market is only a starting point for a working career which for some people may involve upward mobility over many years. It has become clear that there is a high degree of class mobility in the age group under study, but not all groups display mobility with age. There are groups which can be defined as the "stable middle class" and the "stable working class", reproducing the class of origin without any intra-generational movement across basic class boundaries. The stable middle class, from middle class backgrounds and with full-time education beyond 18 years, appear to move directly into non-manual work; the stable working class, early school leavers from working class backgrounds, move directly into manual work (or in the case of women into low-grade non-manual work) and appear to remain there. These two groups represent the two extremes in the class structure.

In contrast to the stable groups, there are also groups which display considerable mobility either inter-generationally or in the course of working careers. The counter-mobile middle class achieve

Table 5: INTRA-GENERATIONAL MOBILITY IN THE NCDS

Crosstabulation of current occupational class by occupational class of first job, by class of origin, age left education and sex, among females without children and all males. The full six-class schema is used and mobility defined as movement by one class upwards or downwards between first job and current job.

FATHER'S OCCUP CLASS AGE LEFT EDUCATION DIRECTION OF MOBILITY	NON-MANUAL		MANUAL	
	UNDER 18	18 & OVER	UNDER 18	18 & OVER
	%	%	%	%
MALES				
UPWARD	31	32	26	31
STABLE	55	61	58	61
DOWNWARD	13	7	17	8
ALL (=100%)	(1053)	(747)	(2931)	(431)
FEMALES				
UPWARD	24	23	21	25
STABLE	67	72	69	71
DOWNWARD	9	5	10	4
ALL (=100%)	(705)	(831)	(1638)	(521)

Significance: $p < .001$ throughout
File: CLASSMOB(12)
Source: NCDS

inter-generational class stability only through work careers involving upward mobility. Some middle class sons and daughters though downwardly mobile at 23 years in comparison with their fathers, may be on a class trajectory which will allow them to regain the non-manual classes in time. Inter-generational stability of the middle class appears therefore to be a complicated process, and as Goldthorpe has pointed out, it cannot be assumed that counter-mobility will follow the downward mobility of many of the middle class (Goldthorpe, 1981:5).

Upward mobility of the working class appeared from Tables 2 and 3 to occur mainly among those with more full-time education. The extent to which work careers result in upward mobility for the working class will become clearer when longitudinal data in the NCDS are analysed. In the meantime, it can be said that education appears to alter substantially the class chances of the working class, and is a major route towards upward mobility. Equally, education appears to protect most middle class from downward mobility.

There is some evidence here that women follow similar career patterns to those of men. Women with education showed evidence of career movement from manual into non-manual work (Table 3) and Table 4 showed women in general to have mobility patterns similar to those of men. It is therefore as necessary to understand women's current occupational class in the context of their career mobility as it is to do so in the case of sons.

Intra-generational Mobility in the NCDS

The analysis so far has been based on the cross-sectional data in the GHS and longitudinal hypotheses have been drawn from age comparisons. Though lacking the longer age perspective provided by the GHS, the NCDS allows analysis of actual mobility from class of origin, via education and occupational class in the first job, to the current occupational class. The data show class careers up to the age of 23 years, only a partial picture, given that the GHS data suggests that mobility is a long-term process in most cases.

Table 5 examines intra-generational mobility by comparing occupational class in first job with that in the current job, according to gender, class of origin and educational level. All six occupational classes are used in the analysis, which measures mobility as movement by one class or more from first job to current or last job. Class stability is hence lack of visible movement between classes.

The table shows the importance of education in reducing the risk of downward mobility. The longer-educated are the least likely to suffer downward mobility during their work careers: there are some gender differences (women are less likely than men to be downwardly mobile), but class of origin appears to have no effect. There is also evidence of upward career movement among the more educated. The label "stable class" does not preclude the possibility of less radical movement within either the non-manual or manual classes. Many of the stable middle class show considerable movement within the non-manual classes, in particular moving from Class 3 up into the higher classes with age, in the course of typically middle class work careers.

Among those with less full-time education, there are greater differences according to class. Upward mobility is more common and downwardly mobility less common for children of non-manual fathers, compared with those from working class backgrounds. If previous hypotheses are correct, the two groups vary because while many of the middle class are counter-mobile, the less educated working class do not show upward mobility over time. It should be noted, though, that among the less educated sons of non-manual fathers, 13% have been downwardly mobile in the course of their work careers. Counter-mobility is therefore not straightforward and not without risk.

The patterns of work-life mobility may be complicated for those in manual work, involving movement both up and down the class structure. Table 5 shows that among the sons of manual workers who left full-time education early, 17% had been downwardly mobile and 26% had been upwardly mobile since their first jobs. The rather flat patterns observed in relation to the less educated working class in Table 2, may therefore have resulted from manual workers following disorderly careers (Goldthorpe, 1981) or short-term working class careers within the manual classes (Ashton and Field, 1976).

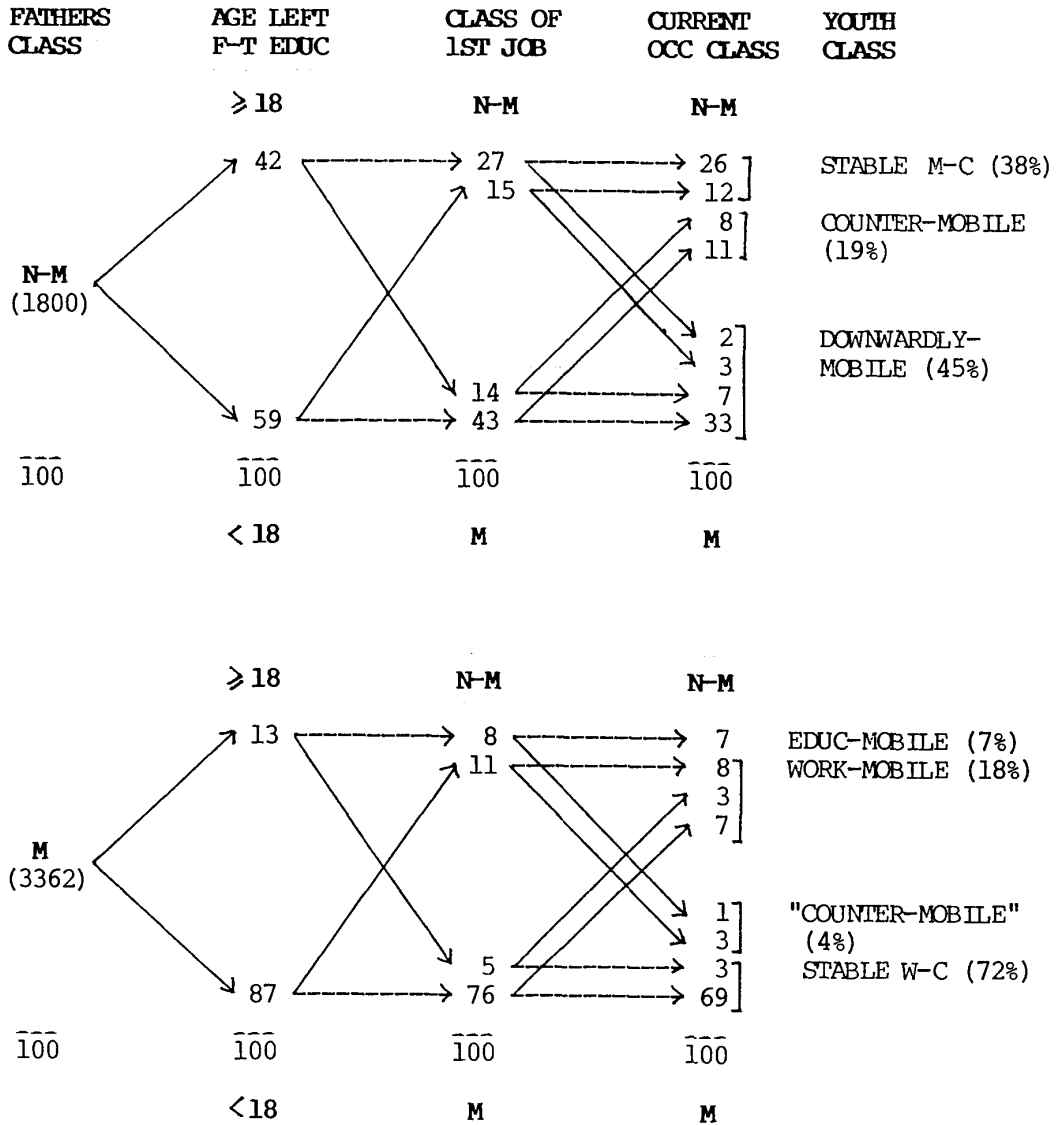
Table 5 suggests that women show greater intra-generational stability than men in their careers to the age of 23, with between 67% and 72% currently in the same occupational class as the class of their first job. As with men, the more educated groups vary little according to class of origin. Among the less educated, those from middle class backgrounds are marginally more likely to show upward mobility (24%) than those from working class backgrounds (21%). Some women might achieve counter-mobility or upward mobility through work careers before they have children, but the evidence suggests that intra-generational mobility both up and down is less common among women than among men. In other words, for many women their class destinations may be determined by their educational level.

Paths from Class of Origin

Another way of examining class careers is to describe the mobility routes from the class origins, through education and the class of first job to the current occupational class at 23 years. Figure 1 shows the routes from class of origin to the current occupational class for males in the NCDS. The data show that only 38% of those with non-manual fathers, compared with 72% of sons of manual workers, can be described as showing completely stable class careers.

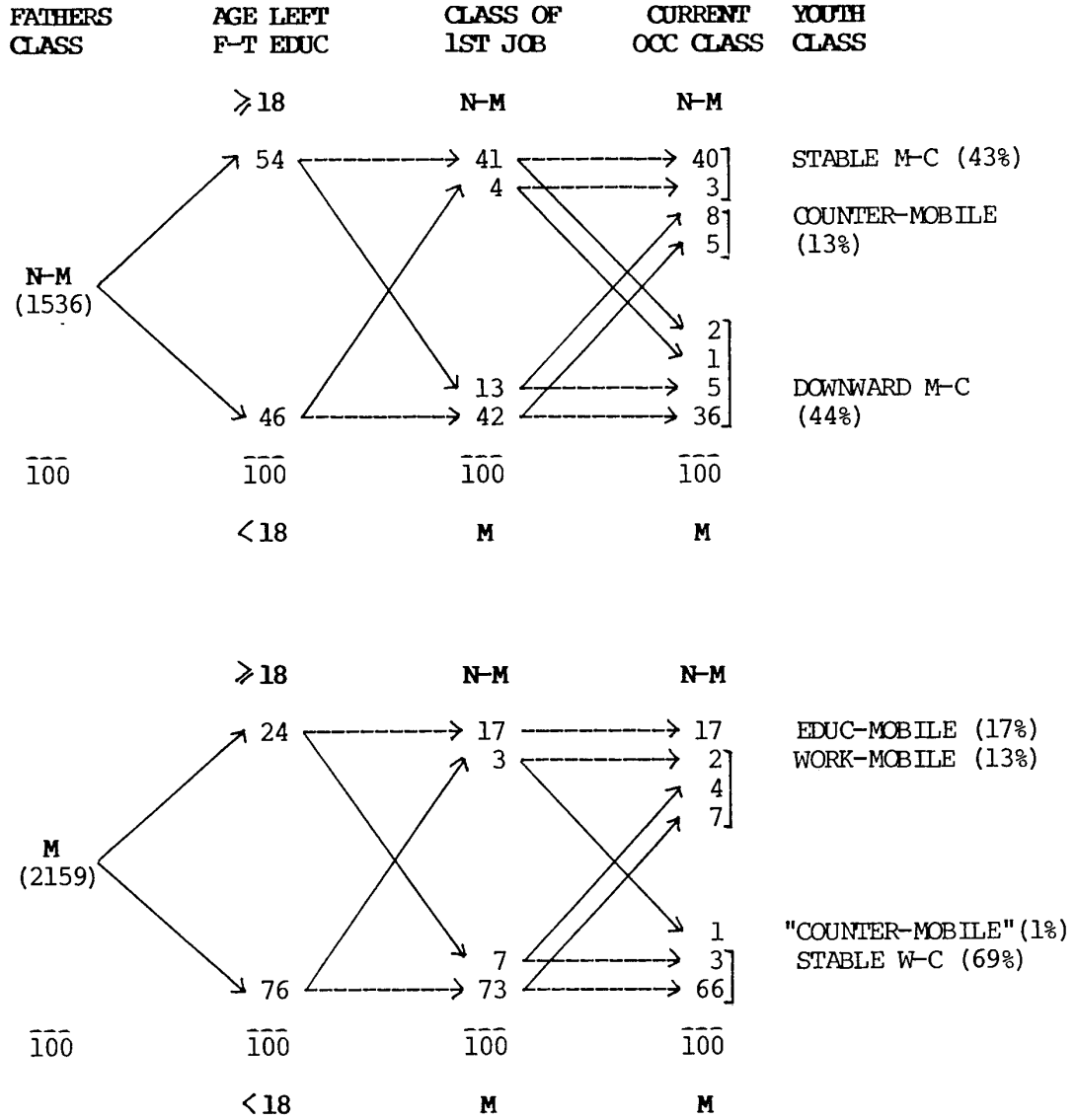
The 19% of middle class sons who are in non-manual work after manual first jobs represent the counter-mobile. Among these, 8% reached non-manual work through a combination of educational and work routes, and 11% through work routes alone (having left full-time education before the age of 18). Downward mobility (in so far as this can be assessed at the age of 23) has occurred among 45% of those of middle class origins, including 9% who had education beyond the age of 18 years. The figure shows that there is considerable crossing inter-generationally between manual and non-manual work among men of middle class origins compared with those

Figure 1: MOBILITY ROUTES FROM CLASS OF ORIGIN - MALES



File: Longmob (9)
Source: NCDS

Figure 2: MOBILITY ROUTES FROM CLASS OF ORIGIN
WOMEN WITHOUT CHILDREN



File: Carnob (9)
 Source: NCDS

from working class backgrounds, and it is likely that as suggested by Table 2, for many of the middle class downward mobility will be temporary.

Among sons of manual workers, 25% have reached upward mobility by the age of 23. They include 7% who went straight into non-manual work after full-time education, 3% who achieved mobility through a combination of education and work routes, and 15% who achieved upward mobility through working careers. Upward mobility via the work route seems more common than might have been expected from the GHS data. A small number (4%) of working class sons can be identified as the "counter-mobile working class", returning to manual work after initial employment in non-manual work. In general, though, it seems that once the more educated working class have achieved upward mobility, they are unlikely to lose their non-manual status. Even among the less educated working class, only a small proportion were currently in manual work at 23 after non-manual first jobs. The table is, however, based on occupational class at only two points in time, and fluctuations between first and current job are not visible.

Figure 2 shows the mobility routes for childless women. The class schema has been dichotomised on different lines to take account of the different occupational structure for women. Those in junior non-manual work (Class 3) have been divided into those with longer in education (18 and over) and those who left school before the age of 18; the more educated have been grouped with the higher non-manual classes and the less educated with the manual classes (4, 5 and 6). This allows a dichotomy which is more meaningful for women than the usual manual/non-manual division. It means that by definition, women in Class 3 (manual) cannot become upwardly mobile into Class 3 (non-manual), but all class movement (whether through work or educational routes) which can be identified among men can still be identified among women.

The figure shows that 43% of the middle class and 69% of the working class can be described as stable both inter-generationally and intra-generationally. For the first time, counter-mobility can be identified among women, with 13% of middle class daughters apparently counter-mobile, regaining their class of origin through work after initial downward mobility. Downward mobility has occurred for 44% of middle class women, and upward mobility for 30% of working class daughters.

Women who have stayed longer in education, like men, seem unlikely to suffer downward mobility: only 7% of all middle class daughters were currently in manual work after education beyond the age of 18. Similarly, only 3% of working class daughters with longer in education are in manual work. Education appears to be the chief means by which working class women obtain and stay in non-manual work: 17% took the education route and 13% the work-route to upward mobility (including 3% who combined the education and work routes). Education seems to protect women from downward mobility more than it does men, as was observed earlier.

Though previous analysis of the GHS allowed speculation that middle class women might also show patterns of counter-mobility, there has been no evidence of this before. Figure 2 shows that counter-

mobility occurred for 13% of middle class daughters, comprising 8% who had education beyond the age of 18, and 5% who left education early. These figures, in comparison with those for men, suggest that counter-mobility might be more difficult for women who have not had additional education.

Table 6: SUMMARY CAREER MOBILITY TABLE

By age 23

Derived from Figures 1 and 2

CLASS OF ORIGIN:	M-C		W-C	
	M %	F %	M %	F %
MOBILITY				
STABLE	36	43	72	69
UPWARD/COUNTER-MOBILE	19	13	25	30
DOWNWARDLY MOBILE	45	44	4*	1*
ALL (=100%)	1800	1536	3362	2159

* "Counter-Mobile" Working Class (see page 12)

Source: NCDS

Data from the NCDS is summarised in Table 6 and confirms the hypotheses drawn from the GHS that while class stability is immediately apparent among the majority of the working class, it is partly through a process of counter-mobility in working careers that inter-generational stability occurs within the middle class. There is a high degree of mobility occurring within the sample, both middle class and working class, both male and female. According to these findings, counter-mobility occurs among women as well as men, though it is more difficult to identify.

Table 7: ROUTES TAKEN BY UPWARDLY MOBILE GROUPS

Derived from Figures 1 and 2

	Upward Mobility Route		
	Education %	Education & Work %	Work %
Counter-Mobile			
Middle Class			
Males		8	11
Females		8	5
Upwardly Mobile			
Working Class			
Males	7	3	15
Females	17	4	9

Source: NCDS

The upward mobility routes apparent from Figures 1 and 2 can be summarised in Table 7. This suggests that while for males, upward

mobility or counter-mobility is likely to occur as a result of work careers, for women the means to upward mobility is more likely to be through educational routes. In other words, the occupational class destinations of women are more likely to be determined prior to their entry into the labour force, while class mobility through work is more common for men.

A Typology of Youth Class

The following youth types or "youth classes", can now be distinguished:

- 1 **Stable Middle Class**
comprising those of middle class backgrounds and higher educational levels, who appear to move directly into non-manual work (reflecting the effect of class background and education);
- 2 **Education-Mobile Working Class**
those of working class backgrounds who achieve mobility through full-time education;
- 3 **Counter-Mobile Middle Class**
those of middle class backgrounds who enter manual or, in the case of women, low-grade non-manual work, and later retrieve their class positions through career mobility;
- 4 **Work-Mobile Working Class**
those from working class families who achieve upward mobility through work rather than educational routes;
- 5 **Downwardly Mobile Middle Class**
middle class early school leavers who enter manual work, sometimes achieving counter-mobility later and sometimes remaining in manual work;
- 6 **Stable Working Class**
those from working class backgrounds who are early school leavers, move into manual work and are not likely to be upwardly mobile.

We have seen from the data presented how the groups were formed and identified. Table 8 shows the distributions of Youth Class by sex in the NCDS.

The table shows that among current non-manual workers, there are four identifiable groups which can be distinguished both by class of origin and by the mobility route by which they reached non-manual work. Two groups of manual workers have also been identified: the middle class who have been downwardly mobile (some of whom may become counter-mobile in time) and the stable working class. Within the non-manual and manual classes, there is therefore likely to be heterogeneity.

Table 8: NCDS TYPOLOGY OF YOUTH CLASS

The table shows the distribution of Youth Class among women without children and all males

YOUTH CLASS	MALE %	FEMALE %
STABLE M-C	13	18
EDUCATION-MOBILE W-C	5	10
COUNTER-MOBILE M-C	6	6
WORK-MOBILE W-C	12	8
DOWNWARDLY-MOBILE M-C	15	18
STABLE WORKING CLASS	49	41
ALL (=100%)	5265	3704

Source: NCDS

The typology of Youth Class was developed in order to examine stratification in youth, and to understand the differences between social groups of young people in terms of their class careers. It can therefore form a foundation for further analysis of the class and gender differences in other aspects of the transitions to adulthood, for example in work, housing and family formation. This analysis will be reported elsewhere. It is interesting, though, to see how the youth classes which have been identified here vary in their social behaviour and class identification.

Table 9 shows the Youth Class typology used in analysis of voting behaviour. The NCDS cohort was asked in 1981 for which party they had voted in the 1979 General Election. As might be expected, voting behaviour is closely associated with class of origin, which therefore dominates among the independent variables comprising the typology. The table shows, nevertheless, that voting varies considerably by Youth Class. The two extremes of voting behaviour are displayed by the stable middle class, 47% of males and 45% of females voting Conservative, and the stable working class, with only 14% of males and 19% of females voting Conservative. In between these two extremes are ranged the mobile groups. The effect of class of origin can be seen: though both the counter-mobile middle class and the work-route mobile of working class origin achieved mobility in similar ways and are both in non-manual work, 39% of counter-mobile men and 40% of counter-mobile women voted Conservative, compared with 28% of work-mobile men and 26% of work-mobile women. It seems that it is appropriate to distinguish between these two groups, as suggested by Goldthorpe (1981:125).

Upward mobility appears to alter the voting behaviour of the working class more than downward mobility affects the middle class. Neither the education-mobile men nor the work-mobile of either sex appeared to have any particular party affiliation; in contrast, the downwardly mobile middle class of both sexes seem to have adhered to the voting preferences of their class of origin. This is

probably because of the often temporary nature of the downward mobility experienced by many of the middle class.

Table 9: PARTY VOTED FOR IN 1979 GENERAL ELECTION (AT 21 YRS)
BY YOUTH CLASS AND SEX

PARTY VOTED FOR	STABLE M-C %	COUNTER -MOBILE %	DOWNWARD M-C %	EDUC- MOBILE %	WORK- MOBILE %	STABLE W-C %	ALL %
Men							
CONSERVATIVE	47	39	31	31	28	14	24
LABOUR	21	20	23	32	29	39	32
LIBERAL	12	14	9	14	10	6	8
OTHER	2	2	3	4	2	3	3
DID NOT VOTE	18	24	33	20	30	39	33
ALL (=100%)	(617)	(321)	(779)	(222)	(595)	(2543)	(5077)
Women without Children							
CONSERVATIVE	45	40	40	35	26	19	30
LABOUR	17	15	16	28	28	34	25
LIBERAL	13	10	14	12	9	7	10
OTHER	2	4	1	2	1	3	2
DID NOT VOTE	23	33	26	24	33	35	30
ALL (=100%)	(582)	(200)	(673)	(335)	(278)	(1519)	(3623)

File: Routes (24/26)

Source:NCDS

Conclusions

The longitudinal data casts doubt on theories that there is homogeneity among women, and in particular, the conclusion made by Heath, that:

Womanhood is a great leveller. The restrictions on women's job prospects means that they are much less divided by their social origins than are men. Class discrimination divides men, but sexual discrimination brings women together.

(Heath, 1981:135)

By restricting the analysis to young women without children and by using a revised class schema, the segregation of women in the labour market has in a sense been controlled for, and data have been produced which question the levelling influence of womanhood and emphasise differences between women. Although women are less likely than men to be mobile through intra-generational work careers, there is no evidence that young women are a homogeneous group. Access to the educational route to mobility which is taken by successful women is still determined to a large extent by class of origin; 54% of middle class women had education beyond the age of 18, compared with only 24% of working class daughters.

Stratification in youth has several dimensions: there is division according to class of origin, access to mobility routes, current occupational class, and gender. For an understanding of the position of young people in the social structure all these factors need to be taken into account. Ideally, this requires the use of longitudinal data, though it is possible to develop hypotheses about mobility and class trajectories from cross-sectional data. Analysis has shown that any apparent homogeneity among the young working class or middle class is only superficial and a wider class perspective shows the extent of basic class divisions. These divisions are reflected in social outcomes such as voting behaviour and will extend to other aspects of young people's lives. Analyses of the transitions to adulthood in work, housing and family formation will therefore be more revealing if a multi-dimensional approach to stratification is applied to the analysis.

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**APPENDIX
OCCUPATIONAL CLASS SCHEMA**

CLASS	OCCUPATIONS	GHS SEG	NCDS SEG
1	Higher Professionals: Accountants, medical practitioners, lawyers	5,6	3,4
2	Intermediate Non-manual and Lower Professionals: Managers, self-employed business men, teachers, nurses	1,2 3,4 7,16	1,2 5* 13
3	Junior Non-manual: Office Supervisors, typists, clerks, telephonists, shop assistants (in GHS)	8,9	5*,6*
4	Skilled Manual: Foremen, drivers, craftsmen, skilled production workers	11,12 15,17	8,9 12,14
5	Semi-skilled Manual: Personal service workers, bar and restaurant staff, shop assistants (in NCDS), lower-skilled production workers, assemblers and packers	10,13 18	6*,7 10,15
6	Unskilled Manual: Labourers, cleaners	14	11

* Occupational Groups 5 and 6 were separated out in the NCDS, both in order to make the data sets more compatible and to produce a class schema which was more meaningful for women:

SEG5 Lower professionals were recoded as Class 2

SEG6 Shop Assistants were recoded as Class 5.

It was not possible to assign shop assistants to Class 5 in the GHS, as Occupational Groups were not available. It was, however possible to assign lower professionals to Class 2 in the GHS because they form a separate group in the GHS classification of SEG.

This class schema has been used in the construction of the following variables:

Current or Last Occupational Class

Occupational Class of First Job

In addition, the basic principle of assigning lower professionals to Class 2 has been followed where data permits in the construction of variables relating to Father's, ~~Mother's and Spouse's~~ Occupational Class.

For the dichotomised class schema, Occupational Class was recoded (1,2,3=1)(4,5,6=2) into non-manual and manual classes. For the three-class schema, used for gender comparisons, Occupational Class was recoded (1,2=1)(3,4=2)(5,6=3) into higher, intermediate and lower classes.

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NATIONAL CHILD DEVELOPMENT STUDY

The National Child Development Study (NCDS) is a continuing longitudinal study which is seeking to follow the lives of all those living in Great Britain who were born between 3 and 9 March, 1958.

It has its origins in the Perinatal Mortality Survey (PMS). This was sponsored by the National Birthday Trust Fund and designed to examine the social and obstetric factors associated with the early death or abnormality among the 17,000 children born in England, Scotland and Wales in that one week.

To date there have been four attempts to trace all members of the birth cohort in order to monitor their physical, educational and social development. These were carried out by the National Children's Bureau in 1965 (when they were aged 7), in 1969 (when they were aged 11), in 1974 (when they were aged 16) and in 1981 (when they were aged 23). In addition, in 1978, details of public examination entry and performance were obtained from the schools, sixth-form colleges and FE colleges.

For the birth survey information was obtained from the mother and from medical records by the midwife. For the purposes of the first three NCDS surveys, information was obtained from parents (who were interviewed by health visitors), head teachers and class teachers (who completed questionnaires), the schools health service (who carried out medical examinations) and the subjects themselves (who completed tests of ability and, latterly, questionnaires). In addition the birth cohort was augmented by including immigrants born in the relevant week in the target sample for NCDS1-3.

The 1981 survey differs in that information was obtained from the subject (who was interviewed by a professional survey research interviewer) and from the 1971 and 1981 Censuses (from which variables describing area of residence were taken). Similarly, during the collection of exam data in 1978 information was obtained (by post) only from the schools attended at the time of the third follow-up in 1974 (and from sixth-form and FE colleges, when these were identified by schools). On these last two occasions care was made to include new immigrants in the survey.

All NCDS data from the surveys identified above are held by the ESRC Data Archive at the University of Essex and are available for secondary analysis by researchers in universities and elsewhere. The Archive also holds a number of NCDS-related files (for example, of data collected in the course of a special study of handicapped school-leavers, at age 18; and the data from the 5% feasibility study, conducted at age 20, which preceded the 1981 follow-up), which are similarly available for secondary analysis.

Further details about the National Child Development Study can be obtained from the NCDS User Support Group.

