Some Thoughts on Social Stratification

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* Some general points on stratification

All things bright and beautiful,
All creatures great and small,
All things wise and wonderful,
The Lord God made them all.

2. Each little flower that opens,
Each little bird that sings,
He made their glowing colours,
He made their tiny wings.
All things bright ...

3. The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
God made them, high or lowly,
And order'd their estate.
All things bright ...

A comical thought on stratification

http://uk.youtube.com/watch?v=w0DUsGSMwZY

A more general but comical point on data collection (beware the qualitative interview)

http://uk.youtube.com/watch?v=Hjh13hxehl4

Youth Transitions in the 1990s: Evidence from the Youth Cohort Study

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Changing Times Consensus

- Collapse of the youth labour market
- The sharp decline in the number of apprenticeships and suitable jobs for young people
- The introduction of youth training schemes
- Changes to state benefits
- Expansion of F.E. (and later H.E.)

Detraditionalisation Transitions?

Central to the individualisation thesis is the concept of 'detraditionalization'. In essence the idea that structural factors such as social class, gender and ethnicity cease to be determinants for the individual who is pursuing the imperative of living a life of one's own (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002)

Brannen and Nilsen (2002) declare that intrinsic to the theory is the thesis that the process sweeps away structural divisions of gender, social class, and age. Individual choices become all the more important, and the choice biography takes over from the standard biography.

Arnott *et al.* (1999) suggest that the process of individualisation is considered to transform individuals' relationships with their class and ethnic status, family connections and traditional loyalties.

Detraditionalisation Transitions?

The theorised experience of youth transitions under detraditionalised conditions is neatly summarized

'In the place of these collective guides and traditional institutions are much more individualized identities and biographies where individuals have a greater scope beyond traditional markers of class, race and gender to create complex subjective lifestyles', Cieslik and Pollock (2002, p.3).

The 1990s

A lot of these structural (and policy) changes took place in the mid to late 1980s

What went on in the 1990s?

GCSE settled in

Schools under pressure (reforms)

Better economy

Changes in government policy (New Deal; minimum wage etc)

Data

- Youth Cohort Study of England & Wales
- Postal survey (Govt monitoring tool)
- Nationally representative data
- Pooling cohorts of data

Limitations
- Changes in survey
- Weakness in parental occupational info
- Ethnicity information

Table 1 Main Activity October Following Year 11 by YCS Cohort (%)

	1984	1986	1988	1990	1993	1995	1997	1999
Education	42	43	51	61	75	74	73	74
Unemployment	8	7	2	4	4	3	4	3
Training	28	28	24	14	9	9	9	9
Employment	17	19	22	18	7	9	11	10
Other Activity	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2
Missing	3	1	1	2	3	3	1	2
n	8,064	16,208	14,116	14,511	18,021	15,899	14,662	13,698

Note: Weighted percentages.

Table 2 GCSE Attainment Year 11 by YCS Cohort (%)

	1990	1993	1995	1997	1999
Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	65	57	55	54	49
5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	35	43	45	46	51
n	*14022*	*17564*	*15592*	*14478*	*12832*
Official Figures[1]	35	41	44	45	48

Note: Weighted percentages. 1. See http://www.bstubbs.co.uk/5a-c.htm#table1 accesses 20.02.08.

Table 3 In Education October Following Year 11 and GCSE Attainment Year 11 by YCS Cohort (%)

	1990	1993	1995	1997	1999
In Education with less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	46	64	63	57	61
n	*3,647*	*5,350*	*3,890*	*3,514*	*2,593*
Staying in Education with 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	93	95	95	93	92
n	*5,914*	*8,705*	*8,713*	*7,782*	*8,000*

Note: Weighted percentages.

Table 4 Logistic Regression Model – In Education October Following Year 11 - cohort and year 11 GCSE effects

	Estimate	Linearized Standard Error	t	p	Quasi-Variance
1990 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.00	-	-	-	0.0006
1993 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.74	0.04	20.46	<.001	0.0007
1995 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.66	0.04	17.77	<.001	0.0008
1997 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.42	0.04	11.47	<.001	0.0008
1999 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.59	0.04	13.95	<.001	0.0012
1990 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	2.68	0.06	48.34	<.001	0.0025
1993 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	3.18	0.06	53.82	<.001	0.0029
1995 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	3.00	0.05	56.68	<.001	0.0022
1997 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	2.79	0.05	55.33	<.001	0.0020
1999 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	2.63	0.05	54.73	<.001	0.0017
Constant	-0.15	0.02	-6.05	<.001	-

Note: Weighted survey data ,survey regression estimated using pseudo maximum likelihood.
Goodness of fit measures based on standard regression (i.e. non-weighted data); Pseudo R^2 = .18; Deviance null model 77439; Deviance current model 61389; Change in deviance 16050 @ 9 d.f.

Fig 1 Estimates of being in Education October Following Year 11 (cohort and year 11 GCSE attainment - interaction effects)
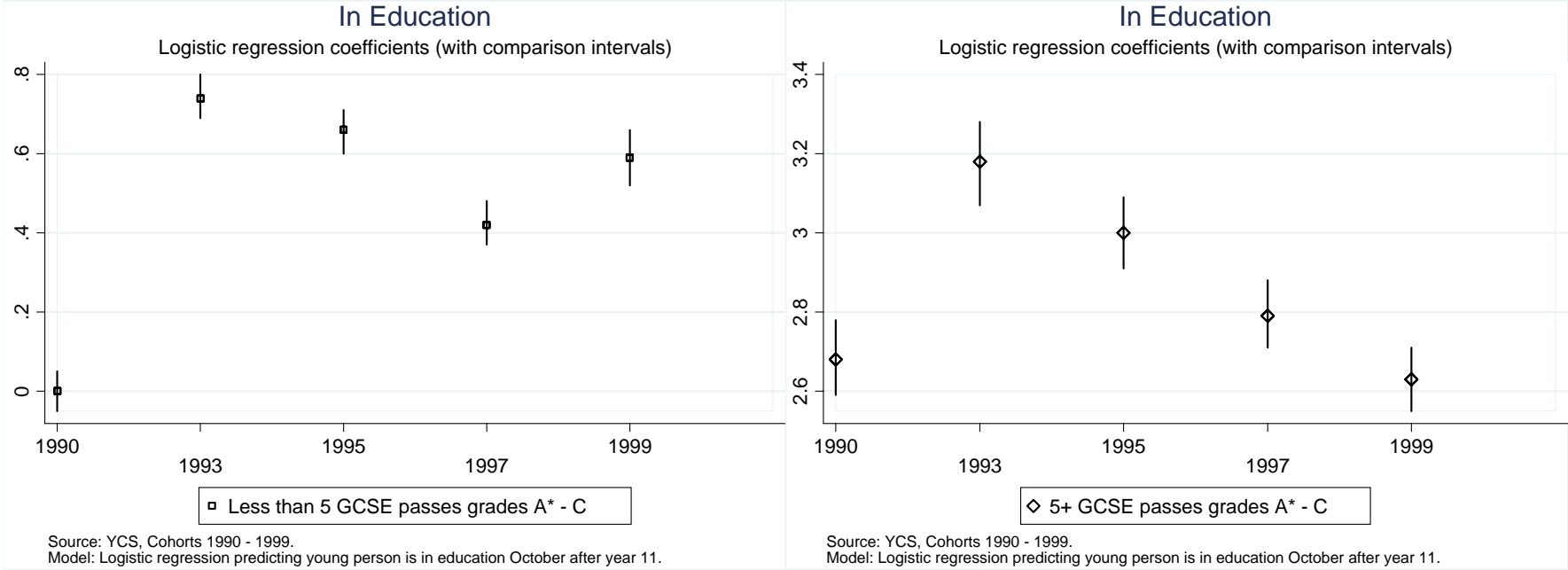
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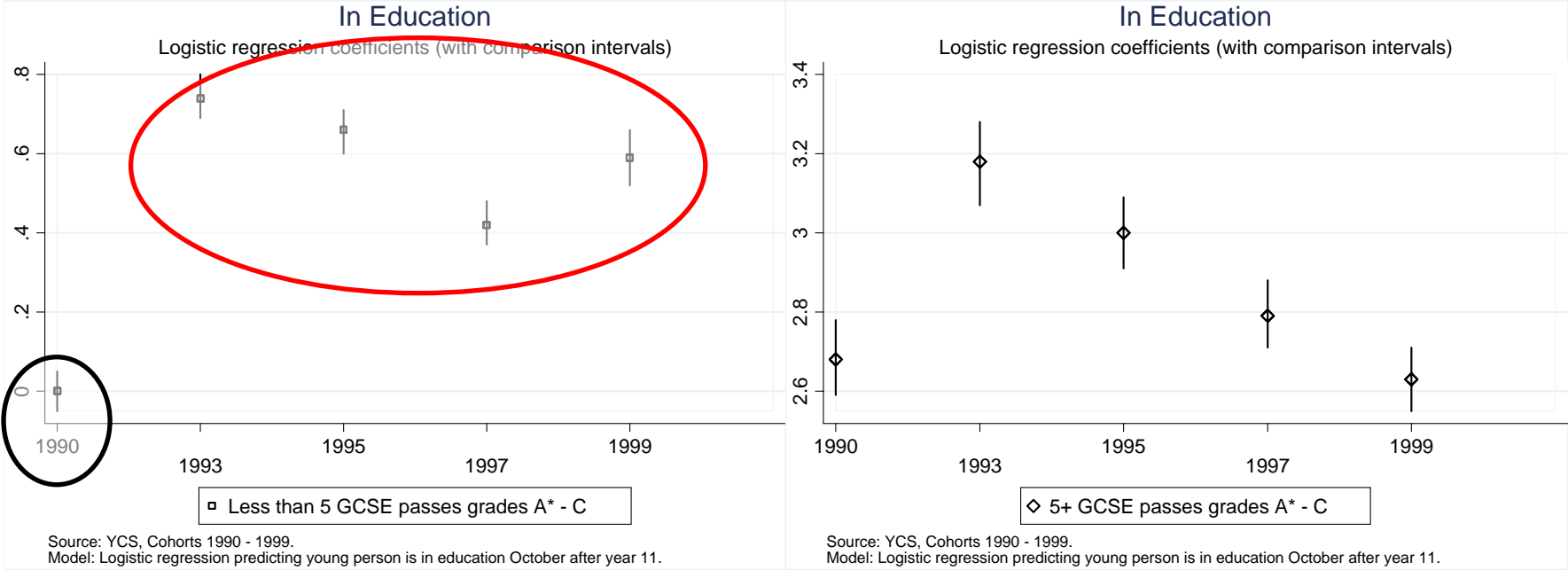
Table 5 In Education October Following Year 11 by Gender and YCS Cohort (%)

	1990	1993	1995	1997	1999
Staying in Education males	57	74	73	70	71
n	*4,375*	*6,185*	*5,575*	*5,071*	*4,641*
Staying in Education females	68	81	81	78	80
n	*5,237*	*7,921*	*7,061*	*6,225*	*6,126*

Note: Weighted percentages.

Table 6 Logistic Regression Model – In Education October Following Year 11- cohort and year 11 GCSE attainment, gender and ethnicity effects

	Estimate	Linearized Standard Error	t	p	Quasi-Variance
1990 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.00	-	-	-	0.0006
1993 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.73	0.04	20.03	<.001	0.0007
1995 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.65	0.04	17.36	<.001	0.0008
1997 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.40	0.04	10.62	<.001	0.0008
1999 Less than 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	0.57	0.04	13.22	<.001	0.0012
1990 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	2.72	0.06	48.73	<.001	0.0025
1993 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	3.20	0.06	53.83	<.001	0.0029
1995 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	3.01	0.05	56.71	<.001	0.0022
1997 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	2.79	0.05	54.95	<.001	0.0020
1999 5 + GCSE Passes grades A* - C	2.62	0.05	54.13	<.001	0.0017
Males	0.00	-	-	-	-
Females	0.33	0.02	15.08	<.001	-
White	0.00	-	-	-	0.0001
Black	1.22	0.10	11.96	<.001	0.0103
Indian	1.49	0.11	14.21	<.001	0.0109
Pakistani	1.00	0.09	11.06	<.001	0.0079
Bangladeshi	1.06	0.14	7.44	<.001	0.0202
Asian (other)	1.69	0.18	9.20	<.001	0.0335
Other	0.99	0.14	7.07	<.001	0.0193
Constant	-0.39	0.03	-14.45	<.001	-

Note: Weighted survey data, survey regression estimated using pseudo maximum likelihood.
Goodness of fit measures based on standard regression (i.e. non-weighted data); Pseudo R^2 = .20; Deviance null model 77439; Deviance current model 60259; Change in deviance 17180 @ 16 d.f.

Fig 2 Estimates of being in Education October Following Year 11 (cohort and year 11 GCSE attainment and gender effects)

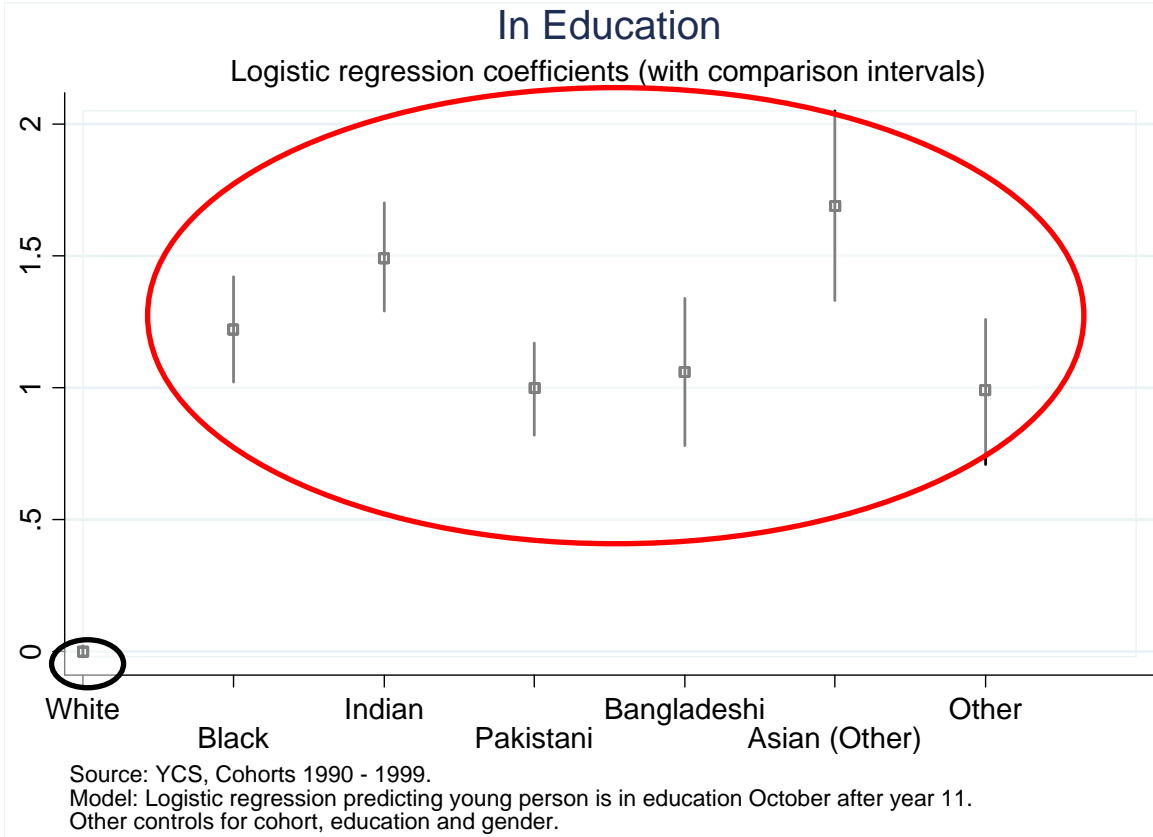## In Education
Logistic regression coefficients (with comparison intervals)

Source: YCS, Cohorts 1990 - 1999.
Model: Logistic regression predicting young person is in education October after year 11.
Other controls for cohort, education and gender.

Table 7 In Education October Following Year 11 by Family Social Class (Registrar General) and YCS Cohort (%)

	1990	1993	1995	1997	1999
Professional (I)	88	93	95	94	87
Intermediate (II)	76	86	86	84	84
Skilled Non-Manual (IIIn)	63	78	76	73	75
Skilled Manual (IIIm)	47	66	65	62	67
Partly Skilled (IV)	43	65	64	59	65
Unskilled (V)	41	60	63	53	53
n	*8,739*	*12,680*	*11,501*	*10,329*	*10,043*

Note: Weighted percentages.

Table 8 In Education October Following Year 11 by Family Social Class (NS-SEC 3 Classes) and YCS Cohort (%)

	1990	1993	1995	1997	1999
Managerial and professional occupations	85	91	92	91	87
Intermediate occupations	68	82	80	77	81
Routine and manual occupations	47	66	65	61	65
n	*8,759*	*12,699*	*11,516*	*10,331*	*10,046*

Note: Weighted percentages.

Table 9 In Education October Following Year 11 by Family Social Class (Goldthorpe 3 Categories) and YCS Cohort (%)

	1990	1993	1995	1997	1999
Service Classes	82	90	90	88	86
Intermediate Classes	62	78	76	72	75
Working Classes	47	65	65	62	64
n	*9,612*	*14,106*	*12,636*	*11,296*	*10,767*

Table 10 In Education October Following Year 11 by Family Social Class (Male Camsis Score) and YCS Cohort (%)

	1990	1993	1995	1997	1999
(Upper estimate)	58	57	58	57	58
In Education	57	57	57	57	57
(Lower estimate)	57	57	57	57	57
(Upper estimate)	48	49	50	49	51
Not in Education	48	48	49	48	51
(Lower estimate)	48	48	49	48	50
n	*12,558*	*15,448*	*13,812*	*12,990*	*12,229*

Table 11 Logistic Regression Model – In Education October Following Year 11- cohort and year 11 GCSE attainment, gender, ethnicity and parental social class (Registrar General) effects

	Estimate	Standard Error	t	p	QV
Females	0.40	0.02	16.48	<.001	-
White	0.00	-	-	-	0.014
Black	1.18	0.13	9.20	<.001	0.127
Indian	1.67	0.13	13.29	<.001	0.125
Pakistani	1.40	0.13	10.59	<.001	0.131
Bangladeshi	1.43	0.23	6.12	<.001	0.234
Asian (other)	1.68	0.22	7.72	<.001	0.217
Other	1.04	0.18	5.90	<.001	0.176
Professional (I)	0.00	-	-	-	0.003
Intermediate (II)	-0.44	0.06	-7.33	<.001	0.001
Skilled Non-Manual (IIIn)	-0.81	0.06	-13.24	<.001	0.001
Skilled Manual (IIIm)	-1.17	0.06	-18.76	<.001	0.001
Partly Skilled (IV)	-1.22	0.07	-18.34	<.001	0.001
Unskilled (V)	-1.34	0.09	-15.59	<.001	0.004
Constant	0.45	0.06	7.20	<.001	-

Note: Goodness of fit measures based on standard regression (i.e. non-weighted data); Pseudo R^2 = .22; Deviance null model 77439; Deviance current model 51652; Change in deviance 25787 @ 21 d.f

Figure 3 Estimates of being in Education October Following Year 11 (cohort and year 11 GCSE attainment, gender and ethnicity effects)

Source: YCS, Cohorts 1990 - 1999.
Model: Logistic regression predicting young person is in education October after year 11.
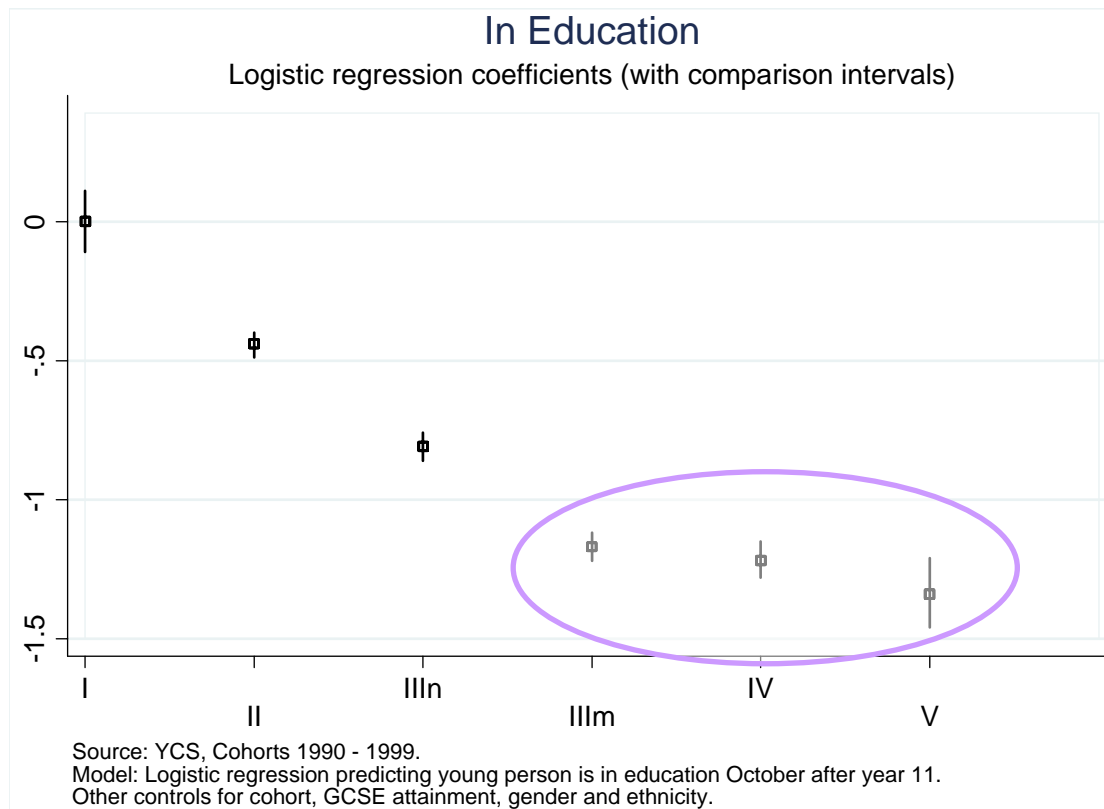Other controls for cohort, GCSE attainment, gender and ethnicity.

Table 12 Logistic Regression Model – In Education October Following Year 11- cohort and year 11 GCSE attainment, gender, ethnicity and parental social class (NS-SEC) effects

	Estimate	Linearized Standard Error	t	p	Quasi-Variance
Males	0.00	-	-	-	-
Females	0.40	0.02	16.73	0.00	-
White	0.00	-	-	-	0.0002
Black	1.15	0.13	9.03	0.00	0.0162
Indian	1.69	0.13	13.47	0.00	0.0155
Pakistani	1.38	0.13	10.54	0.00	0.0170
Bangladeshi	1.40	0.23	6.03	0.00	0.0538
Asian (other)	1.68	0.22	7.78	0.00	0.0465
Other	1.04	0.18	5.91	0.00	0.0308
Managerial and Professional	0.00	-	-	-	0.0010
Intermediate	-0.53	0.04	-14.15	0.00	0.0004
Routine	-1.05	0.04	-28.22	0.00	0.0003
Constant	0.32	0.04	7.68	0.00	-

Note: Weighted survey data, survey regression estimated using pseudo maximum likelihood. Goodness of fit measures based on standard regression (i.e. non-weighted data); Pseudo R^2 = .22; Deviance null model 77439; Deviance current model 51624; Change in deviance 22815 @ 18 d.f

Fig 4 Estimates of being in Education October Following Year 11 (cohort and year 11 GCSE attainment, gender and ethnicity)

NS-SEC

In Education
Logistic regression coefficients (with comparison intervals)

Managerial & Professional   Intermediate   Routine

Source: YCS, Cohorts 1990 - 1999.
Model: Logistic regression predicting young person is in education October after year 11.
Other controls for cohort, GCSE attainment, gender and ethnicity.

Goldthorpe

In Education
Logistic regression coefficients (with comparison intervals)

Service   Intermediate   Working

Source: YCS, Cohorts 1990 - 1999.
Model: Logistic regression predicting young person is in education October after year 11.
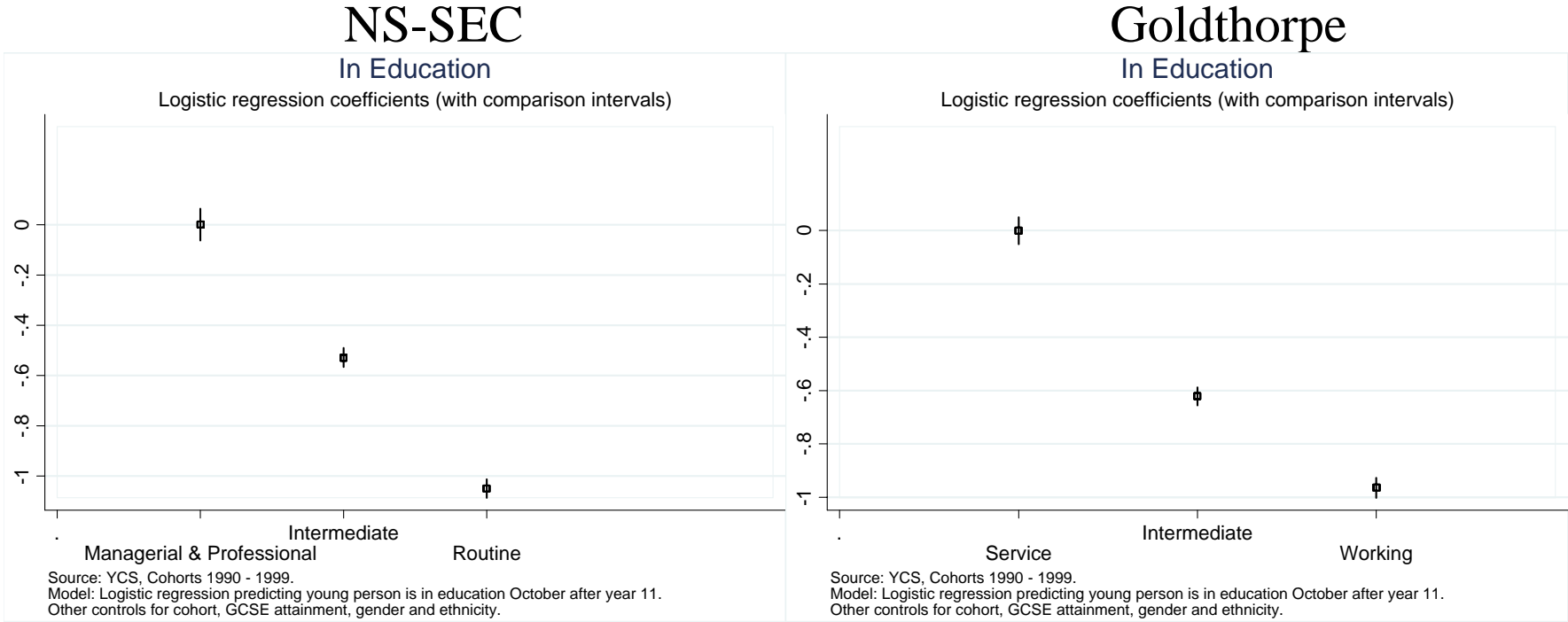Other controls for cohort, GCSE attainment, gender and ethnicity.

Table 13 Logistic Regression Model – In Education October Following Year 11-cohort and year 11 GCSE attainment, gender, ethnicity and parental social class (CAMSIS) effects

	Estimate	Linearized Standard Error	t	p	Quasi-Variance
Males	0.00	-	-	-	-
Females	0.40	0.02	16.57	0.00	-
White	0.00	-	-	-	0.0002
Black	1.17	0.13	9.24	0.00	0.0160
Indian	1.78	0.13	14.12	0.00	0.0157
Pakistani	1.52	0.13	11.30	0.00	0.0179
Bangladeshi	1.49	0.24	6.31	0.00	0.0556
Asian (other)	1.77	0.22	8.16	0.00	0.0466
Other	1.04	0.18	5.93	0.00	0.0305
Family (Male) Camsis Score	0.03	0.00	32.40	0.00	-
Constant	-2.03	0.06	-34.18	0.00	-

Note: Weighted survey data, survey regression estimated using pseudo maximum likelihood.
Goodness of fit measures based on standard regression (i.e. non-weighted data); Pseudo R^2 = .22; Deviance null model 77439; Deviance current model 51439; Change in deviance 26000 @ 17 d.f

"This lack of clear lines of social difference amongst young people today suggests a process of individualisation: one in which young people's experiences have become more varied and are no longer predictable on the basis of social class" (Furlong et al. 2006 p.28).

What can we infer from the results presented above?

Little support for the end of social stratification

'In the place of these collective guides and traditional institutions are much more individualized identities and biographies where individuals have a greater scope beyond traditional markers of class, race and gender to create complex subjective lifestyles', Cieslik and Pollock (2002, p.3).

Final Comments

- **A interesting pattern emerges across the 1990s cohorts**

- **A trend of increasing participation**

- ***Predictors of participation seem stable?***
  - *GCSE attainment is the most important factor*
    Higher proportion of girls stay in education
  - Class effect (however measured)
  - Ethnicity effects

Finally we caution against uncritically accepting the concept of a process of detraditionalisation. Historical sociological research has demonstrated the paradox that life course career stability can coexist with periods of sustained structural and economic change (Savage 1993). The Annales school of social history argue that social changes occur at an extremely slow pace, far more incrementally than is commonly appreciated by contemporary sociologists (Penn 2006). Other empirical reviews in British economic sociology have reported long terms patterns of social stability within the experiences of employment and social mobility over the 20th Century (Penn 2006; Goldthorpe 2007; Lambert *et al*. 2007). These points illustrate that at a macro level social change within certain contexts might seem more vident but at a micro, or individual, level the experience of social stability can dominate.