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SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE REPUBLIC
OF IRELAND: A COMPARATIVE
PERSPECTIVE

CHRISTOPHER T. WHELAN and BRENDAN J. WHELAN

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Christopher T. Whelan is a Senior Research Officer and Brendan J. Whelan is a Research Professor at the Economic and Social Research Institute. The paper has been accepted for publication by the institute, which is not responsible for either the content, or the views expressed therein.

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"Ní uasal ná íseal, ach thuas seal agus thíos seal"

– Irish proverb

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Objectives and Background of the Study

Social mobility may be defined as the manner in which occupations, together with the corresponding privileges and prestige, are transmitted from one generation to another. Our objective is to examine the issue of social mobility in Ireland on the basis of such data as we have been able to accumulate and hence to assess the degree of openness of Irish society, the extent of equality of opportunity and the resulting possibilities for the formation of coherent social classes.

The enormous significance of these issues has been recognised in a variety of official sources ranging from the Proclamation of the State to a number of modern reviews of social conditions and statements of policy. Inequalities of mobility opportunities are the crucial mechanism by which resource differences between individuals and families become perpetuated across the life cycle and across generations. It is through restrictions on social mobility that closed social groupings emerge which are characterised by disparities in material and cultural resources, contrasting work experiences and residential segregation.

The study is mainly based on two large samples of Dublin males, one conducted in 1968 and the other in 1972. The availability of the original questionnaires from these surveys made it possible to re-analyse the data on a basis exactly comparable to that of studies carried out in three other countries. A primary focus of our study is, therefore, comparative. We attempt to compare and contrast the Irish data with the situation in these other countries. We present a number of arguments for the continued relevance of the surveys used to present day conditions:

(a) the original publication based on the 1968 data is still being used because it is the only published information on social mobility in Ireland;

(b) fundamental characteristics of the social structure change quite slowly;

(c) social change, and in particular the transformation of the occupational structure, occurred no more rapidly in the 'seventies than in the 'sixties;

(d) we present additional data drawn from two recent surveys of young people which demonstrate that mobility patterns among today's school-leavers remain basically similar to those observed in the early 'seventies.

Social Mobility in Dublin

The study begins with a description of the social context within which mobility takes place. The fundamental changes experienced in recent decades in Irish migration patterns, the Irish occupational structure and educational system are outlined. It might be thought that dramatic social change of this kind would necessarily lead to increased mobility; we show that such an assumption would be simplistic, particularly with regard to the *relative* opportunities for mobility enjoyed by different groups. It does seem clear, however, that the number of higher level positions has increased and that a consequential rise in absolute mobility has occurred.

The relevance of emigration to the study of mobility in Ireland is discussed and it is noted that, in a sense, our data, being based on interviews with those who stayed, present too rosy a picture since the most deprived group of all, those who were denied an acceptable living and had to emigrate, are excluded. We also remark that the limitation of our sample to Dublin, with its distinctive record as a favoured destination for internal migrants and its role as the principal administrative centre, is likely to cause us to underestimate rather than overestimate inequalities of opportunity.

We begin our analysis by describing the set of seven categories ("the class schema") which were used to characterise mobility. Class categories are made up of occupations whose members are typically comparable in terms of their sources and levels of income, their degree of economic security, their chances of economic advancement and their degree of autonomy in performing work tasks and roles. Using this schema, we found evidence of a substantial amount of mobility, with upward mobility considerably more frequent than downward mobility. The extent of mobility was, however, less than that observed in England and Wales and, in particular, long-range upward mobility was significantly less frequent. Men with origins outside Dublin were considerably more likely to have experienced mobility, a difference which is directly related to the selective nature of migration to Dublin.

We began our analysis of the fundamental lines of cleavage in the class structure by means of the "buffer zone" thesis which proposes that the working class/non-working division is of crucial importance in preventing long-range mobility. For England and Wales Goldthorpe (1980) concluded that the fact that 7 per cent of the sons of working class fathers appear in the higher professional and managerial class, and a further 9 per cent in the lower professional and managerial classes, and 15 per cent of those with professional and managerial origins are found in the working class is difficult to reconcile with the notion of absolute rather than relative constraints.

The corresponding figures for Dublin were 3, 8 and 10 per cent. While the figures do provide greater support for the existence of a buffer zone, the absolute

degree of mobility still appears greater than would be allowed for by such a notion. Probably the most striking feature of our results is the marked inequalities — substantially greater than those found in England and Wales — which operate to the disadvantage of working class men. One of the factors involved in producing such differences was the significantly lower levels of long-range upward intragenerational mobility experienced by the Dublin respondents. In particular long-range intragenerational or career mobility from the working class to the professional and managerial class was more than twice as likely to have occurred in England and Wales than in Dublin.

Adopting a somewhat different perspective we proceeded to examine the composition of the "elite" classes, i.e., the extent to which the highest social classes are based on self-recruitment. The higher professional and managerial class is not nearly as heterogenous in Dublin as in England and Wales. Thirty five per cent of the men currently in this class are themselves sons of higher professional and managerial fathers; a further 40 per cent are drawn from the other white collar classes and the petty bourgeoisie. Thus, 75 per cent of the occupants of higher professional and managerial classes are drawn from just four classes; the corresponding figure for England and Wales is 47 per cent. Similarly, only 14 per cent of higher professional and managerial respondents had working class origins, a figure which is half the corresponding one for England and Wales. Consequently, it is much less easy in the case of Ireland than in the case of England and Wales to reject notions that access to the peak of the class hierarchy is severely restricted. However, as in England and Wales, a preoccupation with the peak of the class hierarchy can lead to a neglect of the far greater degree of homogeneity in origins which is evident among the working class. Approximately 70 per cent of the working class respondents were from working class backgrounds. More particularly 60 per cent of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers had been intergenerationally stable.

An example of the effect of such class homogeneity on social relationships is provided by the results of a recent study of worker-management relationships (Whelan, 1982). This study showed that manual workers demonstrated very high levels of distrust of management. It would appear likely that the extent of this distrust is related to the fact that the two groups involved constitute extremely homogeneous blocks in terms of their social origins; in fact, the results of the study did show this when the respondents' current class position had been taken into account. The analysis demonstrated that management–worker relationships may take on a distinct class form without any significant evidence of class consciousness in the sense of a systematic questioning of the criteria underlying the distribution of rewards. Thus inequalities of opportunity, even where they are not issues of public controversy, can and do contribute to an undermining of attempts to legitimate societal arrangements for the production and distribution

of economic goods.

Mobility Opportunities in Dublin, England and Wales

We go on to derive a number of formal models of increasing complexity which help to elucidate the nature of the observed mobility patterns. Such models have the great advantage of "netting out" the effect of different demographic and occupational structures and so they allow us to examine differences in relative mobility opportunities between countries. It was possible to correctly classify over 90 per cent of the cases for Dublin and England on the basis of the assumption of identical relative opportunities with a model of constant social fluidity, i.e., one which allows for absolute differences arising from differences in the distributions of origins and destinations but keep relative opportunities identical. There were, however, systematic divergences between the two countries providing evidence that class rigidities were substantially greater in Dublin. The model suggests that, for each of the seven classes, immobility (remaining in the same class as one's father) was greater than expected in Dublin and less than expected in England and Wales. In the former case the degree of over-representation ranges from 7 per cent in the case of petty bourgeoisie to 33 per cent for skilled manual workers. Long-range upward and downward mobility is significantly less likely in Dublin and more likely in England and Wales than the common social fluidity model would suggest. In Dublin, the percentages who moved upwards from technician, skilled manual, and non-skilled manual origins to the higher professional and managerial class were 39, 19 and 42 per cent, respectively, below what one would expect if a common pattern of relativities were operating in Dublin and England and Wales. Long-range downward mobility from the professional and managerial classes is also substantially lower than predicted in Dublin and higher than expected in England and Wales.

We then went on to derive a model explicitly designed to fit the Dublin data. In designing this model the major substantive considerations which were assumed to influence one's relative mobility chances were:

   (i)   the relative desirability of different class positions;
   (ii) the relative advantages afforded to individuals by different class origins which may be thought of in terms of economic, cultural and social resources;
   (iii) the relative barriers to access to different class positions.

The model which very satisfactorily fits and correctly classifies 98 per cent of the cases shows that the chances of men born into the higher professional and managerial class staying in that class rather than falling to the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class are over 240 times greater than the chances of men born in the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class rising to the higher professional

and managerial class rather than remaining in class of origin. The extraordinary degree of inequality in the competition to achieve positions at the peak of the class hierarchy and to avoid being located at the bottom can be clearly illustrated by comparing the figure of 240 with the corresponding index for England and Wales of 36. Tendencies towards immobility are consistently stronger in Dublin while restrictions on long-range mobility are also more powerful. When the sample is divided between Dublin and non-Dublin origins the same overall tendencies were evident in both groups but the strength of the barriers to mobility were stronger for the former.

Class Mobility in Four Western European Countries

In Chapter 5 we attempted to place the process of mobility in Ireland in a broader comparative perspective by incorporating evidence available from studies of social mobility in France and Sweden. For the four countries, we again calculated for the non-agricultural samples, a constant social fluidity model which correctly classified 90 per cent of the cases. However, there was clear evidence of substantial international differences in the underlying mobility regimes in these societies. Once again, the situation in Dublin is characterised by comparatively great immobility. In contrast, the model suggests that immobility is lower in all five of the English classes and in four of the five Swedish classes. The amount of immobility, however, tends to be least in Sweden. Thus, in Sweden the extent of under-representation in the professional and managerial class, in terms of the constant social fluidity model, is 14 per cent compared with 2 per cent in England. Long-range upward mobility is substantially over-estimated in the case of Dublin, substantially underestimated in the case of Sweden and underestimated by rather smaller amounts for England and France. Thus, in Dublin 38 per cent *less* men than predicted experience such mobility, while for England, France and Sweden expectations are exceeded by 5 per cent, 7 per cent and 15 per cent, respectively.

In order to provide a more systematic treatment of international mobility differences we proceeded to develop an explicit model of the mobility regime. The evidence from this analysis, even allowing for the sample restrictions which forced us to exclude agricultural occupations when making comparisons, provides some support for the idea of a "basic similarity" of mobility regimes when we allow for structural factors. However, what is more striking is the additional evidence which our analysis provides of systematic deviations from a constant international pattern of relative mobility opportunities. The contrast is sharpest between Dublin and Sweden, with Dublin showing higher tendencies towards immobility together with lower probabilities of long-range upward and downward movement. Thus, on a "scale" of openness, allowing for structural differences, Swedish society lies at one extreme and Dublin at the other with

France and England occupying intermediate positions.

The Attainment Process

Chapter 6 involved a change of focus: instead of analysing mobility tables we attempted to delineate the chain of causation which determines one's occupational position. In particular, we examined the interrelations of ascribed characteristics, e.g., father's occupation and education on the respondents' achievements, i.e., education, first job and current job. Our objective was to determine how these variables influence each other and to estimate the strength of these influences.

When looked at from the status attainment perspective the data for Dublin provide evidence of a comparatively high determination of education, first occupation and current occupation by ascribed characteristics. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Dublin pattern is the unusually high influence of first occupation on final occupation. These conclusions accord well with the picture which emerged from our earlier analysis of a more structured and generally more unequal mobility regime in Dublin than in the other societies considered and of particularly powerful constraints on intragenerational or career mobility.

When we focus on more recent evidence we find that the changes which have occurred in the class structure, while facilitating mobility, appear to constitute a continuation of earlier trends rather than a qualitative shift. Thus, the data do not necessarily imply an upward trend in mobility opportunities. Despite substantial increases in participation rates, educational inequalities are of such a scale as to induce scepticism that there has been a significant reduction in association between educational level and class origins. The effect of ascribed characteristics such as father's education and occupation on educational level achieved is particularly high in Ireland as is the effect of first occupation on current occupation. Although the evidence is relatively meagre, that which is available suggests that we should be cautious about assuming that there has been an increase in intragenerational mobility of a kind which would lead to a reduction in relative inequalities.

The data from a recent survey of the youth labour force provide detailed evidence of current inequalities. Such estimates, it should be stressed, provide a minimum estimate of inequalities since educational inequalities are not adequately reflected in this sample. Furthermore, our results relate to first occupation and the evidence relating to intragenerational mobility suggests that absolute differences are likely to widen as careers progress. Finally, to such educational and occupational inequalities we can add class inequalities in employment opportunities.

Equality of Opportunity and the Irish Educational System

The main thrust of our conclusions can be seen to diverge significantly from

those of Greaney and Kelleghan (1984) in a recent study of equality of educational opportunity. They concluded that, notwithstanding observed differences in educational participation by class, the role played by ability in the educational progress of students suggests that the meritocratic ideal is at least being approached. However, we have argued that a variety of conceptual and analytic problems seriously undermine the validity of their conclusions.

Greaney and Kelleghan document the substantial class differences in verbal reasoning ability which exist at the age of 11. Our criticisms are not intended to detract from the importance of such differences. If such class differentials could be eliminated or even significantly reduced it would almost certainly set in motion a process of change throughout the educational system. However, we argue that Greaney and Kelleghan fail to question systematically the sources and consequences of such differences in ability. Furthermore, our re-analysis of their data shows that very substantial non-meritocratic factors operated within the post-primary system. Our analysis shows that students from lower socio-economic backgrounds experienced substantial disadvantages within the post-primary sector which could not be explained by ability differences prior to entry. In fact the evidence suggests that socio-economic inequalities in probability of survival at each point of the educational system increase rather than decline as one moves up through the system. Failure to emphasise the importance of such departures from meritocratic principles at this level encourages the notion that our post-primary educational institutions have a very limited potential to contribute to the reduction of class differentials. This would, we believe, be quite erroneous.

The Role of Education

Equally clearly, "ability" is a major factor in determining progress through the system. If the goal of equality of opportunity is to be attained or even approached more closely, policy must take both sets of factors into account. The "free education" and "free transport" schemes were clearly intended to reduce the strength of the relationship between educational destination and social origins. It is true that the educational reforms and more general influences did ·produce a significant change in the pattern of educational participation in Ireland. In 1964 one-quarter of 17-year olds remained in full-time education, a participation rate that grew to one half by 1979. Similarly a two-thirds growth in participation rates occurred over that period in third-level education, with some 20 per cent of each cohort now entering a third-level institution. Increases on this scale represent a substantial achievement and increasing access to educational institutions can be seen both as an end valued for its own sake and as a means of creating resources which facilitate the pursuit of other goals. However, the expansion of the Irish educational system has been consistently justified not only

on the grounds of the development of human capital and its contribution to economic growth but also as a means of achieving equality of opportunity.

Our focus in this study is on the latter objective and we have concentrated throughout on the relative chances of access to educational levels of different social classes. Our concern has been with equality of opportunity in the substantive sense that, ideally, the children of the various social classes should be represented at each education level in proportion to their significance in the population. It is inequalities in "competition" for places in the educational system which are crucial in determining the distribution of occupational opportunities. The need to reduce educational inequalities is particularly important in Ireland because:

(i) The available evidence suggests that the association between social origins and educational achievement is stronger than in other countries.

(ii) Intragenerational or career mobility is particularly restricted and educational qualifications are a particularly strong determinant of class position.

We have argued in Chapter 7 that the increasing importance of educational qualifications in determining occupational opportunities does not reflect significant reduction in the waste of human resources which is the consequence of a rigid class structure but rather a new form of cultural "inheritance". Occupational positions are passed from one generation to another not, as in the past, through direct inheritance, but through the medium of differential access to educational qualifications. The significance of such "inheritance" in Ireland gives Tussing's (1978) distinction between the public and private elements in education a particular relevance. The public element concerns the fact that education benefits society at large as a social and public good. The private element concerns the fact that differences in educational achievement translate into significant differences in life chances.

In our conclusion we have noted that the complexities of the interaction between social background, schooling processes and achievement has been acknowledged by a variety of bodies involved in the educational system. In particular we noted the Department of Education "Programme for Action in Education" (1984) in a consideration of the problems of disadvantaged children states that:

(i) Priority of funding will be given to primary schools and in addition special funding will be given to disadvantaged areas; (3.1)

(ii) Special support will be given to primary schools which cater for a high proportion of children who are disadvantaged in respect of social and educational background and who receive little support in the home environment which would motivate them towards educational achievement; (3.3)

(iii)   Action is necessary to assist students who, through a variety of circumstances, are likely to drop out before they complete compulsory education or to terminate schooling at the end of the compulsory cycle. (5.5)

Nothing in our study is intended to detract from the need for, and the value of, such initiatives which are intended to assist the most educationally deprived. However, the nature of the relationships between social origins, ability and achievement in the Irish educational system would suggest that we are confronted not simply with a minority of disadvantaged children and schools who have obvious social problems, but rather with the wider problem posed by the vast majority of working class children who achieve significantly below their potential. It is not obvious that specific programmes for the disadvantaged school will have a major impact on this wider problem. In this regard, it is important to repeat that the class barriers which lead to under-achievement do not diminish as one moves beyond the primary level.

We have noted the non-meritocratic elements involved in the allocation of pupils to different sectors of the post-primary system and in determining survival probabilities within this system and in the transition to third level. It is implausible to attribute differences of this scale to characteristics of individuals. Attention should, rather, be paid to the effect of competition between sectors, selective admission procedures, streaming, etc. One of the useful consequences of examining participation by socio-economic group is that it alerts us to the need to study such processes. Such evidence provides support for the Tussing argument that, if one wishes to promote equality of educational opportunity, then the State aid should in general be concentrated on that educational experience which is common to all children, and should aim to discourage unnecessary distinctions between pupils.

However, we consider institutional factors to be sufficiently important that Tussing's suggestion that aid be provided to individuals on a means-tested basis is unlikely to provide an adequate method of promoting equality of participation beyond the primary level. The pursuit of such an objective would require the development of institutional mechanisms which would integrate the efforts of all types of schools in dealing with the problems and prospects of children in their catchment areas. Such a strategy would be necessary to combat the forces within and outside the educational system which may weigh systematically against working class children and which go beyond income differences, such as family climate, the expectations of teachers, and limited aspirations. Support for individuals would seem more appropriate at the third level.

While empirically non-meritocratic class effects after the age of 11 were as substantial as those associated with class differences in verbal reasoning ability at the age of 11, we would endorse the argument in favour of intervention at primary level. If class differentials in "ability" at the age of 11 could be

eliminated or even be significantly reduced this would almost certainly set in motion a process of change throughout the educational system.

In oder to achieve a situation of perfect mobility we would have to remove the association between class background and educational achievement. Perfect mobility may, therefore, be impossible to achieve without severing the ties between the child and his family almost completely. Such extreme measures are neither practicable nor desirable. However, what our comparative analysis shows is that it is possible to come a good deal nearer the target of equality of opportunity than has so far been achieved in Ireland. Considerable progress on this front should, therefore, be possible.

If, however, the existing inequalities are viewed as intractable, then it is important that we do not hide behind an unsustainable defence of our educational system as a "meritocratic" one. If we accept the inevitability of the class nature of the educational system, then it would be appropriate to pursue the more modest goals of assisting the particularly disadvantaged through specific programmes. However, in such circumstances education beyond the compulsory level should be seen, in the terms Tussing has employed, as substantially a private good and financing arrangements should be made more appropriate to such a situation.

Chapter 1

Issues in the Study of Social Mobility

Introduction

People have long been fascinated by the manner in which some men attain position, power and wealth while others remain in obscurity. Popular explanations for the phenomenon of mobility vary from the "e deo rex" of medieval philosophers to the wry cynicism of the Irish proverb[1] with which this study is headed.

Political theorists and, in more recent times, sociologists have also been heavily preoccupied with the study of mobility. A substantial body of theoretical and empirical literature has grown up on the subject and a number of comparative studies of different societies, which we will examine in detail below, has been published.

Yet the extent of published mobility research in Ireland has been meagre. In this paper we attempt to apply modern techniques of analysis to such data on the Irish situation as we have been able to accumulate and hence to assess the degree of openness in Irish society, the extent of equality of opportunity and the resulting possibilities for the formation of coherent social classes.

The first part of this chapter outlines the objectives and rationale for our study. The second part examines some of the main themes which have arisen in mobility research in other countries and to which we will refer throughout the rest of the paper. There follows an explanation of why our study, like most others in this field, is confined to men. The chapter concludes with a short outline of the structure of the paper.

Objectives and Background of the Present Study

We believe that a detailed study of the prevailing pattern of social mobility is of critical importance to an understanding of modern Irish society and this provides the justification for our paper. The social significance of issues of equality of opportunity are recognised in a variety of official sources. Indeed, the Proclamation of the Irish State guarantees to cherish "all the children equally". Yet a substantial body of research has been carried out in recent years documenting the degree of inequality in the society. These have ranged from studies of income inequalities (e.g., Rottman *et al.*, 1982) and access to education (Rottman *et al.*, 1982; Clancy, 1982; Greaney and Kelleghan, 1984) to social conditions (e.g., Kennedy, 1981).

Inequalities of mobility opportunities are not simply one additional

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[1]Roughly translated, the proverb means:
"*Neither noble nor humble, but up a while and down a while*".

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inequality but are, in fact, the crucial mechanism by which resource differences become perpetuated across one's lifetime and across generations. It is through the operation of restrictions on social mobility that closed social groupings emerge which are characterised by disparities in material and cultural resources, contrasting work experiences, and residential segregation (Rottman *et al.*, 1982, Whelan, 1980).

The significance of equality of opportunity as a policy objective is widely accepted. For instance, a recent review of Irish social policy includes among the principal aims of social policy

> . . . the elimination of inequalities of opportunity which arise from inherited social and economic differences (NESC, 1981 p. 2.11).

Furthermore, a recent review of educational policy notes

> From the standpoint of the individual, the key development at second level over the past fifteen years has been the policy of providing equality of educational opportunity ... (Department of Education, White Paper on Education Development, 1980 p. 6.3)

However, an evaluation of the degree of success achieved in pursuing this objective requires a comprehensive documentation of mobility patterns.
. The only substantial evidence on Irish social mobility which has been published are the two papers by Hutchinson (1969 and 1973). These were both based on a sample of Dublin males interviewed in 1968. However, Hutchinson also carried out a further inquiry in 1972, the results of which were never published. For the purposes of our study, we have amalgamated the data from both inquiries. The question arises of what we hope to contribute by a further analysis of social mobility in the period in question. While the increased sample size, made possible by the availability of the previously unanalysed 1972 survey, does offer considerable advantages it is not the primary reason for returning to the question of social mobility. A more significant, and certainly sufficient, reason is the current availability of comparative data from a number of countries which were collected in the early 'seventies. Having access to the original questionnaires for Dublin, we were able to re-code all data on a basis which maximised comparability of our data with these studies. Hence, we aim not only to describe the pattern of Irish social mobility, but to compare and contrast it with the situation in these countries based on more or less contemporaneous data. Such a development requires not simply a different occupational classification system but also that we move beyond the analytic framework and rather limited statistical techniques with which Hutchinson approached his data.

We believe that these three factors fully justify a re-examination of the 1968 and 1972 data sets. However, it might be argued that the occupational structure

and the educational system have changed so much since the early seventies that the relevance of our data is questionable. To this criticism we would make three responses. First, Hutchinson's very simplified analysis based entirely on 1968 data, is still being used by researchers to portray social mobility in Ireland. (See, for instance, Murray and Wickham 1982; Peillon, 1982; and Rottman *et al.*, 1982.) The additional data we present are both more extensive, more recent, and are subjected to considerably more sophisticated analysis. Secondly, fundamental characteristics of the social structure such as social mobility rates tend to change quite slowly. This is not surprising when one recalls that more than half of the males in the labour force in 1968 would still be at work in 1983. Thirdly, we show in Chapter 7 below that the rates of change in occupational structure were not substantially more rapid in the 'seventies than in the 'sixties. We also point out that in this context one must carefully distinguish between the absolute rates of mobility and the relative rates. Thus, even if the rate of change in occupational structure were more rapid, this would not necessarily imply a reduction in inequality.

To substantiate our argument further we present evidence from two recent sources; the National Manpower Survey of School Leavers for 1981 and 1982, and a 1982 Survey of the Youth Labour Force and re-examine the evidence available from a recently published study of equality of educational opportunity. In Chapter 7 we present results derived from these surveys which suggest that considerable caution should be exercised in assuming that there may have been any significant changes in the last decade in the structure of relative mobility opportunities.

It is necessary to stress that we have not been in a position to design a study and collect data on the basis of prior theoretical conceptions and substantive interests. Instead we have drawn on a variety of pre-existing sources; to put the matter more bluntly the data collection costs of this study were zero. As a consequence we have had to pay the usual price associated with secondary analysis. Frequently the information available to us is less than ideal for our specific purposes. For example, it is not possible to use identical classifications across all the surveys and some cross-national comparisons are possible only if we operate with highly aggregated classifications. In particular, we must acknowledge that the evidence on which we must base our conclusions regarding social mobility in the most recent period is far from ideal. However, no better source suggests itself. As Jencks (1972, p. 15) has remarked in a different context, while the limitations of the analysis undertaken may provide something less than complete precision, the magnitude of our errors is almost certainly less than if we had simply consulted our prejudices, which appears to be the only alternative.

We now turn to a brief review of the main themes which have preoccupied those researching social mobility over the years. Throughout the rest of the

paper we shall be returning to these issues and illustrating their importance in the Irish context. In outlining the background to studies of social mobility we draw mainly on recent reviews by Goldthorpe (1980) and Heath (1981).

Early Studies

Thinkers have long been preoccupied with the question of how some men are recruited to positions of power and privilege, while others (usually the vast majority) remain in the lower levels of the social hierarchy. Originally, this was an issue in political theory and a distinctively sociological treatment emerged only in the twentieth century. However, as Heath (1981, p. 11) emphasises, even today the questions asked about how much social mobility exists and what form it takes are not all that different from those of the early political theorists. Indeed, even some of the answers proposed by modern thinkers and their derived policy prescriptions bear a strong resemblance to the earlier analysis. For example, in the *Republic*, Plato raised two of the central themes of social mobility — efficiency and stability. He saw that the rulers need to be recruited from among the most able individuals in the society. Furthermore, a socially acceptable means of ensuring the necessary mobility was required. His answer was to define three classes of citizen: the rulers, the soldiers and the rest of the citizen body. Recruitment to these classes was to be strictly meritocratic although the effect of heredity might produce substantial self-recruitment.

With regard to mobility in industrial society, Goldthorpe (1980, p. 3) has expressed agreement with the assessment that a conducive ideological context emerged only after the end of the last century. Van Heek (1956, pp. 130–131) concludes that nineteenth century liberalism neglected socio-cultural influences on individual achievement because of beliefs rooted in social Darwinism, which provided legitimation for the *de facto* distributions of positions of privilege and power in terms of the survival of the fittest. For Marxism, on the other hand, individual advancement was a collective myth. In fact, such mobility, by impeding the development of class consciousness, would retard true advancement by collective means.

However, in the early twentieth century, a new interest in mobility emerged: an interest in mobility as a value to be preserved and maximised.

> Moreover ... notably in the years following the Second World War, it was this latter concern which undoubtedly grew in importance among social scientists attracted to the study of social mobility. In this period it could be said, it was the problems of liberal democracy rather than the achievement of socialism, which provided the major socio-political context of mobility research (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 13.)

Mobility in Industrial Societies

The discussion of mobility in industrial societies was linked with the question of whether American society was distinctive in the amount of social mobility that it displayed. This debate provided the background for the two major American contributions to the study of social mobility in the post-war period, that is, those of Lipset and his collaborators and that of Blau and Duncan. On the question of "exceptionalism" and the trend of mobility rates in recent American history, Lipset and Bendix (1959) and Blau and Duncan (1967) reach conclusions which are broadly similar. "Mass" mobility rates in the United States, they agree, are not substantially different from those recorded in other economically advanced societies, but what these societies have in common is a level of mobility which is by any reckoning high. Thus, if occupations are divided into two groups, manual and non-manual, about 30 per cent of Americans are in a group different from their father's. The corresponding percentage in Germany is 31 per cent, in Sweden and Britain 29 per cent and in Japan and France 27 per cent.

These "total vertical mobility rates", are strikingly similar. Thus, to explain them Lipset and Bendix sought factors universal thoughout industrial societies. Several different processes inherent in all modern social structures, they argue, have a direct effect on the rate of social mobility and help account for the similarities in different countries: (i) changes in the number of available vacancies; (ii) different rates of fertility; (iii) changes in the rank accorded to occupations; (iv) changes in the number of inheritable status positions and (v) changes in the legal restrictions pertaining to potential opportunities.

As Heath (1981, pp. 38–39) observes, of these five processes the first and the fourth are perhaps the most important. The first makes the point that industrial societies are those with expanding economies which need increasing numbers of higher-level workers in managerial and administrative positions. The fourth indicates that the family firm gives way to the bureaucratic enterprise with its formal methods of selection, where education becomes a more significant determinant of occupational position than occupational inheritance. For Blau and Duncan (1967) the prevalence of high mobility in industrial societies stems from a "fundamental trend" in such societies towards universalism; that is, towards the application in all aspects of social life of standards of judgement or decision-making which derive from considerations of rationality and efficiency and which are detached from the particular values or interests of different membership groups.

In our subsequent analysis we shall make use of the previous work on the nature of the factors influencing mobility in industrial societies in order to illuminate the character of the mobility process in Ireland. In particular, in attempting to evaluate the extent to which the Irish pattern is distinctive, we will be obliged to provide an assessment of the role played by

(i)   those factors affecting the supply and demand for different types of
      labour which produce cross-national differences in the class distribution
      of origins and destinations;
(ii) the structure of relative mobility opportunities which underlie observed
      mobility patterns.

The Political Arithmetic Tradition

Blau and Duncan saw the existence of high mobility as contributing to the
legitimation of inequalities in reward.

> This is possible, if not through an appeal to the fairness of giving
> special privileges to men with socially valued abilities, then at least
> through an appeal to the greater benefits likely to accrue to all if such
> men are supplied with the incentives to nurture their abilities and
> to enter those occupations to which they can be best applied
> (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 16).

This view, Goldthorpe (1980, pp. 22-24) stresses, contrasts with the basic
strategy of the attack which British socialists launched on classical liberalism:
that of exposing the gap that existed between liberal ideology and social reality.
Equality of opportunity and equality of conditions were seen as essentially
complimentary. The greater the degrees of equality of opportunity that could be
obtained, the more could market forces be enabled to work to egalitarian effect.
Furthermore, it was considered that maximum opportunity for mobility would
ensure that elite positions were open to talent and guard against the chances of
the formation of permanent elites. Thus, the theme of equity occupies the centre
stage.

This particular interest in mobility is reflected in the major post-war study of
the topic by D. V. Glass and his colleagues (1954) at the London School of
Economics. Glass focuses attention on the higher levels of the stratification
hierarchy, particularly on the process of social selection for "elite" positions. For
Glass the primary concern is not the relation of mobility to class formation, the
basis of social order or the efficient allocation of manpower.

> Glass belongs more to the tradition of the social reformers such as
> Tawney concerned to expose injustice and wastage in civil society and
> ameliorate conditions through civil reform (Heath, 1981, p. 34).

Social Mobility and Class Formation

While there are major contrasts between the approach to the study of mobility
adopted by Glass and his colleagues and that associated with Blau and Duncan
they share a concern with vertical mobility along a status dimension. More

recently, however, Goldthorpe (1980, p. 115) has suggested that this approach may have serious deficiencies if one wishes to explore the relationship of social mobility to class formation. Blau and Duncan, Goldthorpe concludes, go beyond the idea, to be found in Marx, to envisage a model of stratification which postulates not a

> ...structure of interrelated social groupings within which individuals can be located, but rather a continuum, or perhaps a series of continua, of positions of differential "socio-economic" status on which individuals can be ranged (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 16).

However, it is precisely such issues of class formation and class action which have provoked the more recent interest in issues relating to social mobility. Thus, Giddens (1973) rejects the argument accepted by most Marxist writers, that class structure must be understood in the sense of a structure of positions constituted by the prevailing relations of production, and that the distribution of individuals among those positions is of quite minor significance. For Giddens, mobility is a process which is central to class formation. The greater the restriction on mobility the more the creation of identifiable classes is facilitated.

> For the effect of "closure" in terms of intergenerational movement is to provide for the *reproduction* of common life experiences over the generations (Giddens, 1973, p. 107).

In conducting our analysis we will make use of a variety of classifications of occupations and a continuous measure of social "prestige" to enable us to pursue a variety of issues relating to industrialisation and mobility, universalism and equality of opportunity, and class formation, in the widest possible comparative perspective.

We will return to the issues raised in the foregoing sections throughout this paper, and at each stage will attempt to point out the advantages and limitations of the methods of analysis employed.

Women and Social Mobility

The analysis that follows will relate exclusively to males. Women are normally conspicuous by their absence in research on mobility and stratification. As Goldthorpe (1983, p. 465) notes, the charge of intellectual "sexism" has been directed against the conventional view within stratification theory and research, that it is the family rather than the individual which forms the basic unit of social stratification, and that it is the occupational position of the male "head of household" which is crucial (Acker 1973, 1980; Delphy, 1981; Reid and Wormwald, 1982 and Allen, 1982). The critique suggests that within the study of stratification the existence of sexual inequalities comes to be more or less disregarded. How-

ever, as Goldthorpe stresses, while the foregoing assumptions reflect the separa-
tion of sex roles within the family, that division is seen by class theorists as being
itself the expression of a major form of inequality between the sexes. The fact that
women have responsibility for domestic labour restricts involvement in paid
employment.

> From the standpoint in question then, the family is the unit of
> stratification primarily because only certain family members, pre-
> dominantly males, have as a result of their labour market participa-
> tion, what might be termed a directly determined position within the
> class structure (Goldthorpe, 1983, p. 468).

The position of other members of the family is "derived" from that of the family
head and a whole range of life chances which vary with class have their impact
on women to a large extent through their husband's position. This situation is
not significantly altered by the increase in the numbers of married women
engaged in paid employment, Goldthorpe (1983, pp. 468-469) emphasises,
because the timing, duration and character of such employment is conditioned
by the phasing of their conventionally imposed domestic duties and by their
"derived class".

Outline of the Paper

In Chapter 2 we deal with the context of social mobility in Ireland. Thus the
chapter provides a discussion of changes in occupational structure and demo-
graphic patterns.

In the third chapter we discuss the class schema employed and the theoretical
conception of class which underlies it. We also provide informal comparisons of
the extent, nature and consequences in terms of class composition of mobility in
Dublin and England and Wales in the early 'seventies.

The question of whether the differences between Dublin and England in
mobility patterns are attributable to differences in their origin or destination
distributions or whether there are underlying differences in relative mobility
chances is explicitly addressed in Chapter 4. In this chapter we also attempt to
discover the nature of the relative mobility chances or the *mobility regime* which
underlies the *de facto* experience of the Dublin respondents.

In Chapter 5 the comparison of mobility patterns across countries is extended
to include France and Sweden. The central question to which we will address
ourselves is whether the results from Dublin are consistent with the thesis that
the mobility patterns of western societies are basically similar.

A change of perspective is involved in Chapter 6 where the central questions
relate not to the interchange between classes but to the determinants of an
individual's status attainment, in particular, to the relative importance of family

background and actual achievements.

The causal modelling perspective employed in Chapter 6 will be of value to us in confronting in Chapter 7 the issue of the extent to which changes in the past decade may have affected the mobility process.

Finally in Chapter 8 we will draw together our findings and consider their implications.

Chapter 2
The Context of Social Mobility

Introduction

The samples on which our study are mainly based were taken in 1968 and 1972. Irish society at that point in time had just experienced a decade of social change which fundamentally altered migration patterns, the occupational structure and the educational system. This transformation was to continue and become more obvious in the following decade of the 1970s.

Trends in social mobility were undoubtedly influenced by the social and demographic changes which occurred during the 1960s. However, the nature of these influences, their extent and direction are not always obvious, and attempts to infer conclusions about mobility from global data on social and demographic structures are fraught with problems. This chapter, therefore, examines the evolution of the social context in which our samples were taken and attempts to describe the manner in which various aspects of the social change have impinged upon mobility patterns. We try to sketch the main features of the transformation that occurred in migration, occupational structure and the educational system and go on to examine their effects on mobility. We also discuss at some length the implications of the fact that both samples are confined to Dublin. We shall see that this imposes some restrictions, though not very serious ones, on the type of conclusion that can be drawn from our data.

The Occupational Structure

The demographic transformation outlined above was paralleled, and in part caused, by a dramatic change in the occupational structure. Table 2.1, which is reproduced from Rottman and O'Connell (1982), contrasts the percentage of males in different social classes in 1951 with those in 1971. In the early 'fifties almost half of the male labour force worked in class categories which depended on property ownership. The higher social classes (professionals, managers and senior administrators) numbered under 50,000 and represented only 5 per cent of the workforce. Only 11 per cent were skilled manual workers and a quarter were engaged in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations. Rottman and O'Connell remark, referring to the 46 per cent of the labour force which derived their income from property ownership,

> For the children of these individuals life chances centred on the prospects of inheriting the family business and the accompanying house and household goods. Realistically, education or training could secure a livelihood within Ireland for only a minority of those aspiring to the workforce (p. 69).

Table 2.1: *Distribution of males at work by class categories, 1951 to 1979*

	1951 No.	%	1961 No.	%	1971 No.	%	1979 No.	%
EMPLOYERS AND SELF-EMPLOYED								
Agriculture:								
(i) employers	27,832	3.1	14,000	1.8	212,950[1]	27.4	8,700	1.0
(ii) self-employed and relatives assisting	314,422	35.0	265,436	34.3			166,800	20.1
Non-agricultural activities:								
(i) employers	19,701	2.2	12,583	1.6	64,656[1]	8.3	27,900	3.4
(ii) self-employed and relatives assisting	52,898	5.9	47,985	6.2			53,800	6.5
Total Employers and Self-Employed	*414,853*	*46.2*	*340,004*	*43.9*	*277,606*	*35.6*	*257,200*	*31.1*
EMPLOYEES								
(i) upper middle class (higher and lower professions, managers and salaried employees)	47,780	5.3	58,934	7.6	84,512	10.9	110,200	13.3
(ii) lower middle class (intermediate and other non-manual)	123,011	13.7	121,159	15.6	139,991	18.0	169,300	20.5
(iii) skilled manual	95,308	10.6	96,050	12.4	130,625	16.8	167,400	20.2
(iv) semi and unskilled manual								
(a) agricultural	90,049	10.0	61,335	7.9	37,676	4.9	24,700	3.0
(b) non-agricultural	124,789	13.9	96,731	12.5	105,384	13.6	98,300	11.9
Total Employees	*430,937*	*53.6*	*434,209*	*56.1*	*498,188*	*64.2*	*569,900*	*68.8*
Total at work[2]	897,465	100.0	774,540	100.0	776,507	100.0	827,800	100.0
Total out of work	36,115		46,989		55,157		55,600	
Total out of work as % of gainfully occupied		3.9		5.7		6.6		6.3

Source: 1951, 1961 and 1971: Census of Population, Various Volumes; 1979: Derived from data specially provided to the ESRI by the Central Statistics Office from unpublished Labour Force Survey statistics.

1. Number of employers and self-employed were not disaggregated in the 1971 Census.
2. Total at work includes other and undefined workers, which are not separately given in the table above. The total excludes "theological students", "professional students" and "articled clerks" and, in 1951, those in hospitals.

By 1971, the picture had altered quite considerably. At that time, only 36 per cent of the labour force depended on property for their living. The proportion of professional and managerial employees in the labour force had doubled to about 11 per cent. The rapid development of manufacturing industry led to an increase from 11 to 17 per cent in the proportion of the population who were in skilled manual occupations, while the proportion in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs outside agriculture remained roughly constant. The number of agricultural labourers dropped by more than half, from 10 to 4.9 per cent of the labour force. The decline in self-employment is composed of two opposite trends. Farmers and relatives assisting fell from 39 per cent of the 1961 labour force to 27 per cent of that in 1971, while the proportion who were self-employed outside agriculture rose slightly.

Industries

The shifts in the occupational structure reflected the changing pattern of employment by industry. Table 2.2 contrasts the breakdown of the population at work by industry in 1951 with that prevailing in 1971. Agriculture declined from 48 per cent of the labour force in 1951 to 32 per cent in 1971, and was to decline even more dramatically to 24 per cent in 1979. "Other Industries", which includes manufacturing, grew from 15 per cent in 1951 to 22 per cent in 1971 and to 24 per cent in 1979. Commerce, insurance, etc., also grew, though not so substantially. Employment in professional services had doubled its share of total employment by 1979, and public administration also increased its share although the most rapid growth in this sector occurred during the 'seventies.

Thus, the changes in the industrial structure may be characterised as a switch from the agricultural to the industrial sector, from "traditional" industries to more "modern" ones, and a substantial expansion in the predominantly white collar sectors such as professional services and the public sector. Recruitment and promotional procedures probably became more formalised with a greater emphasis on qualifications in either technical or clerical skills. Hence, the number of high status positions is likely to have grown with a corresponding reduction in low status positions. However, we shall show below that there are numerous problems involved in trying to interpret the implications of these data from the point of view of social mobility, and it is certainly not obvious that mobility rates (especially relative mobility rates) have increased substantially.

The context of social mobility continued to change during the 'seventies, and we have, therefore, included in the tables in this chapter figures relating to these years. The purpose of these data is to illustrate the consistency of the trends in the 'seventies with those of the 'sixties. This will, we believe, strengthen the conclusion of Chapter 7 below which argues that there is no evidence of substantial changes in mobility rates since our survey data were collected.

Table 2.2: *Distribution of males at work by industrial group, 1951 to 1979*

Industrial Group	1951		1961		1971		1979	
	Number	*(%)*	*Number*	*(%)*	*Number*	*(%)*	*Thousands*	*(%)*
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	428,623	(47.5)	336,637	(43.5)	247,585	(31.9)	201.6	(24.4)
Building and Construction	85,012	(9.4)	58,634	(7.6)	82,856	(10.7)	97.9	(11.8)
Other Production Industries	135,441	(15.0)	138,495	(17.8)	171,799	(22.1)	199.8	(24.1)
Commerce, Insurance Finance and Business	108,883	(12.1)	104,322	(13.5)	116,247	(15.0)	127.9	(15.5)
Transport, Communication, Storage	53,447	(5.9)	47,287	(6.1)	50,589	(6.5)	56.3	(6.8)
Professional Services	31,791	(3.5)	34,956	(4.5)	44,558	(5.7)	60.7	(7.3)
Public Administration Defence	33,097	(3.7)	32,717	(4.2)	37,322	(4.8)	51.8	(6.3)
Others	25,954	(2.9)	21,492	(2.8)	25,551	(3.2)	31.8	(3.8)
All Industries	902,248	(100.0)	774,540	(100.0)	776,507	(100.0)	827.8	(100.0)

The Demographic Background

From the nineteenth century until the early 1960s, Irish society was characterised by high levels of emigration, late age at marriage, high levels of celibacy and overall population decline. Against this background, the reversal which occurred in the 1960s was dramatic. The annual emigration rate fell from 2 per cent of the population in the 1950s to 0.6 per cent between 1961 and 1966 (Rottman and O'Connell, 1982). In the 1970s migration was in the opposite direction and the country experienced an inflow of 0.4 per cent per annum. Marriage rates began to rise in the 1960s and marriage fertility to fall.

Emigration had a striking effect on the population's age structure. Overall, about one-fifth of the persons born from the foundation of the State and living in Ireland in 1951 had emigrated by 1961. However, since emigration was primarily concentrated in the late teens and early twenties, these age groups experienced a particularly traumatic decline. Thus, of the persons aged 10 to 19 in 1950, only about three-fifths remained in Ireland by 1961. While some of these were to return in the 1970s, substantial immigration had not yet begun when the respondents in our samples were interviewed.

Emigration was selective not only of particular age groups, but also of particular social classes. Rottman and O'Connell, basing themselves on the Investment in Education Report, state that 82 per cent of the Irish-born living in Britain had left school at the age of 15 or earlier. The bulk of emigrants were from agricultural backgrounds — farm labourers, children of small farmers and the owners of small farms. Many had never had a job before emigrating and many others were unemployed.

While the majority of emigrants can be characterised as young, unskilled and from agricultural backgrounds, it might be remarked that considerable flows of higher status persons also existed. For example, Lynn (1968) analysed the Irish "brain drain". Furthermore, it must be emphasised that most of the existing data and studies relate to *net* migration. Throughout the 'fifties and 'sixties, there was undoubtedly a return flow of people to Ireland, though not in sufficient numbers to counter-balance the huge exodus that was occuring. However, relatively little is known about the size or composition of these gross flows.

Hughes and Walsh (1976) and Kirwan (1982) used data from the British Census and Labour Force Surveys to examine the characteristics of Irish emigrants to Britain and of returning migrants. Kirwan (p. 203) shows that, during the 'seventies at least, people tended to emigrate in their early twenties and to return in their mid- to late thirties. Hughes and Walsh conclude that the vast bulk of emigrants are unskilled while those who return tend to be more highly skilled. The latter phenomenon receives some confirmation in a study carried out by one of the present authors (Whelan, 1978) which was based on a survey of returning emigrants. Considerable numbers of those interviewed had

enhanced their skills or qualifications while abroad. Almost half of the respondents had left Ireland as unskilled manual workers, but only about a quarter were in these types of jobs on return. Relatively few returned to farming, though this was the occupation in which the majority had been engaged before leaving Ireland for the first time.

Education

Another facet of the general social change was the expansion and re-direction of educational provision. The overall participation rate in education rose from 51 per cent of the population aged 4–24 in 1951 to 66 per cent in 1971 and to 67 per cent in 1979.

Not only did the number in education change substantially, but the content of the courses was also altered considerably. Tussing (1978) points out that, prior to the late 'fifties, Irish primary and second-level education concentrated on the "arts" type of curriculum with little scientific or technical content. He states that:

> Until fairly recently the schools have not been viewed principally in terms of their role in preparing youth for employment; rather, their role has been more moral, intellectual and religious (p. 58).

The movement towards more scientific and technical training has been marked. The content of the second-level curriculum has been altered to include more technical, scientific and business subjects. At third level, there has been a substantial expansion of these types of subjects in universities. A network of regional technical colleges and a number of other third-level institutions emphasising science and technology have been established.

Considerable expansion has also occurred in training outside the conventional education system. AnCO, the Industrial Training Authority, was established in 1967 and its activities have expanded since then to cover both apprenticeships and a vast range of vocational training for adults and young people from all educational backgrounds.

On the whole, however, the main effects of educational expansion were not felt until the 1970s so that the respondents interviewed in 1961 and 1972 consisted almost entirely of persons who had been through the older system of education and training. We shall return in Chapter 7 to consider the likely effects of educational expansion on social mobility in the 1970s and beyond.

Implications for Social Mobility in the Early Seventies

We now consider the implications of the various trends outlined above for the pattern of social mobility to be observed in our 1968 and 1972 samples. Let us begin by pointing out that these studies were the first attempt to quantify the

extent of social mobility in Ireland, and no studies of a similar scale have been published since. This means that we have only one observation of a phenomenon which is undoubtedly changing over time. Our objective in this section is to establish what can (and more importantly, what cannot) be inferred about trends in mobility from sources other than our samples. This will allow us some limited insight into the evolution in mobility since the early 'fifties. These considerations will also be important when in Chapter 7 we come to assess the extent of the changes which are likely to have occurred between 1972 and the present day.

A number of difficulties arise in making inferences about mobility from aggregate data on social structure, some general and some peculiar to Ireland. In the first place, Blau and Duncan (1967, p. 81) show that the concept of a "generation" as used in mobility studies and that of a "cohort" as used by demographers are quite distinct. In a typical mobility study the respondents (sons) can be regarded as belonging to a particular birth cohort but their fathers do not comprise a set of actual cohorts participating in economic activity contemporaneously. Thus, while the father's median age at son's birth is about 30 years (the length of a generation), this age has a substantial variance.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that some fathers have more than one son while others have no sons at all. Blau and Duncan then go on to provide some striking illustrations of the difficulties caused by these problems in inferring conclusions about mobility from aggregate data on occupational structure.

Heath (1981) points to two further sets of complicating factors; differential life expectancy in the different classes and the fact that men of different ages will have had different durations of exposure to the labour market.

Social change in Ireland has a number of special features which cause even further difficulties. The first is the unevenness of the changes which occurred — the transformation which began in the early 'sixties was far from complete by the time our respondents were interviewed.

The second factor is emigration. Even if occupational data from the Census could be supplemented by a series of surveys at different points in time over the last thirty years, the crucial significance of selective emigration would not be affected. This is because those who emigrate cannot, by definition, be interviewed in mobility surveys and because the groups most prone to emigration do not originate proportionately in all social classes. We saw above that emigrants were predominantly young and unskilled and that the majority came from agricultural occupations and from the ranks of the "not gainfully occupied". As Rottman, et al. (1982, pp. 49-50) point out:

the sequencing of these changes made it impossible for the massive

> pre-1961 decline in marginal farming and unskilled manual labour to be compensated for by the expansion in skilled manual employment or non-manual employment..... Though mobility into non-manual employment or skilled employment is possible for the children of, say, agricultural labourers it is not a transition easily made by the parent.... New employment possibilities were largely limited to those with family resources sufficient to secure the credentials that governed access into ... positions of white-collar employment. For most people, emigration filled the gap.

In a sense, these emigrants belong to the lowest social class of all — a group so marginal that the society did not afford them an acceptable standard of living. Hence, if we are to understand fully how life chances are transmitted from one generation of Irish people to the next, emigrants should, ideally, be included in our mobility tables. However, since they have left the country it is clearly impossible to interview and include them. In a way, therefore, the estimates of social mobility presented below (even though the degree of inequality implied by them is substantial) paint too rosy a picture of the overall social structure since those denied an acceptable occupation (the emigrants) are excluded. This does not, of course, imply that our estimates of the mobility chances experienced by those who remained in Ireland are in any way biased.

One aspect of emigration of particular relevance to our study relates to the characteristics of emigrants. A number of commentators have expressed the view that those who emigrate are the most active and go-ahead members of their class. This would suggest that those most likely to achieve upward mobility would be also the most likely to emigrate so draining off some of the enterprise and potential for mobility from the lower social classes. However, there is little empirical evidence for this view and it is very difficult to establish how important a factor it is. More precisely, there seems to be little evidence of unusually rapid upward mobility among Irish emigrants in Britain or America.

As well as limiting the conclusions about mobility that can be drawn from aggregate data, these characteristics of Irish demography and society have certain implications for the methodology we can adopt. In particular, they make us reluctant to carry out a comparative analysis of the mobility experienced by different age cohorts in our samples.[2]

[2]The same complicating factors (uneven social change coupled with high and drastically differentiated emigration rates between classes) render particularly inappropriate in the Irish context the common practice (which is crucial, for instance, in Hutchinson's original analysis of the 1968 sample) of classifying individual instances of mobility as either "structural" or "exchange" mobility. Thus, the use of more recently developed analytic techniques which allow consideration of absolute and relative mobility is of particular benefit in Ireland. A more detailed description of these techniques precedes their application in Chapter 4.

Given the formidable array of problems which we have just enumerated, it is
clear that any inferences we draw about mobility from aggregate data must be
limited and tentative. However, some comments do seem warranted. First, it
seems clear that the number of higher level positions available has increased.
Substantial absolute mobility will certainly have occurred in the last thirty
years; compared with the 'fifties, more men now work in jobs at different levels
from their father's. We can go further and say that, given the nature of the indus-
trial transformation, movement has been upward rather than downward.

However, we cannot go much further on the basis of aggregate data. In
particular, we cannot analyse *relative* mobility rates or comment on the degree of
inequality of opportunity which exists. It is to these tasks that the rest of this
paper is mainly devoted.

Mobility in Dublin: Demographic and Occupational Background

The above discussion related to the transformation of the Irish social struc-
ture. However, both of our samples are limited to Dublin county. In this section,
therefore, we examine the trends in the size and structure of Dublin's population
and their implications for our study.

Dublin's population, as a proportion of the total population of the state, rose
from 23 per cent in 1951 to 26 per cent in 1961 and to 29 per cent in 1971. Hughes
and Walsh (1980) show that the overall rate of internal mobility in Ireland is
very low by international standards. However, much of the mobility which does
exist consists of movement from the rest of Ireland into Dublin. Table 2.3 shows
the birthplaces of males resident in Dublin in 1946, 1961 and 1971. Little change
was recorded over this period. About three-quarters of the males resident in
Dublin were Dublin-born, 16–18 per cent were born elsewhere in Ireland and
the remaining 6 per cent were born outside the State. Despite the overall growth
in population experienced by Dublin, emigration from the capital was still
considerable up to 1961.

In the years 1946–61, migration caused a net loss of almost 53,000 persons or
nearly 40 per cent of the county's natural increase, whereas in the period
1961–71 over 17,000 persons were added to the population of the county. How-
ever, as Hughes and Walsh point out, the migration experience of the Dublin-
born was, since 1946 at least, much more favourable than that of those born else-
where in Ireland.

Thus, the population of Dublin increased by about 1,700 per year between
1961 and 1971. This net inward movement was the result of a complex set of
migration streams into and out of the county — an outflow of 4,000 per year of
those born in Dublin, an inflow of about the same size of persons born elsewhere
in Ireland and a further inflow of almost 2,000 per year of persons born outside
the state. In other words, the attractiveness of Dublin as a destination for

ιTable 2.3: *Male residents of Dublin (City and County), classified by birthplace, 1946, 1961, 1971*

Birthplace	1946	1961	1971
		Per cent	
Dublin	75.2	77.1	77.4
Elsewhere in Ireland	18.6	16.9	16.2
Outside the State	6.2	6.0	6.3

internal migrants increased substantially in the years from 1961 to 1971. At the same time, its attractiveness to potential migrants among the Dublin-born also increased, since their net emigration rate (i.e., to destinations outside the State) declined from 6,300 per annum to 2,200.

We now turn to examine the occupational structure of the capital. It is clear that being the centre of government as well as the location of the headquarters of most large firms and organisations, it is to be expected that a high proportion of Dublin residents will be employed in non-manual occupations and especially in the higher non-manual occupations. Conversely, employment in agriculture will be of negligible proportions. Unfortunately, data do not exist to provide time series of social class groupings for Dublin as was done for the country as a whole in Table 2.1 above. We do, however, have at our disposal data derived from the Labour Force Survey which give the social class composition of the Dublin area on a basis exactly comparable with that shown in Table 2.1 for a single year, viz. 1979. The relevant figures are shown in Table 2.4.

As might be expected, the proportion engaged in agriculture in Dublin is tiny (under 2 per cent as opposed to almost 25 per cent for the country as a whole). Employers and self-employed outside agriculture constitute about 10 per cent of the Dublin workforce, the same as in the country as a whole. The unskilled and semi-skilled category also accounts for the same percentage in Dublin as elsewhere, (about 12 per cent). Skilled manual employees account for 20 per cent of the country's labour force compared with 24 per cent of Dublin's.

It is in the non-manual occupations that the sharpest contrast occurs. Over 22 per cent of Dublin males are in the upper middle class compared with 13 per cent in the country as a whole, and 31 per cent of Dubliners are in the lower middle class contrasted with 21 per cent in the country as a whole. These marked differences underline the necessity to avoid generalising from Dublin data to inferences about mobility in Ireland as a whole.

Finally, we might note that migration into and out of Dublin appears to be highly selective. Hutchinson (1969) states that

Table 2.4: *Distribution of males at work in Dublin (City and County) by class categories 1979*

Employers and Self-Employed		No. ('000)	Per cent
Agriculture:	Employers	0.5	0.2
	Self-employed and relatives assisting	1.5	0.6
Non-Agricultural Activities:			
	Employers	8.8	3.8
	Self-employed and relatives assisting	14.0	6.0
Total Employers and Self-employed		*24.8*	*10.6*
Employees			
	Upper Middle Class	51.9	22.2
	Lower Middle Class	71.7	30.7
	Skilled Manual	56.0	24.0
	Semi-skilled and Unskilled manual		
	Agricultural	2.2	0.9
	Non-agricultural	26.8	11.5
Total Employees		*208.6*	*89.4*
Total at Work		*233.4*	*100.0*

Source: Labour Force Survey (1979) (Special tabulation kindly made available by CSO).

> . . . migrants to the capital on the whole are of higher status than the Dublin-born themselves.

As an explanation, he notes that migrants to Dublin are likely to be selected on the basis of education and ambition and that, for many able employees, promotion often means a move to Dublin. He also mentions the possibility that Dublin-born aspirants to the higher status levels combine social with geographical mobility — the "brain drain" mentioned above.

Migration patterns of this kind complicate the interpretation of observed mobility in Dublin and, in particular, limit even more severely the extent to which it can be generalised to the country as a whole. In our analysis, we have tried to avoid these pitfalls and have, in a number of instances, presented analyses which differentiate between Dublin-born and those born elsewhere. However, both the discussion in this chapter and the analysis by geographical origin presented below suggest that we are likely to underestimate rather than overestimate inequalities of opportunity.

Changes since 1972

We pointed out above that the occupational structure has continued to change rapidly since the early 'seventies. Agriculture has declined further and industry and services have expanded. There has been a particularly marked rise in public sector employment (mainly non-manual).

It was also shown that the main effects of educational expansion did not begin to be felt on the labour force until the 'seventies. The substantial growth in second- and third-level education may ultimately have considerable effects on social mobility. The recent changes in demography (i.e., the immigration which occurred in the 'seventies) and the marked deterioration in employment rates may also be important. Chapter 7 looks in detail at such evidence as we have been able to accumulate on the manner in which mobility patterns evolved during the 'seventies. Data from a number of recent surveys are examined and an assessment made of the changes which seem to have occurred.

We shall show that these are unlikely to have been dramatic and hence that the picture which emerges from the 1968–72 data is still substantially valid. We now turn, therefore, to a detailed examination of these data.

Chapter 3
The Extent of Social Mobility

Introduction

Before starting to analyse mobility patterns, we must consider how to conceptualise social class and, in particular, the nature and number of class categories which should be distinguished. The first part of this chapter is devoted to this subject. In it we give the reasons why we elected to follow the approach of Goldthorpe by defining a set of class categories based on economic rewards, job content and position within the division of labour. The second part of the chapter presents a simple comparison of Irish mobility rates with those in Britain. There follows a more detailed discussion of the thesis that there exists "a buffer zone" between the upper and lower classes which helps inhibit long-range mobility. The last part of the chapter involves a change of focus. It examines the composition of the upper social groups in order to see from where the elite in Irish society is recruited.

The data analysed in this chapter come from the surveys of male residents in Dublin in 1968 and 1972 which were described in the first chapter.[3] In later chapters we will use relatively sophisticated statistical methods to examine the underlying pattern of mobility relativities. However, in this chapter our conclusions will be based on a rather straightforward examination of conventional cross tabulations.

Occupational Coding and Class Positions Schema

The fundamental classification of occupations used in this study is the 124 category Hope–Goldthorpe scale (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974, pp. 96–109). Occupations are allocated to categories by reference to both a detailed occupational description *and* to the following employment status classification.

1. Self-employed with 25 or more employees
2. Self-employed with less than 25 employees
3. Self-employed without employees
4. Manager in an establishment with 25 or more employees
5. Manager in an establishment with less than 25 employees
6. Foreman/Supervisor
7. Employee.

The 124 categories can be collapsed in a number of ways in order to deal with a variety of questions relating to class mobility. The first such aggregation we consider produces a 36 category version of the scale. A description of these cate-

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[3]Details of the method of sampling, response rates and weighting schemes are given in Appendix I below.

gories together with the distribution of respondents across them is given in Appendix 3.2. The categories provide a high degree of differentiation in terms of both occupational function and employment status. Thus, for example, "self-employed plumber", "foreman-plumber" and "rank and file plumber" are treated as different occupations (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 39).

We should point out that this manner of constructing the scale involves a departure from the common assumption that an occupation is a work role and set of work tasks which can be identified independently of the economic relationships in which its incumbents are involved (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974, p. 23). Our approach attempts to bring together within each class position those occupations whose incumbents share similar market and work situations. Hence, class positions or categories are made up of occupations whose members are typically comparable in terms of their sources and levels of income, their degree of economic security, their chances of economic advancement and their degree of autonomy in performing work tasks and roles. Such a conception can be traced back to Weber's distinction between class and social class and has been further developed by Goldthorpe and Lockwood. For them, position in the division of labour is the crucial determinant of class situation for those not possessing productive wealth. The increasing relevance of such an approach to the analysis of mobility in modern Ireland is evident from Chapter 2 above. There we documented the shift from the situation in the early 'fifties where life chances were crucially influenced by the prospects of inheriting the family business to the current situation of wage bargaining in a class system highly differentiated by skills and credentials (Rottman and O'Connell, 1982, p. 71).

Evidence for the degree of differentiation among employees is available from Whelan's (1980) study of work inequalities among male employees in Dublin. This study provided evidence of not only the predictable differences in income but also in the extent to which they were covered by sickness and pension schemes, in their experience of unemployment,in the operation of incremental scales and in the degree of supervision to which they were subject.

An appreciation of the nature of the class schema employed in this study will be enhanced by an awareness of the fact that the manner in which these inequalities go together is a systematic consequence of the way in which work is organised. Underlying the differences in conditions of employment, Goldthorpe (1982, pp. 167–68) observes, is a more basic difference in the relationship between employers and higher level white collar employees, on the one hand, and that between employers and working class employees, on the other. A much greater degree of trust is reposed in higher level employees than in the working class. Those employees to whom authority is delegated or who are responsible for specialist functions are thereby provided with some legitimate area of autonomy or discretion. Such work roles require that decisions or judgements be made by

the person occupying them. The question which immediately presents itself is "in the light of whose interest, values and goals will the decisions be made?". The problem is particularly pressing in the case of occupants of high discretion roles because the consequence of decisions which have adverse implications for the organisation may only become evident after a great many have been made. It becomes a matter of trust that high discretion employees will act in ways that are consistent with organisational goals and values.

The occupants of such roles are presumed to have a personal commitment to an occupational calling and to the goals and values of the organisation. Consequently, close supervision or detailed regulation by specific impersonal rules are considered inappropriate. The emphasis is on a free flow of ideas, suggestions, criticism and consultative discussion. Furthermore, failures and inadequacies are seen to be a consequence not of neglect or perversity but of poor judgement. Thus, how well such employees perform will, in crucial respects, depend on the degree of their moral commitment to the organisation, rather than the efficacy of external sanctions (Fox, 1974, pp. 77–78).

The foregoing does not imply that there is no connection between the nature of these employees' tasks and the typical form of their conditions of employment. In fact, as Goldthorpe (1982, p. 168) stresses, such conditions can be seen to reflect the need for creating and sustaining organisational commitment.

> It is not so much that reward is being offered in return for work done but rather "compensation" and "consideration" in return for an acceptance of an obligation to discharge trust faithfully (Goldthorpe, 1982, p. 169).

What is central to the logic of high trust relationships, it is suggested, is the significance of prospective rewards, as embodied in incremental salary arrangement, security and most particularly, career opportunities.

The original surveys were not undertaken with this particular classification scheme in mind. However, by applying the Hope–Goldthorpe allocation procedures to the occupations as recorded on the questionnaires we were able to re-code all the data from the two surveys in an appropriate fashion. There was no major difficulty in using the occupational descriptions given and the coding of employment status was accomplished by combining information from a number of distinct questions, viz.,

   (i)   branch of industry, commerce or service, etc.
   (ii) whether the respondent was self-employed, an employee or unemployed;
  (iii) number of subordinates under control if any;
  (iv) if farmer, size of farm.

Full details of the original questions asked are set out in Appendix 3.1.

In the Irish case it was necessary to pay particular attention to the manner in which farmers should be allocated. In England and Wales, given the relatively small number of farmers, it was possible to assign all farmers to one occupational category and consequently one class position. To follow this procedure in Ireland would involve obscuring important social distinctions. We have therefore allocated farmers as follows:

Farmers with 100 acres or more	— Class position I
Farmers with 50–99 acres	— Class position IV
Farmers with less than 50 acres	— Class position VII

It would, of course, have been possible to produce a more detailed differentiation of farmers by class position. However, it was felt that given the number involved it would add little to the precision of our results. Furthermore, this allocation was influenced by our desire to maintain the distinctions between class categories in terms of work situation. Thus, large farmers are allocated to the bourgeoisie, medium farmers to the petit bourgeoisie and marginal farmers to the lower working class. It should be kept in mind that since our respondents reside in Dublin the farming occupations are largely those of fathers of the respondents rather than the respondents themselves.

While the 36 category schema described above is useful in preserving sociologically meaning distinctions, it is too cumbersome for more analytic purposes. A further collapsing to a seven class schema was, therefore, carried out. The categories in this schema will now be described. (The Hope–Goldthorpe categories specified for each category refer to the 36-category collapsed version of the original Hope–Goldthorpe scale. The explanatory and interpretive comments are taken from Goldthorpe (1980, pp. 39–42).)

Class I (H–G categories 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and farmers with 100 acres or more): all higher grade professionals, self-employed or salaried; higher grade administration and officials in central and local government and in public or private enterprises (including company directors); managers in large industrial establishments; and large proprietors. What the occupations in class position I have in common is that they offer their incumbents incomes which are high, generally secure, and likely to rise steadily over their lifetimes. They are also positions which typically involve the exercise of authority, within a wide range of discretion, or at least ones which offer considerable autonomy and freedom from control by others. Class I may be taken as very largely corresponding to the higher and intermediate levels of what has been referred to as "the service class" of modern capitalist society — the class position of those who exercise power and expertise on behalf of corporate bodies — plus such elements of the classic bourgeoisie (independent businessmen and "free" professionals) who are not as yet assimilated into this new formation. In the Irish case it also includes large farmers.

Class II (H–G Categories 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16): lower professionals and higher grade technicians, lower grade administrators and officials, managers in small business and industrial establishments and in services; and supervisors of non-manual employers. Typically Class II positions guarantee income levels that rank directly below those of Class I and also carry "staff" status and conditions of employment. These occupational roles tend to be located in the middle and lower ranges of bureaucratic hierarchies of one type or another, so that they exercise some degree of authority and discretion in the performance of their work tasks while at the same time being subject to more or less systematic, if not particularly close, control from above.

Class III (H–G Categories 21, 25, 28 and 34): routine non-manual — largely clerical — employees in administration and commerce; sales personnel; and other rank and file employees in services. The level of incomes of men in Class III positions is clearly lower than that of men in Classes I and II. The majority of Class III positions do, however, provide relatively high security of employment and tend in some degree to be integrated into the base of bureaucratic structures offering at least some features of "staff" status. Men in the occupational roles covered are not usually engaged in the exercise of authority or, if so, only through the application of standardised rules and procedures in which discretion is slight; on the other hand, they are themselves likely to be subjected to quite detailed bureaucratic regulation.

Class IV (H–G Categories 11, 13, 19, 24, 29 and 36): small proprietors, self-employed artisans; and all other "own account" workers apart from professional. This class may be equated with that of the "petty bourgeoisie". The market situation of its members is distinctive in virtue of their employment status, although income levels show considerable variability. Economic security and prospects must also be regarded as generally less predictable than in the case of salaried employees. The occupational roles of "independents" do, however, provide a high degree of autonomy in the sense of freedom from direct supervision in the performance of their work tasks. Farmers with 50–99 acres are also included in this class.

Class V (H–G Categories 15, 17 and 20): lower grade technicians whose work is to some extent of a manual character; and supervisors of manual workers. These positions offer relatively high income levels, comparable almost with those of Class II, and reasonable security of employment. On the other hand, though, it would seem probable that their incumbents have less favourable economic prospects than do staff in positions that are more completely integrated into administrative or managerial bureaucracies. In their occupational roles men in Class V are typically involved in some degree in the exercise of authority and/or discretion — more so for example than routine non-manual employees of Class III but again subject to close monitoring and control from

above.

Class VI (H–G Categories 18, 22, 23, 27, 30): skilled manual wage-workers in all branches of industry, including all who have served apprenticeships and also those who have acquired a relatively high degree of skill through other forms of training.

Class VII (H–G Categories 26, 31, 32, 33 and 35): all manual wage-workers in industry in semi and unskilled grades; and agricultural workers.

The 36-category scale represents an ordering of the categories along a dimension of the "general desirability" of occupations in popular estimation with the category numbers showing their rank order in the scale. Aggregation to form classes was undertaken without reference to the position of categories in the ordering of the scale. It can be seen from the description of the categories that Classes I and II overlap only very slightly with other classes in terms of their constituent occupations and Class VII also comprises a relatively homogeneous set of categories. However, the other classes show considerable overlap in the hierarchical positions of their occupational groups. The allocation procedure employed follows from the position adopted in the English study that mobility cannot be adequately represented solely as movement along a single hierarchical dimension. The classification allows for the possibility of class movement which, while of significant sociological interest, cannot be neatly characterised as upward or downward. Thus, in discussing mobility on the basis of the schema, it is necessary to consider whether it is appropriate to describe a particular movement as upward or downward. Goldthorpe suggests describing mobility as upward only in the case of movement into Classes I and II, whether from the intermediate classes or from Classes VI and VII, and conversely of downward movement only in the case of movement out of Classes I and II. However, taking into account the relative desirability of origins and destinations (which in the latter case includes the likelihood of further movement from the class) we consider that it is not misleading to describe movement out of, and into, Classes VI and VII as, respectively, upward and downward.[4]

To facilitate the presentation of our results the following labels will be applied to the class categories although they do not in all cases provide entirely accurate descriptions of the composition of the class.

    I   Higher Professional and Managerial
    II   Lower Professional and Managerial
    III   Routine Non-Manual
    IV   Petty Bourgeoisie
    V   Technicians and Foremen

[4]A detailed comparison of vertical mobility in Dublin and England and Wales is provided in Breen and Whelan (1984).

VI   Skilled Manual
VII   Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual

The term "manual" will be applied to Classes V, VI and VII combined while Classes VI and VII will be equated with the working class. For some purposes it will be useful to refer to Classes I, II and III as the "white-collar" classes and to Classes III, IV and V as the "intermediate classes".

There are significant differences between the schema set out above and the Hall–Jones scale employed by Hutchinson (1969) in his analysis of social mobility. One particular disadvantage of the classification used by Hutchinson is that skilled manual workers are merged with routine non-manual workers. More generally, in the case of the Hope–Goldthorpe classification, coding procedures are clearly laid down, the occupations comprising any particular category can be clearly specified and it is possible to construct a variety of alternative classifications, whereas in the cases of the Hall–Jones classification the procedures specified for coding occupations to categories are lacking in clarity and detail.[5] In the section that follows we will commence our analysis of movement and stability.

Movement and Stability

In Table 3.1 a conventional mobility table is presented using the seven-fold class schema outlined above. This type of table is generally referred to as an outflow "table" in that for each class of origin the distribution or "outflow" of men to their current class positions is shown. The percentages add across rows. Thus, for the Dublin respondents 43.6 per cent of the sons of higher professonal and managerial workers were themselves found in the same class, 20.7 per cent were in lower professional and managerial positions, 11.2 per cent were in the routine non-manual class, 9.1 per cent in the petty bourgeoisie, 7.4 per cent in the technician class, 2.2 per cent in skilled manual work and 5.7 per cent had dropped into semi-skilled or unskilled manual work. Looking at the comparable figures for those from semi-skilled and unskilled manual origins we find that only 2.1 per cent were to be found in higher professional and managerial occupations, 8.3 per cent had reached the lower professional and managerial class, 10 per cent were currently engaged in routine non-manual work, 4.4 per cent could be classified as petty bourgeoisie, 13.8 per cent were in the technician class, 13.5 per cent had moved into skilled manual work, while 48 per cent had remained in their father's class. Figures for England and Wales are given in parentheses.

The figures clearly demonstrate that class societies are quite different from caste societies. Class is most certainly not fixed at birth. The figures on the

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[5]Our analysis suggests that the results reported in Hutchinson (1969) overstates the degree of self-recruitment at peak of class hierarchy. Details are provided in Appendix 3.4.

Table 3.1: *Class distribution of respondents 21–64: 1968/1972*
Respondent's class (Figures in parentheses relate to England and Wales 1972) Percentage by row

Father's Class	Higher Professional and Managerial	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled Unskilled and Manual	N	%
Higher Professional and Managerial	43.6 (45.2)	20.7 (18.9)	11.2 (11.5)	9.1 (7.7)	7.4 (4.8)	2.2 (5.4)	5.7 (6.5)	301 (688)	7.9 (7.3)
Lower Professional and Managerial	21.4 (29.1)	32.5 (23.3)	18.5 (11.9)	5.8 (7.0)	11.6 (9.6)	3.9 (10.6)	7.1 (8.7)	348 (554)	9.2 (5.9)
Routine Non-Manual	7.8 (18.4)	17.3 (15.7)	21.6 (12.8)	7.1 (7.8)	13.4 (12.8)	10.7 (15.6)	22.0 (16.9)	282 (694)	7.7 (7.3)
Petty Bourgeoisie	13.6 (12.6)	14.9 (11.4)	13.4 (8.0)	22.0 (24.4)	11.0 (8.7)	10.8 (14.4)	14.2 (20.5)	529 (1329)	14.0 (14.1)
Technicians and Foremen	5.0 (14.2)	13.2 (13.6)	12.2 (10.1)	5.3 (7.7)	24.5 (15.7)	15.8 (21.2)	23.9 (17.6)	389 (1082)	10.2 (11.5)
Skilled Manual	4.1 (7.8)	8.5 (8.8)	10.7 (8.2)	4.6 (6.6)	13.0 (12.3)	31.9 (30.4)	27.3 (25.9)	593 (2594)	15.6 (27.5)
Semi-skilled, Unskilled and Manual	2.1 (6.5)	8.2 (7.8)	10.1 (8.2)	4.4 (6.6)	13.8 (12.5)	13.5 (23.5)	48.0 (34.9)	1352 (2493)	35.6 (24.6)
N	(1285)	516 (1087)	479 (870)	288 (887)	514 (1091)	542 (2000)	1083 (2214)	3794 (9434)	
%	9.8 (13.6)	13.6 (11.5)	12.6 (9.6)	7.6 (9.4)	13.6 (11.6)	14.3 (21.2)	28.6 (23.5)		

diagonal (sloping from top left to bottom right) give the percentage of men from each class origin who were currently in the same class as their fathers. In most cases this is less than one-third, and overall, only 36 per cent had been intergenerationally stable. This figure can be compared with the corresponding figure for England[6] of 28 per cent. Even if the intermediate classes and the skilled manual class are treated as being on the same level, one finds that half of the sample have been mobile with approximately 30 per cent moving up and almost one-third down. The surplus of upward mobility is not surprising given the expansion of the professional and managerial classes and the contraction of the semi-skilled and unskilled. Thus, over 23 per cent of the respondents but only 17 per cent of their fathers were located in the professional and managerial classes. On the other hand, 36 per cent of the fathers were in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations in comparison with 29 per cent of the respondents.

It is important, however, to keep clearly in mind the fact that the degree of mobility and stability that we observe will depend on the number, size and character of the categories that we distinguish. If we divide the sample into just two categories — the higher professional and managerial class being the first while all others are included in the second category — we find that less than 11 per cent of the Dublin sample had been mobile across this particular boundary while in England the figure is less than 15 per cent. From the foregoing, it should be clear that we cannot take a single figure as *the* rate of social mobility in a society. However, the general picture of an excess of upward over downward mobility and of short-range over long-range mobility holds true across classifications. The figures presented in Table 3.2 which support this claim involve the following aggregation of the seven class schema:

Professional and Managerial Class	— Class I and II
The Intermediate Class	— Classes III, IV and V
The Working Class	— Classes VI and VII

Employing this classification it emerges that almost 45 per cent of the Dublin sample have been mobile across these boundaries compared with slightly less than fifty per cent on the English respondents. This difference is due almost entirely to the higher probability of upward mobility into the professional and managerial class in England where 17 per cent had managed this transition — 4 per cent more than in Dublin. More particularly it is upward mobility from the working class to the professional managerial which provides the greatest contrast; the respective figures are 5.6 per cent and 8.3 per cent. In both countries the percentage mobile out of the working class is almost twice that

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[6] To facilitate presentation when reporting results for England and Wales we will refer to "England".

Table 3.2: *Absolute mobility: three class classification*
respondents 21–64: 1968/1972
(Figures in parentheses relate to England and Wales 1972)

% Mobile	44.9 (49.3)
% Mobile into the Professional and Managerial Class	13.4 (17.3)
% Mobile from the Working Class to the Professional, Managerial Class	5.6 (8.3)
% Mobile from the Professional, Managerial Class into the Working Class	1.6 (2.1)
% Mobile into and out of the Working Class	31.7 (36.8)
% Mobile out of the Working Class	20.1 (23.0)
% Mobile into the Working Class	11.6 (13.8)

mobile into the working class. There is also little difference in the percentage of those with professional and managerial origins found in the working class — approximately two per cent in each case.

Thus far we have neglected one extremely important influence on mobility, namely, geographical mobility. If we treat those who were born in Dublin or who came to Dublin before the age of fourteen as having Dublin origins we find that they are significantly less mobile than those with non-Dublin origins. A number of relevant comparisons are presented in Table 3.3. Thus, while 43 per cent of Dubliners were mobile over 50 per cent of non-Dubliners had experienced mobility. It is with regard to mobility into the professional and managerial class that the largest differences emerge with 11 per cent of Dubliners crossing this boundary in comparison with 20 per cent of non-Dublin respondents. It is also striking that mobility from the working class into the professional and managerial class is almost *twice* as high for those with non-Dublin origins. On the other hand, while almost 13 per cent of those with Dublin origins had been mobile into the working class the corresponding figure for non-Dubliners is less than 9 per cent.

Hutchinson (1969, p. 7) in commenting on differences of this kind, notes that migrants to the capital are largely selected on the basis of education and personal ambition. However, he pays very little attention to the reasons why such selectivity operates. His discussion is couched in terms of the characteristics affecting individual achievement rather than the context of the pattern of observed mobility. Hutchinson largely ignores the influence of emigration in ensuring the absence of significant numbers of working class respondents with non-Dublin origins from his sample.

Table 3.3: *Absolute mobility: three class classification respondents 21–64: 1968/1972*
Comparison of extent and type of mobility for Dublin and non-Dublin origins
(Non-Dublin figures in parentheses)

% Mobile	43.0 (50.4)
% Mobile into the Professional and Managerial Class	11.0 (20.4)
% Mobile from the Working Class to the Professional Managerial Class	4.5 (8.3)
% Mobile from the Professional, Managerial Class into the Working Class	1.7 (1.6)
% Mobile into and out of the Working Class	31.7 (31.7)
% Mobile out of the Working Class	19.0 (23.1)
% Mobile into the Working Class	12.7 (8.6)

A more detailed presentation of the effects of geographical origin is presented in Table 3.4. An examination of this table shows that there are two significant factors involved in producing the observed differences. First, it is clear that those with non-Dublin origins have significantly more privileged class origins than their peers from Dublin. Thus, while 23 per cent of the migrants had fathers who were in the professional and managerial class and 42 per cent had working class origins, the corresponding figures for the residents are 15 per cent and 54 per cent. On the basis of class origins alone, one would expect the non-Dublin group to have achieved significantly more favourable destinations. However, there is another significant factor in operation. With the exception of the higher professional and managerial class non-Dubliners are substantially more mobile. Thus, for instance, while 42 per cent of Dubliners with lower professional and managerial origins are found in the professional and managerial class, as many as 67 per cent of non-Dubliners had managed this transition. The corresponding figures for downward mobility into the working class are 13 per cent and 6 per cent. Thirty eight per cent of sons of routine non-manual workers from outside Dublin were currently in the professional and managerial class compared with 23 per cent of Dubliners. Even more striking than the figures presented thus far is the fact that sons of the petty bourgeoisie with non-Dublin origins are twice as likely as their Dublin counterparts to be found in the higher professional and managerial class. With the technician class the ratio for access to the higher professonal and managerial class rises to 3 to 1. Finally for those with working class origins the ratio reaches a peak of 4 to 1.

Not surprisingly there are also significant differences in the degree of immobility at the lowest level of the class hierarchy; over 50 per cent of

Table 3.4: *Class distribution of respondents 21–64: Dublin and non-Dublin origins (non-Dublin figures in parentheses)*
Respondent's class (Percentage by row)

Father's Class	Higher Professional and Managerial	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	N	%
Higher Professional and Managerial	47.4 (40.2)	19.2 (23.5)	12.1 (11.8)	7.6 (12.7)	8.1 (3.9)	2.5 (1.0)	5.1 (6.9)	148 (102)	7.0 (10.6)
Lower Professional and Managerial	18.7 (27.1)	23.6 (39.8)	19.1 (17.8)	5.7 (3.4)	13.5 (7.6)	4.3 (2.5)	9.1 (3.4)	230 (118)	8.1 (12.3)
Routine Non-manual	6.8 (11.1)	16.0 (26.7)	21.9 (20.0)	7.6 (4.4)	12.7 (15.6)	11.4 (8.9)	23.6 (13.3)	237 (45)	8.1 (4.7)
Petty Bourgeoisie	9.1 (19.7)	12.4 (18.4)	12.7 (14.3)	24.4 (18.8)	11.7 (9.9)	12.4 (8.5)	16.6 (10.8)	306 (223)	10.8 (23.3)
Technicians etc.	3.7 (11.9)	14.0 (10.4)	9.9 (3.6)	5.3 (8.5)	23.6 (23.4)	17.4 (12.8)	26.1 (13.4)	322 (67)	11.4 (7.0)
Skilled Manual	2.6 (12.1)	8.5 (9.1)	18.7 (11.1)	8.1 (4.0)	13.2 (12.1)	32.4 (30.3)	28.1 (22.2)	494 (99)	17.4 (10.3)
Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual	1.2 (4.9)	6.3 (14.8)	8.0 (17.1)	3.6 (6.6)	13.6 (14.1)	14.5 (10.2)	52.6 (32.2)	1048 (304)	37.0 (31.7)
All	7.6 (16.3)	11.7 (19.2)	11.6 (15.7)	7.0 (9.3)	14.0 (12.1)	15.8 (9.7)	32.2 (17.7)	2835 (959)	

Dubliners with semi-skilled and unskilled manual class origins remained in that class while less than one-third of those from outside the capital had failed to move. These results are clearly not attributable to differences in individual achievement but are a consequence of selective patterns of migration which ensure that while only 21 per cent of the working class in Dublin have non-Dublin origins, the corresponding figure for the professional managerial class is 39 per cent. As a consequence, estimates of mobility derived from a Dublin sample will provide an underestimate of the degree of inequality of opportunity in Irish society as a whole.

The "Buffer-Zone" Thesis

At this point we wish to turn from the relatively simple documentation of the extent of mobility and begin to raise questions regarding the fundamental lines of cleavage within the class structure. In the chapter that follows we will develop a formal theoretical and statistical approach to such questions. However, for the moment our attention will be concentrated on the strength of the division between the working class and all other classes. It will be convenient to couch our discussion in terms of the "buffer-zone" thesis, which states that it is this division between the working class and all other classes which is of crucial importance in preventing long-range mobility. Proponents of the thesis do not deny that a considerable amount of mobility occurs across this line. However, such mobility, it is argued, is invariably of a short-range kind. The significance of the "buffer-zone" lies in the manner in which it blocks off long-range mobility thus ensuring homogeneity of origins on either side of it.

Goldthorpe (1980, p. 47) suggests that in more specific terms the "buffer-zone" thesis can be said to claim the following:

(i) Sons of skilled manual workers will be significantly more likely than the sons of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers to achieve occupations outside the working class. At the peak of the non-manual hierarchy, however, their chances of access will decline almost to the point of being negligible.

(ii) Sons of lower level non-manual workers, that is, clerks, salesmen, supervisors, etc., will be significantly more likely to be found in the working class than will sons of higher level non-manual workers. They will, however, be found predominantly in the skilled manual class.

Peillon (1981) although not employing the label, accepts that the "buffer-zone" thesis is directly applicable to the Irish situation.

> It would appear, therefore, to be difficult for the sons and daughters of workers to cross the frontier from working to middle class and for this reason this particular frontier is a very divisive one in Irish society.

> Only a skilled working class background makes it possible for some to
> make this leap. This is not to conclude that there is little social
> mobility within the working class (or even mobility between higher
> working class categories and office workers, possibilities of which we
> have already noted). Within each stratum of the working class the
> majority of its members come from the higher or lower stratum.
> Mobility then but over very short social distances (Peillon, 1982, p.
> 37).

Referring to Table 3.1, we may examine first the extent of the differences in
outflow patterns between men whose fathers were skilled manual workers and
those from semi-skilled and unskilled manual origins. The available evidence
shows that, as in the English study, the major difference in the destinations of
these groups is to be found in the manner in which they are distributed within
the working class. Over 30 per cent of the sons of skilled manual workers are to be
found in the skilled manual class compared with less than 14 per cent of the sons
of semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers. Similarly, as in England, so far as
social mobility out of the working class is concerned, what is most striking is the
similarity between the skilled and non-skilled groups. Unlike the English case,
sons of skilled manual workers are twice as likely to achieve a higher professional
and managerial position. However, this difference alone is hardly sufficient to
justify the claim that only a skilled manual background makes it possible to cross
the frontier from working class to middle class.

The second question which arises is the extent to which the mobility that does
occur out of the working class is restricted in range to the lower levels of the non-
manual hierarchy. Different judgements on restriction of mobility may be
arrived at depending on whether one assesses mobility in absolute or relative
terms.[7] We may bring a relative mobility perspective to bear on the data of
Table 3.1, by introducing the notion of "perfect" mobility. "Perfect" mobility
denotes a situation where a son's class position is entirely independent of his
father's class position. In such circumstances the percentage of men from any
social origin to be found currently in any class would be identical to the overall
percentage of men in the sample in that class. Thus, to take the example of semi-
skilled and unskilled manual workers, 9.8 per cent of such workers would be
found in the higher professional and managerial class, 13.6 per cent in the lower

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[7]The distinction between absolute or *de facto* mobility rates and relative rates is well made by
Goldthorpe (1980, p. 29). On the one hand, we are concerned with what we would term absolute,
or *de facto*, mobility rates: that is, the rates of mobility that we actually observe via the procedures
and categories of our research. But, on the other hand, we are also concerned with relative rates:
that is, those that result when absolute rates are compared against some norm or standard, or when
an absolute rate for one social grouping is in some way compared with that for another.

professional and managerial categories, 12.6 per cent in the routine non-manual class, 7.6 per cent in the petty bourgeoisie, 13.6 in the technician class and 14.3 in skilled manual work and 28.6 per cent in semi-skilled and unskilled positions. The outflow distribution for all other classes would be identical. Viewing the data of Table 3.1 against the standard of perfect mobility, that is, comparing the row percentages with the corresponding column marginal percentages, provides support for the "buffer zone" thesis. For example, while working class sons are represented in the technician class in about their due proportions — and not far below this level in the routine non-manual category — they become progressively under-represented as one moves from this class to the higher professional and managerial class.

In order to pursue our examination of the chances of access to higher level non-manual positions of working class sons, it is useful to revert to the three class classification described earlier. In Table 3.5 the outflow table for the three class classification is given. An examination of Table 3.5 shows that 11 per cent of the sons of working class fathers were found in the professional and managerial class, as against 24 per cent of the men originating in the intermediate classes and 59

Table 3.5: *Class distribution of respondents 21–64: 1968/1972*
Respondent's class
Percentage by row

Father's Class	Professional and Managerial Class	Intermediate Class	Working Class	N	%
Professional and Managerial Class	58.8	31.7	9.5	648	17.1
Intermediate Class	24.4	44.0	31.6	1200	31.6
Working Class	11.0	28.1	60.8	1945	51.3
All	23.4	33.8	42.8	3794	

per cent of professional and managerial sons. The scale of these inequalities can be summarised by employing a statistical index known as the disparity ratio which provides a very simple way of expressing relative mobility rates by using the outflow percentages. Thus, in a 2×2 mobility table one could calculate

f_{11}	f_{12}	$f_{1.}$
f_{21}	f_{22}	$f_{2.}$

$$\frac{f_{11}}{f_{1.}} \Big/ \frac{f_{21}}{f_{2.}} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{f_{22}}{f_{2.}} \Big/ \frac{f_{12}}{f_{1.}}$$

Thus, the percentages reported above may be expressed in the form of a disparity ratio of $1:2:6$ for the chances of access to the professional and managerial class for men of the three different origins distinguished, and may be compared to the equivalent English ratio of $1:2:4$. The significance of these ratios can be appreciated keeping in mind that in a situation of perfect mobility, since the percentages for each of the origins would be equal, the corresponding disparity ratio could be $1:1:1$. Furthermore, inequality in Table 3.5 can be assessed not only by examining the opportunities for access to the professional and managerial class but also by calculating the relative risks of being in the working class. Slightly less than 10 per cent of professional and managerial sons are found in the working class while the relevant figures for intermediate and working class origins are 32 per cent and 61 per cent. Again the approximate disparity ratio for these percentages of $1:3:6$ can be compared with the corresponding English ratio of $1:2.5:5$.

These figures thus reveal marked inequalities in access and risk chances to the disadvantage of men of working class backgrounds; inequalities which are greater than those observed in England, and which would appear even greater if we restricted our attention to those respondents with Dublin origins. However, the question remains whether the degree of longer-range mobility into and out of the working class that exists

> . . .is sufficiently stringent to justify the idea of a buffer zone which does after all, in the metaphor in which it is embodied, suggest some absolute rather than merely relative constraint (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 49).

Goldthorpe observes that 7 per cent of the sons of working class fathers in his sample appear in the higher professional and managerial class, and a further 9 per cent in the lower professional and managerial class, and 10 per cent of those with professional and managerial origins are found in the working class. These findings, he argues, are difficult to reconcile with the notion that mobility of this range is very rare. The corresponding figures for Dublin respondents are 3, 8 and 10 per cent. While the figures do provide greater support than the English ones for the existence of a "buffer-zone", the absolute degree of long-range mobility

still appears greater than would be allowed for by such a notion.

Finally, in the case of the white collar origins we may observe from Table 3.1 that there is no tendency towards concentration of downwardly mobile men in skilled rather than non-skilled grades. Since the number in the semi-skilled manual class is almost exactly twice that in the skilled manual class, it is easy to see that both the extent of outflow to, and of under-representation in, these classes is very similar for each of the white collar origins. Thus, for example, 2.2 per cent of the sons of higher professional and managerial workers are found in skilled manual work compared with 5.7 in semi-skilled and unskilled manual work; the corresponding percentages for lower professional and managerial origins are 3.9 and 7.1, and for the routine non-manual class 10.7 and 22.0. Only in the case of those with petty bourgeoisie origins is there any tendency for concentration in skilled manual work. In any event, despite certain differences, the Irish data are quite consistent with the finding from England that the distinction between skilled and non-skilled manual origins appears to have very little effect on the pattern of class mobility in *either* direction across the manual/non-manual division.

While the notion of a "buffer-zone" is not supported by the evidence we have examined it must be recognized, as Goldthorpe (1980, p. 50) emphasises, that an outflow mobility matrix has associated with it certain difficulties of interpretation. It has to be kept in mind that since the sample is one of men aged 21–64 "present" occupation reported in 1968 and 1972 will be those of men at widely different time periods away from their origins. Some of these men will be at the very start of their work carreers while others will be on the verge of retirement. Thus, in treating all respondents on an equal footing regardless of age or position in the life cycle, one runs the risk of giving a distorted picture of absolute mobility.

Using the additional data regarding the 1968 respondents' first occupation on entry into the work force, we have derived a series of three-point mobility tables which show for different classes of origin the outflow pattern at the stage of their entry to work, and then to their class positions in 1968. The essential features of the pattern are set out in Figure 3.1 in which we have used the three-fold class schema and confined our analysis to men aged 35 and over. By this age, one could maintain, men will tend to have achieved a stage of relative "occupational maturity" in the sense that from then onwards one may expect if not a cessation, at all events a marked falling off in the probability of job changes which involve major shifts of occupational level (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 51). Comparative figures from the English social mobility survey are shown in parentheses.

The percentages shown in Figure 3.1 are in every case percentages of the total number from the class origin in question. Thus, for example, 24 per cent of those with professional and managerial fathers dropped into the working class when

Figure 3.1: *"Three point" mobility patterns: flows representing 3 per cent or more of all in Classes of origin, Men aged 35 and over; 1968 (figures in parentheses relate to England and Wales 1972)*

FATHER'S CLASS   RESPONDENT'S CLASS: RESPONDENT'S CLASS 1968
                           FIRST FULL-TIME OCCUPATION

(a) Professional and Managerial Origins N = 224 (N = 661)

Professional ⟶ 29 (29)   Professional ⟶ 27 (27)   Professional
and Managerial   and Managerial   and Managerial
                                         23 (21)
                                          8 (15)
              47 (36)   Intermediate ⟶ 22 (11)   Intermediate
                                          8 (10)
                                            (4)
               24 (35)   Working Class ⟶ 9 (10)   Working Class
               100   97

(b) Intermediate Origins N = 453 (N = 1605)

              12 (10)   Professional   Professional
                         and Managerial ⟶ 9 (7)   and Managerial
Intermediate   13 (12)
                                          4 (11)
              37 (31)   Intermediate ⟶ 19 (13)   Intermediate
                                         22 (22)
                                          4 (6)
              51 (59)   Working Class ⟶ 26 (26)   Working Class
              100   97

(c) Working Class Origins N = 692 (n = 2955)

              3 (4)   Professional ⟶ 3 (3)   Professional
                         and Managerial   and Managerial
                                          5 (6)
                                          3 (8)
Working Class ⟶ 21 (20) Intermediate ⟶ 10 (8)   Intermediate
                                         19 (20)
                                          5 (6)
              76 (76)   Working Class ⟶ 54 (48)   Working Class
              100   99

they took their first jobs. Eight per cent of those with such origins who had experienced such downward mobility were still in the working class at the time of the survey, 8 per cent had moved into the intermediate classes, while a further 8 per cent had regained their original class positions. Of course, if the final figures were calculated as proportions of those who had dropped into manual work at first job, the relevant figure in each case would be one-third.

With regard to the "buffer-zone" thesis, Goldthorpe (1980, p. 52) notes that there are two distinctive features of the data for England and Wales which are of particular significance. First, it can be seen from section (C) that men of working class origins in England and Wales had experienced a quite considerable amount of work-life mobility taking them away from these origins. Most notably, while 3 out of 4 followed their fathers into manual jobs on entry to work, more than one-third of these men were subsequently mobile to one or other of the other classes. The greater part of this mobility was to the intermediate classes. But it is also apparent that the mobility which had occurred from working class origins to the professional and managerial class had been achieved via advancement during one's working life, that is after initial employment as a manual worker or in a lower level non-manual job rather than on direct entry to work.

The second feature of note which Goldthorpe points to in the English data is the extent of what has been termed "counter-mobility"; that is, of work-life movement which has the effect of returning an individual back to his class of origin following a shift away on his entry to employment, and which thus serves to promote intergenerational stability. Such counter-mobility is most marked in the case of men of professional and managerial origins. As shown in section A only a minority of these men began their working lives by going directly into professional and managerial occupations while a larger proportion began their working lives as manual workers. However, at some later stage most of the latter were mobile into non-manual employment, and, in fact, by 1972 were somewhat more likely to be found in the professional and managerial class than in the intermediate class. Thus, Goldthorpe suggests, just as

> "all ages data" are likely to suggest unduly low chances of upward mobility for manual work origins, so they are likely to give an exaggerated idea of the risks of men of relatively high class origins being relegated to the ranks of manual workers (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 53).

When we compare the figures for Dublin to those for England, perhaps the most striking feature is just how much more similar the first job distributions are to the "current distribution". Although those with professional/managerial and intermediate class origins are much less likely in Dublin to have commenced

their careers in manual work, overall the first job distributions in the two countries are more notable for the degree of similarity which is to be observed. However, by the final point of the transition there has been a considerable widening in the differences. These are mainly due to the fact that *intragenerational* mobility occurs on a much wider scale in the English sample than in that relating to Dublin. More particularly, long-range upward intragenerational mobility, that is career mobility from the working class to the professional and managerial class is more than twice as likely to have occurred in England: this is true irrespective of father's class. Thus, for example, men from working class origins who began their work lives in working class occupations but who at the time of the survey were in the professional and managerial class constitute 8 per cent of the English sample; the comparable figure for Dublin respondents is 3 per cent. Not only is the absolute extent of such mobility considerably lower for the Dublin respondents, irrespective of origins, but the disparities across class origins in the likelihood of such career mobility are considerably greater. In England, approximately, 43 per cent of those with professional and managerial origins and 11 per cent of working class who commenced their careers in the working class were found in the professional and managerial class at the time of the survey. These figures provide us with a disparity ratio of 4:1. For Dublin the comparable percentages are, approximately, 33 per cent and 4 per cent, and the relevant disparity ratio is of the order of 8:1.

The differences we have observed in the extent of long-range upward intragenerational mobility, and in the distribution of such opportunities, may well be related to basic differences in occupational structure. As Goldthorpe (1980, pp. 132—134) observes a follow-up study in England and Wales, which was intended to facilitate a more detailed examination of patterns of mobility, showed that inspection of individual cases pointed to the continuing importance of skilled manual occupations as an initial training ground both for higher grade technicians and for professionals in engineering and related areas. The evidence from England shows that the distinction between skilled and non-skilled manual employment apppears as an important one so far as mobility during one's career is concerned in contrast with the relatively limited importance of this distinction in regard to intergenerational mobility. An examination of Table 3.1 shows that while in England and Wales the proportions in skilled manual and unskilled manual employment are almost equal, there were almost twice as many unskilled as skilled workers in Dublin. From Appendix 3.2 it is clear that it is in manufacturing that the skill differences are most noticeable. While over 14 per cent of the English sample study were skilled manual workers in manufacturing, the corresponding figure for the combined Dublin samples was just over 9 per cent. At the higher levels of the hierarchy 3 per cent of the English sample were industrial and business managers compared to 2 per cent in Dublin and, more

strikingly, the respective figures for higher grade technician were 0.7 and 2.1. Thus, it seems certain that the significantly lower levels of intragenerational mobility during the period covered by the studies examined here are related to these differences in occupational structure. We will return to the impact of occupational structure on mobility in later chapters.

Social Closure and Elite Self-recruitment

We now turn to a discussion of social closure, i.e., the extent to which the highest classes are based on self-recruitment. In our previous discussion of relative opportunities or risks of entry to particular classes or, in other words, the degree of "openness" we have concentrated on an examination of the outflow table. However, at this point it is necessary to adopt a somewhat different perspective since discussions of social "closure" in the mobility literature have not been concerned with situations which are simply the opposite to "openness". The primary focus of social closure theorists has been on the *effects* of strategies of exclusion on the *composition* of elite groups. The basic thesis which must be considered is that, since self-recruitment plays such a major role and external recruitment involves mobility of a predominantly short-range kind, elite groups will contain no more than a negligible proportion of men with manual origins. Elite groups will consequently be characterised by a particularly marked homogeneity in terms of the social origins of their members. This argument is one which must be considered in terms of absolute mobility, since class composition is affected not just by relative mobility opportunities but by changing structural conditions which influence the shape of the class structure. The relevant data will relate to the "inflow" to current class categories rather than outflow from father' class categories.

In order to examine the question of social closure, we present in Table 3.6 the basic "inflow" mobility data for the seven class schema. This table shows the composition of each of the seven classes according to the class origins of the respondents. The percentages are summed by column rather than by row. Thus, for example, of those respondents who are currently in the routine non-manual class 7.5 per cent had higher professional and managerial backgrounds, 13.6 per cent were from lower professional and managerial origins, 12.7 per cent had fathers who were also from the routine non-manual class, 14.8 per cent had petty bourgeoisie origins, 9.8 per cent of their fathers had been in the technician class, 13.2 per cent came from the skilled manual class, and 28.3 per cent had been mobile from the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class. The difference between the inflow and outflow perspectives can be illustrated by comparing the diagonals (sloping from top left to bottom right) in Tables 3.1 and 3.6. Thus, while almost 44 per cent of the sons of higher professional and managerial workers had managed to remain in that class, they make up only 35 per cent of

Table 3.6: *Class compositin by class of father*
Respondent's class 1968/1972
(Figures in parentheses relate to England and Wales 1972)
percentage by column

Father's Class	Higher Professional and Managerial	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	N	%
Higher Professional and Managerial	35.3 (24.2)	12.0 (12.0)	7.5 (9.1)	9.7 (6.0)	4.1 (3.0)	1.1 (1.9)	1.6 (2.4)	301 (688)	7.9 (7.3)
Lower Professional and Managerial	20.2 (12.5)	21.9 (11.8)	13.6 (7.6)	5.9 (4.4)	9.8 (4.9)	2.4 (3.0)	2.4 (2.5)	348 (554)	9.2 (5.9)
Routine Non-Manual	5.9 (10.0)	9.5 (10.0)	12.7 (10.2)	6.9 (6.1)	7.2 (8.2)	5.7 (5.4)	5.7 (5.3)	282 (694)	7.4 (7.3)
Petty Bourgeoisie	19.4 (10.1)	15.3 (13.9)	14.8 (12.2)	40.6 (36.5)	11.3 (10.6)	10.5 (9.6)	6.9 (12.3)	529 (1329)	14.0 (14.1)
Technicians and Foremen	5.4 (12.5)	9.9 (13.5)	9.8 (12.5)	7.3 (9.4)	18.5 (15.6)	11.4 (11.4)	8.6 (8.6)	389 (1082)	10.2 (11.5)
Skilled Manual	6.5 (15.7)	9.9 (21.0)	13.2 (24.8)	9.4 (19.2)	15.0 (29.2)	34.8 (39.4)	15.0 (30.3)	593 (2594)	15.6 (27.5)
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	7.5 (12.6)	21.5 (17.8)	28.3 (23.6)	20.1 (18.5)	19.7 (28.5)	33.9 (29.4)	59.9 (39.3)	1352 (2493)	28.5 (26.4)
N	371 (1285)	516 (1087)	479 (870)	288 (887)	514 (1091)	542 (2000)	1083 (2214)	3794 (9434)	
%	9.8 (13.6)	13.6 (11.5)	12.6 (9.6)	7.6 (9.4)	13.6 (11.6)	14.3 (21.2)	28.6 (23.5)		

the current class. On the other hand, while 48 per cent of the sons of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers had remained intergenerationally immobile, 60 per cent of the current unskilled class comprises such respondents. These differences reflect the expansion and contraction of the respective classes.

A comparison of the Dublin inflow rates with those for England is provided in Table 3.6. The data for England lead very clearly to a rejection of the closure thesis. Goldthorpe (1980, pp. 43–44) stresses that directly contrary to any notion of closure at the higher levels of the class structure, the higher professional and managerial class displays a very wide basis of recruitment and a very low degree of homogeneity in its composition. Although a quarter of the men it comprises are themselves the sons of higher professional and managerial fathers, it can also be seen that the remainder of the membership is drawn from the other six classes in a remarkably even manner, with each contributing at least 10 per cent. It remains true, however, that if "perfect mobility" existed and a son's class destination was independent of his class origins then the distribution in each column of Table 3.6 would reproduce the row marginal distribution — those from higher professional and managerial origins would occupy 7.9 per cent of such positions while 28.5 per cent would be held by sons of semi-skilled and unskilled. In England self-recruitment to the higher professional and managerial class is over three times greater than the perfect mobility expectation, and recruitment from the lower professional and managerial class is more than twice as great, while the inflow from the working class is at only about half the expected level. Notwithstanding these facts, Goldthorpe (1980) argues that *if* the focus of one's interest is on class formation — rather than on questions of equality of opportunity — assessment of mobility in such relative terms is not entirely relevant. In assessing such closure, it is absolute *de facto* patterns which must be accorded greatest significance.

> What matters is not so much the degree of equality or inequality in chances of access to a class for persons of differing origins, but the *outcome* of these chances, whatever they may be, in terms of the composition of the class (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 45).

From this perspective, it can be noted that although sons of manual workers are represented in the higher professional and managerial class in much less than their due proportion relative to the norm of perfect mobility they still account for over a quarter of its membership. A further 13 per cent of higher professional and managerial positions are taken up by sons of lower grade technicians and foremen. The apparent discrepancy between the inequality of opportunity and class composition approaches arises, in part, because working class men's positions constitute well over half of the father's distribution. Furthermore,

where the number of sons who hold higher class positions significantly exceeds that of fathers with such class locations it is perfectly possible for a high degree of inequality of opportunity to be observed with levels of absolute mobility that mean that the closure thesis cannot be borne out.

On the basis of the English findings, Goldthorpe concludes that the claim that access to the higher levels of the British class structure is tightly controlled, is open to serious doubt. We now wish to consider the same question by examining the light which the data for Dublin cast on the Irish situation. The first fact to be noted is that the departures from a pattern reflecting perfect mobility are significantly greater for Dublin than for England. Self-recruitment to the higher professional and managerial class is almost four and a half times greater than the perfect mobility expectation while the inflow from the working class is at only about three-tenths of the expected level. Furthermore, the composition of the higher professional and managerial class is not nearly as heterogenous as in the case of England. Thirty five per cent of the men it comprises are themselves sons of higher professional and managerial fathers; a further 40 per cent are drawn from the other white collar classes and the petty bourgeoisie. Thus, 75 per cent of the occupants of higher professional and managerial positions are drawn from just four classes; the corresponding figure for England is 47 per cent. Similarly, only 14 per cent of higher professional and managerial respondents had working class origins, a figure which is half the corresponding total for England.

What conclusions should be drawn regarding social closure at the peak of the class hierarchy from the foregoing results? Can we conclude as Westergaard and Resler (1975, p. 299) did for Britain that movement from rags to riches or riches to rags is very rare? One serious difficulty with such a conclusion is that, as Heath, observes, rags, riches and rarity, like beauty, lie in the eye of the beholder.

> Westergaard and Resler's claim is one of those infuriating statements, so often found in sociology, in which the authors give no clear guide as to what would count as a confirmation or refutation. All we can sensibly say are things like "movement from rags to riches is rarer than that from rags to moderate affluence" which is hardly going to make headlines (Heath, 1981, p. 57).

Similarly, what we can conclude here is that given the class schema employed the notion of elite social closure appears to be more clearly applicable to Ireland than England. Of course the conclusions one draws are related to one's definition of elite. Goldthorpe (1980, pp. 45–46) notes that many writers fail to make a consistent distinction between what could be termed elite occupations, on the one hand, and on the other, elites *within* these occupations. A survey such as this does not permit one to address oneself adequately to the latter question. However, some disaggregation of occupations within the higher professional

and managerial class is possible. It is made up of five different occupational
groups: self-employed professionals like doctors, lawyers, accountants and
stockbrokers; salaried professionals such as university lecturers, scientists and
engineers; senior administrators and officials in the large public and commercial
bureaucracies like the civil service, local government and public administration
and industrial managers in large enterprises; and large proprietors, the working
owners of large shops and enterprises. The degree of mobility into these five
groups varies considerably as do the patterns of selection and recruitment.
Heath (1981, p. 66) provides figures for men between 25 to 64 for recruitment in
each of these categories which can act as a point of reference for the Irish results.
It should be noted that the three class schema used in Table 3.7, differs from the
one employed up to this point. However, because of the small numbers available
it is necessary to omit "large" proprietors from the results presented in Table 3.7
and to interpret the results relating to self-employed professionals and industrial
managers with considerable caution. In both countries it is the group which is
most independent and autonomous — the self-employed — who is the most
exclusive in its social recruitment. It is the bureaucracies which provide the
main channels of upward mobility into the professional and managerial class.[8]

Table 3.7: *Social origins of men in elite occupations*
respondent's occupational group 1968/1972
percentage by column
(Figures in parentheses relate to England and Wales 1972)

Father's Class	Self-employed Professionals	Salaried Professionals	Senior Administrators	Industrial Managers
Higher Professional and Managerial	50.9 (40.2)	33.8 (24.3)	24.5 (20.0)	40.7 (18.9)
Lower Professional and Managerial: Routine Non-manual and Petty Bourgeoisie	41.8 (35.8)	51.8 (37.2)	49.0 (37.4)	25.9 (27.4)
Manual	7.3 (24.0)	14.4 (38.5)	26.5 (38.5)	33.3 (53.9)
Total	100.0 (100.0)	100.0 (100.0)	100.0 (100.0)	100.0 (100.0)
N	55 (92)	150 (432)	98 (193)	27 (193)

[8]This conclusion is exactly the opposite of that arrived at by Peillon on the basis of his
interpretations of Hutchinson's (1969) data.

There is, however, one striking difference between the results for the two countries. In England over 50 per cent of industrial managers in large establishments were sons of manual workers, lower grade technicians or supervisors of manual workers, while less than 20 per cent came from higher professional and managerial backgrounds; the respective figures for Dublin are 33 per cent and 41 per cent. Thus, the absence in the Dublin sample of large scale long-range movement into industrial managerial positions in large enterprises is a significant determinant of the higher level of elite self-recruitment to be found among the Dublin respondents. It should be borne in mind that there are differences between the two societies not only in recruitment to such positions but in the extent to which such positions exist: industrial managers in large establishments comprise 16 per cent of professional positions in England while for Dublin the figure is less than 8 per cent. Consequently, part of the difference in elite recruitment is due to the rather basic structural differences in the economies referred to earlier in the chapter. However, such structural differences clearly cannot entirely account for the cross-national differences in composition. Thus, self-employed professionals make up 16 per cent of the Dublin respondents compared to less than 8 per cent of those in England and Wales but the level of recruitment to such positions from higher professional and managerial origins is greater in Ireland.

Finally, we may note that, as in England, a preoccupation with the degree of closure at the peak of the class structure can lead to a neglect of the far greater homogeneity of origins which is evident among the working class. Thus, approximately 70 per cent of the working class respondents are from working class backgrounds. More particularly, 60 per cent of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker have been intergenerationally stable. We will return to the implications of these findings later in the paper.

Conclusion

The data analysed in this chapter provide evidence of a substantial amount of mobility; with upward mobility considerably more frequent than downward mobility. The extent of mobility recorded is, however, somewhat less than that observed in England, and, in particular, long-range upward mobility is significantly less frequent. Respondents with origins outside Dublin are considerably more likely to have experienced mobility; a difference which is directly related to the selective nature of migration to Dublin.

We began our analysis of the fundamental lines of cleavage in the class structure by means of a consideration of the "buffer-zone" thesis which proposes that the working class/non-working class division is of crucial importance in preventing long-range upward mobility. The absolute levels of long-range

mobility observed, although considerably below the English levels, were greater than the thesis would allow for. However, our results do reveal marked inequalities — significantly greater than those found in England — which operate to the disadvantage of working class men. One of the factors involved in producing such differences was the significantly lower levels of long-range upward intragenerational mobility experienced by the Dublin respondents.

Adopting a somewhat different perspective we proceeded to examine the degree of elite closure, i.e., the extent to which the highest social classes constitute closed systems based largely on self-recruitment. It is much less easy to reject notions of social closure at the peak of the class hierarchy in Ireland than is the case for England. However, as in England, the degree of homogeneity of origins at the bottom of the class structure is more striking than at any point further up the scale.

In the chapter that follows we will present a somewhat more formal analysis of the crucial boundaries in the class structure and their degree of permeability.

Appendix 3.1
Social Mobility Questions

1968 Questions

How old were you when you took your first full-time paid employment — or have you never been employed?

Never employed	YY
Years	
No answer	XX

TO ALL EVER EMPLOYED

(a)   What was this job — what exactly did you do?
      Occupation _____

(b)   Where did you do this — that is, what branch of industry, commerce or service was it?
      Industry/Commerce/Service _____
      _____

(c)   Were you a salary or wage earner, or were you self-employed — that is had your own business, farm, etc.?

Salary/wage earner	1
Self-employed	2
No answer	X
Social Status	
Code:	
Office use only	____

Are you employed now?

Yes	1
No	2
No — retired	3
No answer	X

What is your present occupation (or *was* your occupation)?

(a)   Occupation_____
(b)   Industry/Commerce/Service _____
      _____

(c)

Salary/wage earner	1
Self-employed	2
No answer	X

(d)   No. of subordinates under direct control of informant:

Subordinates	____
D.K., N.A.	XXX
Social Status Code:	____

TO ALL

What is your father's main permanent occupation (or, last permanent occupation)?

(a) What is the job — what exactly did/does he do? _____
     Occupation _____

(b) In what branch of industry, commerce or service etc. is/was it?
     Industry/Commerce/Service _____

(c) Is/was he a salary or wage-earner, or is/was he self-employed — that is, has/had his own business, farm, etc?
     Salary/wage earner   1
     Self-employed   2

(d) How many subordinate staff, if any, has/had he under his direct control?
     None   0
     1–5   1
     6–10   2
     11–20   3
     21–50   4
     51–100   5
     D.K.; N.A.   X

(e) IF FARMER, How many acres, approximately, has/had he?
     Up to 10 acres   1
     11–20 acres   ·   2
     21–50 acres   3
     51–100 acres   4
     Over 100 acres   5
     D.K.; N.A.   X
     Social Status Code   _____

1972 Questions

Are you employed at the present time? That is, do you work in your own business, or have a paid full- or part-time job?

Not employed   1
Employed part-time   2
Employed full-time   3
No answer   X

What is your present main occupation (or was your main occupation)? That is, what do you/did you actually do?

(*Interviewer:* Please get as much information and detail as possible. Remember that general terms like "civil servant", "railway employee", "banker" mean very little by themselves.)

What *sort* of firm or employer do you do this job for — for example, a shop, a clothing factory, an insurance firm? (*Name* of employer or firm not required).

_____

_____

In the job you have, do you have any other people under your control? If so, how many?

No. of people   _____

No answer   X

Are you

a salary or wage earner   1

or self-employed   2

No answer   X

TO ALL

What is your father's main occupation (or what was his main occupation until he retired, or died) — *what exactly* does he do?

_____

_____

What *sort* of firm or employer did/does he do this job for — for example, a clothing factory, a shop, a bank? (*Name* of employer not required).

_____

_____

In his job does/did he have any other people under his control? If so, do you know about how many?

No. of people   _____

No answer   X

IF OCCUPATION IS "FARMER" ASK THE FOLLOWING

Roughly how many acres does he/did he farm?

  Up to 10 acres   1

  11–20 acres   2

  21–50 acres   3

  51–100 acres   4

  Over 100 acres   5

  Don't know   Y

  No answer   X

Is/was your father

  A salary or wage earner 1

  or self-employed?   2

  No answer   X

Appendix 3.2

Distribution of Respondents Across the 36 Category Version of the
Hope–Goldthorpe Schema

Rank Order	Descriptive title (and occupations of greatest numerical importance)	% in Combined 1968 and 1972 Dublin Samples	% in Oxford Occupational Mobility Sample (Employed males age 20–64, resident in England & Wales, 1972 N = 9,457)
1	*Self-employed Professionals* (Doctors; lawyers; accountants; dentists; surveyors; architects; pharmacists; engineers; stock and insurance brokers)	1.43	0.99
2	*Salaried Professionals: higher grade* (Engineers; accountants and company secretaries; surveyors; doctors; natural scientists; architects and town planners; university teachers; lawyers; airline pilots)	4.51	5.27
3	*Administrators and Officials: higher grade* (Managers in large commercial enterprises and public utilities; sales managers; senior civil servants; local authority senior officers; also includes company directors, n.e.c.)	2.6	4.96
4	*Industrial Managers: large enterprises* (Managers in engineering, extractive industries, general manufacturing and construction; personnel managers in all large establishments)	0.7	2.09
5	*Administrators and Officials: lower grade* (Police officers: radio and telegraph officers)	1.17	1.04
6	*Technicians: higher grade* (Work study engineers; computer programmers; draughtsmen; laboratory technicians)	0.77	2.43

Rank Order	Descriptive title (and occupations of greatest numerical importance)	% in Combined 1968 and 1972 Dublin Samples	% in Oxford Occupational Mobility Sample (Employed males age 20–64, resident in England & Wales, 1972 N = 9,457)
7	*Large Proprietors* (Working owners of large shops and service agencies)	0.31	0.35
8	*Industrial and Business Managers: small enterprises* (Managers in commerce, public utilities; engineering, extractive industries, general manufacturing and construction; personnel managers in all establishments)	1.58	0.87
9	*Self-employed Professionals: lower grade* (Parochial clergy; entertainers; artists; journalists)	0.13	0.35
10	*Salaried Professionals: lower grade* (Primary and secondary school teachers; civil service executive officers; social welfare workers; male nurses; public health inspectors; journalists; commercial artists)	3.35	3.53
11	*Farmers and Farm Managers*	0.29	0.86
12	*Supervisors of Non-manual Employees: higher grade* (Supervisors of clerical employees)	2.28	0.95
13	*Small Proprietors:* (Working owners of small shops and service agencies; small builders; painters and decorators; hoteliers, boarding-house keepers and restaurateurs)	4.20	3.73
14	*Managers in Services and Small Administrative Units* (Managers of shops and service agencies; office managers; hotel and restaurant managers)	2.67	2.04

Rank Order	Descriptive title (and occupations of greatest numerical importance)	% in Combined 1968 and 1972 Dublin Samples	% in Oxford Occupational Mobility Sample (Employed males age 20–64, resident in England & Wales, 1972 N = 9,457)
15	*Technicians: lower grade* (Electrical and electronic engineers; Post Office technicians; auto-engineers; radio engineers; fire brigade men)	3.24	3.88
16	*Supervisors of Non-manual Employees: lower grade* (Supervisors of sales personnel)	1.50	0.44
17	*Supervisors of Manual Employees: higher grade* (Foremen in engineering, construction, communications, and mining)	5.99	5.09
18	*Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing: higher grade* (Maintenance and other fitters; millwrights; tool-makers; pattern-makers)	2.85	5.20
19	*Self-Employed Workers: higher grade* (Shopkeepers; painters and decorators; carpenters and joiners; jobbing builders; publicans)	1.97	3.08
20	*Supervisors of Manual Employees: lower grade* (Foremen in warehousing, distribution, transport, chemicals, and food products)	4.25	2.78
21	*Non-manual Employees in Administration and Commerce* (Clerical workers; cashiers; commercial travellers)	6.95	6.46
22	*Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing: intermediate grade* (Machine setters; sheetmetal workers; precision instrument makers; printers and compositors; glass and ceramic formers; also includes "other ranks" in the Armed Services)	2.41	3.88

Rank Order	Descriptive title (and occupations of greatest numerical importance)	% in Combined 1968 and 1972 Dublin Samples	% in Oxford Occupational Mobility Sample (Employed males age 20–64, resident in England & Wales, 1972 $N = 9,457$)
23	*Skilled Manual Workers in Construction* (Carpenters and joiners; painters and decorators; bricklayers)	3.97	4.41
24	*Smallholders without Employees*	0.16	0.73
25	*Service Workers: higher grade* (Cooks, stewards; hairdressers)	1.14	0.48
26	*Semi-Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing* (Machine-tool operators; press operators; assemblers and routine inspectors; chemical process workers; food and other process workers)	4.02	6.02
27	*Skilled Manual Workers in Transport, Communications and Services, and Extractive Industries* (Coalminers; operators of cranes and earth-moving equipment; engine drivers; steel erectors and riggers)	0.7	2.77
28	*Service Workers: intermediate grade* (Shop salesmen and assistants)	2.18	0.93
29	*Self-Employed Workers: intermediate grade* (Taxi drivers; carriers; cafe owners; entertainers)	1.01	0.90
30	*Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing: lower grade* (Plant and engine operators; locksmiths, engravers and other metal working craftsmen; moulders, furnacemen and forgemen; sawyers and woodworkers; butchers; bakers)	4.35	5.02

Rank Order	Descriptive title (and occupations of greatest numerical importance)	% in Combined 1968 and 1972 Dublin Samples	% in Oxford Occupational Mobility Sample (Employed males age 20–64, resident in England & Wales, 1972 N = 9,457)
31	*Agricultural Workers*	0.44	1.56
32	*Semi-Skilled Manual Workers in Construction and Extractive Industries* (Roofers, asphalters and cable layers; demolition workers; surface workers in mining and quarrying)	1.14	2.06
33	*Semi-Skilled Manual Workers in Transport, Communications and Services* (Lorry drivers; warehousemen; packers and labellers; storekeepers; postal workers; bus and coach drivers; roundsmen; ambulance men; deckhands; railway lengthmen; dock workers; gardeners and groundsmen; dry-cleaners and pressers)	11.88	10.05
34	*Service Workers: lower grade* (Caretakers; doormen; guards and attendants; telephone operators; waiters; barmen and counter hands)	2.41	1.31
35	*Unskilled Manual Workers* (General labourers; factory labourers; building site labourers; railway porters; kitchen porters; office and industrial cleaners; messengers)	11.08	3.12
36	*Self-Employed Workers: lower grade* (Street vendors; jobbing gardeners)	0.13	0.31
			99.94

Appendix 3.3
A Comparison of the 1968 and 1972 Results

Even a casual inspection of Appendix Table 3.1 shows the striking similarity between the *de facto* pattern of mobility found in both surveys. In Appendix 4.2 of Chapter 4 we will also show that a formal statistical test of the hypothesis of constant marginals and constant association between father's class and son's class across surveys produces results which do not permit a rejection of this null hypothesis.

Appendix Table 3.1: *A comparison of the class distribution of respondents 21–64 in the 1968 and 1972 surveys*
Respondent's class
Percentage by row
(Figures in parentheses relate to 1972)

Father's Class	Higher Professional and Managerial	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	N	%
Higher Professional and Managerial	43.4 (43.9)	19.6 (22.2)	15.9 (5.3)	10.1 (7.9)	4.2 (11.4)	1.6 (3.1)	5.3 (6.2)	190 (111)	8.9 (6.7)
Lower Professional and Managerial	22.4 (20.3)	31.3 (34.1)	20.4 (16.2)	6.0 (3.7)	9.0 (14.8)	3.5 (4.3)	7.5 (6.6)	201 (147)	9.4 (8.9)
Routine Non-Manual	6.7 (9.2)	20.6 (13.2)	21.2 (21.9)	5.5 (9.5)	10.9 (16.5)	12.1 (9.0)	23.0 (20.7)	165 (117)	7.7 (7.0)
Petty Bourgeoisie	13.7 (13.5)	15.0 (14.8)	13.0 (13.8)	24.3 (19.2)	10.0 (12.3)	10.7 (11.6)	13.3 (15.4)	299 (230)	14.1 (13.9)
Technicians and Foremen	6.0 (3.8)	12.0 (14.8)	11.1 (13.5)	6.9 (3.3)	24.1 (25.0)	15.7 (15.9)	24.1 (23.7)	216 (173)	10.1 (10.4)
Skilled Manual	3.7 (4.6)	8.1 (9.1)	10.6 (10.8)	6.2 (2.5)	13.4 (12.5)	30.7 (33.4)	27.3 (27.2)	322 (271)	15.1 (16.3)
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	1.9 (2.3)	8.2 (8.2)	10.8 (9.2)	4.9 (3.7)	13.8 (13.7)	12.0 (15.5)	48.4 (47.5)	741 (611)	34.7 (36.8)
All	10.2 (9.2)	13.7 (13.5)	13.3 (11.8)	8.6 (6.3)	12.7 (14.6)	13.3 (15.5)	28.2 (29.0)	2134 (1660)	

Appendix 3.4
A Reconsideration of Hutchinson's 1968 Results

Earlier we suggested that Hutchinson's 1968 data might overestimate the degree of self-recruitment at the top of the class hierarchy. Appendix Table 3.2 sets out the inflow distributions for Hutchinson's 1968 and 1972 data sets. According to this table a mere 1 per cent of those holding Category 1 positions in 1968 came from semi-skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds; the corresponding figure for Category 2 is less than 2 per cent. Taking Hall Jones Categories 1 and 2 together we find that less than 1½ per cent are from semi-skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds. This figure is surprising when we compare it with the results obtained using Goldthorpe's seven-fold class schema. Class I in this schema accounts for the same percentage of current occupations in the 1968 and 1972 samples as Hall Jones Categories 1 and 2 do of the 1968 sample, i.e., 9.8 per cent. However, the results shown in Table 3.6 indicate that 7½ per cent of Class I in the Goldthorpe scheme come from semi-skilled and unskilled backgrounds: the discrepancy of 6 per cent would appear to be too great to explain by differences in the classification system. To assist us in resolving this issue, we examined the inflow table for 1972 for the Hall Jones categories. From Appendix Table 3.2 it can be seen that the picture it presents of the composition of Hall Jones Categories 1 to 4 is, in important respects, different from that shown for the 1968 study. The percentages from semi-skilled and unskilled manual background in each of the four highest Hall Jones categories is shown for both 1968 and 1972 in Appendix Table 3.3. It is clear that the percentages are consistently higher in 1972 although the difference is particularly marked for Category 3. Thus 6.7 per cent of the occupants of Hall Jones 1 and 2 categories had fathers who were semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers, a figure which is very close to the 7.5 per cent found for the combined 1968 and 1972 samples employing Goldthorpe's seven-fold class schema. Thus, to summarise, the analysis of the 1968 survey based on the seven category Hall Jones classification gives a picture of social closure at the top which is a great deal more extreme than that provided by application of the same classification in the 1972 survey. No such systematic differences are observed when the results for 1968 and 1972 using the Goldthorpe schema are examined. The results obtained in using the Goldthorpe schema are consistent with those obtained in employing the Hall Jones classification with the 1972 data. Thus, Hutchinson's 1968 results are clearly a deviant case with regard to the degree of elite self-recruitment. While the level of elite self-recruitment observed in Ireland is considerable, and certainly higher than that in England and Wales, the picture provided by Hutchinson (1969) is too extreme and gives figures which are more consistent with the notion of the occupational elite as a caste rather than a class.

Appendix Table 3.2: *Class composition in 1968 and 1972 by class of father*
(percentage by column)
As measured by the Hall-Jones classification
(Figures in parentheses relate to 1972)

Father's Position	Respondent's Position							N	%
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	N	%
1.	19.9 (29.4)	8.0 (13.4)	7.4 (4.0)	1.2 (2.1)	0.1 (0.8)	0.4 (0.3)	0.6 (0.0)	61	2.9
2.	14.4 (11.1)	23.2 (14.2)	11.6 (8.0)	7.1 (2.4)	1.5 (1.9)	0.7 (0.3)	0.9 (0.9)	107	5.0
3.	24.7 (21.7)	24.1 (17.6)	24.7 (20.4)	12.8 (14.7)	3.4 (6.9)	1.8 (4.7)	0.9 (1.2)	182	8.5
4.	18.6 (25.0)	32.1 (19.6)	21.6 (19.9)	34.0 (29.9)	14.0 (12.5)	5.3 (9.4)	4.2 (4.1)	362	17.0
5.	11.3 (10.1)	10.7 (24.3)	27.4 (32.8)	31.0 (32.4)	50.4 (46.6)	34.2 (33.6)	25.7 (24.9)	742	34.8
6.	1.0 (1.5)	0.9 (6.9)	4.2 (10.3)	5.9 (10.5)	13.5 (16.2)	28.1 (25.9)	18.6 (16.9)	271	12.7
7.	0.0 (1.2)	0.9 (4.1)	3.2 (4.5)	7.9 (7.9)	17.1 (15.2)	29.5 (25.9)	49.1 (52.1)	408	19.1
N	97 (72)	112 (63)	190 (167)	406 (214)	713 (639)	281 (321)	334 (197)	2133	100.0
%	4.5 (4.3)	5.3 (3.8)	8.9 (10.0)	19.0 (12.8)	33.4 (38.2)	13.2 (19.2)	25.7 (11.8)	100.0	(100.0)

Appendix Table 3.3: *Percentage from semi-skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds – respondents 21–64*

Current Hall–Jones Category	1968	1972
1	1.0	2.7
2	1.8	11.0
3	7.4	14.8
4	13.8	18.4

Chapter 4
Class Structure and the Pattern of Intergenerational Mobility: Relative Mobility Opportunities in Dublin and England and Wales

Introduction

In the previous chapter we introduced the distinction between absolute or *de facto* mobility patterns and relative mobility or the degree of inequality implied by such patterns. In this chapter we will undertake a detailed examination of the set of relative mobility chances — the mobility regime as Hauser (1978) has termed it — which underlies the *de facto* mobility experience of the Dublin respondents. We will also compare the mobility regime for Dublin with that for England.

We begin by considering an approach which involves partitioning mobility into two components, termed structural and exchange mobility. This is rejected as inappropriate and we opt instead for methods involving the application of explicit models which reflect the distinction between absolute and relative mobility. An initial insight is obtained by fitting a model which assumes relative opportunities to be equal in both countries. We then go on to model the Irish regime in more detail in order to identify barriers and rigidities and to assess the effect of respondents' geographical origins (i.e., whether or not they are native Dubliners) on their mobility chances.

Structural and Exchange Mobility

Social mobility tables reflect both relative chances of movement and the constraints of occupational origins and opportunities. Sociologists have for some time recognised this duality and have attempted in a variety of ways to develop appropriate measures

> ...a mobility regime consists of a set of rules or processes governing access to social positions which is articulated with the flow of persons through the life cycle and the social organization of production. Thus arises a basic problem in mobility analysis: how does one distinguish the rules of access from the interplay of supply and demand in the labour market or from long term processes of societal development and transformation? (Hauser, 1979, p. 920).

There have been a variety of attempts to disaggregate mobility into "structural" and "exchange" components. Blau and Duncan's (1967) critique of attempts to achieve such a distinction by equating the absence of marginal homogeneity of the mobility table with structural change has already been discussed in Chapter 2. Despite the variety of ways in which these notions have been operationalised, it remains true that structural mobility is always equated

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with that movement which is necessitated by the failure of the mobility table to display marginal homogeneity. Hutchinson (1969) defines structural mobility as the proportion of all instances of mobility which would be required to equate the marginal distribution of sons with that of fathers. The remaining instances of mobility are defined as exchange mobility. The procedure he adopts in order to establish estimates of structural and exchange mobility for each class is to offset the number of subjects moving upwards against the number moving down — the difference between the two numbers is taken to be attributable to structural change. Exchange mobility is seen to have a compensating character where one man's "gain" inevitably involves another's "loss".

Unfortunately, his approach involves serious conceptual difficulties. The measurement of the two types of mobility in terms of the partitioning of the movements of individuals is an attempt to express at an individual level a distinction which can have meaning only at a societel level (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 74). Attempts to disaggregate mobility effects on such a basis, Goldthorpe observes, induce speculation on what the extent and pattern of mobility might have been in the absence of such structural change. Hutchinson's (1969, p. 21) reference to "abstracting from structural and demographic differences" illustrates this tendency. However, analysis based on such counter-factuals is confronted with formidable difficulties relating to the *ceteris paribus* clauses involved.

> In the case of mobility it seems implausible to suppose that the factors which determine change in the occupational structure, such as the rate of economic growth, are unrelated to ones which are likely to influence the pattern of exchange mobility such as the development of educational institutions. Thus the wider implications of thinking away changes in the structural context of mobility become highly problematic (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 88).

These conceptual difficulties lead to fundamental problems at the statistical level in specifying the effects that arise from the absence of marginal homogeneity (Breen, 1984a).

An alternative approach to assessing the extent of mobility allowing for structural influences involves following Goldthorpe (1980) in discarding the structural mobility/exchange mobility distinction, and substituting the conceptual distinction between absolute and relative mobility. From this perspective, mobility is no longer considered as divisible into two components but as capable of being assessed under two different aspects, (Erikson *et al.*, 1982, p. 7). In order to achieve this it is necessary that relative rates be calculated so as to control for structural influences as reflected in the marginals of the mobility table. This entails the application to mobility tables of multiplicative, or log-

linear models. The models employed in this chapter are formally specified in the Appendices. However, the basic procedure is that we formulate a model and compare the expected results with those we have observed.

Modelling the Mobility Regime: A First Approach

In the models we employ the observed frequency in any cell of the mobility table is the product of

(i)   a scale effect reflecting the sample size N;
(ii)   the effect of the associated origin class;
(iii) the effect of the associated destination class;
(iv)   the effect of the association between origins and destinations.

In comparing mobility in Dublin and England we will employ a number of models employed in previous mobility studies (Breen, 1984a; Grusky and Hauser, 1984). In particular, we will examine how well the following models[9] account for the distribution of observed frequencies:

(i) *Common Mobility*: This model assumes that both the effects of and the association between origins and destinations are constant across the societies. Thus, under this model both absolute and relative mobility are identical in Dublin and England.

(ii) *Origin Variation in Absolute Mobility*: In this case the effects of destinations and the association between origins and destinations are constant while the impact of origins vary. Consequently there are variations in absolute mobility associated with the origin effects but relative mobility does not vary.

(iii) *Destination Variation in Absolute Mobility*: The only difference between this model and the preceeding one is that the variations in absolute mobility are in this case produced by the effects of destinations.

(iv) *Constant Social Fluidity: Absolute Differences in Mobility:* In this case, as the label implies, the effects of origins and destinations vary while the association between them is constant. We thus have variations in absolute mobility but constant relative mobility.

The models are directly related to the hypotheses which have dominated discussions of comparative social mobility. The common mobility model can be seen as providing a test of Lipset and Zetterberg's (1959) thesis that "the overall pattern of social mobility appears to be much the same in the industrial societies of various Western countries". On the other hand, the "constant social fluidity" or absolute difference model takes into account the possibility raised by Featherman, Lancaster-Jones and Hauser (1975) that, while absolute difference in mobility rates between industrial societies may mean that the Lipset-Zetterberg thesis cannot be sustained, such differences may be essentially due to structural factors and relative mobility patterns may be constant.

[9]Formal specifications of the models are set out in Appendix 4.1.

Each of the models generates a set of expected frequencies which can be compared with the observed values. The goodness of fit is indicated by the χ^2_{LR} statistic and the appropriate degrees of freedom. In evaluating this statistic, it is necessary to keep clearly in mind that the hypothesis for which we are seeking support is the opposite to that which is implicit in conventional tests of statistical significance. Usually the χ^2 statistic is employed in situations where the null hypothesis is one of "no association" between a pair of variables. The "expected" values are those which would arise in a situation of zero relationships between the variables. Most frequently the analyst is seeking evidence which will allow for the rejection of the null hypothesis. Such evidence is provided by a *lack of fit* between the observed and expected values, and a correspondingly *large* χ^2. However, in this case the underlying models are not ones of statistical independence but rather ones which are intended to reproduce the observed frequencies. Thus, outcomes in which the "expected" frequencies come close to the observed frequencies and the χ^2 is correspondingly *low* are what is required to provide support for the validity of the theoretical framework underlying the development of the models.

The results of applying these models are set in Table 4.1. The common mobility model produces a χ^2_{LR} value of 604 which is clearly significant. It does, however, correctly classify 91.4 per cent of the cases giving an indication of the common factors operating in both populations. Allowing for differences in the effects of origins and destinations, respectively, produces reductions in the χ^2_{LR} value of 294 and 194. In the former case 94.6 per cent of the cases were classified correctly and in the latter 94.2 per cent. It is interesting to note that it is variations in the effect of origins which is most important. The model in which absolute differences are permitted but which assumes that there are no relative differences reduces the χ^2_{LR} by 459 and correctly classifies 96.4 per cent of the cases. As we show in Table 4.2 differences in absolute mobility account for 76 per cent of the mobility difference variance between Dublin and England.[10] However, the failure of the model to fit the data suggests that there are significant crossnational differences in the underlying structures of relative opportunities.

One simple way of considering such differences is by examining the class distribution of respondents implied by the absolute differences model and the manner in which they depart from the distributions observed in each country. The expected distributions are set out in Table 4.3. It is clear from this table that the constant social fluidity model does not imply identical inflows or outflows.

[10]This method of partitioning the mobility variance includes the error term in the relative component. Such a procedure provides a conservative test of the Featherman, Lancaster-Jones and Hauser (1975) hypothesis. For a detailed discussion of estimates of relative and absolute variance readers are referred to Breen (1984a).

Table 4.1: *Variations in absolute mobility between Dublin and England*

Model	χ^2_{LR}	d.f.	p	% of Cases Correctly Classified
Common Mobility	604.4	48	.000	91.4
Origin Variation	310.2	42	.000	94.6
Destination Variation	414.9	42	.000	94.2
Constant Social Fluidity: Absolute Difference Model	145.0	36	.001	96.4

Table 4.2: *Partitioning of the mobility difference variance between Dublin and England*

	χ^2_{LR}	Percentage of Variance
Absolute Mobility Differences	459.4	76.0
Relative Mobility Differences	145.0	24.0

The nature of the discrepencies between the percentages expected on the basis of the absolute differences model and those actually observed can be obtained by dividing the percentages previously set out in Table 3.1 by the corresponding percentages in Table 4.3.[11] The results from this procedure are set out in Table 4.4. From Table 4.4 we can see that immobility in the higher professional and managerial class is 21 per cent greater in Dublin and 7 per cent less in England than we would expect under the assumption of constant social fluidity. In fact for each of the seven classes, immobility is greater than expected in Dublin and less than expected in England. In the former case the degree of over-representation ranges from 7 per cent in the case of the petty bourgeoisie class to 33 per cent for skilled manual workers, while in the latter, the degree of under-representation lies between 6 and 9 per cent except for the petty bourgeoisie where it is as low as 2 per cent. Long-range upward and downward mobility is significantly less

[11]In fact it is the corresponding frequencies with which we operate.

Table 4.3: *Class distribution of respondents implied by the constant social fluidity model*
Respondent's class (per cent by row)

Father's Class		Higher Professional and Managerial	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	Total	N
Higher Professional	Dublin	36.1	22.7	15.3	7.6	6.7	3.8	7.7	100.0	301
and Managerial	England	48.4	18.0	10.0	8.4	4.9	4.6	5.6	100.0	688
Lower Professional	Dublin	20.2	29.1	17.5	5.5	11.7	6.7	9.2	99.9	348
and Managerial	England	29.9	25.2	12.6	6.7	9.4	8.8	7.4	100.0	554
Routine Non-Manual	Dublin	11.1	17.3	18.4	6.4	14.5	11.3	20.8	100.0	282
	England	17.1	15.7	14.0	8.1	12.3	15.4	17.3	99.9	694
Petty Bourgeoisie	Dublin	9.6	13.7	12.0	20.7	11.9	11.1	22.0	100.0	520
	England	14.1	11.8	8.6	24.9	8.8	14.3	11.4	99.9	329
Technicians and Foremen	Dublin	8.5	14.5	13.4	5.9	21.4	15.7	22.0	100.0	389
	England	12.9	13.0	9.7	7.4	17.0	21.2	18.1	100.0	1,092
Skilled Manual	Dublin	5.0	9.6	11.1	5.2	14.4	24.0	30.7	100.0	593
	England	7.6	8.6	8.2	6.4	12.0	32.2	25.1	100.0	2,594
Semi-Skilled and	Dublin	3.6	8.2	10.3	4.8	14.0	15.8	43.3	100.0	1,352
Unskilled Manual	England	5.7	7.8	8.1	6.3	12.3	22.4	37.5	100.0	2,493

Table 4.4: *Ratio of observed frequencies to expected frequencies on the assumption of constant social fluidity*

Father's Class		Higher Professional and Managerial	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual
Higher Professional	Dublin	1.21	0.91	1.78	1.22	1.04	1.52	0.73
and Managerial	England	1.93	1.45	1.15	1.91	1.97	1.18	1.16
Lower Professional	Dublin	1.07	1.12	1.07	0.89	0.98	0.56	0.78
and Managerial	England	0.97	0.92	0.94	1.06	1.01	1.21	1.18
Routine Non-Manual	Dublin	0.70	1.00	1.16	1.11	0.91	0.97	1.06
	England	1.08	1.00	0.91	0.96	1.05	1.09	0.97
Petty Bourgeoisie	Dublin	1.41	1.09	1.12	1.07	1.01	1.97	0.64
	England	0.89	0.96	0.93	0.98	1.00	1.09	1.18
Technicians and Foremen	Dublin	0.61	0.90	0.93	0.91	1.20	1.02	1.09
	England	1.09	1.04	1.03	1.03	0.92	1.04	0.96
Skilled Manual	Dublin	0.81	1.89	0.96	0.88	1.91	1.33	0.89
	England	1.13	1.03	1.01	1.02	1.03	0.94	1.03
Semi-Skilled and	Dublin	0.58	1.00	0.97	0.90	0.98	0.86	1.11
Unskilled Manual	England	1.14	1.00	1.02	1.04	1.01	1.05	0.93

Respondent's class

likely in Dublin and more likely in England than the constant social fluidity expectations would suggest. In Dublin, the percentages mobile from the technicians and foremen, skilled manual and semi-skilled and unskilled manual origins to the higher professional and managerial class were 39, 19 and 42, respectively, below what one would expect if a common pattern of underlying relativities were operating in Dublin and England, while in England the respective percentages were in excess of expectations by 9, 3 and 14 per cent. Long-range downward mobility to either of the manual classes from the professional and managerial classes is significantly overestimated for Dublin and underestimated for England by assuming a common mobility regime. It is also clear that the significantly greater likelihood of those from petty bourgeoisie origins among the Dublin respondents being mobile into the higher professional and managerial class cannot be explained simply by structural differences.

While an examination of Table 4.4 is of considerable value in indicating some of the major features of the differences in the mobility pattern in Dublin and England, a more systematic treatment of the distinctive nature of the mobility experiences of the Dublin men requires that we develop an explicit model of the underlying mobility regime.

Modelling the Mobility Regime in Detail

We now attempt to develop some more complex models of the system of social mobility. These relax the assumptions of constant social fluidity which underlay the model derived in the preceeding section. However, as a prelude to this task, we need to extend somewhat our previous discussion of disparity ratios and to introduce the notion of an odds ratio. The odds ratio in a 2×2 table would be calculated as follows

$$\theta_{12} = \frac{f_{11}/f_{12}}{f_{21}/f_{22}}$$

The odds ratio index provides a comparison of the relative chances of the son of a Class 1 father being himself found in Class 1 rather than Class 2 with the relative chances of the sons of a Class 2 father being found in Class 1 rather than Class 2. The odds ratio is a product of the disparity ratios. In a table distinguishing a large number of classes it is possible to calculate an odds ratio for every possible pair of destination classes. It is odds ratios and the degree of inequality in class competitions of which they are indicators which are assumed to be constant across countries under the absolute difference model.

We now present a brief exposition of the type of model we shall employ. In a sense, it can be seen as an extension of the constant social fluidity model introduced in the previous section. This model allowed for differences in absolute mobility (i.e., variations across the two countries in the margins of the

table) but maintained a similar structure of relative mobility opportunities in each country. To put this more precisely, it assumed that the odds ratios for corresponding pairs of cells were equal in each country. The model we shall now examine (Hauser, 1978, pp. 929–931) modifies this assumption. In it, sets of cells ("areas" of the mobility table) are defined such that perfect mobility prevails within each set. The Hauser model is, in fact, one of conditional independence.

The model is operationalised by allocating each cell of the mobility table to a particular interaction level. All the cells which belong to a set within which perfect mobility prevails share a common interaction parameter. In order to provide an illustration, we present, in Table 4.5 a possible allocation of the cells in a 7×7 mobility table to interaction levels. Thus, perfect mobility is presumed to exist between higher professional fathers and lower professional sons and between lower professional fathers and higher or lower professional sons, since each of these cells is given the same parameter 'C' in the table. Similarly, for each subset of cells assigned the same letter, destination is independent of origin. They represent "areas" within the table where perfect mobility exists.

Table 4.5: *Levels matrix for a Hauser type model of the intergererational class-mobility regime for England 1972 with cells allocated to eight levels of interaction*

	Son's Class						
Father's Class	Higher Professional and Managerial	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual
Higher Professional and Managerial	A	C	D	G	H	H	H
Lower Professional and Managerial	C	C	D	G	G	H	H
Routine Non-Manual	D	D	D	G	E	G	G
Petty Bourgeoisie	F	F	F	B	G	G	G
Technicians and Foremen	F	F	F	G	D	F	F
Skilled Manual	H	G	F	G	F	D	E
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	H	G	E	G	E	E	D

The substantive significance of this fact can be brought out best by returning to our earlier discussion of relative mobility opportunities in terms of odds ratios. The set of odds ratios associated with a mobility table can be interpreted sociologically as showing the outcome of a series of "competitions" between men of different class origins to achieve — or avoid — one rather than another location within the class structure. The closer the value of an odds ratio to unity, the more equal or perfect is the particular competition to which it refers. The allocation of cells of the mobility table to different interaction levels provides one means of representing, in condensed form, the information provided by a complete set of odds ratios. When odds ratios are calculated from the predicted frequencies derived from a Hauser model the odds ratio for any cell is calculated from the interaction parameters of the four cells involved in the following way:

$$\frac{f_{ik}/f_{il}}{f_{jk}/f_{jl}} = \frac{D_{ik}/D_{il}}{D_{jk}/D_{jl}}$$

where subscripts i, j, refer to origin classes, subscripts k, l, to destination classes, f is the cell frequency generated by the model and D is the parameter for the interaction level to which a cell is allocated. It is clear that all odds ratios involving combinations of cells from the same interaction level will have a value of 1. This fact provides confirmation of the earlier claim that cells at the same interaction level form an "area" of the mobility table within which perfect mobility prevails.

Furthermore, as Goldthorpe (1980, p. 97) observes, the equation set out above indicates that where an odds ratio involves frequencies relating to cells from different interaction levels the value of the ratio will be given by the corresponding ratio existing between the parameters. It is thus possible to think of mobility (for off-diagonal cells) and immobility (diagonal cells) being so many times greater at one interaction level rather than another. For this reason, it makes sense to refer to the interaction levels as *density* levels in order to convey the notion that the interaction parameters of the model correspond directly with variations in the density of observations in the cells. In view of this, it has generally been found useful to label cells, not in the alphabetical manner shown earlier but rather by numbering the interaction level of anticipated highest density as 1, the next highest as 2 and so on. It should be kept in mind, however, that it is simply a labelling procedure adopted in order to facilitate the interpretation of results.

Hauser's analytical approach offers the possibility of pursuing a number of interesting substantive questions. Such possibilities are directly related to the fact that with Hauser's model, row, column and interaction effects are

independent. The model can be seen as generated multiplicatively by:
  (i)   a "scale" effect reflecting the sample N;
  (ii) an origin effect;
  (iii) a destination effect, and
  (iv) an "interaction" effect for the class of origin and the class of destination for each cell, reflecting the degree of association between them, net of the marginal row and column effects.[12]

Within this framework, as Goldthorpe (1980, p. 98) notes, the following are among the questions which can be raised:
  (i)   Which cells of the mobility table can be grouped together in respect of their interaction levels and can thus be considered as "areas" of perfect mobility?
  (ii) How great are the differences between interaction levels in the degree of mobility or immobility?
  (iii) Are tendencies towards immobility greater than tendencies towards mobility, i.e., are the cells on the main diagonal of the mobility table generally allocated to higher density levels than are cells located off the diagonal?
  (iv) Do the off-diagonal cells appear in interaction levels in a symmetrical pattern or are there asymmetries in relative mobility rates between certain pairs of origin and destination? For example, when we allow for marginal row and column effects, is the density of upward mobility from the skilled manual class to the higher professional and managerial class equivalent to the density of downward mobility from the latter to the former?

It must be kept in mind, however, that the nature of the procedures involved in setting up a Hauser model is such that it will always be possible to achieve a good fit to the observed data by distinguishing a sufficiently large number of interaction levels and allocating cells to them on a trial and error basis. Thus, the value of a model depends not just on its ability to reproduce the observed pattern of mobility but also on the extent to which it provides a parsimonious and theoretically informed design for the interaction levels.

Designing a Model
What we are attempting to do is use our understanding of the nature of the class system to formulate a series of hypotheses regarding the relative possibilities of different types of mobility and immobility. In other words, our allocation of cells to different interaction levels implies a particular conception of the location of crucial class boundaries and the relative (having allowed for structural

[12]A formal specification of the model is provided in Appendix 4.1.

factors) ease or difficulty with which they can be crossed. If our model provides a satisfactory fit then we have evidence for the adequacy of our theoretical conception. Furthermore, at the same time we obtain quantitative estimates of the differences in densities between interaction levels and, thus, the degree of inequality in competitions for class positions. Finally, since the theoretical ideas involved in developing the model are implicit in the class schema we shall be at the same time testing the heuristic value of the schema in the Irish application.

In the allocation of cells to levels we will be guided by Goldthorpe's theoretical approach to class. It will, however, be necessary to keep in mind factors such as the selective nature of migration to Dublin, which would lead one to expect differences in the models appropriate to Dublin and England. Perhaps the best way to commence our presentation of the development of the mobility-regime model is by outlining what Goldthorpe (1980, p. 99) considers to be the major factors relevant to an understanding of patterns of social fluidity. These factors appear under three headings as follows:

(i)   The relative desirability of different class positions;
(ii) The relative advantages afforded to individuals by different class origins which may be thought of in terms of economic, cultural and social resources;
(iii) The relative barriers to access to different class positions. These may be thought to correspond to the types of resources and include requirements for capital, educational qualifications and social "contacts".

In designing a model, Golthorpe (1980, p. 99) stresses it is necessary to distinguish between those cells where the allocation to a particular interaction level follows rather directly from theoretical considerations and those cases where theory cannot provide precise expectations. This distinction becomes important when one is trying to decide whether to make modifications on empirical grounds after the model has been fitted. The five instances where such modifications were made on such grounds are noted below.

The starting point of our allocation, as in the English study, stems from the argument that the surest advantages and the most decisive barrier to intergenerational mobility involve economic resources.

> This is so firstly because economic resources can be more reliably transmitted intergenerationally than can cultural and social resources; and secondly because, unlike the latter, they predominantly take the form of "exclusive" rather than inclusive goods — that is ones which, if possessed by one party, cannot be possessed by another (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 100).

The transmission of such resources is seen to be particularly important in the higher professional and managerial class and the petty bourgeoisie. Consequently, the relative degree of intergenerational mobility in these classes is expected to be particularly high. Of course, the degree of "stability" will not simply be a consequence of the direct inheritance of businesses or practices but will be related to the ability to provide privileged education. The petty bourgeoisie group also have the potential to transmit capital. (On these grounds the higher professional and managerial transition is allocated to interaction level 1 while immobility in the petty bourgeoisie class is allocated to level 2.) Their relative levels are related to both the greater desirability of access to the higher professional and managerial class and the greater resources available within this class for the purpose of ensuring intergenerational stability. The allocation of the cells is shown in Table 4.6 where it can be seen that no other cells are allocated to levels 1 and 2, thus ensuring that the model will exactly reproduce the observed frequencies for intergenerational stability in both cases.

With regard to the allocation of the remaining cells from the first row, that is those relating to men who have been mobile from higher professional and managerial positions, Goldthorpe's reasoning is broadly as follows: such men will tend to seek positions in the lower professional and managerial class and have a high probability of having the resources necessary to obtain them. This cell is therefore placed at level 3. On the other hand, since the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class is the least desirable destination and sons of higher professional and managerial fathers the most capable of avoiding it the final cell in the first row will be assigned to the lowest level available, level 7. The greater attractiveness of the technicians and skilled manual destinations suggest the allocation of the fifth and sixth cells of the first row to higher levels. There are, however, obstacles to entry to such positions for men from higher professional and managerial backgrounds which relate to the age at which the decisions to pursue apprenticeships tend to occur, and the fact that the manual supervisory positions which are included in the former category are normally reached via previous experience of manual employment. Both cells were initially placed at level cell 7 but cell I–V was subsequently reallocated to level 5 on empirical grounds. Our expectations for the remaining cells were no more precise than that they lie in the range 4–6 — both cells are placed at level 4.

Men from lower professional and managerial origins are likely to have relatively greater difficulty in achieving the highest white collar positions and consequently are rather more likely to be attracted to positions at the peak of the manual hierarchy. For this reason, while the sixth and seventh cells of the second row are assigned to level 7, the fifth cell was placed at level 6. The allocation of the first cell to level 3 is also intended to reflect their lower level of resources. Allowing for relative desirability and the existence of capital requirement

Table 4.6: *Levels matrix for a Hauser type model of the intergenerational class regime for Dublin 1968/1972 with cells allocated to seven levels: (Figures in parentheses relate to the final English model for 1972)*

	Son's Class						
Father's Class	*Higher Professional and Managerial*	*Lower Professional and Managerial*	*Routine Non-Manual*	*Petty Bourgeoisie*	*Technicians and Foremen*	*Skilled Manual*	*Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual*
Higher Professional and Managerial	1 (1)	3 (3)	4 (4)	4 (5)	6 (7)	7 (8)	7 (8)
Lower Professional and Managerial	3 (3)	3 (3)	4 (4)	6 (6)	6 (6)	7 (7)	7 (7)
Routine Non-Manual	5 (4)	4 (4)	3 (4)	5 (6)	5 (5)	6 (6)	5 (6)
Petty Bourgeoisie	3 (5)	4 (5)	4 (5)	2 (2)	6 (6)	6 (6)	6 (6)
Technicians and Foremen	6 (5)	5 (4)	5 (4)	6 (4)	4 (4)	5 (5)	5 (6)
Skilled Manual	6 (7)	6 (6)	5 (5)	6 (6)	5 (5)	3 (4)	4 (5)
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	7 (7)	6 (6)	5 (5)	6 (6)	5 (5)	5 (5)	3 (4)

barriers to the petty bourgeoisie, the second, third and fourth cells were placed respectively at levels 3, 4 and 6.

In allocating cells involving respondents from routine non-manual and petty bourgeoisie origins it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that migrants to Dublin from the petty bourgeoisie origins are highly selected. The evidence available to us indicates that as a consequence they may exhibit greater success than the routine non-manual class both in achieving higher level white collar positions and in avoiding the lowest level blue collar positions. Consequently, the first cells in the third and fourth rows were placed respectively at levels 5 and 4 and the latter allocation was changed to level 3 on empirical grounds, the second cells in both rows are situated at level 4, with the final cells being allocated respectively to levels 5 and 6. The expectation of a low level of density in the first cell of the third row implies a relatively higher degree of intergenerational immobility for routine non-manual workers than might otherwise be expected; consequently the third cell in the third row has been assigned to level 3; the point made previously regarding capital requirements justifies placing the fourth cell at a low level and on empirical grounds level 5 is chosen in preference to level 6. The allocations already made suggest that the second cell should be allocated to level 4 and the greater likelihood of movement into manual employment for sons of routine non-manual workers in comparison with those from lower professional and managerial origins suggests that the fifth and sixth cells should be situated respectively at levels 5 and 6. Similar reasoning suggest the allocation of the sixth cell in the fourth row to level 6. Finally, the high density of immobility of men of petty bourgeoisie origins implies lower densities in the other cells in the row than one would otherwise expect. In view of this, the third and fifth cells are assigned to levels 4 and 6 — one level below the corresponding cells in the third row.

Men from technician origins are likely to have a lower level of resources available to them than either of the previous pair of groups. Goldthorpe (1980, p. 103) suggests that they lack both the cultural and social advantages which come from familial involvement in the world of white collar work and the economic resources provided by the availability of capital. The first and second cells are thus assigned to levels 6 and 5, respectively. Furthermore, he suggests that men from such origins because of their parents involvement in blue collar work, may regard lower-level white collar work as no more desirable than high level blue-collar positions. On these grounds the third cell was allocated to level 5. The fourth cell was allocated to level 6. The foregoing arguments suggest that the remaining cells should be placed at levels higher than that for any of the previous rows and that the fifth cell should be assigned to a higher level than the others on the basis of the greater desirability of the occupations it comprises. In view of this, the fifth cell was located at level 4 and the others at level 5.

Goldthorpe (1980, p. 103) argues that given their similarity in resources and values men from the remaining origins may most usefully be treated together. The only difference in treatment of the rows is that required in order to take into account the tendencies for self-recruitment in the respective classes. While the sons of skilled manual workers may have some advantage in economic terms, he notes that men from semi-skilled and unskilled manual origins, particularly those located in the tertiary sector, have access to superior social resources on account of the contacts provided with the white collar world. In any event, the shared disadvantages of such men in comparison with all other class origins needs to be reflected in the allocation for these rows. For this reason the first and second cells in both rows were initially allocated respectively to levels 7 and 6. However, cell I–VI was subsequently reallocated to level 6. The fourth cell is, in each case, allocated to level 6 on the grounds of economic barriers. The remaining cells are placed at higher levels. In view of the limits on long-range mobility, discussed earlier, the tendency towards intergenerational immobility in both the skilled manual and semi-skilled manual class can be expected to be particularly strong in the case of the Dublin respondents. In recognition of this factor the main diagonal cells in both rows were allocated to level 3. The allocations of the cells, up to this point, suggests that the remaining cells should be placed at level 4 or level 5 with little grounds for differentiation among them. In fact, all four cells were placed at level 5, but cell VI–VII was subsequently included with the level 4 cells.

Fitting the Model to the Data for Dublin

The model we have employed as set out in Table 4.6, generates a set of "expected" frequencies. These are shown in Table 4.7 together with the corresponding observed frequencies. Again, it is necessary to keep in mind that since the model being tested is not one of statistical independence but rather one which is intended to reproduce the observed frequencies, a low χ^2_{LR} is required to provide support for the validity of the theoretical framework underlying the development of the model. As can be seen from Table 4.8, the model has a χ^2_{LR} of 13.73 with 30 degrees of freedom which is not statistically significant, it accounts for almost 99 per cent of the association between origins and destinations and less then 2 per cent of the sample is misclassified. The model may therefore be accepted as giving a statistically satisfactory description of our empirical data.

The Pattern of Social Fluidity

Since the model of the intergenerational class-mobility regime provides an acceptable account of the extent and pattern of association between class of origin and of destination, the next task is to spell out the main features of the pattern of social mobility implied by the model. We will initially concentrate on

Table 4.7: *Intergenerational class mobility: cell values observed and cell values expected on the basis of the seven level model for Dublin respondents 1968/1972*

	Son's (i.e., respondent's) class							
Father's Class	Higher Professional and Managerial	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	Total
Higher Professional and Managerial	131 131.0	62 64.2	36 35.3	28 22.6	21 24.5	6 9.3	17 13.9	301
Lower Professional and Managerial	75 67.6	113 113.4	65 62.8	17 20.0	40 43.2	13 16.5	25 24.5	348
Routine Non-Manual	22 19.5	49 47.2	61 67.6	20 18.6	37 40.0	31 29.2	62 59.9	282
Petty Bourgeoisie	72 79.0	79 82.5	71 73.5	117 117.0	58 50.5	57 51.0	75 75.6	529
Technicians and Foremen	20 22.2	51 51.6	47 45.9	21 21.1	95 90.5	62 63.5	93 94.9	389
Skilled Manual	24 27.9	51 46.8	63 57.7	27 26.5	77 79.1	189 184.6	162 170.3	593
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	28 22.6	111 110.3	136 135.9	58 62.3	186 186.2	184 187.9	649 644.6	1352
Total	372	516	479	288	514	542	1083	3794

Table 4.8: *Results of testing a Hauser type model of the intergenerational mobility regime for Dublin 1968/1972*

Goodness of Fit			Percentage of Association Accounted for	Percentage of Cases Misclassified
χ^2_{LR}	d.f.	p		
13.73	30	.995	98.9	1.8

the broad pattern specified in the design table before going on to comment on the parameter values. In other words, we will discuss the contours of class mobility before providing quantitative estimates of the tendencies towards mobility or immobility for cells at each interaction level or the degree of inequality in competition for class position implied by such tendencies.

On the basis of the theoretical rationale underlying the development of the model one would expect that in Ireland, as in other countries, two features would be outstanding (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 109). First, one would expect cells on the main diagonal to have the highest interaction levels or density levels because of processes favouring class immobility. Secondly, one would expect that to the extent that the class categories are hierarchically ordered, the lowest levels would be encountered in those cells furthest from the main diagonal, thus reflecting barriers to long-range mobility. Since we have employed Goldthorpe's theoretical framework and since, as is clear from Table 4.5, there are very strong similarities between the Irish and English models, it is hardly surprising that, as in England, the model does specify a pattern of fluidity broadly in line with such expectations.

In fact, a close examination shows that the pattern for Dublin conforms more closely to such expectations than does that for England. Goldthorpe (1980, p. 192) in his analysis of the English model, notes that densities of immobility are not invariably greater than densities of mobility, even within the same row or column. Thus, in England the relative chances of immobility for men of lower professional and managerial origins are matched by their chances of being found in higher professional and managerial positions, those of men of routine non-manual origins by their chances of being found in either of the professional and managerial classes, and those of sons of technicians by their chances of being found in the lower professional and managerial classes or in the routine non-manual class. Goldthorpe emphasises that the former two instances are of particular interest. Allowing for marginal effects, men found in the lower professional and managerial class are as likely to be of higher professional and managerial origins as to have been immobile. Similarly men found in routine non-manual work are as likely to be from either of the professional and managerial classes as of routine

non-manual origins. When we examine the situation in Ireland a rather different pattern emerges. It is true that the relative chances of immobility of men of lower professional and managerial origins are not greater than their chances of movement into the higher professional and managerial class. Furthermore, men found in the lower professional and managerial class are, allowing for structural factors, as likely to have come from higher professional and managerial origins. However, these are the only instances where the density level on the diagonal does not exceed all other row and column values. Thus, immobility is more even across classes for our Dublin respondents than is the case for England.

The factors which produce such differences in immobility tendencies are also reflected in differences in the pattern of asymmetries between Dublin and England. Goldthorpe (1980, pp. 112-113), in commenting on the final English model, notes that the model entails a large number of asymmetries. Pairs of corresponding cells on either side of the main diagonal of the mobility table are allocated to different density levels. The final design for England specified an asymmetry in 12 out of a total of 21 off-diagonal cells. Most of the asymmetries are part of one particular pattern; under the model mobility from any of the 3 white collar classes into the manual classes tend to be less, allowing for marginal effects, than is mobility of the reverse kind. This feature accounts for 9 of the 12 asymmetries; in terms of the layout of the table, what is involved is a contrast of the bottom left hand corner with the top right hand corner.

In the case of the final model for Dublin set out in Table 4.6 there are 9 asymmetries. However, only 5 are part of the pattern noted above, and of these 5, 3 involve the skilled manual class. In fact, the English pattern of significantly higher densities of mobility into white collar work from manual work emerges clearly only in the case of the lower professional and managerial class. However, for the other white collar classes it also holds true when the petty bourgeoisie class is also involved. The greater degree of closure of the higher professional and managerial classes to manual workers in Ireland is reflected in these results. For England the greater densities of mobility in cells reflecting long-range upward mobility than those involving long-range downward mobility is reflected in the allocation of the sixth and seventh cells in the first row to an eight interaction level; with the data for Dublin the use of an eight density level is unnecessary. Goldthorpe commenting on the asymmetries evident in the model for England notes that

> ... the asymmetries apparent between corresponding cells in the outlying corners of the matrix may be seen as largely the counterpart of the differences in density levels on and around the main diagonal ... (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 114).

Similarly, the differences observed between the countries are related to the fact that there is significantly less variation in the densities of immobility in the model for Dublin.

However, such differences in asymmetries in the pattern of density levels on the diagonals and the parameters of the density levels should not blind us to the significantly more important broad similarities in the structures of mobility identified by the respective models for England and Dublin. These similarities reflect the utility of the general conceptualisation of social class underlying the development of both models.[13] Thus, as Goldthorpe (1980, p. 113) notes, the underlying theoretical framework would suggest that there should be a concentration of high densities in the top left corner of the matrix offset by very low densities in the top right hand corner. This pattern may be seen as arising for the following reasons:

(i) Men from white collar origins possess advantages in terms of economic, cultural and social resources, such as to give them favourable relative chances of retaining or of improving their class positions. It may be assumed that they will generally wish to do so; hence the high densities of both immobility and mobility in the top left hand corner of the final levels matrices for England and Dublin;

(ii) At the same time, "unsuccessful" men of professional and managerial origins tend to face difficulties in entering occupations within the technician or skilled manual class because of the apprenticeship and work-experience requirements, and may thus be forced into routine non-manual work. Furthermore, even where men of white collar origins have the choice between higher-grade blue collar work and lower level non-manual employment they tend to opt for the latter to a greater extent than would be indicated by the relatively low "general desirability" ratings which the occupational groupings making up this class receive. The outflow figures for the routine non-manual in Dublin suggest that this tendency is significantly stronger there, a finding which is consistent with a greater salience of white collar/blue collar status distinctions in Ireland. In any event, the concentration of high densities in the top left corner of the matrices is in both cases offset by the very low densities of the top right hand corner.

On the other hand, so far as men of manual origins are concerned there is generally less reason for them to seek to preserve the class positions of their fathers; and some of them at least, will actively pursue mobility. Skilled manual

[13]This conclusion is given additional weight by the fact that, illustrating the indeterminacy of levels type models, it is possible to find models with considerably fewer asymmetries which provide statistically acceptable fits to the data.

and semi-skilled and unskilled men face particular obstacles to entry to the higher professional and managerial class. However, the barriers to entry to the lower professional and managerial class are significantly less formidable while routine non-manual positions are relatively open. The net outcome, as Goldthorpe (1980, p. 114) observes, is that the relative chances of men of blue collar origins being found in different destination classes tend in comparison with those of men of professional and managerial origins to vary less widely overall and to be more smoothly graded.

The Strength of Relative Mobility and Immobility Tendencies

At this point we wish to move on from a description of the contours of mobility to a discussion of the strength of relative mobility and immobility tendencies. Our account of such tendencies will be based on the interaction parameters of the model we have employed. These parameters are set out in Table 4.9. The values in the first column of the table relate to the additive or logarithmic coefficents and should be interpreted as effects on logged cell frequencies with the value for level 1 set at zero and the other values interpreted as differences from level 1. However, for substantative purposes, the crucial values in the table are contained in the matrix of differences in densities that these parameters imply expressed in multiplicative terms. The parameter values can be interpreted in a number of ways but the set of multiplicative differences between them is their constant property and represents the basic quantitative information in the table. The matrix of Table 4.9 can be interpreted as showing that, to take, for example, the first row, that at interaction level 1 the density is more than twice as great as at level 2; almost three and a half times as great at level 3, five and half times as great as at level 5, eleven times as great as at level 6, and finally nearly thirty times as great as at level 7. In interpreting these differences it is important to keep in mind that cells at the same interaction level form an area of perfect mobility within the mobility table. Thus if, overall, destination was independent of origins there would be no differences in interaction levels since the best fitting model would not include any interaction terms — the only information required to predict a cell frequency would be the corresponding row and column frequencies. In fact, as we have observed, there are substantial differences between density levels.

In spelling out the practical implications of such differences it is necessary to refer back to the design matrix in Table 4.6. The fact that the density at level 1 is 29 times greater than at level 7 implies that, allowing for structural factors, the density of immobility in the higher professional and managerial class is 29 times greater than the density of downward mobility from this class to the skilled manual class or the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class, or than the density of upward mobility from the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class into the

Table 4.9: *Values of the parameters of density levels (for the revised Irish seven level model form) and matrix of differences in density between levels (in multiplicative form)*

Additive Parameter Values	Level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0.000	1	1.00	2.19	3.42	5.51	7.92	10.97	28.99
-0.786	2		1.00	1.56	2.51	3.61	5.00	13.21
-1.231	3			1.00	1.61	2.31	3.20	8.47
-1.706	4				1.00	1.44	1.99	5.26
-2.070	5					1.00	1.38	3.66
-2.395	6						1.00	2.64
-3.367	7							1.00

higher professional and managerial class. The 11 to 1 ratio between level 1 and level 6 indicates that the density of mobility from the technician or skilled manual classes into the higher professional and managerial class is 11 times less than the density of immobility at the highest level of the class hierarchy. The former movement is also 11 times more likely than that from any of the manual classes into the petty bourgeoisie and vice versa or from the working class into the lower professional and managerial classes. The fact that this density of immobility is almost three and a half times greater than the density at level 3 indicates that the following densities of mobility are correspondingly lower — movement from one professional and managerial class to another and movement into the higher professional and managerial class from the petty bourgeoisie. However, the most interesting comparison involving levels 1 and 3 relates to densities of immobility; the densities of immobility of the other white collar classes and the working class groups are almost three and a half times less than at the peak of the class hierarchy. Finally the density of immobility among the petty bourgeoisie is less than half that prevailing among the higher professional and managerial class.

There are fifteen other comparisons between interaction levels on which we could comment. However, we will limit ourselves to some of the more interesting ones. The ratio of eight and a half to one which exists between level 3 and 7 is indicative of the fact that the density of immobility in the lower professional and managerial class is that much greater than the density of mobility from this class into the working class. An examination of the relationship between levels 3 and 5 shows that the density of immobility in the routine non-manual class is a little

over twice the density of mobility into this class from any of the manual classes. A comparison of levels 3 and 4 provides the information that the density of immobility in the skilled manual class is slightly over one and a half times as great as the tendency towards mobility from this class into semi-skilled and unskilled manual work. The relationship between levels 5 and 6 demonstrates that the tendency towards mobility from the technician class into the higher professional and managerial class is 1.4 times as great as the comparable tendency for either of the working class groups. Finally, the fact that the density at level 6 is over two and a half times greater than that at level 7 gives us an estimate of the greater tendency towards mobility into the higher professional and managerial class for skilled manual workers in comparison with those in the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class. (Although with reference to our earlier discussion of the "buffer-zone" thesis it is perhaps worth noting that this is the only case in which there is a difference in densities of mobility between the classes comprising working class.)

It is also possible and illuminating to express the extent of differences in density by means of odds ratios. This can be done according to the equation given on page 79. Of course, the frequencies from which we now calculate the odds ratios are those predicted from the model. The highest odds ratios, not surprisingly, relate to competitions involving the higher professional and managerial class. For example, in terms of expected frequencies — letting the higher professional and managerial class be indicated by I and the semi-skilled and the unskilled manual be indicated by VII — then the following equations hold true.

$$\frac{f_{i-i}/f_{i-vii}}{f_{vii-i}/f_{vii-vii}} = \frac{D_1/D_7}{D_7/D_3}$$

From the matrix of Table 4.10 we can then ascertain that the odds ratio in question has a value of over 240. That is to say, the chances of men born into the higher professional and managerial class being found in higher professional and managerial positions rather than in the semi-skilled and unskilled manual working class are over 240 times greater than the chances of men born in the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class being found in the higher professional and managerial class rather than in their class of origin. The extraordinary degree of inequality in the competition to achieve positions at the peak of the class hierarchy and to avoid being located at the bottom can, perhaps, be most clearly illustrated by comparing this figure of 240 with the corresponding odds ratios for England of 36. Thus, allowing for structural factors, the "competition" for higher professional and managerial positions and semi-skilled and unskilled manual positions for the Dublin respondents is almost 7 times more unequal than that found in England.

Table 4.10: *Matrix of odds ratios where the pair of origin and the pair of destination classes are the same: 1968/1972[a]* *(Figures in parentheses relate to England and Wales 1972)*

Class	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled manual
Higher Professional and Managerial	3.42 (1.78)	12.81 (2.66)	8.61 (6.68)	21.94 (10.38)	93.51 (35.86)	241.6 (35.86)
Lower Professional and Managerial		2.60 (1.49)	8.00 (7.46)	4.63 (2.76)	27.32 (8.00)	27.32 (8.00)
Routine Non-Manual			5.78 (4.97)	3.35 (1.35)	7.44 (2.49)	5.37 (2.49)
Petty Bourgeoisie				10.00 (6.80)	16.13 (6.80)	16.13 (6.80)
Technicians and Foremen					3.35 (1.82)	3.35 (2.49)
Skilled Manual						3.74 (1.82)

Note a   The entries in the matrix show the chances of men in one class of origin, relative to those of men in another, of being themselves found in one rather than the other of those same two classes. Thus, the entry in the I–II cell of 3.42 indicates that men originating in Class I have almost three and a half times the chance of men originating in Class II of being found in a Class I rather than a Class II position — conversely that men originating in a class II position have a similarly greater chance than men originating in Class I of being found in a Class II rather than a Class I.

In Table 4.10 we provide a set of odds ratios under our model where the pair of origin and the pair of destination classes involved is the same; the comparable figures derived from the eight level model for England are also presented for comparative purposes. The competition between men of higher professional and managerial origins and semi-skilled and unskilled manual origins is the most unequal by a considerable margin. However, men originating in the former class also have over 90 times better chance of being found in that class rather than a skilled manual position than do men born into the skilled manual class and almost 20 times better chance of obtaining a position in the highest white collar class than in the technician class as compared with the sons of technicians. The ratios for the competitions involving the higher professional and managerial class and the lower professional and managerial class, the routine non-manual and the petty bourgeoisie are, respectively, 3.4, 12.8 and 8.6. In every case, except that involving the petty bourgeoisie, those of professional and managerial origins enjoy relative advantages over other classes in competition for the most desirable positions which are significantly in excess of those enjoyed by the comparable English group.

The picture which emerges is very clear. Despite the broad similarity in the contours of the class structure in Dublin and England. The evidence is not consistent with the Featherman, Lancaster-Jones and Hauser (1975) hypothesis of constant crossnational mobility patterns. Tendencies towards relative immobility are much stronger in the data for Dublin than for England. On the other hand, tendencies towards long-range upward mobility into or out of the working class are much less strong in Dublin. However, despite the magnitude of the odds ratios presented in Table 4.10, we have still not managed to present a complete picture of inequalities of opportunities. We have previously pointed out that because of selective migration those with origins outside Dublin are considerably more likely than those of Dublin origin to have experienced upward mobility. We now turn to an examination of this issue.

The Effects of Dublin and Non-Dublin Origins

In order to pursue this question it is necessary first to consider whether the overall model provides an adequate fit for the sub-samples obtained when we separate the Dublin born from those born outside Dublin. From Table 4.11 it is clear that the fit is satisfactory in both cases although the fit for those with Dublin origins is somewhat better. Thus, the available evidence supports the view that the broad contours of mobility as represented in the design matrix of Table 4.6 are appropriate to both samples. However, as it is clear from Table 4.12, the strength of the tendencies towards mobility and immobility represented in that model are not identical. In other words, the interaction parameters do vary. Thus, for those who come from Dublin the tendency, allowing for structural

Table 4.11: *Results of testing the final seven level Irish design of a Hauser type model of the intergenerational mobility regime for samples of Dublin origins and non-Dublin origins*

	Goodness of Fit			Percentage of Association Accounted for	Percentage of of Cases Misclassified
	χ^2_{LR}	d.f.	p		
Dublin Origins	21.55	30	>.750	98.0	3.1
Non-Dublin origins	31.76	30	>.250	88.8	6.4

factors, for men born into the higher professional and managerial class to be subsequently found in that class is 40 times stronger than the tendency for them to be found in the working class or for men of semi-skilled and unskilled manual origins to be found in the higher professional and managerial class. The corresponding figure for those from outside Dublin is 14. Overall, the parameters for the Dublin origins sub-sample are indicative of significantly greater restrictions on mobility, although the scale of the differences is generally somewhat less than in the previous example.

Again the nature of the differences can perhaps best be pursued by examining that set of odds ratios where the pair of origin and destination classes are the same; the appropriate odds ratios are set out in Table 4.13. From this table it can be seen that sons of higher professional and managerial workers have over 360 times more chance of being found in that class rather than in semi-skilled and unskilled origins than do men with origins in the latter class. Here we are faced with inequality of opportunity on an extraordinary scale. The corresponding figure summarising the degree of inequality associated with this particular competition for those who have come from outside Dublin is less than 85. For Dubliners the competition involving the higher white collar group and skilled manual workers still produces an odds ratio of over 130; the figure for non-Dubliners is less than 40. For each of the other competitions involving the higher professional and managerial class the odds ratios for those of Dublin origins tend to exceed those for non-Dubliners by a rate of approximately 2 to 2.5:1.

While the differences in odds ratios for the lower professional and managerial class are somewhat less, in those competitions involving the working class the Dublin origins ratios are almost twice as large. Finally, it is interesting to note that, reflecting selective migration to Dublin, the inequalities in competitions involving the petty bourgeoisie and the professional and managerial classes are substantially greater for those with Dublin origins, as we had earlier suggested they would be.

Table 4.12: *Values of the parameters of density levels for the revised Irish seven level model (in additive form) and matrix of differences in density between levels (in multiplicative form)[a] for Dublin and non-Dublin origins, 1968–1972 (Non-Dublin values in parentheses)*

Additive Parameter Values	Level	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0.000 (0.000)	1	1	2.73 (1.41)	4.27 (2.11)	7.72 (3.04)	9.83 (4.90)	14.27 (5.80)	40.08 (13.58)
−1.006 (−0.342)	2		1	1.56 (1.50)	2.82 (2.16)	3.59 (3.49)	5.22 (4.12)	14.65 (9.65)
−1.452 (−0.746)	3			1	1.81 (1.45)	2.30 (2.33)	3.34 (2.75)	9.38 (6.45)
−2.044 (−1.112)	4				1	1.27 (1.62)	1.85 (1.91)	5.19 (4.47)
−2.285 (−1.592)	5					1	1.45 (1.18)	4.08 (2.76)
−2.658 (−1.757)	6						1	2.81 (2.34)
−3.691 (−2.609)	7							1

Table 4.13: *Matrix of odds ratios where the pair of origins and destination classes are the same 1968/1972: A comparison of Dublin and non-Dublin origins**

Class	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Foremen	Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual
Higher Professional and Managerial	4.27 (2.1)	17.94 (7.07)	12.06 (4.53)	26.42 (11.15)	133.60 (37.72)	364.36 (84.88)
Lower Professional and Managerial		3.29 (3.37)	9.54 (4.10)	4.22 (4.44)	31.26 (17.92)	31.26 (17.92)
Routine Non-Manual			6.57 (5.07)	2.91 (3.76)	7.77 (6.40)	5.35 (5.42)
Petty Bourgeoisie				9.67 (7.92)	17.40 (11.44)	17.40 (11.44)
Technicians and Foremen					2.95 (3.77)	2.95 (3.77)
Skilled Manual						4.84 (3.37)

*Non-Dublin origin in parentheses

Conclusion

This chapter analysed in detail the mobility regime which prevailed in our samples and contrasted it with the situation in England. We began by rejecting as a useful tool the distinction posited by some researchers between structural and exchange mobility and opted instead to distinguish between absolute or *de facto* mobility and relative mobility.

We derived a number of models of increasing complexity which help elucidate the nature of mobility patterns in Dublin. The observed data were found to accord moderately well with a model of common social fluidity i.e., one which allowed for absolute differences in mobility rates between Ireland and Britain but kept relative mobility the same. There were, however, systematic divergences in the fit of the data from the two countries suggesting that class rigidities were greater in Dublin than in England. Thus, immobility (remaining in the same class as one's father) was higher for all seven classes in Dublin than in England. Furthermore, long-range upward and downward mobility is significantly less likely in Dublin than in England and Wales.

We then went on to derive a model explicitly designed to fit the Dublin data. A very satisfactory fit was obtained and the final model correctly classified almost 99 per cent of the association between origins and destinations. The model showed that mobility opportunities were both more limited and more systematically structured in Dublin than in England and Wales. Immobility is more consistent across classes in Dublin with considerably fewer asymmetries (i.e., cases where movement upwards from class i to class j is substantially easier or more difficult than movement in the opposite direction). There was also considerably less long-range movement from the manual classes to the higher professional class. Persons originating in the higher professional and managerial class enjoy relative advantages over other classes in competition for the most desirable positions. These advantages are significantly greater than those of the comparable English group.

The last part of the chapter broke down our samples into the Dublin born and those born outside the capital. While the same overall tendencies were evident in both sub-groups, the strength of the barriers to mobility were stronger for the Dublin born than for the others. Presumably, this reflects the effects of selective migration into Dublin.

A clear picture of greater restrictions on mobility in Dublin than in England emerges from all these analyses. We next attempt to broaden the basis of comparison by contrasting the Dublin experience with corresponding data from France and Sweden.

Appendix 4.1
Levels Models of the Mobility Tables

Log linear analysis of mobility tables, as Heath notes, is in essence an extension of the ideas lying behind the concept of "perfect mobility".

> Thus in a model of perfect mobility we calculate the expected number of respondents in a given cell by multiplying the relevant row and column totals together and dividing by the overall sample size. Thus we could say that

$$\text{Cell (I, I)} = \frac{\text{Row (I)} \times \text{Column (I)}}{\text{Sample size}}$$

> If we take logarithms this can be reformulated as:

> Log cell (I, I) = Log row (I) + Log column (I)
>   – Log sample size

> This reformulation, where we add and subtract logarithms instead of multiplying and dividing frequencies, is much more convenient mathematically when complex tables are to be handled. But the general idea is simple enough: we formulate a model and compare the expected results of the model with the observed ones in the real world, just as we did with the model of perfect mobility (Heath, 1981, p. 269).

The basic ("saturated") model for a two-way mobility table of origin P (i.e., respondent's father's class) with I categories and destination S (i.e., respondent's class) with J categories is:

$$f_{ij} = \eta \, t_i^P \, t_j^S \, t_{ij}^{PS} \quad i = 1 \ldots . I; j = 1 \ldots . J \quad (1)$$

This model can be represented in the alternative form

$$f_{ij} = \eta \, t_i^P \, t_j^S \, t_k^D \qquad\qquad (2)$$

where i = 1 .... I, j = 1, K = I. J and k = 1 .... K.

The multiplicative model can be expressed in linear form for estimation purposes by taking natural logarithms. Model (2) then becomes

$$\log f_{ij} = u + \lambda_i^P + \lambda_j^S + \lambda_k^D \qquad\qquad (4)$$

where the λs are the logarithms of the corresponding t terms. (Thus, for example, $\lambda_k^D = \log t_k^D$ and $t_k^D = \exp\{\lambda_k^D\}$). Model (4) must be re-parameterised since only independent parameters can be estimated. There are I – 1 for the term λ_i^P, J –1 for the term λ_j^S, K – 1 for the term λ_k^D and 1 for the mean. We constrain the

parameter for the first category of each term to be zero, by dropping the parameter from the estimation, with the remaining parameters in the term then being interpreted as deviations from the category dropped.

The various models described in the text can be derived by holding constant certain parameters in this general model. Thus, the four models described at the beginning of the Chapter which involve comparison across C societies can be written as follows:

(i)   *Common Mobility* (effects of origin, destination and association constant across both societies)

$$\log f_{ijc} = u_c + \lambda_i^P + \lambda_j^S + \lambda_{ij}^D$$

(ii)   *Origin Variation in Absolute Mobility:* (effects of destination and of association is constant while effect of origin varies)

$$\log f_{ijc} = u_c + \lambda_{ic}^P + \lambda_j^S + \lambda_{ij}^D$$

(iii) *Destination Variation in Absolute Mobility:* (effect of origin and of association is constant while effect of destination varies)

$$\log f_{ijc} = u_c + \lambda_i^P + \lambda_{jc}^S + \lambda_{ij}^D$$

(iv)   *Common Social Fluidity:* (effect of association is constant while effects of both origin and destination vary)

$$\log f_{ijc} = u_c + \lambda_{ic}^P + \lambda_{jc}^S + \lambda_{ij}^D$$

The Hauser model used in the later part of the Chapter to examine the Dublin table in more detail is derived by allocating values to the D_{ij} parameters in the manner described in the text i.e., D_{ij} is selected from the set of K density parameters t_k^D (k = 1 ... K) where K < I.J.

Appendix 4.2
Testing the Hypothesis of Common Marginals and Constant Association Between Origin and Destination across the 1968 and 1972 samples

Throughout the analysis of Chapter 3 and 4 we have merged the data from the 1968 and 1972 survey. Such an approach can be justified only if certain assumptions hold true. The necessary assumptions are as follows:

(i) that origin and destination distributions are independent of the time at which the survey was carried out; and

(ii) the pattern of association between origin and destination is also independent of the time at which the survey was carried out.

These can be tested by means of a model for the three-way table of Origin (O) with I categories, Destination (D) with J categories and Time of Survey (T) with K categories. Expressed in multiplicative form, this model becomes

$$\log f_{ij} = u + \lambda_i^O + \lambda_j^D + \lambda_k^T + \lambda_{ij}^{OD}$$

A formal test of this model produces a χ^2_{LR} value of 51.1 with 47 d.f. which is well below the significance level required to reject the null hypothesis.

Introduction

In the previous chapter we made a number of comparisons between the results for Dublin and those available for England. In this chapter we wish to place the process of mobility in Ireland in a broader comparative perspective by introducing the results available from studies of social mobility in France and Sweden. In order to achieve this objective it will be necessary to operate with a class schema which is somewhat different from that employed up to this point.

Social Mobility and Industrial Convergence

Most modern discussions of comparative social mobility take Lipset and Zetterberg's (1959) thesis that "the overall pattern of social mobility appears to be much the same in the industrial societies of various Western countries" as their starting point. Erikson *et al.*, (1979, pp. 415–416) note that, leaving on one side reservations regarding the quality of the data from which this conclusion has been drawn, four major criticisms of a primarily conceptual nature have been raised by critics of the thesis.

(i)   Out of necessity they operate with a two class model based on the distinction between manual and non-manual which may conceal significant differences.

(ii)   Lipset and Zetterberg restrict their attention to mobility occurring within the non-agricultural sector of the countries examined. However, important crossnational differences may be expected in rates of mobility between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors.

(iii)   The thesis is meant to relate to vertical mobility but the particular sense in which vertical is intended is unclear. In any event, there is insufficient recognition that a good deal of mobility across the manual/non-manual divide may be socially significant without necessarily being vertical.

(iv)   The conclusion regarding similarity is derived from an examination of "absolute" mobility rates derived from outflow patterns. However, it is possible for societies that appear similar when they are compared with regard to one mobility rate to appear quite different in respect of mobility rates calculated in different ways.

Erikson *et al.*, (1979, 1982) in their analysis of social mobility in England, France and Sweden, set out to overcome these difficulties in the following manner:

(i).   Their primary data relating to occupational mobility are organised on the basis of a fairly elaborate nine-fold class schema.

(ii)   They take into account mobility occurring between agricultural and

non-agricultural sectors.

(iii) The question of whether class mobility can be interpreted in vertical terms is treated as a matter of secondary importance.

(iv) A variety of measures is used to examine their mobility data in both inflow and outflow forms and with a view to understanding both absolute and relative mobility rates.

Given the restricted nature of our sample, it is not possible for us to follow these procedures in all respects. In particular, the issue of movement from agricultural to non-agricultural is not something we can deal with adequately on the basis of the mobility data available to us. However, we shall attempt to explicitly acknowledge the consequences for our comparative analysis of the limitations imposed on us by our data.

Data Sources and Class Schema

Details of the sample inquiries from which the English, French and Swedish data are derived are provided in Erikson *et al.*, (1979); the survey data were collected respectively in 1972, 1970 and 1974. The class schema employed by the authors is a modification of the seven category class schema developed for use in the English mobility study. Modifications were introduced for two reasons. First, because it was not possible to separate skilled manual and lower level technicians and supervisors of manual workers. Secondly, additional distinctions were introduced to allow for greater attention to the agricultural sector and for further differentiation of the petty bourgeoisie. The nine-fold class schema is as set out below.

I   Higher grade professional administrators and officials; managers in large industrial establishments; large proprietors.

II   Lower grade professionals, administrators and officials; higher grade technicians; managers in small business and industrial establishments; supervisors of non-manual employees.

III   Routine non-manual employees in administration and commerce; sales personnel; other rank and file service workers.

IVa   Small proprietors, artisans, etc., with employees.

IVb   Small proprietors, artisans, etc., without employees.

IVc   Farmers and small holders, self-employed, fishermen.

V/VI   Lower grade technicians, supervisors of manual workers; skilled manual workers.

VII   Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture).

VIII   Agricultural workers.

Marginal Distributions

In Table 5.1 the origins (father's occupation) and destinations (son's occupa-

tion) distribution for each of the four countries are set out on the basis of the nine-fold class schema. To facilitate interpretation of these tables we have also set out in Table 5.2 a matrix of dissimilarity indices. These indices measure the extent to which two distributions differ. They are devised by summing differences of the *same* sign between corresponding percentages. Thus, from Table 5.1, the index of dissimilarity between the origin distributions for Dublin and England is calculated as follows:

Dissimilarity Index (DI) = (9 – 6) + (7 – 5) + (8 – 4) + (29 – 23) = 15

or alternatively

DI = (39 – 26) + (4 – 27) = 15

If the distribution in both columns were identical the dissimilarity index would equal zero. On the other hand, if there were no overlap between the distributions, that is, if there were no respondents with common origins, then the index of dissimilarity would equal 100. In Table 5.2 we present three sets of dissimilarity indices as described below:

(i)   In the top right hand triangle the DIs relating to comparisons of destination distributions across countries are set out. For example, comparing the destination distribution of Dublin and France produces a DI of 17, while that resulting from the comparison France and Sweden is 11.

(ii) In the bottom left hand triangle the DIs resulting from differences between origin distribution across countries are presented; comparing Dublin and Sweden gives a DI of 20.

(iii) Finally, the main diagonal deals with dissimilarities between the origin and destination distributions within countries — a comparison of the origin and destination distributions of the Dublin respondents produces a DI of 15.

Because of the restricted nature of the Dublin sample, as can be seen in Table 5.1, only 10 per cent are from agricultural origins. Consequently, the distributions of origins for the Dublin respondents come closest to that for England with a DI of 15. While the agricultural differences are the most significant, producing a DI of 32 between England and France, it is also noticeable that England and Sweden, and the latter, in particular, have higher percentages of lower level technicians and skilled manual workers. When we turn to destinations it is immediately evident that the differences between countries are significantly smaller than in the case of origins. The English and Swedish distributions come very close to each other with a DI of 8 and the distribution for Dublin moves closer to both of these countries with DIs, respectively, of 12 and 10. Since the major source of differentiation in distributions relates to the proportion of the work force accounted for by agricultural pursuits, it is the French distribution

Table 5.1: *Class origins and class destination distributions: Dublin, England, France and Sweden*

Class	Class Origins per cent				Class Destinations per cent			
	Dublin	England	France	Sweden	Dublin	England	France	Sweden
Higher Professional and Managerial	7	7	5	5	10	14	8	10
Lower Professional and Managerial	9	6	7	6	14	11	14	14
Routine Non-Manual	7	7	8	3	13	9	10	8
Small Proprietors with Employees	7	5	4	7	4	4	4	4
Small Proprietors without Employees	4	4	10	4	3	4	6	4
Farmers and Smallholders	8	4	26	26	0	2	11	5
Lower Grade Technicians, Supervisors of Manual Workers and Skilled Manual	26	39	18	24	28	33	23	30
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual (non-agricultural)	29	23	15	20	28	22	21	23
Agricultural Workers	2	4	7	5	0	2	3	2
N	3794	9434	4770	2096	3794	9434	4770	2096

Table 5.2: *Matrices of dissimilarity indices derived from class origin
and class destination distributions*

	Dublin	England	France	Sweden
Dublin	15	12	17	10
England	15	14	16	8
France	29	32	23	11
Sweden	20	25	13	27

(DIs in the lower left triangle indicate dissimilarities between origin distributions; those in the upper right triangle dissimilarities between destination distributions; and those on the main diagonal dissimilarities between the origin and destination distributions of the same country.)

which is distinctive. The size of the indices on the main diagonal, which measure differences between origin and destination distributions *within* each of the societies, also reflects the decline in the importance of agricultural classes and, in addition, the increasing importance of the professional and managerial classes.

Given the significance of the rate of decline in the agricultural sector, it is extremely important to remember that both the origin and destination distributions for Dublin show the effects not only of the geographical restriction of the sample but also those of selective migration. However, once this is kept in mind, it becomes particularly interesting to compare Dublin with England, France and Sweden when agricultural occupations have been excluded from the analysis. From Table 5.3, it is clear that the higher percentage of the French respondents with petty bourgeoisie origins is the most distinctive aspect of the origins data. The size of the origins dissimilarity indices in Table 5.4 also confirms this. It is, however, also noticeable that a relatively low proportion of the French and Swedish respondents come from lower technician and skilled manual backgrounds. The class destination distributions are a good deal more similar; the average of the dissimilarity indices for comparisons of destinations is 8.3 which is substantially lower than the average for origin comparisons of 12.7. The major contrasts between origins and destinations centre on the decline in the relative significance of the petty bourgeoisie and the expansion of the professional and managerial classes. In contrast to the situation when agricultural occupations were included, it is France which shows the greatest differences between the respondent's origins and destinations with a dissimilarity index of 19.

Table 5.3: *Class origins and class destinations: Dublin, England, France and Sweden (agricultural occupations excluded)*

Class	Class Origins				Class Destinations			
	Dublin	England	France	Sweden	Dublin	England	France	Sweden
Higher Professional and Managerial	8	8	7	7	10	15	9	11
Lower Professional and Managerial	10	7	10	9	14	11	16	15
Routine Non-Manual	8	8	12	4	13	9	12	9
Small Proprietors with employees	8	5	6	10	4	4	5	4
Small Proprietors without employees	4	4	15	6	3	4	7	4
Technicians and Skilled Manual	29	42	27	35	28	34	27	33
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	32	25	22	29	28	23	24	25
N	3377	8575	3159	1415	3377	8575	3159	1415

Table 5.4: *Matrix of dissimilarity indices derived from class origin and class destination distributions: Dublin, England, France and Sweden (agricultural occupations excluded)*

	Dublin	England	France	Sweden
Dublin	10	12	7	7
England	13	11	12	5
France	15	19	19	8
Sweden	9	12	18	14

(DIs in the lower left triangle indicate dissimilarities between origin distributions; those in the upper right triangle dissimilarities between destination distributions; and those on the main diagonal dissimilarities between the origin and destination distributions of the same country.)

Inflow Patterns Excluding Agricultural Origins: Class Composition

In examining inflow patterns one's concern is with the degree of homogeneity or heterogeneity in terms of the social origins. As Erikson *et al.* (1979, p. 246) note, it is collectivities, rather than individuals, that are regarded as the units of analysis. The basic data for this analysis are set out in Table 5.5 where for each of the societies the compositions of each non-agricultural class is distinguished according to the class origins of its members. In this table and in subsequent analyses we have combined the two small proprietors categories due to considerations of statistical reliability.

The analysis of Erikson *et al.* (1979) of the overall differences for England, France and Sweden shows that the recruitment patterns of different classes are most similar in Sweden and least similar in France, with England occupying an intermediate position. This pattern reflects, in particular, the size and rate of decline of the agricultural sector. As a consequence of Sweden's rapid industrialisation, various classes other than those within the sector have come to be characterised by a sizeable component of men who are of agricultural origins.

> In contrast, in England and France where the agricultural classes have declined less quickly in their proportionate sizes — although from very different levels — it has been possible for class recruitment within the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors to remain more selfcontained and thus distinctive (Erikson *et al.*, 1979, p. 429).

When comparisons of recruitment patterns were restricted to non-agricultural classes it was France which appeared as the most distinctive country, that is

in showing the highest degree of dissimilarity over all. However, it is clear from Tables 5.5 and 5.6 that the degree of dissimilarity evident in the data for Dublin is substantially greater than that found in France. (The professional and managerial classes have been combined in Tables 5.5 and 5.6.) From Table 5.6 we can see that the dissimilarity index reflecting the differences in inflow patterns between the professional and managerial class and the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class (excluding agricultural workers) is 53. This figure is 12, 17 and 40 points higher than the respective figures for France, England and Sweden. One factor contributing to the lower level in France and Sweden is the fact that both classes have a significant inflow from farming origins whereas the inflow to manual work in Dublin from farming is very low. However, even allowing for such factors the inflow patterns for Dublin are distinct; self-recruitment accounts for 40 per cent of the composition of the professional and managerial class in Dublin — the highest figure for the other societies is 33 per cent in the case of France. It is in the low level of recruitment from the manual classes that Dublin can be distinguished from England and Sweden in particular. The Dublin sample is also the one which shows the least overlap between the higher white collar group and technicians and skilled manual workers; between the routine non-manual class and all other classes; between the petty bourgeoisie and both manual classes; and finally, between the two manual classes. In fact, in only one case — the comparison of the professional and managerial class with the petty bourgeoisie — is the dissimilarity index for Dublin less than that for *any* of the other samples. From Table 5.7 one can observe that the average dissimilarity index for Dublin is 35, while in no other case is it greater than 30.

A more explicit treatment of the extent of differentiation in patterns of recruitment across rather than within countries is provided by the DIs which are set out in Table 5.8. On average there is a great deal more similarity to be found in the composition of classes according to their social origins when one compares the same class across societies than when one compares different classes within the same society. However, it remains true that DIs are moderately large. While only 5 are in excess of 30 per cent only 1 is below 10 per cent. On average, from one-sixth to a quarter of the members of a class in one country would have to be of different origins for the composition of that class to correspond exactly to that of the same class in another society. Overall, the greatest dissimilarities are to be observed between England and France, while the most similar recruitment patterns are those for France and Sweden. However, these overall figures conceal a number of the detailed patterns.

In the case of recruitment to the professional and managerial class it is Dublin and France which are most similar. Thus, not only is the professional and managerial class distinctive in comparison with other classes in each of these

Table 5.5: *Comparisons of class composition by class origin: Dublin, England, France and Sweden (agricultural destinations excluded) Percentage by column*

	Class at time of enquiry																			
Class of Origin	Professional and Managerial				Routine Non-Manual				Petty Bourgeoisie				Technicians and Skilled Manual				Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual			
	D	E	F	S	D	E	F	S	D	E	F	S	D	E	F	S	D	E	F	S
Professional and Managerial	40	31	33	24	20	17	12	17	12	11	9	7	7	6	7	6	3	4	5	4
Routine Non-Manual	8	10	12	6	13	10	14	6	7	7	6	4	6	6	9	3	6	5	6	2
Petty Bourgeoisie	14	11	17	14	11	9	15	7	35	25	41	24	9	7	12	10	6	7	10	9
Farmers	10	3	9	14	10	3	16	27	16	4	17	24	5	3	14	21	6	4	29	31
Technicians and Skilled Manual	16	31	16	24	23	37	20	25	17	34	13	19	40	49	31	30	23	41	19	22
Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual (Non-agricultural)	10	14	10	16	20	21	17	17	13	16	9	19	29	26	21	25	52	33	21	23
Agricultural Workers	1	1	2	3	2	2	6	2	1	3	5	4	2	3	6	4	4	2	11	9

N																				
	Dublin (D)	885				479				284				1,056				1,069			
	England (E)	2,372				890				740				3,091				2,067			
	France (F)	1,065				467				468				1,109				993			
	Sweden (S)	513				163				165				630				471			

Table 5.6: *Dissimilarity indices derived from pairwise comparison inflow patterns of classes within countries (agricultural destinations excluded)*

	Routine Non-Manual				Petty Bourgeoisie				Technicians and Skilled Manual				Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual			
	D	E	F	S	D	E	F	S	D	E	F	S	D	E	F	S
Professional and Managerial	23	14	23	15	29	23	34	27	45	33	34	25	53	36	41	31
Routine Non-Manual					28	14	27	21	27	17	15	23	33	20	21	20
Petty Bourgeoisie									43	25	37	19	45	27	41	20
Technicians and Skilled Manual													24	12	19	14

Table 5.7: *Average level of dissimilarity of class composition patterns based on pairwise comparisons of classes within countries (with agricultural destinations excluded)*

	$\overline{X}$ per cent
Dublin	35.0
England	22.1
France	29.2
Sweden	21.5

societies but also in comparison with the same class in England and Sweden. In the case of Dublin, three factors combine to produce such differences — the higher degree of self-recruitment, substantially lower recruitment from the technician and skilled manual classes and the smaller inflow from semi- and unskilled manual workers.

We may turn next to the recruitment of what Erikson *et al.* (1979) describe as the industrial working class, i.e., technicians and skilled manual workers and semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. Here we find that it is Sweden and France who are most similar with a DI of 8. The similarity of Sweden and France is due to the high proportion of the industrial working class in both countries from agricultural backgrounds. Thus, while approximately half the French and

Swedish industrial working class can be described as "second generation" the corresponding proportion for England and Dublin is three-quarters. However, there is one particularly striking difference in the composition of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class as between Dublin and England. In the former over half the occupants of such positions are "second generation" members while this holds true for only one-third of the class in England. The degree of homogeneity

Table 5.8: *Dissimilarity indices derived from pairwise crossnational comparisons of class recruitment patterns: Dublin, England, France and Sweden (agricultural destinations excluded)*

	Class					
Comparison	Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	$\overline{X}$
Dublin/England	19	15	15	18	24	18
Dublin/France	8	16	12	17	35	18
Dublin/Sweden	18	17	17	18	36	21
England/France	19	26	31	23	34	27
England/Sweden	18	22	21	23	32	23
France/Sweden	18	20	22	12	8	16

observed in the composition of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers is significantly greater than that found in any of the other societies. Again, of course, the low inflow from agricultural origins plays a significant part in producing differences between Dublin and France and Sweden.

Turning to the composition of the intermediate classes, we may note from Table 5.8 that the lowest DI for England, France and Sweden arises in each case in the comparison with Dublin. This arises from the fact that the routine non-manual class in England and Sweden is in both cases highly distinctive; in England almost two-fifths of this class have technical or skilled manual origins, while in Sweden almost 30 per cent of its occupants are from farming backgrounds.

With regard to the petty bourgeoisie we may follow Erikson *et al.* (1979, p. 431) in noting that the English petty bourgeoisie is distinctive in the extent to which its members are sons of technicians and skilled manual fathers; the French petty bourgeoisie in the extent to which it is self-recruiting; and the Swedish in the extent to which it draws on those with farming origins. Dublin comes closest to the French pattern with a high degree of self-recruitment despite the fact that

geographical restriction of the sample will automatically serve to lower any such estimate.

Outflow Patterns: Inequalities in Opportunity

As Erikson *et al.* (1979, p. 431) emphasise, in moving from an inflow to an outflow perspective on class mobility we move at the same time from a concern with the characteristics of classes *per se* — to a concern with life chances of individual members of classes. In Table 5.9, for non-agricultural occupations, we show the class distribution of respondents for all four surveys, and in Table

Table 5.9: *Comparison of class mobility chances by class of origin: Dublin, England, France and Sweden (agricultural categories excluded)*
(Percentage by row)

Class of Origin		Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Skilled Manual	Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual	N
		Class at Time of Inquiry					
Professional	D	59	16	6	13	6	603
and	E	59	12	6	15	7	1,227
Managerial	F	61	10	7	14	8	570
	S	56	12	5	17	9	222
Routine Non-	D	25	22	7	24	22	281
Manual	E	34	13	7	29	16	687
	F	33	17	8	27	16	384
	S	40	14	8	22	15	72
Petty	D	29	12	23	23	14	434
Bourgeoisie	E	28	9	21	25	17	886
	F	27	11	29	19	14	673
	S	32	5	18	28	19	228
Technicians	D	15	11	5	43	25	975
and Skilled	E	20	9	7	41	23	3,649
Manual	F	20	11	7	40	22	855
	S	25	8	6	39	21	486
Semi-Skilled	D	8	9	3	29	51	1,084
and Unskilled	E	16	9	6	38	32	2,126
Manual	F	16	12	6	35	31	675
	S	20	7	8	39	27	407

5.10 the dissimilarity indices derived from these crossnational comparisons are set out. From Table 5.10 it can be seen that the dissimilarity indices are generally much lower than in the inflow analysis which relates to class composition. In fact 23 of the DIs are below 10 while only 1 is above 20. There is a striking similarity across countries in the outflow from the professional and managerial class with the largest cell difference being 5 per cent. Thus, the percentages intergenerationally mobile in this class for Dublin, England, France and Sweden were 59, 59, 61 and 56, respectively, the corresponding proportions mobile to the petty bourgeoisie were 6, 6, 7 and 5, to the technicians and skilled manual class 13, 15, 14 and 17 and to the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class 6, 7, 8 and 9. The highest dissimilarity for crossnational comparisons involving the professional and managerial class which relates to the Dublin/Sweden comparison has a value of 8.

Table 5.10: *Dissimilarity indices derived from pairwise crossnational comparisons of class mobility chances: Dublin, England, France and Sweden (agricultural categories excluded)*

	Class					
Comparison	Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Skilled Manual	Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual	$\bar{X}$
Dublin/England	4	15	6	6	19	10
Dublin/France	6	11	7	7	20	9
Dublin/Sweden	8	17	12	11	26	14
England/France	3	3	10	2	4	4
England/Sweden	4	8	7	6	7	6
France/Sweden	7	9	17	6	9	10

With regard to the routine non-manual class the largest dissimilarities values relate to comparisons in which the Dublin sample is involved. The magnitude of the DIs range from 11 to 17 with the lowest value arising from the comparison with France and the highest reflecting the differences between Dublin and Swedish outflows. The differences are a consequence of the significantly lower level of access to the professional and managerial class for Dublin men of routine non-manual origins. Twenty five per cent of the routine non-manual class in Dublin had experienced such mobility in comparison with 34 per cent in England, 33 per cent in France and as many as 40 per cent in Sweden. The compensating flow for Dublin respondents involves a higher degree of immobility for men with routine non-manual origins and a higher probability of downward mobility into the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class. Twenty two per cent

of the class had been immobile in Dublin while an identical number had fallen to the bottom of the class hierarchy. These figures are, on average, 7 percentage points higher than the corresponding figures for the other countries. The highest dissimilarity index for crossnational comparisons involving the routine non-manual is that arising out of the Dublin/Sweden comparison which produces a value of 17 — a figure which is almost double the highest value observed in comparisons in which Dublin is not involved.

The differences between countries in the outflows from the petty bourgeoisie are rather smaller than those examined up to this point. The largest dissimilarity index relating to the distribution of those with petty bourgeoisie origins involves France and Sweden; the former having the highest level of self-recruitment and the latter the lowest.

When we focus our attention on the manual classes it is apparent that, for the technician and skilled manual class, we have a situation similar to that for the professional and managerial classes with relatively little divergence across countries. The most striking difference relates to relative chances of access for such men to professional and managerial positions in Dublin and Sweden; 25 per cent of Swedish men had been upwardly mobile in this fashion compared with 15 per cent of Dublin respondents. Again the dissimilarity index summarising the differences in outflow for the Dublin and Swedish samples is almost twice as large as the highest value emerging from comparisons where Dublin is not involved. However, such differences appear almost insignificant when placed alongside the variability in outflow from the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class. The Dublin respondents exhibit the lowest levels of upward mobility to the professional and managerial class, to the petty bourgeoisie and to the technician and skilled manual class. Long-range upward mobility into the professional and managerial class had been experienced by 8 per cent of men in Dublin compared with 16 per cent in England and France and 20 per cent in Sweden. However, it is with regard to the degree of immobility at the bottom of the class hierarchy that the outflow from Dublin is most distinctive. In Dublin over half of those with semi-skilled and unskilled manual origins are themselves found in the same class whereas the corresponding figure from each of the other three surveys is close to 30 per cent. The average magnitude of dissimilarity indices for cross-national comparisons in which Dublin is involved is almost 22 — a figure which can be compared with an average value of less than 7 arising from comparisons from which Dublin is excluded.

Comparative Social Mobility: Absolute and Relative Differences

Erikson *et al.* (1982, p. 1) point out that their earlier analysis of *de facto* mobility patterns provides support for the idea of there being a "family resemblance" among the class mobility patterns of England, France and Sweden, while at the

same time showing each of the countries to have a fairly distinctive mobility profile. Our results, particularly those deriving from comparisons of the non-agricultural samples, offer further support for the notion of such a "family resemblance" while, at the same time, highlighting the manner in which the results for Dublin diverge from the other societies.

On the basis of the available evidence, Erikson *et al.* (1982, p. 25) conclude that the major factor contributing to differences in mobility patterns between the countries they examined was historically determined differences in the class structure, particularly those associated with the relative sizes of their agricultural sectors and the differing rates of contraction of employment in that sector. It is not possible for us to deal directly with the impact of the decline in numbers in agriculture due to the restriction of the data available to us. However, in comparing mobility among the non-agricultural population in Dublin, England, France and Sweden we can ask whether the variation observed in mobility rates should be attributed entirely to differences in the evolution of the class structures of these societies or to other factors affecting the "demand" and "supply" conditions attending mobility; or alternatively are there, in addition to such structural factors, differences in their social fluidity? In other words, are there differences in the underlying structure of relative opportunities? Following Erikson *et al.* (1982) we may note that, using the conceptual language conventional in mobility research,

> . . . the issue could then be alternatively posed as that of whether the crossnational variation that we have demonstrated is confined simply to "structural" (or "forced") mobility, or whether it extends to "exchange" or "circulation" mobility as well (Erikson *et al.*, 1982, p. 2).

This issue is of particular interest, because of the recent reformulation of the "industrial convergence" hypothesis in relative terms. Featherman *et al.* (1975) suggested that while the initial thesis in terms of absolute mobility ratio could not be sustained, it remained possible that variations in the observed mobility rates in industrial societies are essentially of a structurally induced kind, and that a basic similarity may prevail in "regimes" of exchange mobility underlying those observed rates. It is particularly important to understand that the term exchange mobility is intended by authors such as Featherman *et al.*, to refer to relative mobility rates and not to imply the possibility of partitioning individual instances of mobility into structural and exchange components.

In examining variation in mobility experience across the four countries we will employ the set of models discussed in Chapter 4.

    (i)   Common Mobility: assuming similar absolute and relative mobility rates;

(ii)   Origin Variation;
(iii) Destination Variation;
(iv)   Constant Social Fluidity: absolute differences but equal relativities.

The results of applying the models are set out in Table 5.11. The Common Mobility model gives a X^2_{LR} value of 889 with 72 d.f. which is highly significant. It does, however, correctly classify 90.5 per cent of cases providing some indication of the strength of the influences operating to produce an identical pattern of mobility across the societies. Introducing effects for origins and destinations reduces the X^2_{LR} value by 605.5 and 211.7 respectively. The former model successfully classifies 95.7 per cent of the cases and the latter 91.6 per cent. More

Table 5.11: *Variations in absolute mobility between Dublin, England, France and Sweden (agricultural occupations excluded)*

Model	X^2_{LR}	d.f.	p	% of Cases Correctly Classified
Common Mobility	889	72	0.000	90.5
Origin Variation	283.5	60	.000	95.7
Destination Variation	677.3	60	.000	91.6
Constant Social Fluidity: Absolute Differences Model	140.2	48	< .001	96.2

emphatically than in the earlier comparisons of Dublin with England, it emerges that absolute differences in mobility are largely due to variability in the origin distributions. The constant social fluidity model which allows for absolute differences which are a consequence of crossnational variation in origins and destinations reduces the X^2_{LR} to 140.2 and correctly classifies 96.2 per cent of the cases. As can be seen from Table 5.12 absolute mobility differences account for 84.2 per cent of the mobility difference variance between Dublin, England, France and Sweden. The figure testifies to the importance of structural factors in producing variations in mobility patterns. However, the size of the variance component left unexplained clearly indicates the likelihood of substantively important crossnational differences in the underlying mobility regimes operative in these societies.

As was done in Chapter 4, we will commence our examination of such differences by comparing the class distributions of respondents implied by the

Table 5.12: *Partitioning of the mobility difference variance between Dublin, England, France and Sweden*

	χ^2_{LR}	Percentage of Variance
Absolute Mobility Differences	748.8	84.2
Relative Mobility Differences	140.2	15.8

constant social fluidity model with the observed distributions in each country. The expected distributions are set out in Table 5.13. The nature of the deviations of the expected percentages from the observed percentages can be obtained by dividing the percentages previously set out in Table 5.9 by the corresponding percentages in Table 5.13. The results arising from these calculations are set out in Table 5.14. The constant social fluidity model consistently underestimates the extent of immobility in Dublin. The degree of over-representation in the diagonal cells, compared with what might be expected on the basis of absolute mobility differences, ranges from 10 per cent in the professional managerial class to 19 per cent for semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. In contrast, the model overestimates the degree of immobility in five of the English classes and four of the Swedish classes — the exception being the routine non-manual. The "scale" of the underestimation, however, tends to be greatest in Sweden. Thus, in Sweden the extent of under-representation, in terms of the constant social fluidity model, is 14 per cent compared with 2 per cent in England; the corresponding figures for the semi-skilled and unskilled class are 17 per cent and 7 per cent and for the petty bourgeoisie 20 per cent and 9 per cent. In the case of France the diagonal cells are equally divided between under-representation and over-representation.

Our next step is to examine how the "missing" men from the diagonal cells of the Swedish and English tables are distributed and to ascertain, in the case of Dublin, from where the excess men on the diagonal have been "recruited". Before doing so, it is worthwhile emphasising that the differences we are examining are net of structural effects. One striking difference is that long-range upward mobility into the professional and managerial class from the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class is substantially overestimated in the case of Dublin and underestimated by rather small amounts for England and France. Thus, in Dublin 38 per cent *less* men than are predicted experience such mobility while in England, France and Sweden the corresponding percentages are 9 per cent, 24 per cent and 47 per cent, respectively, *more* than expected. Conversely, long-range downward mobility from the professional and managerial class into the

Table 5.13: *Class distribution of respondents implied by the constant social fluidity model (percentage by row)*
Respondent's class

Father's Class		Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Skilled Manual Workers	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	Total	N
Professional and	Dublin	54.1	15.6	5.6	14.8	9.8	99.9	603
Managerial	England	60.9	11.2	6.3	14.8	6.8	100.0	1,227
	France	60.2	12.8	7.3	13.3	6.4	100.0	570
	Sweden	65.3	9.2	5.7	14.0	5.9	100.1	‚220
Routine Non-Manual	Dublin	27.4	18.5	6.1	26.0	22.0	100.0	281
	England	33.4	14.4	7.4	28.2	16.4	98.8	689
	France	33.5	16.6	8.7	25.6	15.6	100.0	384
	Sweden	37.7	12.4	7.0	28.0	14.9	100.0	92
Petty Bourgeoisie	Dublin	24.8	11.9	19.8	23.1	20.4	100.0	433
	England	29.1	8.9	23.1	24.1	14.7	99.9	885
	France	28.4	10.1	26.5	21.3	13.6	99.9	673
	Sweden	32.9	7.7	22.0	24.0	13.4	100.0	228
Technicians and Skilled	Dublin	16.1	11.4	5.3	38.2	29.1	100.1	975
Manual Workers	England	20.0	9.0	6.5	42.2	22.3	100.1	3,649
	France	20.5	10.7	7.9	39.3	21.6	100.0	855
	Sweden	22.9	7.9	6.3	42.5	20.5	100.1	485
Semi-skilled and	Dublin	11.3	10.2	4.2	31.5	42.7	99.9	1,084
Unskilled Manual	England	14.8	8.5	5.5	36.6	34.4	99.8	2,126
	France	15.3	10.1	6.7	34.3	33.6	100.0	675
	Sweden	17.2	7.6	5.4	37.5	32.2	99.9	408

Table 5.14: *Ratio of the observed frequencies to frequencies expected under the constant social fluidity model for Dublin, England, France and Sweden*

		Respondent's class				
Father's Class		*Professional and Managerial*	*Routine Non-Manual*	*Petty Bourgeoisie*	*Technicians and Skilled Manual Workers*	*Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual*
Professional and	Dublin	1.10	1.03	1.09	0.86	0.62
Managerial	England	0.98	1.05	1.03	1.00	1.09
	France	1.02	0.88	0.96	1.06	1.23
	Sweden	0.86	1.34	0.96	1.24	1.47
Routine Non-	Dublin	0.92	1.17	1.16	0.93	0.99
Manual	England	1.03	0.90	1.00	1.02	1.00
	France	0.98	1.00	0.89	1.05	1.12
	Sweden	1.17	1.20	1.18	0.79	1.02
Petty Bourgeoisie	Dublin	1.17	1.04	1.14	0.98	0.67
	England	0.98	1.01	0.91	1.04	1.10
	France	0.96	1.06	1.09	0.89	1.05
	Sweden	0.95	0.62	0.80	1.17	1.38
Technicians and	Dublin	0.93	1.00	0.92	1.14	0.87
Skilled Manual	England	1.00	0.99	1.05	0.98	1.03
Workers	France	0.99	1.02	0.89	1.01	1.02
	Sweden	1.10	1.05	1.02	0.91	1.05
Semi-skilled	Dublin	0.73	0.88	0.76	0.91	1.19
and Unskilled	England	1.05	1.03	1.04	1.03	0.93
Manual	France	1.07	1.15	0.93	1.02	0.92
	Sweden	1.15	0.90	1.41	1.04	0.82

semi-skilled and unskilled manual class is overestimated in the case of Dublin and underestimated for Sweden and France. In Dublin, 27 per cent less men than expected are to be found in the cells of the mobility table while in England, France and Sweden, expectations are exceeded by 5 per cent, 7 per cent and 15 per cent, respectively.

There are a number of other respects in which the Dublin pattern is quite distinctive. The scale of entry to the professional and managerial class by sons of the petty bourgeoisie is much greater than suggested by the model. On the other hand, the drop into semi-skilled and unskilled manual work from the latter group occurs much less frequently than predicted. Another interesting difference relates to the flows between the manual classes. The density of movement, net of structural factors, from the lower manual class into the higher one is under-

estimated in all cases except Dublin. Thus, the barriers within the working class appear to be significantly greater in Dublin than in the other societies. This factor, together with the lower densities of long-range upward and downward mobility, contribute to the high levels of immobility within the technician and skilled manual class and more particularly, in the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class.

Modelling the Mobility Regime

In order to provide a more systematic treatment of crossnational mobility differences we will proceed to develop an explicit model of the mobility regime. In specifying such a model we have operated on the basis of the theoretical understanding discussed in detail in the previous chapter regarding the relative desirability of class destinations, the relative advantage associated with particular class origins and the relative strength of the barriers in the way of particular movements. In addition, we had prior knowledge of the common model fitted by Erikson *et al.* (1982) to the overall results for England, France and Sweden. The model is again one which specifies conditional independence. In other words, cells assigned to a common interaction level are assumed to form areas of the table where destination is independent of origin — areas of perfect mobility. Of course, in this case, we do allow for variations across countries in both origin and destination distributions. The complete model is set out in Table 5.15. (One other model was tested prior to this model. The initial model and the reasons for rejecting it are set out in Appendix 5.1.) To facilitate interpretation the number of interaction or density levels was restricted to 5. The highest level of density relates to immobility in the professional and managerial class and in the petty bourgeoisie. It should be remembered that in this case *both* higher and lower professional and managerial occupations are combined in one class. The density of immobility can, therefore, be expected to be less than that observed if the higher and lower professional and managerial class are separated. The lowest density level — level 5 — reflecting cells of minimal density is applied to the cells relating to upward or downward mobility between the professional and managerial class and the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class.

Movements *into or out of* the professional and managerial class from the petty bourgeoisie, the routine non-manual class and the technician and skilled manual class have been allocated respectively to levels 2, 3 and 4. The remaining diagonal cells have been allocated to level 3. All other cells with the exception of movement from the routine non-manual class to the petty bourgeoisie have been placed at density level 4.

In Table 5.16 we show the results of applying a model with the design of Table 5.15 simultaneously to the data for Dublin, England, France and Sweden. We also show the results obtained if the model is applied separately to the mobility

Table 5.15: *Final levels matrix for a model of the common pattern of social fluidity in Dublin, England, France and Sweden (agricultural origins excluded)*

Class of Origin	Class of Destination				
	Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual
Professional and Managerial	1	2	3	4	5
Routine Non-Manual	2	3	3	4	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	3	4	1	4	4
Technicians and Skilled Manual	4	4	4	3	4
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	5	4	4	4	3

Table 5.16: *Results of testing the model of a common pattern of social fluidity for Dublin and England (agricultural occupations excluded)*

	χ^2_{LR}	d.f.	p	% of Cases Misclassified by Model
Baseline Model Specifying Independence of Class of Origin and Destination	3,141	64	0.00	16.8
Model of a Common Pattern of Fluidity	249.5	60	0.00	4.8

The model of the common pattern of social fluidity eliminates 92.1% of the χ^2_{LR} value for the baseline model

	χ^2_{LR}	d.f.	p	% of Cases Misclassified by Model
Model of a Common Pattern of Social Fluidity Applied Separately to				
Dublin	44.0	12	0.00	4.0
England	58.9	12	0.00	3.4
France	21.7	12	0.35	3.3
Sweden	11.9	12	0.5	3.1

The model of the common pattern of social fluidity eliminates 95.9%, 95.4%, 96.6% and 92.4% of the χ^2_{LR} values for the baseline model as applied to Dublin, England, France and Sweden, respectively.

table for each society. This model might be termed an "explicit" common pattern of social fluidity model. Like the simpler "common social fluidity" model fitted in the preceding section, it does not satisfactorily reproduce the data if we apply conventional statistical criteria. (X^2 = 249.5 with 60 degrees of freedom.) Thus, there may be a different explicit pattern model which will provide a better fit than the one we have applied.

However, we can see no obvious theoretical grounds on which to reformulate the model. Furthermore, the extent of the deviations of observed from expected values is relatively modest and these deviations are not greatly in excess of those arising from the common social fluidity model. Less than 5 per cent of all cases are misclassified and the model accounts for 92 per cent of the X^2_{LR} for the baseline model. Evidence of such a substantial amount of crossnational similarity is particularly impressive when, as Erikson *et al.* (1982, p. 15) note, it is derived from a quite specific pattern of social fluidity, rather than from a "global" test of the kind that the "common social fluidity model" provides. Thus, while clearly there are deviations from the pattern of fluidity suggested by our model which are common to all countries, we will not attempt to devise a better fitting model.

Instead, we will focus our attention on differences in the degree of density of mobility or immobility that are displayed within the pattern. These differences relate not to contours of mobility (i.e., the location of barriers) but to the ease of difficulty with which particular barriers can be overcome. They are measured by the parameters of the model, which are shown in Table 5.17. It will be remembered that the values in the first column of the table relate to the additive or logarithmic coefficients and should be interpreted as effects on logged cell frequencies with the value for level 1 set at zero and the other values interpreted as differences from level 1. Again, for substantive purposes the crucial values in the table are contained in the matrix of differences in densities that these parameters imply, expressed in multiplicative terms. The parameter values can be calculated in a number of different ways but the set of multiplicative differences between them is their constant property. To illustrate the interpretation of the matrix in Table 5.17 let us take, for example, the first row. This shows that at interaction level 1 the density is more than twice as great as at level 2; over three times as great as at level 3 ; almost five times as great as at level 4 and finally, eight times as great as at level 5.

On the basis of applying the common pattern model simultaneously to all four samples, men of professional and managerial or petty bourgeois origins are eight times more likely, when one has allowed for structural factors, to be immobile than to be mobile to the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class. Such immobility is also eight times more probable than upward mobility from the semi-skilled and unskilled manual into the professional and managerial class; over

Table 5.17: *Values of the parameters of density levels in the model of the common pattern of fluidity (in additive form) and matrix of quotients of density levels*

Additive parameter values highest density set at 0	Level	1	2	3	4	5
0.00	1	1	2.56	3.25	4.85	8.00
−0.94	2		1	1.27	1.89	3.13
−1.18	3			1	1.49	2.46
−1.58	4				1	1.65
−2.08	5					1

two and a half times more likely than movement between the two white collar classes; over three times more probable than movement between the professional and managerial class and the petty bourgeoisie; and five times more likely than movement involving the former class and the technicians and skilled manual class. Furthermore, immobility in the routine non-manual class and in both of the manual classes is less than a third of that in the remaining classes.

The model exhibits most of the expected features discussed in Chapter 4. Cells on the main diagonal reflecting class immobility generally have the highest interaction or density levels although mobility between the two white collar classes has an associated density level greater than that pertaining to three of the five diagonal cells. Secondly, the lowest tendencies are quite clearly concentrated in cells furthest from the diagonal, reflecting the barriers to long range mobility. Again, as in the models employed in Chapter 4, there is a concentration of high densities in the top left hand corner and of lower densities in the top right hand corner and the bottom left hand corner arising from the relative desirability of particular class locations, the relative advantages afforded by particular class origins and the relative barriers that face individuals in seeking access to different class positions.

Once again the outcome of the competitions, as predicted by the model, can be summarised by a series of odds ratios derived from the parameters of the model. In Table 5.17 we provide the set of odds ratios relating to those competitions where the pair of origin and the pair of destination classes involved is the same. The competition between those from professional and managerial origins and sons of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers is the most unequal; the former are almost 20 times more likely than the latter to be found in a profes-

Table 5.18: *Matrix of odds ratios derived from the common pattern model where the pair of origin and the pair of destination classes are the same*[a]

	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Skilled Manual Workers	Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual Workers
Professional and Managerial	2.02	10.56	7.23	19.68
Routine Non-Manual		4.85	2.82	2.82
Petty Bourgeoisie			7.22	7.22
Technicians and Skilled Manual Workers				2.22

Note a: The entries in the matrix show the chances of men in one class origin relative to those of men in another of being themselves found in one rather than the other of the same two classes. Thus, the entry in the first cell of the first row of 2.02 indicates that men originating in the professional and managerial class are more than twice as likely as men originating in the routine non-manual class to be found in a professional and managerial position than in a routine non-manual position; conversely men originating in the routine non-manual class have a similarly greater chance than men originating in the professional and managerial class of being found in a routine non-manual rather than a professional and managerial position.

sional and managerial position than in a semi-skilled and unskilled manual position. The relative advantage of the higher white collar group over technicians and skilled manual workers is almost 8 to 1, while in the competition with the lower white collar group they have an advantage which is in excess of 2 to 1.

Crossnational Variations

In this section we wish to look at crossnational variations in densities of mobility and immobility. To do this, we will examine the results obtained when the explicit common pattern model is applied to each country separately.[14] The

[14]From Table 5.16 we see that when the common pattern model is fitted to the data for Dublin, England, France and Sweden separately the X^2 values sum to 136.5 with 48 degrees of freedom. This difference is 113 (249.5 – 136.5) with 12 fewer degrees of freedom (60 – 48) and it may be regarded as that component of the X^2_{LR} attributable to the simultaneous fitting of the model. It may, therefore, be taken to indicate the extent to which the parameter values for the density levels vary when the model is fitted separately to each country.

relevant χ^2_{LR} values were shown in Table 5.16 above and Table 5.19 set out the interaction parameters (in additive form) obtained for each of the four countries. The results show that the differences between density levels are, generally, greatest in Dublin, followed by France, England and Sweden. For example, we find that for Dublin the density of level 1 is more than thirteen times greater than at level 5; the corresponding values for France, England and Sweden are 7.5, 7.2 and 4.9.

Table 5.19: *Values of the parameter of density levels (in multiplicative form) for the fit of the common pattern model separately to the data for Dublin, England, France and Sweden*

	Level	*Dublin*	*England*	*France*	*Sweden*
Multiplicative	1	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
parameter values	2	3.03	2.29	3.22	1.54
highest density	3	3.22	3.25	3.56	2.64
set at 1	4	6.35	3.16	5.26	3.29
	5	13.50	7.17	7.53	4.90

The above results provide evidence of significantly greater tendencies towards immobility and substantially stronger barriers to long-range mobility among the Dublin respondents when structural factors have been taken into account. Furthermore, it suggests that Sweden is at the opposite end of the scale to Dublin in terms of degrees of openness with France closest to Dublin and England nearest to Sweden. However, the situation regarding France is actually somewhat more complicated than this conclusion suggests. The evidence from all of the analysis in this chapter suggests that in France tendencies towards immobility are less only than those in Dublin and are accompanied by densities of long-range upward and downward mobility which are below only Sweden in terms of magnitude. Thus, the pattern for Dublin is quite distinctive in combining the highest tendencies towards class immobility with the most severe restriction on tendencies towards long-range mobility.

Conclusion

An examination of crossnational variations in absolute or *de facto* mobility provides evidence of sufficient variation to undermine the claim that the mobility patterns of industrial society of the western world are "much the

same". In their analysis of mobility in England, Sweden and France, Erikson *et al.* (1982) conclude, however, that their analysis supports the notion of a "basic similarity in the patterns of exchange mobility" or relative rates of mobility, allowing for the influence of structural factors, in western societies. More particularly, they argue that differences in relative rates are modest in comparison with those relating to absolute rates.

> In sum then, we may remark that Lipset and Zetterberg were on much the right lines in seeing structural influences as in principle the main variable element in the determination of absolute mobility rates, but that they were mistaken in believing that among industrial nations an essential similarity in the occupational division of labour had rendered these differences more or less uniform. (Erikson *et al.,* 1982, p. 25).

Our own results, even allowing for the restrictions on our sample which force us to exclude agricultural occupations when making comparisons, provide support for the idea of a "basic similarity" of mobility regimes when structural factors are taken into account. However, perhaps somewhat more striking is the additional evidence which our analysis provides of systematic deviation from a constant crossnational pattern of relative mobility opportunities. The deviations in the case of Dublin are, of course, in exactly the opposite direction to the pattern evident for Sweden in showing higher tendencies towards immobility together with lower probabilities of long-range upward and downward movement involving the professional and managerial class and the working class. Thus, on a "scale" of openness, allowing for structural differences, Sweden lies at one extreme and Dublin at the other.

Appendix 5.1
Initial Common Pattern Model

The initial common pattern model tested is set out in Table A5.1.1. This model produced a χ^2_{LR} value of 279.1 with 60 d.f. However, as is clear from Table A5.1.2 there was very little difference in magnitude between the parameters for interaction levels 1 and 2. It was this feature of the results which led us to develop the revised model.

Table A 5.1.1: *Values of the parameters of density levels in the model of the common pattern of fluidity (in additive form) and matrix of quotients of density levels*

Additive parameter values highest density set at 0	Level	1	2	3	4	5
0.00	1	1	1.04	3.13	4.81	8.17
-0.04	2	.96	1	3.00	4.62	7.85
-1.14	3	.32	.33	1	1.53	2.61
-1.57	4	.21	.22	.65	1	1.70
-2.10	5	.12	.13	.38	.59	1

Table A 5.1.2: *Levels matrix for a model of the common pattern of social fluidity in England, France, Sweden and Dublin (agricultural origins excluded)*

	Class of Destination				
Class of Origin	Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Petty Bourgeoisie	Technicians and Skilled Manual	Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual
Professional and Managerial	2	3	3	4	5
Routine Non-Manual	3	3	3	4	4
Petty Bourgeoisie	3	4	1	4	4
Technicians and Skilled Manual	4	4	4	3	4
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	5	4	4	4	3

Chapter 6

The Attainment Process

Introduction

This chapter involves a change of focus. Instead of analysing mobility tables we will attempt to delineate the chain of causation which determines one's occupational position. In particular, we shall examine the interrelations of father's occupation and education and respondent's education, first job and current job. Our objective will be to determine how these variables influence each other and to estimate the strength of these influences. To do this will involve a change of perspective —from social mobility to status attainment — and a change of analytic method — from log-linear models to path analysis. We begin, therefore, by considering what sociologists mean by status attainment.

Ascription and Achievement: The Status Attainment Model

The central question for researchers concerned with status attainment relates to the determinants of individual's position as indicated by the status of his occupation and in particular the relative importance of ascription and achievement. The most influential proponent of the status achievement approach is Duncan (1966a and b) and the major lankmark is Blau and Duncan's *The American Occupational Structure* (1967).

Duncan's basic model is a processual one which looks at the determinants of an individual's attainment at different stages of the life cycle. Such a model can be set out in a "path diagram" as in Diagram 6.1 below. At the first stage an individual's social origins and family circumstances (as measured by his father's occupation and educational level) influence his own educational level; at the next stage, his ascribed social origins and his achieved educational level may both be expected to affect the kind of job an individual gets on entry to the

Diagram 6.1: *The Attainment Process Males in Dublin Aged 20–59 in 1968.*

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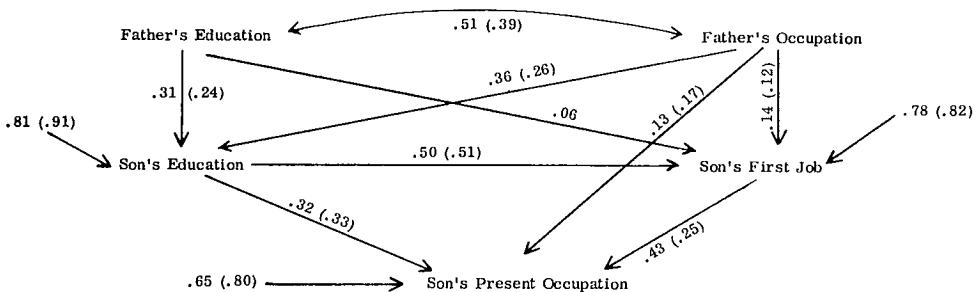
labour market; finally social origins, educational achievement and first job may be expected to influence his subsequent career. Blau and Duncan employed the technique of path analysis to estimate the relative importance of different determinants of individual's occupational attainment. Path analysis is essentially a visual representation of a set of regression equations where the variables are assumed to have a particular causal ordering.

While the precise questions posed by Blau and Duncan and the techniques employed to pursue them differ in important respects from their predecessors, their broader theoretical concerns, as Heath emphasises, show a marked continuity with those of earlier writers such as Lipset and Bendix.

> One theme common to post-war sociological writing has been the functionalist view that a stable industrial society requires a greater emphasis to be placed on a man's achievements and a lesser one on his ascribed characteristics. It is not *who* a man is but *what* he does that matters. Furthermore, what he does is to be judged by "universalistic" criteria such as educational attainment which can be applied to all and be empirically verified. Nepotism and the "old school tie" must give way to publicly demonstrable merit (Heath, 1981, p. 44).

Universalism involves the application in all areas of social life of standards of judgement or decision making which derive solely from considerations of efficiency and rationality and are consequently not a reflection of the values or interests of particular social groups. In fact as Goldthorpe (1980, p. 15) observes, for Blau and Duncan the underlying structural causes of high levels of mobility in industrial societies have a common source in universalism:

> ... it is universalism which generates the drive to technological and economic advance, which then constantly reshapes and upgrades the division of labour; while on the other hand the weakening of the particularistic ties of kinship and neighbourhood encourages the geographical movement of individuals from low to high opportunity areas (Goldthorpe, 1980, p. 15).

Class or family origins as determinants of status attainment must, it seems, inevitably decline in comparison with achieved attributes, such as education.

However, critics of Blau and Duncan have argued that their thesis relies as much on what Crowder (1974) has called "presuppositional bias" as empirical examination of the relative influence of achievement and ascription. Crowder argues that Blau and Duncan's work illustrates a persistent ideological bias in functionalist theories of stratifcation. The bias involves a refusal to depict the occupational system as anything other than a hierarchical structure of positions

with the assignment of rewards being determined by society's needs. It is this assumption which can be seen to lead to a neglect of the social structural constraints which operate on the stratification process independently of individual characteristics. Thus, Blau and Duncan's critics have aimed their major attacks at the lack of attention given to the constraints imposed upon the achievement process by the institution of private property and by the extent of the "fit" between the patterns of occupational "demand" and educational "supply" (Crowder, 1974, Sorenson, 1975 and Pawson, 1978). More particularly, some authors have suggested that the model contains no clear theory of the labour market, (Coser, 1975; Bielbly, 1981), while others have argued that it presupposes a fully competitive market process (Horan, 1978).

An interest in the questions raised by the status attainment model and the employment of techniques associated with it does not necessarily involve a neglect of social structural factors. We would agree with Hauser (1978, p. 921) that Blau and Duncan (1967) draw too sharp a distinction between the analysis of mobility tables and causal modelling of stratification processes — between concern with the opportunities for the success of individuals and with the occupational structure of society.

In our previous analysis we have taken considerable care to emphasise the significance of structural factors, and our interpretations of the data in this chapter will be consistent with that emphasis. We accept Goldthorpe's (1980, p. 115) argument that while the use of synthetic scales of occupational prestige or socio-economic status may facilitate the examination of certain hierarchical effects in great detail, they are likely to blur or obscure distinctions of substantial importance: for example those between self-employed and employees, or between white collar and manual workers. However, employed as one prespective on mobility data, the status attainment approach does facilitate an understanding of the factors determining vertical mobility. Furthermore, such an understanding will prove particularly useful when in the next chapter we focus our attention on possible changes in the attainment process since the early 'seventies. The Blau and Duncan reformulation is of particular value in helping one conceptualise the relationship between variables such as level of education and mobility.

> Rather than asking what influence a variable — community size, for instance — exerts on upward mobility, we ask what influence it exerts on occupational achievement and how it modifies the effect of social origins on these achievements. The main reason for this reformulation is that the likelihood of upward mobility depends, of course, greatly on the level from which a man starts (Blau and Duncan, 1967, pp. 10–11).

The value of this approach will be most fully appreciated by those who compare it with Hutchinson's (1969, pp. 22–27) treatment of the relationship of education to mobility.

Methods and Measurement

The statistical technique associated with the status achievement model — path analysis — involves as we have observed, a visual representation of a set of regression equations where the variables are assumed to have a specific causal ordering. Multiple regression is more appropriate when we have continuous variables such as age or income. In order to obtain quasi-continuous variables, both father's and son's first and current occupations have been scaled on the 124-category Hope Goldthorpe scale (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974). The scale is best thought of as measuring the evaluations of a representative sample in England and Wales of the "general desirability" of occupations. It appears most reasonable to assume that the respondents when asked toe valuate the "social standing" of an occupation:

  (i)   consider a number of different occupational attributes which they take as determining how good a job is;
  (ii)   attach some objective weight to each of these;
  (iii) for each occupation presented apply this rating "formula" to what they know about the occupation and thus
  (iv)   come to an overall assessment of it (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1972, p. 32).

In employing the scale we are with one exception involved in accepting the rankings derived from the original sample. The exception relates to the position of farmers. In the original scale all farmers are located at one of two points on the scale depending on the number of people they employ. We have continued to make distinctions between farmers on the basis of farm size. Thus farmers with 100 acres plus were allocated the average scale score of the occupations comprising Class I of Goldthorpe's seven-fold class schema, farmers of 50–99 acres the average score for Class IV and farmers of less than 50 acres the average score for Class VII.

The remaining variables to be considered are the respondent's educational level and the father's educational level; in order to include these variables in the analysis it is necessary to assign scores to educational categories. In both cases, in order to achieve the closest possible approximation to the variables on which the English results are based (Heath, 1981, p.279) scores have been assigned as follows:

No formal education	1
Primary Complete/Incomplete	2
Technical/Vocational	3
Secondary Incomplete	4

Secondary Complete/University Incomplete	5
University Complete	6

The direct effects of father's occupation and father's education on son's education are derived from Equation 1; the direct effects of father's characteristics and son's education on son's first occupation are taken from Equation 2; while Equation 3 supplies the direct effects of father's and son's education, father's occupation and son's first occupation on son's present occupation.

$$SE = f(FE, FO) \tag{1}$$
$$SFO = f(FE, FO, SE) \tag{2}$$
$$SPO = f(FE, FO, SE, SFO) \tag{3}$$

These direct effects are represented in Diagram 6.1. However, as we have noted, effects can be direct and indirect. The decomposition table shows the overall correlation for each pair of variables and breaks this down into causal and non-causal components, and for the former components distinguishes between direct and indirect effects. It is necessary to keep in mind that the variables included in the model by no means exhaust the causal influences on attainment but are rather those for which we have measurements available. These other causes are reflected by the additional arrows in Diagram 6.1. Thus, as well as the arrows from father's education and father's occupation leading to son's education, there is a third arrow coming, so to speak, out of nowhere.

> This arrow represents all the unknown factors which affect a man's education but which have not been included in the model and it is usually termed the "residual". It could include his genes, sibling rivalry, how well he got on with his teachers at school, what kind of friends he made ... The list of potential influences is almost endless, their effect enormous (Heath, 1981, pp. 143–144).

The absence of connecting lines between the variables explicitly included in the model and the residual causes expresses what is sometimes called the assumption of independent errors or independent disturbance. In the present case this assumption turned out to be entirely justified. It is possible from the residual paths to calculate the proportion of the variance in a variable explained by the variables preceding it in the model and in Table 6.2 we have set out the relevant results for Dublin and England.

Before commencing our discussion of these results, it is necessary to stress that the pattern of causation is not given by the data but is imputed by the sociologist. The results presented in Diagram 6.1 allow us to compare the status attainment

Table 6.1: *Decomposition table for Diagram 6.1*

| | Total Correlation | | Causal | | | | | | Non-Causal | |
| | | | Direct | | Indirect | | Total Causal | | | |
Bivariate Correlation	Dublin	England	Dublin	England	Dublin	England	Dublin	England	Dublin	England
FE–SE	.50	.35	.31	.24	.00	.00	.31	.24	.19	.11
FE–SFO	.38	.25	.06	.00	.16	.12	.22	.12	.16	.13
FE–SPO	.39	.22	.00	.00	.19	.11	.19	.11	.20	.11
FO–SE	.52	.36	.31	.24	.00	.00	.31	.24	.21	.12
FO–SFO	.43	.30	.14	.12	.18	.13	.32	.25	.11	.05
FO–SPO	.49	.36	.13	.17	.26	.15	.39	.32	.10	.04
SE–SFO	.61	.56	.50	.51	.00	.00	.50	.51	.11	.05
SE–SPO	.66	.53	.32	.33	.20	.13	.52	.46	.14	.07
SFO–SPO	.69	.49	.43	.25	.00	.00	.43	.25	.26	.24

FE — Father's eduation
FO — Father's occupation
SE — Son's education
SFO — Son's first occupation
SPO — Son's present occupation

Table 6.2: *Proportion of dependent variable variance explained by the status attainment model*

	Dublin	England
Son's Education	.34	.17
Son's First Job	.39	.33
Son's Present Job	.58	.36

process implicit in the data for Dublin with that for England. (Since there is a strong similarity between Blau and Duncan's results for the United States and those for England, most of our conclusions would also hold if Dublin were compared with the United States. However, our confidence in our comparisons with England is increased by the fact that, with the one exception we referred to, the occupational variables employed in the analysis are identical.) If we examine first the relationship between ascribed characteristics and son's education we find that the effect of both father's occupation *and* father's education are substantially greater for Dublin. An examination of Table 6.2 shows that this pair of variables jointly explains 34 per cent of the variance in son's education in Dublin compared with 17 per cent in England. The next question we can examine is whether ascribed characteristics such as father's occupation and education continue to have a direct effect on one's chances of obtaining a good job even after one has passed through the educational system or is the influence of social background wholly mediated by one's educational achievements? This question is of particular importance for those authors who have argued for the increasing importance of universalism. As Heath (1981, p. 140) emphasises, in a liberal world of equal opportunity one would expect people of similar educational attainments to compete on equal terms for jobs in the labour market. In fact, father's education has a statistically significant but relatively slight effect on son's first job in Dublin whereas its effect is not significant in England. In neither society does father's education have any direct effect on son's present occupation. With regard to father's occupation we find that in both countries it has significant and similar direct effects on both son's first job and son's present job. One factor which contributes to such effects is the importance of inheriting a family business. However, as Heath notes, the effects tend to be almost as strong for employees as for the self-employed.

> The use of family contacts and resources to secure jobs for their offspring can occur in all kinds of ways and at all levels in society (Heath, 1981, p. 174).

When we turn to the impact of son's education we discover, not surprisingly, that it has extremely significant effects on both son's first occupation and son's present occupation. What is striking, however, is the fact that the coefficients are almost identical in both societies. From Table 6.2 we can see that the variables preceding it in the path model explain 39 per cent of the variance in son's first occupation in Dublin compared with 33 per cent in England; the difference at first job is, thus, much less striking than that relating to education.

The effect of son's first occupation is, perhaps, the most interesting in the model. For Dublin the effect of first job is greater than the direct effect of education. It is also substantially greater than the identical effect in England where the direct effect of education is a more potent factor. As a consequence, education, as can be seen from Table 6.1, also has a total causal effect on present occupation which is higher in Dublin. This arises because of the dual effect which education has on final job. Education influences first job directly and thus final job indirectly. In addition, among those who enter the labour market at the same level, those with higher levels of education are more likely to move on to higher positions. The combined effects of the variables in the model explains 58 per cent of the variance in son's present occupation in comparison with 36 per cent in England.

Clearly, the direct effects of achieved characteristics, such as education and first occupation, on current occupation are substantially greater than the direct effects of ascribed characteristics. However, the direct effects of ascribed characteristics on education are substantial, particularly with regard to Dublin. By this means father's education and father's occupation have substantial indirect effects on first occupation and subsequently on current occupation. From Table 6.1 we can see that the indirect effects of father's education on first occupation and current occupation are, respectively .16 and .19, while the corresponding figures for father's occupation are .18 and .26. These results raise the question of whether declining direct effects represent a process of expanding universalism, or simply a new form of social inheritance through the transmission of "cultural capital" (Karabel and Halsey, 1977, p. 19). We will return to this question in the next chapter.

The particular importance of first job in the Irish context is entirely consistent with the results available from our contingency analysis. In particular, it supports our conclusion that in comparison with England inequalities for Dublin are more distinctive at current occupation stage than at first occupation stage. We have previously suggested that this relates to differences in occupational structures in the two societies which have influenced the extent of intragenerational mobility in the two countries. Again we will return to the implications of this finding in the next chapter.

The path model is the source of another significant piece of information

provided by the degree of explanation afforded by the variables included in the status achievement model. Some commentators have argued that

> ... unknown or unmeasured factors are much more important determinants of educational and occupational achievements than are the known ones (Heath 1981, p. 144).

Blau and Duncan (1967, p. 201) note that education, rather than perpetuating status attainment, operates primarily to induce variation in occupational status that is independent of inherited status. They go on to point out that sociologists who are disappointed by the degree of explanation afforded by such models have perhaps not given sufficient consideration to what perfect explanation would imply.

> In such a society it would indeed be true that some are "destined to poverty almost from birth ... by the economic status or occupation of their parents".Others, of course, would be "destined" to affluence or to modest circumstances. By no effort of their own could they materially alter the course of destiny nor could any stroke of fortune, good or ill, lead to an outcome not already in the cards (Blau and Duncan 1967, p. 174).

One can clearly accept the point that individual positions in the occupational hierarchy are not fixed at birth; we are dealing with class not caste societies. However, there are two qualifications which we would wish to enter; one relates specifically to the attainment process in Ireland while the other takes a much more general form. With regard to the Irish situation the extent to which education and occupation are predictable from ascribed characteristics is significantly greater than in England or the United States. More generally, it is not reasonable to accept that unknown causes largely reflect chance factors or "personal effort". As critics of the status attainment model have pointed out, social structural factors relating to changing demographic, educational and occupational structures influence the level of association possible between ascribed and achieved characteristics. In our previous analysis of class mobility we have shown that when structural factors are controlled for, class mobility is highly predictable. This finding should clearly serve to warn us against taking large residual paths as indicators of degree of openness.

Conclusion

When looked at from the status attainment perspective the data for Dublin provide evidence of a comparatively high determination by ascribed characteristics of education and both first occupation and current occupation. Perhaps the most distinctive feature is the unusually high influence of first

occupation on final occupation. These conclusions accord well with the picture which emerged in Chapters 3-5 of a more structured and generally more unequal mobility regime in Dublin than in the other societies considered. In the chapter that follows we examine how changes in the last decade may have affected the pattern of social mobility and the nature of the attainment process.

Chapter 7

Changes in Mobility Patterns Since The Early Seventies

Introduction

Chapter 2 above outlined the pattern and magnitude of the changes which have occurred in Irish demography and in the occupational structure since the early 'seventies, and the fact that participation rates in education have grown very considerably over this period. Changes of this kind have undoubtedly been associated with the experience of mobility by many participants in the labour force. However, the question which we address in this chapter is one of scale: have the changes been so substantial as to lead to changes in the nature of absolute and relative mobility opportunities in comparison with the situation evident in our 1968 and 1972 data?

Ideally, of course, we would like to have available a recent survey of the labour force comparable with the earlier inquiries. In the absence of such data, we have tried to bring together in this chapter evidence from a variety of sources, which, we hope, will cast some light on the extent to which mobility patterns have been transformed. We begin by examining the magnitude of the shift in the occupational structure which has occurred. We then go on to present some very recent evidence of mobility patterns among young people. Given the predominance in Ireland of intergenerational mobility over intragenerational,[15] any dramatic change in the mobility regime since the early 'seventies should be particularly evident for this group. Finally, we go on to consider in more detail the link between expanding educational participation and mobility. In particular, we re-assess the conclusions of another recent study in relation to the "meritocratic" nature of Irish education.

The Magnitude of the Change in Occupational Structure

Table 2.1 presented data on the class structure of the Irish labour force in 1961, 1971 and 1979. It showed that the upper middle class group increased by 43 per cent between 1961 and 1971 and by 30 per cent between 1971 and 1979; the lower middle class increased by 16 per cent in the former period and by 21 in the latter; skilled manual workers increased by 36 per cent between 1961 and 1971 and by 28 per cent between 1971 and 1979; semi- and unskilled manual workers in agriculture decreased by 36 per cent in the earlier period and 28 per cent in the later period; lower grade non-argicultural workers increased by 9 per cent between 1961 and 1971 and decreased by seven per cent between 1971 and 1979. Overall, the figures suggest a continuation in the 'seventies of the trends already evident in the 'sixties rather than a qualitatively different pattern of

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[15]See Chapter 3 above.

change. Again, we must stress that we are not denying that the changes in the occupational structure in the 'seventies will have created considerable mobility opportunities or that such changes may have some effect on mobility patterns. The data do not, however, necessarily imply that there has been an upward trend in absolute mobility.

In analysing the mobility regime, it should be borne in mind that fundamental social structures change relatively slowly. For example, at least three-quarters of the labour force from which our 1972 sample was drawn would still be economically active in 1982. Thus, a dramatic transformation of the mobility regime would only be possible *either* through an increase in intragenerational mobility or through an enormous reduction in inequalities of opportunity among new entrants to the labour force.

We examine each of these possibilities in turn. First, we consider whether intragenerational mobility has increased, i.e., whether first occupation has become a less significant determinant of final occupation. The most likely way in which this could have come about would be through an increase in the number of skilled manual and lower grade technician jobs which could serve as stepping stones to higher level technical or managerial jobs. An examination of official labour force statistics does show an increase in skilled manual occupations and a corresponding decline in unskilled manual work. There are, however, some difficulties in distinguishing adequately between skilled and semi-skilled manual occupations, as defined in the class schema employed in this study, on the basis of Census data. Furthermore, it is necessary to take into account the reservations expressed in the Telesis Report and elsewhere regarding the skill structure of significant sectors of Irish manufacturing industry (O'Malley 1982; Murray and Wickham 1982; NESC, 1982). Finally, a recent case study in an Irish electronics factory by Murray and Wickham (1983) suggests continuing restrictions on intragenerational mobility. In the factory they studied, a third level qualification was a requirement for entry to the technician grade, thus ensuring that the vast majority came from non-manual backgrounds. This situation, as they note, contrasts with that in countries such as Britain and Italy where the available evidence suggests that up to 50 per cent of technicians come from manual backgrounds (Roberts *et al.*, 1972; Low-Beer, 1978). With the information available to us it would be unwise to be dogmatic regarding the opportunities for intragenerational mobility. However, it does seem unlikely that the level has changed to an extent which would significantly alter the picture we have presented.

Recent Evidence on Social Mobility

As we saw above, the second mechanism through which the mobility regime could have been transformed would consist of a very substantial reduction in

inequalities among new entrants to the labour market. To examine this issue, we were fortunate in having access to a study conducted in 1982 relating to youth employment and the transition to working life.[16] The target population was persons aged 15–24 who were in the labour force at the time of that survey. For our present purposes, we concentrate on the data for males.

Unfortunately, in employing these data it is necessary to refer to a different class schema, this time based on the 1981 Irish Census occupation units. Full details of the class schema and the constituent elements are provided in Appendix 7.1. The quality of the occupational information available was, in one respect, less detailed for fathers than for sons. With the exception of farmers, we did not have information for fathers on employment status, nor on organisation size. For this reason, the allocation of fathers who were "managers" of various types to class categories is somewhat more arbitrary than the allocation of sons. (See Appendix 7.1 for more details.) A brief description of the class schema used is set out below.

(a) *Higher Professional and Managerial* (and Proprietors): Also includes farmers with 200 + acres.

(b) *Lower Professional and Managerial*: Also includes farmers with 100–199 acres.

(c) *Routine Non-Manual*

(d) *Technical, Supervisors of Manual Workers and Petty Bourgeoisie*: Also includes farmers with 50–99 acres. In the case of "sons" almost all the petty bourgeois respondents are farmers. For this reason it is not particularly illuminating to distinguish a separate petty bourgeois category in the mobility analysis.

(e) *Skilled Manual*; Also includes farmers with 30–49 acres.

(f) *Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual*: Also includes farmers with less than 30 acres.

Respondents who had never been employed were not assigned to a class position. Relatives assisting were also excluded because of the difficulty, from a mobility perspective, of interpreting the significance of this status for members of this particular age group.

The Nature of the Youth Labour Market

Before commencing our analysis, we must point out some important structural features of the youth labour force, in particular the so-called "cohort effect" (See Sexton 1983, p. 3; Sexton *et al.* 1983, p. 7). We will show that this effect substantially affects the type of conclusion about the overall mobility

[16]This is a project sponsored by the EEC Social Affairs and Employment Directorate and being conducted at ESRI by J. J. Sexton and B. J. Whelan. The sample design is described in Appendix I of this study.

regime which can be drawn from data on labour force participants aged 15–24. The cohort effect arises from the combination of variations in the age at which education is terminated and the age-truncated nature of the sample. Take, for instance, the position of early school leavers. The survey was conducted in 1982. Hence, persons leaving the educational system at age 15 in every year from 1973 to 1982 will be included in the sample. Contrast this with the position of those who go on to third-level education. Such courses are of at least two years' duration after Leaving Certificate, and hence students are at least 20 on completion. Our sample can, therefore, include only those who left third-level education no earlier than 1978.

Note that our sample correctly represents the youth labour force. The problem is that this population contains a disproportionate number of early school leavers compared with the position in the 15–24 year old cohort as a whole. The substantial rise in educational participation in Ireland over the past ten years has further sharpened this contrast. Thus, our survey estimates that among males aged 15–24 outside education some 27.5 per cent had no educational qualifications. However, the percentages of males leaving the education system without qualifications in each of the school years 1979/80 to 1981/82 were:[17]

1979/80:	12.3 per cent
1980/81:	7.4 per cent
1981/82:	9.8 per cent

For the purposes of analysing mobility among young people, we would, ideally, like to know the occupational origins and destinations of the complete cohort. The "cohort effect" as described above means that those who leave school early are over-represented in our data while those who enter third-level are under-represented. In order to minimise these problems, we decided to eliminate all those under 18 in the sample and to concentrate on those aged 18–24. This was done because very few of the 18–24 cohort will still be in second-level education. The only important distortion is then the under-representation of those in third-level education at the time the sample was taken. Information is available from other sources, especially in Clancy (1982), on the social class composition of third-level students. This makes it possible to make some qualitative allowance for the extent of distortions introduced by the cohort effect.

Social Mobility in the Youth Labour Market

A high proportion of the 18–24 year olds are still in their first jobs. We have,

[17]These data are derived from the School Leavers Survey published by the National Manpower Service.

therefore, concentrated on mobility from class of origin to first job. The relevant outflow data are shown in Table 7.1. This is analogous with Table 3.1 above. It is clear from this table that a relatively low proportion of respondents were occupied in professional and managerial positions. In fact, unlike the mobility tables analysed earlier, sons were less than half as likely to be in such categories as were fathers. On the other hand, respondents were almost four times more likely to be in the routine non-manual category, and twice as likely to be in skilled manual work, as were their fathers. However, participants in the youth labour market were less likely to be in semi-skilled or unskilled manual work.

Unlike the tables shown in Chapter 3, in Table 7.1 upward mobility is not substantially in excess of downward mobility; for the overall sample mobility is almost equally divided between upward and downward while for the non-argicultural sample the former is slightly more frequent. When we concentrate our attention on the peak of the class hierarchy we find that downward mobility occurs on a much greater scale than upward mobility. Only 1 in 70 of the sample had been mobile into the most desirable class location while almost 1 respondent in 10 had been mobile out of it. Long-range downward mobility from the professional and managerial class into semi-skilled and unskilled manual work is also more frequent than movement in the opposite direction; although the absolute numbers are relatively low in both cases the latter transition was five times more likely than the former. Finally, we may note the substantial inflows to the routine non-manual and skilled manual classes with 22 per cent of the sample having moved to the former category and almost a quarter into the latter.

Taking up the question of the effects of origin on destination we can see from Table 7.1 that inequalities appear to be much greater at the peak of the class hierarchy than at the bottom. The disparity ratio measuring the degree of inequality of access to higher professional and managerial positions existing between men with origins at either extreme of the class hierarchy has a magnitude of 14 for both in the overall and non-agricultural samples. In contrast, for the same origin groups the disparity ratio relating to the probability of being in a semi-skilled or unskilled manual position is approximately 2.7. The disparity ratio relating to chances of entry to the lower professional and managerial class for those who originate in that category and sons of non-skilled manual workers is almost 4. With the exception of those ratios which reflect self-recruitment in farming, the remaining disparity ratios tend to be between 1 and 2. Overall, almost 70 per cent of those in the youth labour force with manual origins commence their own working lives in manual positions while less than 5 per cent start out in professional and managerial occupations; the corresponding figures for those with professional and managerial origins are approximately 37 per cent and 20 per cent.

Table 7.1: *Class distribution of males 18–24 in the 1982 labour force at first job (relatives assisting and unemployed excluded)*
(Figures in parentheses are those observed when respondents with fathers in agriculture are excluded)

Father's Class	Respondent's Class							
	(i) Higher Professional and Managerial	(ii) Lower Professional and Managerial	(iii) Routine Non-Manual	(iv) Technicians and Petty Bourgeoisie	(v) Skilled Manual	(vi) Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual	N	%
Higher Professional and Managerial	12.7 (12.4)	8.6 (8.5)	33.0 (33.2)	9.7 (9.9)	21.3 (21.6)	14.7 (14.4)	265 (258)	11.9 (14.2)
Lower Professional and Managerial	7.7 (9.0)	12.8 (11.7)	31.7 (37.9)	9.8 (8.3)	29.8 (19.1)	17.2 (14.0)	170 (125)	7.6 (6.9)
Routine Non-Manual	2.6 (2.6)	8.3 (8.3)	42.1 (42.1)	6.0 (6.0)	23.1 (23.1)	17.9 (17.9)	153 (153)	6.9 (6.9)
Technicians and Petty Bourgeoisie	1.1 (1.5)	4.7 (1.9)	19.6 (24.8)	14.2 (5.9)	28.8 (34.8)	31.8 (31.1)	437 (157)	19.6 (8.7)
Skilled Manual	0.5 (0.5)	5.2 (5.2)	21.5 (21.5)	7.2 (7.2)	38.6 (28.6)	27.0 (27.0)	349 (349)	15.6 (19.2)
Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual	0.9 (0.9)	3.6 (4.0)	21.0 (21.4)	3.6 (3.7)	33.3 (32.6)	39.6 (39.4)	858 (772)	38.5 (42.5)
N	64 (58)	127 (101)	547 (477)	169 (108)	674 (556)	651 (514)	2232 (1815)	
%	2.9 (3.2)	5.7 (5.6)	24.5 (26.3)	7.6 (6.0)	30.2 (30.6)	29.2 (28.3)		

Before presenting formal models of the mobility regime in the youth labour force, let us consider how the patterns of mobility shown in Table 7.1 are affected by the "cohort effect" described earlier. The discussion will, of necessity, be qualitative in nature; more precision could, we feel, only be achieved by further fieldwork. A general indication of the nature of the "cohort effect" is, however, quite illuminating.

Our basic objective is to assess the extent of social mobility in the 18–24 year-old cohort. The principal group under-represented in Table 7.1 is that going to third-level education. The vast majority of these will undoubtedly end up in the higher status occupations (Columns (i) and (ii) of Table 7.1) and, to a lesser extent, as technicians (Column (iv)). Furthermore, data on the social class origins of participants in higher eduction (Clancy 1982, p. 19) suggest that the vast majority will come from higher status backgrounds. Hence, it is the first two rows of the table which will be most affected. The bulk of the cohort effect will, therefore, be felt in the upper left-hand corner of Table 7.1. Hence, if complete data on the cohort were available, substantially greater self-recruitment among the upper classes would be evident, along with a corresponding diminution in downward mobility for those with high status fathers. The proportion of the lower classes which experiences upward mobility would be increased but to a much smaller extent, while a slight decrease in self-recruitment among the manual classes is likely.

The "routine non-manual" and "technician and petty bourgeois" classes merit particular mention. As we saw above, it appears that "routine non-manual" occupations have increased very substantially in importance over time. Our data suggest that there has been an increased amount of upward mobility into this class from the manual classes. However, given the heterogeneity of occupations in this class (which range from the lower grades of clerical work through all sorts of service occupations), much mobility seems essentially short-run in nature. In examining the data on the "technician and petty bourgeois" class, the age at which businesses and farms tend to be inherited should be borne in mind. Thus, many of the 18–24 workers who will ultimately inherit the family business would be classified at the time of our survey as "relatives assisting" and so excluded from the present analysis. If data on the eventual occupations of this segment of the cohort were available, it would undoubtedly increase the proportion of sons in this class, and the level of self-recruitment to the petty bourgeoisie. This is especially true of the overall sample including agricultural occupations.

The Mobility Regime

We now present a formal model of the mobility regime in the youth labour force. This will allow us to distinguish, as we did in earlier chapters, between

absolute or *de facto* mobility patterns and the relative set of underlying mobility chances when structural factors have been allowed for. In Table 7.2 are set out final models for the intergenerational mobility regime both for the overall sample and for the non-argicultural sample. The models involve one adjustment to earlier models in which the first cell in row four was allocated to level 5.

Table 7.2: *Levels matrix for a Hauser type model of the intergenerational class regime among 18–24 year olds in the 1982 labour force (excluding relatives assisting and "never employed") with cells allocated to six levels (Figures in parentheses are the levels assigned when fathers in farming are excluded)*

	Son's Class					
Father's Class	Higher Professional and Managerial	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Technicians and Petty Bourgeoisie	Skilled Manual	Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual
Higher Professional and Managerial	1 (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	3 (3)	5 (5)	6 (6)
Lower Professional and Managerial	2 (2)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)
Routine Non-Manual	3 (3)	3 (3)	2 (2)	4 (4)	4 (4)	5 (5)
Technicians and Petty Bourgeoisie	6 (6)	4 (4)	4 (4)	1 (3)	3 (3)	3 (3)
Skilled Manual	6 (6)	4 (4)	4 (4)	3 (3)	2 (2)	3 (3)
Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual	6 (6)	5 (5)	4 (4)	4 (4)	3 (3)	2 (2)

The models are relatively straightforward. For the overall sample the highest interaction or density level is a density of immobility relating to the higher professional and managerial and petty bourgeois classes. In the latter case it is self-recruitment in medium size farming which is being reflected; for the non-agricultural sample this cell is allocated to level 3, a level lower than any of the other diagonal cells, because of the low relative probability of respondents in this age group having achieved petty bourgeois status or the kind of supervisory positions which are also included in this category. We have attempted to keep the two models as close to each other as possible and the foregoing is, in fact, the only point on which they differ. The remaining diagonal cells have been allocated to level 2 because, net of structural factors, it seemed likely that due to restrictions on upward mobility relative inheritance tendencies would be strong.

Looking at the remainder of the models it should be clear that the allocation of cells to density or interaction levels has been influenced by the broad factors taken into account previously:

    (i) relative desirability;

    (ii) relative advantages; and

    (iii) relative barriers.

Thus, while the highest densities are densities of immobility, the lowest levels are concentrated in the bottom-left and top-right hand areas of the table reflecting the restrictions on long-range upward and downward mobility.

A number of particular cells require comment. The fourth cell in row one is allocated to level 3 rather than level 4 because as a consequence of the absence of information on father's employment status, the density in this cell is likely to reflect an amount of class inheritance. The fifth cells in the first and second rows are allocated to level 5 rather than 6 because of the significantly greater relative likelihood of observing professional and managerial sons who have undertaken apprenticeships. The allocation of the first cells in the fourth and fifth rows to level 6 rather than 5 can again be seen to reflect the educational profile of our sample, although in the former case the level was arrived at empirically.

The percentage of cases misclassified for the overall sample is 3.0 per cent and for the non-argicultural sample the figure is 3.7 per cent. As can be seen from Table 7.3 the percentage reduction in the χ^2_{LR} values produced by application of the perfect mobility or independence model is 90.6 per cent in the former and 92.4 per cent in the latter case. In neither case is the χ^2_{LR} significant. As we pointed out in Chapter 4, the models we are testing are not ones of statistical independence but ones by means of which it is intended to reproduce the

Table 7.3: *Results of testing a Hauser type model of the intergenerational mobility regime for 18–24 year olds in the 1982 labour force (excluding relatives assisting and "never employed")*

Version	Goodness of Fit			Percentage of Association Accounted for	Percentage of Cases Misclassified
	χ^2_{LR}	d.f.	p		
Six Level Design for sample excluding relatives assisting and "never employed"	25.73	20	0.100	90.6	3.7
Six Level Design for sample excluding relatives assisting and "never employed" *and* fathers in farming	19.01	20	0.250	92.4	3.0

observed frequencies. Therefore, an outcome in which the expected frequencies come close to the observed frequencies and the χ^2_{LR} is correspondingly *low* is what is required to provide support for the validity of the model.

The Pattern of Social Fluidity

Since the model of the intergenerational class-mobility regime provides an adequate account of the extent and pattern of association between the class of origin and class of destination we can now proceed to discuss the main features of the models. In Table 7.4 we provide details of the magnitude of the interaction parameters. Concentrating first on densities of immobility, we find that for the overall sample the tendency towards immobility, net of structural effects, is three times as great in the higher professional and managerial and technician and petty bourgeois classes as in the other classes. In the latter this tendency reflects self-recruitment among medium sized farmers and when we look at the results for the non-agricultural sample we find the density of immobility in the former class is three times greater than in the latter, and over two and a half times greater than in the other classes.

The tendency towards immobility in the higher professional and managerial class is, for the overall sample, ten times greater than the relative density of mobility in either direction between this class and the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class, or in an upward direction from the skilled manual and technician and petty bourgeois classes; the corresponding figure for the overall sample is nine to one. The tendency towards immobility at the highest level is also almost five times stronger than the tendency towards downward mobility to the skilled manual class from either of the professional and managerial classes; the size of the ratio is nearer to six to one for the non-agricultural sample. For manual workers, the density of immobility is 1.9 times greater than the net tendency towards mobility into the routine non-manual class; the figure for the non-agricultural sample is slightly lower. The corresponding figures for the professional and managerial classes lie between 3 and 4.

As in previous chapters we can summarise these inequalities by means of a series of odds ratios which provide a description of the outcome, net of structural factors, of a series of competitions where the pair of origin and destination classes are the same. The relevant ratios are as set out in Table 7.5. Sons of higher professional and managerial fathers are over 30 times more likely to be themselves in the higher professional and managerial class rather than the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class than are those with origins in the latter class. The odds ratio for the competition involving the higher professional and managerial class and the skilled manual class is approximately 23 in the restricted sample. The competition between the lower professional and managerial group and those from semi-skilled and unskilled manual origins

Table 7.4: *Values of the parameters of density levels for the six level model of the intergenerational mobility regime for 18–24 year old males in the 1982 labour force (in additive form) and matrix of differences in density levels (in multiplicative form)*
(Figures in parenthases are the results observed when fathers in farming are excluded)

Additive Parameter Values	Level	1	2	3	4	5	6
0.000 (0.000)	1	1	2.95 (2.60)	3.97 (3.25)	5.70 (4.57)	7.13 (6.15)	9.60 (8.99)
−1.083 (−0.906)	2		1	1.34 (1.31)	1.93 (1.25)	2.42 (2.48)	3.25 (3.63)
−1.398 (−1.178)	3			1	1.44 (1.41)	1.80 (1.89)	2.42 (2.77)
−1.741 (−1.519)	4				1	1.25 (1.35)	1.69 (1.82)
−1.965 (−1.816)	5					1	1.35 (1.46)
−2.262 (−2.196)	6						1

Table 7.5: *Matrix of odds ratios where the pair of origin and destination classes are the same for 18–24 year old males in the 1982 labour force[a].* *(figures in parentheses are those observed when fathers in farming are excluded)*

Class	Lower Professional and Managerial	Routine Non-Manual	Technicians and Petty Bourgeoisie	Skilled Manual	Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual
Higher Professional and Managerial	2.95 (2.60)	5.32 (4.26)	28.11 (35.69)	23.17 (22.32)	31.12 (32.63)
Lower Professional and Managerial		1.80 (1.72)	6.27 (8.45)	4.69 (4.59)	7.87 (9.00)
Routine Non-Manual			11.00 (8.45)	3.72 (3.42)	4.67 (4.59)
Technicians and Petty Bourgeoisie				5.20 (4.26)	7.66 (6.01)
Skilled Manual					1.80 (1.72)

Note a: The entries in the matrix show that the chances of men in one class origin relative to those of men in another of being themselves found in one rather than the other of the same two classes. Thus the entry in the first cell of the first row of 2.95 indicates that men originating in the higher professional and managerial class are more than twice as likely as men originating in the lower professional and managerial class to be found in a higher professional and managerial position than in a lower professional and managerial position.

produces ratios of 8 : 1 for the sample as a whole and 9 : 1 for the non-agricultural group. The ratios summarising the outcome of the competition between the routine non-manual class and the skilled and non-skilled manual groups lie between 3.7 and 4.7.

Despite the fact that the scale of educational inequalities in society is not adequately reflected in data derived from the youth labour market, the underlying structure of relative opportunities involves very substantial inequalities. However, what is, perhaps, the most significant inequality has not yet been dealt with in our analysis.

Unemployment in the Youth Labour Market

The average occupational standing and education level of participants in the youth labour market are significantly lower than those pertaining to entrants to the labour market in any one year. An additional consequence of such disadvantages is a relatively high probability of being unemployed. Overall, 17.1 per cent of 15–24 year olds in the labour market were unemployed; the corresponding percentage for the non-agricultural sample is 16.9. In the first

column of Table 7.6 we give the class composition of the unemployed. Over half the unemployed come from semi-skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds. Approximately one-fifth are the sons of skilled and manual workers. In the overall sample over 70 per cent of the unemployed have manual or small farming backgrounds; in the non-agricultural sample almost four out of five have manual backgrounds. If in the latter case we also include lower grade technicians we arrive at a figure of 87 per cent. Turning from the composition of the unemployed to the probability of being unemployed, we have set out in the second column of Table 7.6 the percentage unemployed within each class of origin. Sons of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers have 1 in 4 probability of being unemployed, those from skilled manual backgrounds have a 1 in 5 chance of being without a job. In the professional managerial classes the probability drops to 1 in 14 and in the intermediate strata the relevant figure is approximately 1 in 7. Unemployment is thus three times more likely at the bottom than at the peak of the class hierarchy.

Table 7.6: *Distribution of unemployed 15–24 year olds by father's class, together with the percentage unemployed in each class. (Figures in parentheses are those observed when fathers in agriculture are excluded)*

	Percentage of Unemployed coming from each class	Percentage Unemployed in each class
	Per Cent	
Higher Professional and Managerial	4.7 (5.5)	7.3 (8.1)
Lower Professional and Managerial	3.6 (2.6)	6.8 (8.6)
Routine Non-Manual	5.0 (5.9)	14.7 (14.7)
Technicians and Petty Bourgeoisie	16.0 (8.4)	12.3 (15.3)
Skilled Manual	18.6 (21.8)	21.1 (21.9)
Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual	52.1 (55.8)	23.5 (24.1)
All Classes	100 100	17.1 (16.9)
N	518 443	

What, then, can we conclude about the nature of the mobility process in the youth labour force? While the nature of this labour force makes precise comparison with our earlier analysis very difficult, it seems clear that substantial inequalities are still present. Participation in higher level jobs is still closely linked with one's father's occupation. The occupational structure appears to be shifting quite rapidly towards an increase in lower white collar and service occupations and a reduction in the less skilled forms of manual work. As a

consequence, some increase in upward short-range mobility from manual to non-manual occupations appears to have occurred. However, the overall picture remains one of a highly structured mobility regime where opportunities for upward mobility are restricted and the children of upper class parents still enjoy substantial advantages in access to higher level occupations.

The Role of Education

We have shown in the previous section that substantial inequalities appear to have persisted since the early 'seventies even among new entrants to the labour force. However, it is difficult to be precise and definitive about this conclusion. Indeed, it might be argued that, despite the evidence of the preceding section, the spectacular growth in educational participation in recent years has been so substantial as to lead inevitably to increases in mobility.

That numbers in education have grown dramatically is not in doubt. We shall, however, show that such growth does not necessarily imply greatly increased mobility, and we shall present recent empirical data which suggest substantial inequality of opportunity in Irish education. This examination of the role of education will pave the way for the discussion in Chapter 8 below of the implications for policy of our study.

The Irish education system has expanded dramatically over the past twenty years. Hannan *et al.* (1983, p. 53) note that the educational participation rate of 15 year olds increased from less than half to around 70 per cent between 1965 and 1970, associated with the introduction of the "Free Scheme" in 1967. The rate then increased more gradually to over 85 per cent by 1979. Participation rates increased even more rapidly at the senior cycle. Thus, between 1966 and 1981 the estimated cohort percentage of males doing the Leaving Certificate rose from just over 20 per cent to just under 50 per cent, (Hannan *et al.* 1983, p. 55). By 1979 some 20 per cent of each cohort of young people entered a third-level institution (Rottman *et al.*, 1982, p. 61).

Such a dramatic expansion in educational participation, it might appear, would inevitably be associated with reductions in educational inequalities and consequent increases in social mobility. In this context, equality of opportunity in education means that access to schools and qualifications must be substantively, as distinct from formally, open to all social classes. As Halsey *et al.*(1980, p. 202) observe, this distinction between substantive and formal equality of access shifts our attention to equality of educational outcomes. In examining this issue, Mare (1981, p. 83) distinguishes between two facets of educational inequality, the univariate dispersion of formal schooling and the multivariate association between school attainment and socio-economic background characteristics. Thus, he notes, it would be possible to conclude that if an extremely high percentage of a cohort completes a specific level of

education then the chances of completing that level must be fairly equally distributed and social background matters very little. On the other hand, such a conception ignores the extent to which the percentage of the cohort who fail to complete that level is selected from families at the bottom of the class hierarchy.

Changes in the pattern of intergenerational mobility which would involve movement towards a more open society would involve a decline in the influence of ascribed characteristics on education, first occupation and final occupation. Such developments are what one would expect on the basis of Blau and Duncan's "expanding universalism" thesis. The following is their most explicit statement of the thesis:

> Heightened universalism has profound implications for the stratification system. The achieved status of a man, what he has accomplished in terms of some objective criteria becomes more important than his ascribed status, who he is in the sense of what family he comes from. This does not mean that family background no longer influences careers. What it does imply is that superior status cannot any more be directly inherited but must be legitimated by actual achievements that are socially acknowledged. Education assumes increasing significance for social status in general and for the transmission of social standing from fathers to sons in particular. Superior family origins increase a son's chances of obtaining a superior occupation in the United States in large part because they help him to obtain a better education, whereas in less industrialised societies the influence of family origins on status does not seem to be primarily mediated by education (Blau and Duncan 1967, p. 430).

Blau and Duncan's thesis is explicitly formulated in functionalist terms; the fundamental trends are seen as having been brought about by the needs of industrial society. In pre-industrial societies, obstacles to mobility, while regrettable from the standpoint of individuals, did not constitute a societal problem since the knowledge and skills which could be utilised were strictly limited. In industrial societies, however, technological progress has created a need for advanced knowledge and skills on the part of a large proportion of the labour force and has made unacceptable the waste of human resources which a rigid class structure entails. High rates of occupational mobility in industrial societies are a response to such needs. A strong version of technological functionalism would lead us to expect not only a decline in the influence of ascribed characteristics on occupation but also on education, as universalistic forces penetrate the educational system developing talent whenever it is found (Heath, 1981, p. 178).

There has been considerable disagreement about the extent to which

expansion of the educational system affects differences in attainment among persons from different class backgrounds. Boudon (1974) argues that inequality of educational opportunity declines over time. Hauser and Featherman (1976) among others argue the case for little change in the attainment process. Boudon's argument is based on simple differences of proportions continuing in school among class groups. Such differences, however, Mare (1981, p. 83) notes, change over cohorts primarily in response to the average level of the proportions, rather than in response to changes in the principles by which schooling is allocated. The stability of the stratification process, on the other hand, as represented by the linear models employed by Hauser and Featherman (1976)

> ... results from the offsetting influences of, on the one hand, decreased variance in the schooling distribution that exerts downward pressure on estimated linear effects and on the other, increased associations between socio-economic background and grade progression that tend to increase the linear effects.

From the available evidence on social class selectivities in access to education in Ireland we are not in a position to provide systematic comparisons over time or on a crossnational basis. However, by employing the National Manpower Service School Leavers Survey for 1981 and 1982 we can provide some documentation of the educational inequalities which continue to exist despite the dramatic increases in educational participation. This survey is conducted in May of each year and the sample is representative of all those who left the post-primary educational system during the previous school year. Since it covers leavers in a single year, data from the study are not subject to the "cohort effect" described above. Father's class is represented by a four level variable based on the Hall-Jones classification. The four categories are as follows:

  (i) Higher Non-manual (1, 2)
  (ii) Lower Non-manual (3, 4, 5)
  (iii) Skilled manual (6)
  (iv) Semi-skilled and unskilled manual (7, 8)

Farmers have been excluded from the analysis because of the absence of information regarding farm size.

The measure used for educational level was a five category variable:
  (i)   pupils who having completed the Leaving Certificate examination went on to a third-level institution;
  (ii) pupils who had sat for the Leaving Certificate examination but who had not proceeded to third level;
  (iii) pupils who had sat for the Intermediate examination but not the Leaving;
  (iv) pupils who had sat for the Group Certificate only;

(v) pupils with no formal school qualifications.

Educational level achieved broken down by class of origin is set out in Table 7.7. The results show that less than 1 per cent of sons of upper non-manual fathers left school with no qualifications, compared with just less than 5 per cent of the lower non-manual group, 13 per cent of those with skilled manual origin and over 17 per cent of the sons of non-skilled manual workers. In other words, sons of non-skilled manual workers are over 29 times more likely than those from higher level white collar backgrounds to leave the secondary school system without any qualification. The latter group also have an advantage over the skilled manual group of 20 to 1, and over the routine non-manual group of 8 to 1.

Table 7.7: *Educational level by father's class for male post-primary school leavers 1980–1981*

	Percentage by Row						
	Third Level	Leaving Certificate	Intermediate Certificate	Group Certificate	No Qualifications	N	%
Upper Non-manual	53.7	34.6	8.6	2.5	0.6	162	9.3
Lower Non-manual	28.6	40.7	20.3	5.8	4.7	637	36.8
Skilled Manual	14.0	29.8	29.3	14.2	12.7	450	26.0
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	7.6	20.7	28.3	26.0	17.4	484	27.9
N	369	549	412	231	172	1,733	
%	21.3	31.7	23.8	13.3	9.9		

When we turn our attention to the other end of the educational scale we find that while almost 54 per cent of those at the top of the class hierarchy go on to third-level education this holds true for less than 8 per cent of those at the bottom. In comparison with the lower non-manual and skilled manual groups the upper non-manual group are almost twice and four times as likely, respectively, to be in third-level education. The inequalities at third level are a consequence of inequalities at Leaving Certificate level and unequal probabilities of making the transition from that level to third-level education. In Table 7.8 we set out the probabilities relating to both events. The percentages completing the Leaving Certificate are, moving from the top to the bottom of the class hierarchy, 88 per cent, 69 per cent, 44 per cent and 28 per cent. At this point the disparity ratio between sons of higher level white collar workers and those from non-skilled manual origins is reduced to a little over 3 to 1. However, while over 6 out of 10 of the former group who complete their Leaving Certificate go

Table 7.8: *Proportion completing the Leaving Certificate and transition probabilities from Leaving Certificate level to third level by father's class*

	% Completing the Leaving Certificate	Transition Probability
Upper Non-Manual	.883	.61
Lower Non-Manual	.693	.41
Skilled Manual	.438	.32
Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual	.283	.27

on to third-level education, this is true of less than 3 out of 10 of the latter group; the corresponding probabilities for the lower non-manual and skilled manual group are, respectively, .41 and .32. Thus, at third level the disparities increase once more.

Despite the magnitude of the inequalities in Tables 7.7 and 7.8 they almost certainly understate the scale of educational inequality. First, the surveys from which the data are taken do not include those who never enter the second-level system and who are certain to be drawn predominantly from the working class (Rudd, 1972). Secondly, the figures for third-level education do not distinguish between university and non-university sectors and there is considerable evidence to show that class inequalities in access are significantly greater in the former sector (Rottman *et al.,* 1982, p. 61). Thus, in Ireland, as elsewhere, there is little evidence that increasing participation rates *per se* serve to reduce educational inequalities in the sense of weakening the relationship between class of origin and educational performance.

"Expanding universalism" cannot be equated with higher education participation rates. In fact Boudon (1973) concluded that, under extremely general conditions, the expansion of education in industrial societies, even when accompanied by a reduction in unequal educational opportunity, is generally consistent with a high level of stability in the mobility structure.

> This conclusion will hold unless unrealistic propositions are introduced: for example, that reduction of inequality in educational opportunity occurs much more rapidly than it in fact does; or that the changes in social structure which are due to technological change are extremely rapid (at the same pace as those characteristic of education) (Boudon, 1973, pp. 195–196).

The evidence from the 1972 English mobility survey showed that educational qualifications did have an increasing effect on one's occupational career while

the direct effect of one's father's occupation was reduced — suggesting the triumph of achievement over ascription. However, the influence of social origins on educational attainment had actually increased. Taking these two findings together it emerged that the overall association between origins and first job remained unchanged. Thus, as Heath observes, it is not so much the extent of transmission as the mechanism that changes

> ... instead of direct inheritance, nepotism or pulling strings, privileged parents try to ensure that their offspring have acquired the educational advantages needed to compete successfully in the new more achievement-oriented labour market (Heath, 1981, p. 170).

With regard to the Irish situation a continuing decline in self-employment due to the contraction of the agricultural sector, and expansion of the higher white collar strata, will have weakened the direct effects of father's occupation on attainment while strengthening the connection between education and occupation. However, as our previous discussion shows, there is no evidence that there has been any recent diminution in inequalities of access to education. Thus, the recent expansion of the Irish education system cannot be plausibly interpreted within a technological functionalist framework and there is no evidence that responses to the "needs" of an industrial society have brought about any significant reduction in the waste of human resources which is a consequence of a rigid class structure. Rather than describing the process involved in the development of the educational system as an "expanding universalism", it would be more accurate to view it as a new mechanism performing the old function of social reproduction.

> Social inheritance, whether through the transmission of property or through the transmission of cultural capital, is still inheritance (Karabel and Halsey, 1977, p. 19).

Equality of Educational Opportunity and Ability

Greaney and Kelleghan's recent (1984) study entitled *Equality of Opportunity in Irish Schools,* which is based on a sample of 500 students who were aged 11 in 1967, adds substantially to our knowledge about the selection mechanisms at various stages in the educational system. In particular, their use of a longitudinal design and the careful measurement of ability provide valuable insights. The data they present should enable policy makers to determine the manner in which inequalities operate and the points in the educational system at which intervention is appropriate. We feel, however, that they have seriously underestimated the effects of social class on educational attainment. Greaney and Kelleghan (p. 260) are anxious to stress that

> .. we have to bear clearly in mind that of all the personal and
> background information which we obtained about students when
> they were in primary school, ability and not social class as some
> commentators (Bowles, 1972; Katz, 1971) might have led us to
> expect, was the factor that was most closely related to a student's
> progress through the system.

The authors point out that the contribution of ability is undermined by the fact
that at each point in the system more able students have a higher probability of
survival, irrespective of their socio-economic background. The example is
noted, whereby, while students from partly-skilled backgrounds have the lowest
probability (.19) among students of high ability of entering third-level
education, they still enjoy an advantage over less able students from professional
and managerial backgrounds for whom the corresponding probability is .14.
Thus, ability is seen to some extent to override social class membership (p. 209).

The authors emphasise that conditions which determine a student's
educational prospects have their effect relatively early in life. It is suggested that
gross differences in participation beyond the period of non-compulsory
education may be misleading for a number of reasons. First, because they may
encourage solutions at too late a stage in the educational process. Secondly, it is
suggested that, since the effect of social class is likely to be due to its association
with educationally relevant variables, focusing on the social class membership or
socio-economic status of students in assessing inequality may do more to obscure
than elucidate the basic problems associated with the differential participation
of groups of students (p. 263). Finally, Greaney and Kelleghan (p. 263) conclude
that, notwithstanding the observed differences in participation by class:

> The fact that ability played such a dominant role in the educational
> progress of students in our study suggests that the meritocratic ideal is
> at least being approached if not quite attained.

There appear to us to be a variety of conceptual and analytic problems in the
study which seriously undermine the validity of its conclusions. We will focus on
three major issues.

(i)   the poor conceptualisation and measurement of social class;
(ii) the failure to test how adequately a properly specified meritocratic
      model accounts for the outflow of students from different socio-economic
      backgrounds to educational destinations and the failure to recognize
      important interactions between ability and gender in estimating the
      effect of social class on probability of survival in the educational system;
(iii) inadequate attention to the reasons for the substantial variations by
      social class in ability at age 11 and, in particular, the failure to

acknowledge the evidence implicit in their own data and explicitly documented elsewhere (Halsey *et al.*, 1980) regarding the importance of "family climate" factors.

Conceptualisation and Measurement of Social Class

The care with which psychometric variables such as verbal reasoning ability are measured contrasts sharply with the much less adequate treatment of social class. Although social class or socio-economic status emerges as one of the crucial variables in their analysis and is involved in their most important conclusions, Greaney and Kellaghan provide us with no discussion of the nature of social class, socio-economic status, or socio-economic group.

The consequences of their neglect are directly reflected in the manner in which socio-economic status is measured. Father's occupation was categorised according to the classification used in the 1951 British Census. The categories of the classification — modified to allow for the allocation of farmers by farm size — and the distribution of students across them are (see Greaney and Kellaghan, p. 54):

	Per cent	(N)
Higher Professional, Managerial and Administrative and Farmers with over 150 acres	3.0	(15)
Intermediate Professional, Managerial and Administrative and Farmers with 30–150 acres	28.3	(141)
Skilled Occupations	32.5	(162)
Partly Skilled Occupations and Farmers with 30 acres or less	17.9	(89)
Unskilled Occupations	18.3	(91)

This classification has a number of disadvantages, among the most important of which are (i) the failure to maintain the distinction between manual and non-manual occupations and (ii) the absence of differentiation on the basis of employment status and, in particular, the failure to distinguish the petty beourgeoisie. The skilled category which accounts for over 30 per cent of the study contains a mixture of manual and non-manual occupations. The higher professional and managerial category contain only 3 per cent of the students; in fact 15 cases. The inadequacies of the classification are likely to lead to an underestimation of the relationship of socio-economic status to the probability of survival in the educational system and verbal reasoning ability. The correlation between verbal ability and socio-economic status which is described as only 0.3

(Greaney and Kelleghan, 1984) appears to be similar in magnitude to correlations between what might appear to be comparable variables found in other countries (Jencks, 1972, Halsey *et el.*, 1980). In fact, given the lack of differentiation in the measure employed in the Irish study, the possibility that the comparable correlation might be higher cannot be ruled out. For the analysis which is central to the conclusions regarding the extent to which the educational system is meritocratic the problems with the classification are exacerbated. This arises from a need to merge the professional and managerial classes. Thus, 64 per cent of the students are contained in just two categories. Furthermore, all farmers above 30 acres are now included in the professional and managerial category.

A striking illustration of the problems caused by poor conceptualisation and inappropriate measurement occurs in Chapter 8 (Greaney and Kelleghan). There it is concluded on the basis of differences in mean social status that "higher education students and Leaving Certificate terminal leavers were not differentiated in terms of socio-economic status". Yet it is possible to calculate from the subsequent Table 9.2 (Greaney and Kelleghan) that the following was the class breakdown of those completing second cycle by socio-economic status.

	Leaving Cert Terminal	Entering Third Level
Professional/Intermediate Professional	47.9	59.0
Skilled	30.8	24.6
Partly skilled	14.7	9.8
Unskilled	6.6	6.6

(*Source*: Greaney and Kelleghan, p. 213)

The strong effect of class on this transition is even better illustrated by the NMS data on males quoted earlier in Table 7.7. The figures for the third-level transition corresponding to those just quoted are

	Leaving Cert Terminal	Entering Third Level
Upper non-manual	10.2	23.6
Lower non-manual	47.2	49.3
Skilled manual	24.4	17.1
Semi- and unskilled manual	18.2	10.0

(*Source*: NMS School Leavers Survey 1980–81, See Table 7.7 above)

Since it is necessary to combine the two highest socio-economic groups, the professional and managerial group, to which we will refer in our subsequent analysis, contains 31.3 per cent of the sample while 18.3 per cent of the respondents are located in the unskilled manual category. Given this distribution of cases, the inequalities we observe between students from the highest and lowest social origins are certain to be substantially smaller than would be the case if we were in a position to distinguish the more advantaged members of the professional and managerial group.

Testing a Meritocratic Model

Greaney and Kelleghan do not, in fact, provide any formal statistical test of the hypothesis that the Irish second level education system is meritocratic. While there are clearly a variety of possible definitions of meritocracy, a reasonable one for present purposes would be to require educational destination to be independent of socio-economic origin within ability group. This implies that one's probability of reaching a given level within the educational system is unaffected by one's origins.

Greaney and Kelleghan divide their sample into two ability groups — those with verbal reasoning ability scores of 108 or above and those with scores of less than 108. Their sample included 159 students in the former category and 335 students in the latter. When these categories are broken down by socio-economic group we are left with relatively small numbers in each cell. Thus, the application of formal models to the data is a necessity if we are not to be led astray by differences arising solely from sampling fluctuations.

In Table 7.9 we present the results arising from the application of a meritorcratic model specifying independence of educational destination and social origins for each of the ability groups. We also present the results of testing an alternative model employing non-meritocratic effects which is termed a model of uniform association. The latter model is one of a set designed by Goodman (1979) for the analysis of association in contingency tables. They presume an ordering of the rows and/or columns of a cross-tabulation. In our case, we have scored origins and destinations as follows:

Origins	Destinations
1. Professional and Managerial	1. Entering third level
2. Skilled	2. Completing senior cycle
3. Partly skilled	3. Completing junior cycle
4. Unskilled	4. Entering post-primary
	5. Non entering post-primary

The uniform association model assumes that origins and destinations are equally spaced. The advantage enjoyed by one origin class over another in the

Table 7.9: *Goodness of fit of independence of origin and destination and uniform association models in more able and less able sub-groups*

	Independence		Uniform Association		
	χ^2_{LR}	d.f.	χ^2_{LR}	d.f.	Interaction Parameter
Less Able	51.24	12	8.75	11	.32
More Able	20.21	12	12.78	11	.30

competition for a pair of destination classes is a simple function of the differences in the rank order scores of those origin and destinations classes.[18] The model thus provides us with an estimate of the degree of inequality existing between socio-economic groups in the competition for educational destination. Such inequalities are presumed to be non-existent in the meritocratic or independence model.

From Table 7.9 it is clear that for both ability groups the uniform association model provides a significantly better fit to the data than the independence model.[19] Thus, the meritocratic thesis cannot be sustained. The association parameters are 0.32 and 0.30, respectively in the less able and more able groups. These values produce odds ratios for the competition between those from professional and managerial and unskilled origins for "not entering secondary" and third-level destinations of 48.6 and 36, respectively.

The Influence of Socio-Economic Group on Educational Destination: Ability-Gender Interactions

In the previous section we have established the existence of major inequalities within ability groups, i.e., the basic meritocratic hypothesis is refuted. We now go on to consider whether the extent of the departure from meritocratic principles operates equally or unequally across ability/gender groups.

We will follow Greaney and Kelleghan in distinguishing between males and females and high and low ability groups. Thus, for the purposes of our analysis we will operate with four sub-groups. The importance of distinguishing between males and females arises from the fact that, as Hannan *et al.* (1983, pp. 49–79)

[18]In describing association models we have drawn on Breen (1984b), and the models were estimated using GLIM (Baker and Nelder, 1978) and the approach outlined by Breen (1984c).
[19]The data on which the rest of our analysis in this chapter are based are the data set out in Tables 9.5 and 9.6 in Greaney and Kelleghan (1984).

document, the participation and dropout rates of pupils from the successive levels of the education system are highly gender selective. Girls are significantly more advantaged in terms of school leaving and are substantially more likely to complete the Leaving Certificate. However, on completion they are much less likely to go on to third level and are more likely to take short pre-employment courses in preparation for clerical positions. A significantly higher proportion of boys enter the labour market at earlier stages. They are substantially more likely to take up manual jobs or enter apprenticeships. However, those who complete second level are much more likely to go on to third level.

The results of applying the uniform association model within each sub-group are set out in Table 7.10(a). The insignificant χ^2_{LR} values indicate that the models provide a satisfactory fit to the observed data in all groups. This means that within each gender/ability group, there are still substantial inequalities between socio-economic groups.

The pattern of the association parameters is set out in Table 7.10(b). The results suggest that the effect of gender on the association between origins and destinations is reversed as one moves across ability groups. Thus, in the less able the degree of association is stronger for males (0.44 compared with 0.2) but in the

Table 7.10(a): *Results of applying the uniform association model to sub-groups of students distinguished on the basis of ability and gender*

	χ^2_{LR}	d.f.	p	Interaction Parameter
Less Able Males	7.62	11	> .750	.4352
Less Able Females	13.49	11	> .250	.2560
More Able Males	10.41	11	> .500	.1981
More Able Females	7.44	11	> .900	.4749

Table 7.10(b): *Extent of association between socio-economic origins and educational destinations by ability and gender*

	Male	Female
Less Able	.44	.26
More Able	.20	.47

high ability groups the coefficient for females is 0.47 while that for males is 0.20. It must be stressed that in neither of the ability groups is the difference between males and females statistically significant. We are, however, dealing with relatively small samples where very large differences are required to produce statistically significant differences; the number of cases in the sub-groups range from 68 to 182 and even in the largest sub-group the numbers with specific socio-economic group origins range between 40 and 50.

It is clear from Table 7.10(a) that the fit of the uniform association model was poorest for the less able/female sub-group. This fact, together with the observed reversal in the hierarchical positions of the skilled and partly skilled groups, prompted us to search for a better model. The uniform association model assumes that origins and destinations are equally spaced. An alternative association model — the "row-effects model" — postulates that the origin/destination association depends upon a parameter specific to each origin. The destination classes are equally spaced and consequently the advantage enjoyed by one origin class over another in the competition for a pair of destinations classes is a simple function of the differences in the rank order scores of those destinations classes. However, the odds of being in the higher of a pair of destinations classes is not simply a function of the distance between equally spaced origin classes though it does increase with increasing distance between unequally spaced classes. A "row-effects model" of this kind fits the less able female group with an χ^2_{LR} of 5.6 with 9 degrees of freedom, which is a significant improvement over the fit of the uniform association model. The distances between the origins implied by the model which are set out in Table 7.11 are of particular substantive interest. It is clear from these results that the rank order of the skilled and partly skilled destinations is the reverse of that implied by the uniform association model. It is students from partly skilled backgrounds who enjoy the advantage in competition for desirable educational destinations. No such reversal occurs for less able males. One possible explanation of this phenomenon is the fact that all farmers with less than 30 acres are included in the partly skilled group. Thus, the National Manpower Survey shows that differentials by gender to the advantage of females are greater among farmers than any of the other socio-economic groups.[20]

We have noted earlier that the differences in the association parameters for males and females in the more able and less able sub-groups are not statistically significant. However, the pattern of differences is entirely consistent with the available evidence on the structure of sex differences in the Irish educational system. This is clear from the outflow patterns from socio-economic origins to

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[20]For further evidence of differences in educational achievement between males and females from farming origins, particularly for small farmers, see Hannan (1970, pp. 70–71).

educational destinations set out in Table 7.12 below. We have noted earlier that girls are substantially more likely to complete the Leaving Certificate. Our association models suggest that this overall participation rate reflects the substantially greater tendency for less able females from partly skilled (including

Table 7.11: *Distances between origins implied by the "row-effects" model for less able females*

Professional and Managerial	0.0
Skilled	0.526
Partly Skilled	0.234
Unskilled	0.977

Table 7.12: *Educational destinations predicted on the basis of the best fitting association models for each gender/ability sub-group (per cent by row)*

	Not Entering Post-Primary	Entering Post-Primary	Completing Junior Cycle	Completing Senior Cycle	Entering Third Level	N
Males: VRA<108						
Professional and Managerial	2.9	97.1	83.7	46.8	10.1	42
Skilled	7.5	92.5	70.2	30.3	4.6	46
Partly Skilled	16.1	83.9	52.8	16.7	1.7	27
Unskilled	28.9	71.1	35.0	7.8	0.5	38
Total	13.1	86.9	62.1	26.8	4.6	153
Females: VRA<108						
Professional and Managerial	2.9	97.1	86.4	53.2	10.9	46
Skilled	9.3	90.7	70.3	32.7	4.3	51
Partly Skilled	5.0	95.0	80.3	44.1	7.5	41
Unskilled	20.3	79.7	51.2	17.7	1.6	44
Total	9.3	90.7	72.9	36.8	6.0	182
Males: VRA≥108						
Professional and Managerial	0.0	100.0	96.3	77.0	37.3	36
Skilled	0.0	100.0	94.5	70.8	30.8	37
Partly Skilled	0.0	100.0	91.9	63.7	24.7	13
Unskilled	0.0	100.0	88.6	56.0	19.1	5
Total	0.0	100.0	94.5	71.4	31.9	91
Females: VRA≥108						
Professional and Managerial	0.0	100.0	98.4	82.7	34.2	30
Skilled	0.0	100.0	95.9	70.4	21.5	26
Partly Skilled	0.0	100.0	90.8	54.7	11.7	8
Unskilled	0.0	100.0	81.9	38.0	5.5	4
Total	0.0	100.0	95.6	72.1	25.0	68

small farming) and unskilled backgrounds to complete the senior cycle, as compared with corresponding males. This leads to a lower level of association between socio-economic group and educational destination for the females. Previous research also shows that boys who complete second level are much more likely to go on to third level. Our analysis suggests that this feature of the system is linked to the higher level of socio-economic group inequalities existing among more able females than more able males. More able females from professional and managerial origins enjoy relative advantages over other females in relation to the probabilities of making the transition from second level to third level. These advantages are substantially greater than those found in the corresponding male group.

In view of these substantive considerations, we will continue in our subsequent analysis to operate with four sub-groups. For the low ability female group we will employ the expected results arising from the row effects model since the uniform association model leads one to significantly underestimate the association of origin with destination. For the other sub-groups we employ the uniform association model. We will refer to these models as the best fitting association models. In the section that follows we will discuss the outflow from origins to destinations implied by these models.

Outflow Patterns

Table 7.12 shows the educational destinations predicted by the best fitting association model for each gender/ability sub-group. We can see that for less able males, students from unskilled origins are ten times more likely to fail to enter the post-primary sector than those from professional and managerial origins. The advantages enjoyed by the latter group with regard to completion of junior cycle, completion of senior cycle and entry to third level are reflected in disparity ratios of, respectively, 2.4, 6 and 20.2. The smallest inequalities are between the professional and managerial and skilled group. However, even here the former group is almost three times less likely to fail to enter the post primary system; almost two and a half times more likely to complete the junior cycle, one and a half times more likely to complete the senior cycle and over twice as likely to enter third level.

It is clear that less able females from all origins are substantially more likely than their male counterparts to complete the junior/senior cycle. However, this relative advantage is particularly marked among those from partly skilled and unskilled backgrounds. They are, for instance, two to three times more likely than their male peers to complete senior cycle successfully. In fact, the partly skilled group has a higher rate of completion of senior cycle and entry to third level than the skilled group. Overall, the relativities between the highest and lowest socio-economic groups are substantially smaller than those for less able

males; the disparity ratios at senior cycle and third level stages are, respectively, 3 and 7 approximately. Similarly, the odds ratio summarising the degree of inequality between those from the highest and lowest socio-economic group origins in the competition for the lowest and highest educational destinations is approximately one-quarter of the corresponding figure for less able males.

For high ability males the degree of inequality is less than in any of the other four sub-groups; the disparity ratios between the professional and managerial and unskilled groups for completion of senior cycle and entry to third level are approximately 1.4 and 2. A sharp contrast is evident in the corresponding ratios for able females which are 2.2 and 6.2. The latter figure is, in part, a consequence of the fact that, outside the professional and managerial class, able females are much less likely to enter third level. In fact, for those with unskilled origins, able males have a relative advantage over able females of three and a half to one.

Educational Transition Probabilities

We now move on to derive estimates of educational transition probabilities. These will allow us to consider what Boudon (1974) has termed the primary and secondary effects of educational stratification. For our present purposes we may take the primary effects as being reflected in the differences in verbal reasoning ability scores at age 11. The secondary effects are those whereby the students at the same ability level, but differing in terms of social origins, have different probabilities of surviving in the educational system. The higher one goes in the educational system the greater are the inequalities in participation by socio-economic group. The question arises whether this pattern is due to a greater departure from meritocratic principles at the higher level of the educational system or whether it is a consequence of the cumulative effect of disparities at earlier stages in the system. Greaney and Kelleghan (1984, p. 252) conclude that the evidence indicates that for the students in their study

> ... the role of a student's socio-economic status as a discriminator between persistence in and withdrawal from the educational system diminished as the students advanced through it.

This finding, they note, is in line with evidence from a number of other European countries.

In fact, the evidence on transition probabilities derived from the best fitting association models as set out in Table 7.13 suggests a conclusion which is directly contrary to that drawn by Greaney and Kelleghan. We find that less able male students from professional and managerial origins who complete the senior cycle have a probability of 0.22 of proceeding to third level while the corresponding probability for those from unskilled backgrounds is 0.06 giving a disparity ratio of 3.7. The disparity next in magnitude occurs in the transition from the

Table 7.13: *Transition probabilities predicted on the basis of the best fitting association models for each gender/ability sub-group*

	From Primary to Post-Primary	From Entry to Post-Primary to Completion of Junior Cycle	From Completion of Junior Cycle to Completion of Senior Cycle	From Completion of Senior Cycle to Entry to Third Level	N
Males: VRA < 108					
Professional and Managerial	0.97	0.86	0.56	0.22	42
Skilled	0.93	0.76	0.43	0.15	46
Semi-skilled	0.84	0.63	0.32	0.10	27
Unskilled	0.71	0.49	0.22	0.06	38
Total	0.87	0.71	0.43	0.17	153
Disparity Ratio: (Prof. & Man./Unsk.)	1.37	1.76	2.55	3.67	
Females: VRA < 108					
Professional and Managerial	0.97	0.89	0.62	0.20	46
Skilled	0.91	0.78	0.47	0.13	51
Semi-skilled	0.95	0.85	0.55	0.17	41
Unskilled	0.80	0.64	0.35	0.09	44
Total	0.91	0.80	0.51	0.16	153
Disparity Ratio: (Prof. & Man./Unsk.)	1.21	1.39	1.77	2.22	
Males: VRA ≥ 108					
Professional and Managerial	1.0	0.96	0.80	0.48	36
Skilled	1.0	0.95	0.75	0.44	37
Semi-skilled	1.0	0.92	0.69	0.39	13
Unskilled	1.0	0.89	0.63	0.34	5
Total	1.0	0.95	0.76	0.45	91
Disparity Ratio: (Prof. & Man./Unsk.)	1.00	1.08	1.27	1.41	
Females: VRA > 108					
Professional and Managerial	1.0	0.98	0.84	0.41	30
Skilled	1.0	0.96	0.73	0.31	26
Semi-skilled	1.0	0.91	0.60	0.21	8
Unskilled	1.0	0.82	0.46	0.15	4
Total	1.0	0.96	0.75	0.34	68
Disparity Ratio: (Prof. & Man./Unsk.)	1.00	1.20	1.83	2.73	

completion of junior cycle to completion of senior cycle; at this point more able male students from the highest class have a 0.56 chance of surviving while the probability for those from the lowest group is 0.22. Thus, the disparity ratio is 2.6. In moving from entry to post-primary to completion of the junior cycle the corresponding probabilities are 0.86 and 0.49 and the disparity ratio is 1.8, while in moving from the primary to post-primary sector the relevant disparity ratio is 1.4. In the case of less able males, the socio-economic inequalities in probability of survival, rather than declining as one moves up through the system, in fact increase quite substantially.

Although the degree of inequality in transition probabilities is generally smaller for less able females the trend as one moves from the bottom to the top of the educational system is in the same direction. In this group 20 per cent of those from professional and managerial backgrounds survive the transition to third level while the corresponding figure for those with unskilled origins is 9 per cent; the disparity ratio is 2.3. In the movement from completion of the junior cycle to completion of the senior cycle among less able females, the transition probabilities for the highest and lowest socio-economic groups are 0.62 and 0.35, respectively, giving a disparity ratio of 1.8. The disparity ratios for the remaining transition are in descending order 1.4 and 1.2.

The inequalities in transition probabilities for the more able male students are lower than for any of the other groups. However, the pattern of increasing disparity ratios as one climbs up the educational system is maintained by the following set of ratios, 1.0, 1.1, 1.3 and 1.4. Inequalities for more able females are somewhat greater and increase steadily from 1 to 2.7.

The substantive significance of these findings can be drawn out by reconsidering Greaney and Kelleghan's conclusion that disparities at the higher levels of the educational system may mislead us into seeking solutions at the wrong level. Our analysis suggests that for the students in their study even though class inequalities were substantial at the age of 11 students from lower socio-economic group origins experienced a set of further barriers at the higher levels of the educational system to the kinds of progress they might have expected in a meritocratic system. These barriers in equalities within gender/ability groups are evident in their chances of entering the post-primary sector. They emerge even more strikingly in differences in survival probabilities subsequent to entry to the post-primary system. For less able males the uniform association model suggests that the professional and managerial group enjoy advantages over the unskilled group of 6:1 with regard to the probability of completing the senior cycle and 20:1 with regard to the probability of entering third level. Equalising survival probabilities within the second-level system would bring them down to 1.4:1 in both cases. For less able females the advantages suggested

by the best fitting association model are 3:1 for completion of the senior cycle and 6.8:1 for entry to third level. Removing the effects of socio-economic group within the post-primary system brings these ratios down to 1.2. For the more able groups removing such effects would produce complete equality of opportunity.

A final illustration of how socio-economic group effects operate is given in Table 7.14. This shows the hypothetical consequences for students from unskilled origins of removing (i) socio-economic group differences in verbal reasoning ability at the age of 11 and(ii) removing socio-economic group variations within ability group in educational survival probabilities after the age of 11.

(i) Removing the former effect produces predictions of 24.4 per cent and 4.9 overall, 25.8 per cent and 7.4 per cent for males and 23.2 per cent and 2.7 per cent for females.

(ii) Controlling for the latter effect gives figures of 36.0 per cent and 7.7 per cent overall, 32 per cent and 7.8 per cent for males and 39.7 per cent and 7.6 per cent for females.

Thus, it is the socio-economic group effects after the age of 11 which have the greater impact. This is particularly true for females reflecting the fact that the relative advantages of membership of the more able group are substantially less for more able females from unskilled backgrounds than for males with comparable origins.

These results suggest that non-meritocratic factors of substantial size operate within the post-primary system. They therefore call into question Greaney and Kelleghan's heavy emphasis on the meritocratic nature of the Irish educational system. It is not, of course, our intention to devalue the significance of the very strong association between origins and verbal reasoning ability nor the consequences of such differences. Indeed, as will be elaborated below, we feel that more attention should be paid to the causes and meaning of this association. However, such consequences should not blind us to the appreciable class effects of a clearly non-meritocratic form which came into play throughout the second-level system. Even granted that major class effects come into play before age 11, the analysis we have conducted shows clearly that the students in the Greaney and Kelleghan study from lower socio-economic groups experienced substantial disadvantages within the post-primary sector which could not be explained by ability differences prior to entry. Failure to emphasise the importance of such departures from meritocratic principles at this level encourages the notion that our post-primary educational institutions have a very limited potential to contribute to the reduction of class differentials. This would, we believe, be quite erroneous.

Table 7.14: *Projected percentages of students from unskilled origins completing senior cycle and entering third level when controlling for (i) socio-economic group differences in verbal reasoning ability at 11 and (ii) within gender/ability group socio-economic group differences in educational survival probabilities after the age of 11*

| | Percentages Completing Senior Cycle | | | Percentages Entering Third Level | | |
	Overall	Male	Female	Overall	Male	Female
Best Fitting Association Models	16.6	13.4	19.3	2.3	2.7	1.9
No Socio-Economic Group Differences in Verbal Reasoning ability at age 11	24.4	25.8	23.2	4.9	7.4	2.7
No Socio-Economic Group Variations within Gender/Ability Group in Educational Survival Probabilities after the age of 11	36.0	32.0	39.7	7.7	7.8	7.6

"Ability" — Causes and Consequences

Our final major criticism of the Greaney and Kelleghan study arises from their failure to question systematically the sources and consequences of the differences in verbal reasoning ability. These differences (which were, it will be recalled, measured at age 11) are enormous. The percentage in each class with verbal reasoning ability of 108 or above, together with our estimates[21] of the mean VRA in each class are shown in Table 7.15. Clearly, the lower social classes start off their careers in second-level education under a substantial handicap.

What might be the source of these enormous differences? In the absence of a longitudinal study starting even earlier than age 11, this question cannot be answered with certainty. There are, however, some important insights that can be gleaned from the existing information.

One useful starting point is the observed differences between males and females. As we can see from Table 7.15, 37 per cent of males were in the more able group compared with 27 per cent of females. These overall differences in verbal reasoning between males and females cannot be accounted for by class

[21]These were derived arithmetically from the published data on the assumption that the distribution within each socio-economic/gender sub-group was normal with standard deviation fixed at the overall average for the sample, viz., 15 · 46.

Table 7.15: *Percentage of each socio-economic group with verbal reasoning ability greater than or equal to 108, and estimated mean verbal reasoning ability, classified by gender*

	Percentage with VRA ≥ 108		Estimated Mean VRA	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
Professional/Intermediate				
Professional	46.2	39.5	106	103
Skilled	44.6	33.8	105	102
Partly Skilled	32.5	16.3	100	92
Unskilled	11.6	8.3	89	86
All Groups	37.3	27.2	102	98

related factors since they are relatively constant across socio-economic groups. Unless one wishes to argue that such differences should be considered innate, one is forced to seek their source in factors such as differential experiences within the family and in the primary school. Research in other countries suggests that gender differences of this kind are likely to be, at least in part, a consequence of differences in the extent to which children's "home environments" induce and facilitate achievement. Clearly, the scale of such differences is substantially greater across such socio-economic groups than between males and females. For example, Blau and Duncan (1967, pp. 316-317) suggest that for males the education of a man's elder brother may be a proxy for such "home environment" factors:

> Other things being equal, the education of a man's elder brother can be assumed to reflect the extent to which learning and achievement are valued and encouraged in his family.

It is of particular importance in the present context to note that, when "home environment" is taken into account, one's evaluation of the importance of ability and consequently of the extent to which the educational system is meritocratic, is likely to be significantly altered. Thus, Halsey *et al.* (1980, pp. 155-164) in their analysis of the English educational system found that the degree of similarity in the educational performance of brothers could not be adequately accounted for by the evidence on the extent of correlation between brothers' IQ scores. Thus, in order to explain the degree of similarity in educational performance it was necessary to postulate:

> ... the existence of unmeasured family background factors, factors which appear to do much of the work that we might otherwise have attributed to IQ (Halsey *et al.*, 1980, p. 172).

In our previous analysis it was assumed that differences in achievement between gender/ability groups could be attributed to factors of an entirely meritocratic nature. Evidence such as that of Halsey *et al.* (1980) indicates that it is misleading to interpret the impact of verbal reasoning ability differences in this manner. Clearly, there are a variety of important influences on measures such as children's IQ or verbal reasoning scores which continue to affect educational attainment and by no means entirely through ability. Thus, our previous analysis almost certainly overstates the extent to which the Irish educational system is meritocratic.

Class Factors and Meritocracy — A Synthesis

We have now presented three major criticisms of Greaney and Kelleghan's analysis: relating to (i) inadequacies in the conceptualisation and measurement of socio-economic status; (ii) failure to specify and test a formal model of meritocracy and to recognise important interactions between ability and gender in estimating the effect of class on probability of survival in the educational system and (iii) inadequate attention to the likely causes and consequences of class-related variations in ability. Each of these deficiencies has tended to lead to an underestimation of effect of class on education.

These criticisms should not be seen as detracting from the importance of their work. They have helped to elucidate the manner in which educational inequalities operate. Their focus on educationally relevant variables is important as is their stress on defining at what level in the educational system intervention would be most effective. Most important of all, in our view, is the documentation they provide on the size of ability differences between classes at a very early age. In our final chapter which addresses the implications for policy of our research we will endorse Greaney and Kelleghan's argument in favour of intervention at primary level. If class differentials in ability at age 11 could be eliminated or even significantly reduced, this would almost certainly set in motion a process of change throughout the educational system.

Our criticisms should, rather, be seen as an attempt to redress the balance by emphasising the roles of both meritocratic and non-meritocratic factors. Clearly, educational participation rates are heavily influenced by social class. Equally clearly, "ability" is a major factor in determining progress through the system. If the goal of equality of opportunity is to be attained or even approached more closely, policy must take both sets of factors into account. The scope for such intervention is further discussed in Chapter 8.

Conclusion

The first six chapters of this study suggested that relative inequalities of opportunity in Irish society were distinctively high in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies. The majority of the male participants in the labour force of the early 'seventies are still economically active and there are, consequently, limits to the scale of the changes which can have occurred in the last ten years.

When we focus on more recent evidence we find that the changes which have occurred in the class structure, while facilitating mobility, appear to constitute a continuation of earlier trends rather than a qualitative shift. Despite substantial increases in participation rates, educational inequalities are of such a scale as to induce sceptisism that there has been a significant reduction in association between educational level and class origins. The effect of ascribed characteristics on educational level achieved is particularly high in Ireland as is the effect of first occupation on current occupation. Although the evidence is relatively meagre, that which is available suggests that we should be cautious about assuming that there has been an increase in intragenerational mobility of a kind which would lead to a reduction in relative inequalities.

The data from the transition to work survey provide detailed evidence of current inequalities. Such estimates, it should be stressed, provide a minimum estimate of inequalities since educational inequalities are not adequately reflected in this sample. Furthermore, our results relate to first occupation and the evidence relating to intragenerational mobility suggests that absolute differences are likely to widen as careers progress. Finally, to such educational and occupational inequalities we can add class inequalities in employment opportunities. Our re-analysis of the Greeney and Kelleghan data suggests that major inequalities of a non-meritocratic sort persist within the Irish educational system. Hence, we conclude that the available evidence is hardly consistent with a radical restructuring of the mobility regime having taken place.

Appendix 7.1

Class Schema Based on the 1981 Irish Census Occupation Units Employed in Analysis of Mobility in the 18–24 Year Old Male Labour Force

For son's, Proprietors and Managers were allocated to Class 1 only if organisation size was at least equal to 25. Managers in smaller organisations and proprietors with 1 to 25 employees were allocated to Class 2. Proprietors with no employees were allocated to Class 4. For fathers, due to the absence of information on employment status and organisation size, all members of an occupational unit group are allocated to the class where they are shown.

1. Higher Professional, Higher Managerial and Proprietors
Occupational
Unit Group
201 Farmers with 200+ Acres
203 Farmers' Relatives with 200+ Acres
281 Builders and Contractors
321 Proprietor of Filling Station or Garage, Self-Employed/Employing Others
322 Publican, Wine Merchant, Off-license Proprietor, etc., Self-Employed/Employing Others
323 Other Proprietors in Wholesale or Retail Trade, Self-Employed/Employing Others
329 Valuation Surveyors
334 Working Proprietors in Catering/Lodging Services n.e.s., Self-Employed/Employing Others
351 Legislative Officials and Government Administrators
352 Senior Officials in Civil Service and Local Authorities
354 Managers and Company Secretaries
355 Physical Scientists
357 Engineers
358 Architects and Town Planners
359 Technologists
360 Chartered, Hydrographic and Quantity Surveyors
364 Aircraft Pilots, Navigators and Flight Engineers
365 Veterinary Pathologists
366 Bacteriologists, Pathologists, Pharmacologists, Physiologists
367 Other Life Scientists
369 Medical Practitioners
370 Dental Practitioners

371   Pharmacists
373   Veterinary Surgeons
377   Business, Economic and Marketing Consultants, Advisers and
      Researchers
378   Mathematicians, Statisticians and Actuaries
380   Accountants
381   Judges, Barristers and Solicitors
384   University Professors and Lecturers
395   Professional Workers (n.e.s.)

2. *Lower Professional and Managerial*
201   Farmers with 100–199 Acres
203   Farmers' Relatives with 100–199 Acres
204   Farm Managers
280   Clerk of Works
286   Interior Decorating Consultants and Designers
309   Other Transport and Communication Inspectors and Supervisors
317   Clerical Supervisors
318   Managers of Filling Stations and Garages
319   Bar or Public House Managers
320   Other Managers in Wholesale or Retail Trade
328   Insurance Brokers, Financial Agents
332   Auctioneers, Valuers and Other Salesmen
333   Managers of Hotels, Restaurants, Clubs, etc.
344   Garda Siochana (Senior Ranks)
353   Government Executive Officials
356   Physical Science Technicians
361   Estimators, Work Study Officers, Quality Control Technicians, etc.
362   Draughtsmen
363   Ships' Officers
368   Life Science Technicians
372   Health Inspectors, Cardiographers, Nutritionists, etc.
374   Cattle Testers and Milk Inspectors
375   Nurses
376   Opticians, Therapists, Chiropodists, Medical X-Ray Personnel, etc.
379   Systems Analysts and Computer Programmers
382   Professed Clergymen and Nuns
383   Other Religious Occupations
385   Teachers
386   Authors, Journalists and Editors
388   Painters, Sculptors and Commercial Artists

389   Industrial Designers
390   Actors, Entertainers and Musicians
392   Technical Inspectors (n.e.s.)
393   Social Workers
394   Personnel Officers
396   Technical and Related Workers (n.e.s.)
397   Commissioned Officers

3. Routine Non-Manual
305   Typists and Key Punchers
306   Book-keepers and Cashiers
307   Computing Machine Operators
310   Ticket Checkers, Collectors and Inspectors
314   Telephone, Telegraph and Radio Operators
315   Warehouse and Despatch Clerks
324   Commercial Travellers and Manufacturers' Agents
325   Shop Assistants and Related Workers
326   Bar Attendants
327   Insurance Agents
335   Matrons, Superintendents and Supervisors of Schools, etc.
336   Waiters and Waitresses
338   Chefs and Cooks
339   Domestic Servants and Related Workers
343   Barbers, Hairdressers and Beauty Consultants
345   Garda Sergeants and Lower Ranks
387   Photographers and Camera Operators

4. Technical, Supervisors of Manual Workers and Petty Bourgeoisie
201   Farmers 50–99 Acres
214   Telephone Installers, Repairers and Mechanics
215   Telecommunication Technicians
216   Linesmen and Cable Joiners
217   Electricians and Electrical Fitters
218   Electrical and Electronic Engineering Technicians
219   Radio and Television Mechanics
297   Foremen and Supervisors of Manual Workers
308   Air and Land Transport Controllers
349   Broadcasting Operators, Film Editors, Projectionists
391   Sportsmen and Related Workers

5. Skilled Manual
202   Farmers' Sons and Daughters with 30–50 Acres

203   Farmers' Relatives with 30–50 Acres
210   Foresters and Forestry Labourers
211   Fishermen
212   Mine and Quarry Workers
220   Other Electrical Fitters and Related Workers
221   Motor Mechanics
222   Fitters and Other Mechanics
223   Vehicle Builders and Assemblers
224   Plumbers and Gas Fitters
225   Sheet Metal Workers
226   Structural Metal and Metal Plate Workers
227   Welders and Cutters
228   Machine Tool Setters and Operators
229   Precision Instrument and Watch and Clock Makers
230   Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Jewellery Makers
231   Metal Casters, Moulders, Setters, Drawers, etc., Furnace and Smelter
      Workers (Metals)
232   Metal Coaters, Platers, Benders, etc.
235   Dental, Orthopaedic and Optical Craft Workers
237   Blacksmiths and Other Metal Workers
238   Wood Preparation Workers
239   Cabinet Makers
240   Carpenters and Joiners
241   Woodworking Machinists
242   Wood Carvers, Finishers and Assemblers
243   Other Wood and Wooden Furniture Makers
244   Tanners, Fellmongers and Pelt Dressers
245   Boot and Shoe Makers (factory)
246   Boot and Shoe Makers and Repairers (not factory)
247   Other Leather Workers
249   Weavers and Related Workers
220   Other Electrical Fitters and Related Workers
250   Bleachers, Dyers and Finishers
253   Upholsterers and Related Workers
254   Tailors and Dressmakers
255   Cutters
258   Millers
259   Bakers, Pastry Cooks and Biscuit Makers
264   Makers of Beverages
268   Compositors, Monotype and Linotype Operators
269   Printers (so described)

270 Printing Press Operators
271 Others
273 Glass and Ceramics Workers
274 Workers in Rubber and Rubber Products
276 Glass Formers, Potters and Related Workers
278 Craftsmen (n.e.s.)
281 Builders and Contractors
282 Bricklayers
283 Masons and Stone Cutters
284 Plasterers
285 Other Tradesmen
287 Painters and Decorators
288 Crane and Hoist Operators; Riggers and Cable Splicers
289 Earth Moving and Other Construction Machinery Operators
298 Railway Engine Drivers and Firemen
299 Signalmen and Level Crossing Keepers

6. Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual
201 Farmers with under 30 Acres
202 Farmers' Sons and Daughters with under 30 Acres
203 Farmers' Relatives with under 30 Acres
205 Agricultural Labourers
207 Jobbing Gardeners, Groundsmen and Gardeners' Labourers
208 Livestock (non-farm) Workers
209 Other Agricultural Workers
213 Turf Workers
233 Metal Goods Inspectors, Assemblers and Testers
234 Metal Furniture Workers, Joiners and Solderers
236 Refuellers, Oilers and Greasers
248 Spinners, Doublers, Winders and Reelers
251 Knitters and Knitting/Hosiery Machiene Operators
252 Occupations related to Spinning, Weaving, Knitting and Dyeing
256 Sewers, Embroiderers and Machinists
257 Other Clothing Workers
260 Makers of Sugar and Chocolate Confectionary, Jams and Jellies
261 Milk Processors and Makers of Dairy Products
262 Meat Curers, Canners and Preservers
263 Other Makers of Food
265 Makers of Tobacco Products
266 Makers of Paper and Paperboard
267 Makers of Products of Paper and Paperboard

272 Gas and Chemical Workers
275 Workers in Plastics
277 Non-Metallic Mineral Product Makers
279 Other Production Workers
290 Dock Labourers
291 Packers and Bottlers
292 Stationary Engine Operators
293 Lorry Drivers' Helpers
294 Porters Working in the Transport Service
295 Other Porters
296 Labourers and Unskilled Workers (n.e.s.)
300 Sailors
301 Drivers of Buses
302 Drivers of Other Road Passenger Vehicles
303 Drivers of Road Goods Vehicles
304 Others (transport)
311 Bus Conductors
312 Postmen and Post Office Sorters
313 Messengers
330 Roundsmen
331 Street Vendors, Hawkers, Newspaper Sellers
337 Canteen and Related Workers
339 Domestic Servants and Related Workers
340 Charwomen and Cleaners
341 Caretakers
342 Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers
346 Watchmen and Related Workers
248 Hospital and Ward Orderlies, Hospital Porters and Attendants
350 Other Service Workers (n.e.s.)
398 Other Ranks (army)

Chapter 8
Conclusions and Implictions

The Significance of Mobility

This chapter attempts to highlight the main conclusions of our analysis and to comment on their implications. It begins by reviewing the significance of social mobility and goes on to examine the particular role of education.

We emphasised in Chapter 1 that social mobility is one of the most fundamental features of the social structure. Restrictions on mobility opportunities are the crucial mechanism by which resource differences between individuals and families become perpetuated across generations. Furthermore, mobility determines the extent to which closed social groups can emerge which are characterised by disparities in material and cultural resources. Since these features are central to an understanding of any society, this alone could justify the study of social mobility.

Apart from enhancing our knowledge of society, however, there are several other more pragmatic reasons why mobility is important. A number of writers have been concerned about the inefficiency involved in highly stratified societies. They emphasise that talent and ability should be rewarded by higher status and that it is important that elite positions be occupied by those with the highest levels of ability irrespective of their social origins. Others, including many with a more directly political orientation, have underlined the injustice of high levels of immobility. A society with restricted opportunities for upward social mobility automatically denies many the opportunity of sharing in important socially-created goods while guaranteeing the position of certain privileged groups.

We should also mention the concern expressed by some writers about the nature of social relationships in a highly stratified society and the potential for dissention and conflict which such a society creates. Social mobility is a major factor contributing to what Giddens (1973) refers to as the structuration of class relationships, i.e., the translation of "economic" relationships into "non-economic" social structures. Giddens stresses that the greater the degree of "closure" in chances of mobility the more the formation of identifiable social classes is facilitated by the reproduction of common life experiences over the generations. What Giddens wishes to emphasise is that in so far as class is a structured phenomenon, there will tend to exist a common awareness and acceptance of similar attitudes and beliefs, linked to a common style of life among the members of a class. This class awareness, he points out, can be distinguished from class consiousness which involves a particular class affiliation and an understanding that there exist other classes, characterised by different attitudes, values and styles of life. Class awareness in contrast,

... may take the form of a denial of the existence of the reality of social classes (Giddens, 1973, p. 111).

An example of the effect of mobility patterns on social relationships is provided by the results of research into worker-management relationships carried out by one of the authors (Whelan, 1982). This study showed that manual workers demonstrated very high levels of distrust of management. It would appear likely that the extent of this distrust is related to the fact that the two groups involved constitute extremely homogeneous blocks in terms of their social origins; in fact, the results of the study did show this when the respondents' current class position had been taken into account. The analysis demonstrated that management-worker relationships may take on a distinct class form without any significant evidence of class consciousness in the sense of a systematic questioning of the criteria underlying the distribution of rewards. Thus, inequalities of opportunity, even where they are not issues of public controversy, can and do contribute to an undermining of attempts to legitimate societal arrangements for the production and distribution of economic goods.

For all these reasons, it is not surprising that improved equality of opportunity has featured in political programmes in many countries and forms an important thread in the ideologies of democracy and republicanism. At the beginning of this study, we emphasised, by quoting sources which ranged from the Proclamation of the State to recent reviews of social policy, the extent to which equality of opportunity has been officially recognised as an important policy objective.

However, we have, as a people, traditionally tended to deny the existence of social class boundaries in Ireland. Our idea of "class" has been influenced by its historical association with the landlord or the Anglo-Irish upper class. Thus despite the extent of the class inequalities in our society, it can be argued, as Hannan (1983) does, that we have carried with our civic republicanism a set of egalitarian values which is partly reflected in our less visible class boundaries; boundaries that are less ritualised or less marked by cultural differences than in other countries. Though less obvious, these boundaries are, none the less, very real.

Implications of our Results

An evaluation of the degree of success achieved in pursuing the objective of equality of opportunity requires that we assess the evidence available on social mobility. Our objective has been not simply to describe the pattern of Irish social mobility, but to compare and contrast it with the situation in other countries. In pursuing our analysis we have drawn on a variety of pre-existing data sources. On occasions the information available to us is less than ideal for our specific

purposes. However, we believe that the picture which emerges is relatively straightforward.

The extent of mobility appeared to be substantially less than that in the three other countries examined, England, France and Sweden. In particular, long-range upward mobility was significantly lower in Ireland. Furthermore, the composition of the higher professional and managerial class is much more homogeneous in Dublin than in England. Our fundamental model of social mobility in Dublin suggests that the chances of men born into the higher professional and managerial class remaining in that class (rather than falling to the non-skilled level) are over 240 times greater than the chances of the non-skilled moving to the highest class (rather than remaining in their own class). Our analysis provides striking evidence of systematic deviations from the overall international patterns in the case of relative mobility opportunities in Dublin. Comparative data shows that on a "scale" of openness, allowing for structural differences, Sweden lies at one extreme and Dublin at the other.

Further analysis of the mechanisms through which mobility occurred established the importance of "ascribed" characteristics, such as fathers' education and occupation, on one's own level of educational and occupational attainment. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Dublin pattern is the unusually high influence of first occupation on final occupation, i.e., the relative insignificance of intragenerational mobility.

The situation does not appear to have altered dramatically since the early 'seventies when our main data sets were collected. Evidence from recent studies shows that substantial inequalities still persist. The occupational structure is shifting towards an increase in white collar and service occupations and a reduction in less skilled forms of manual work. As a consequence, some increse in upward short-range mobility from manual to non-manual occupations appears to have occurred. However, even among young participants in the labour force, the overall picture remains one of a highly structured mobility regime where opportunities for upward mobility are restricted and the children of upper class parents still enjoy substantial advantages in access to higher level occupations. Sons of higher professional and managerial fathers are over 24 times more likely to be themselves in the higher professional and managerial class rather than the semi-skilled and unskilled manual class than are those with origins in the latter class.

The Role of Education

The main method through which policy-makers have attempted to influence mobility has been through the educational system. The "free education" and "free transport" schemes were clearly intended to reduce the strength of the relationship between educational destination and social origin. The schemes can

be seen to reflect the liberal conception of equality of educational opportunity.

> Each individual is born with a certain relatively constant capacity or intelligence. The educational system should be so designed as to remove *external* barriers of an economic and/or geographical nature that prevent able students from the lower classes taking advantage of their inborn intelligence which entitles them to due social promotion (Husén, 1975, p. 33).

It is true that the educational reforms and more general influences did produce a significant change in the pattern of educational participation in Ireland. In 1964 one-quarter of 17-year-olds remained in full-time education, a participation rate that grew to one half by 1979. Similarly a two-thirds growth in participation rates occurred over that period in third-level education, with some 20 per cent of each cohort now entering a third-level institution. Increases on this scale represent a substantial achievement and increasing access to educational institutions can be seen both as an end valued for its own sake and as a means of creating resources which facilitate the pursuit of other goals. Thus, the expansion of the Irish educational system has been consistently justified not only on the grounds of the development of human capital and its contribution to economic growth but also as a means of achieving equality of opportunity (Craft, 1970).

We have argued, however, that it is necessary to distinguish between the numbers participating at a particular level and the *association* between participation and socio-economic background. Thus, it might seem possible to conclude that if a high percentage of a cohort completes a specific level of education then the chances of completing that level must be fairly equally distributed and socio-economic background can be of little consequence. For example, we find that less than 10 per cent of 1980–1981 male post-primary school leavers (excluding those from farming origins) left school without any qualification. However, this minority was highly class selected with as little as one half of a per cent of the upper non-manual group suffering this disadvantage compared with over 17 per cent of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual group, giving the former group a relative advantage of approximately 30:1. Similarly, while over 20 per cent of male students entered third-level education, this was true of as many as 54 per cent of the upper non-manual group and as few as 8 per cent of the semi-skilled and unskilled manual group.

We have concentrated throughout on the relative chances of access to educational levels of different social classes. Our concern has been with equality of opportunity in the substantive sense that, ideally, the children of the various social classes should be represented at each education level in proportion to their significance in the population. It is inequalities in "competition" for places in

the educational system which are crucial in determining the distribution of occupational opportunities. The value of a qualification such as the Leaving Certificate or Intermediate Certificate in the labour market clearly does not remain constant in a period where the number obtaining the qualifications expands dramatically. The evidence we have presented is consistent with that examined in a survey of research on participation rates and school achievement (OECD, 1971) which shows that increased accessibility to free secondary and higher education has not changed the social structure of enrolment to any great extent.

The need to reduce educational inequalities is particularly important in Ireland because:

(i) The available evidence suggests that the association between social origins and educational achievement is stronger than in other countries.

(ii) Intragenerational or career mobility is comparatively restricted and educational qualifications are a particularly strong determinant of class position.

We would emphasise, as we did in Chapter 7 above, that the increasing importance of educational qualifications in determining occupational opportunities does not reflect a significant reduction in the waste of human resources which is the consequence of a rigid class structure but rather a new form of cultural "inheritance". Occupational positions are passed from one generation to another not, as in the past, through direct inheritance but through the medium of differential access to educational qualifications.

The significance of such "inheritance" in Ireland gives Tussing's (1978) distinction between the public and private elements in education a particular relevance. The public element concerns the fact that education benefits society at large as a social and public good. The private element concerns the fact that differences in educational achievement translate into significant differences in life chances. Tussing recommends that in such circumstances public support should be concentrated on the public element in education and private resources should be increasingly applied to the private element. It is important to stress that Tussing's proposals are not simply motivated by considertions of allocational efficiency. His policy suggestion does not simply reflect a concern that those who derive the private benefits of education should bear a greater share of the costs. This argument *per se* could simply provide a rationale for cuts in educational expenditure which, while conforming to the principle of reciprocal equity, would leave the association between education and social origins untouched. In fact, his proposals for the re-direction of State expenditure are clearly linked to a strategy for reducing inequality in educational opportunity, as his recommendations relating to pre-school education and aid to disadvantaged groups beyond the compulsory age demonstrate.

It will be useful, however, to consider the evidence on educational inequalities and the factors influencing differences in educational achievement in somewhat more detail than Tussing does. Tussing's recommendation that expenditure be redistributed in favour of the primary sector stems, to a considerable extent, from a recognition that class inequalities in educational attainment emerge at an early age. We have referred earlier to evidence from the Greaney and Kelleghan (1984) study relating to differences in verbal reasoning ability scores at the age of 11. Thus children from professional and managerial backgrounds were four times more likely than those from unskilled manual backgrounds to have verbal reasoning ability scores of 108 or above. Evidence of this sort has led many to the conclusion that the working class family environment is culturally *deprived* in that it provides inadequate conditions for the development of cognitive skills. This interpretation has been challenged by those who maintain that such environments are culturally *different* providing effective conditions for the development of abilities that differ from middle class definitions of intelligence and behaviour (Hurn, 1978).[22] Keddie (1971) argues that it is misleading to use the term culturally deprived for working class children since their culture provides them with a perfectly adequate relationship with their environment. However, as Banks (1974, p. 6) emphasises, this is irrelevant to the issue of working class social achievement.

> What is at issue here is not the judgement in any absolute terms of working class culture as "good" or "bad" but the possibility of a cultural discontinuity between school and home.

Keddie suggests that we should change schools so that they become places where working class children can succeed. However, Keddie's argument leads, as Banks (1974, p. 7) notes, to a situation in which literacy is seen as a frill. This relativism, Karabel and Halsey (1977, p. 56) note can easily degenerate into "sentimental egalitarianism".[23]

> If sociologists cannot eradicate glaring inequalities in the real world they can perhaps do away with them at the conceptual level by denying that there are, appearances to the contrary, inequalities after all.

The complexities of the interaction between social background, schooling processes and achievement is recognised in the report of a special committee of

[22]As Hurn (1978, p. 124) notes this debate forms part of a series of debates which relate to the controversy over intelligence and which includes the debate on school effects (Coleman *et al.*, 1966, Madaus *et al.*, 1980, Rutter *et al*, 1979).
[23]Bernstein (1970) emphasises the distinction between the principles and operation which it is desired to develop in children and the content employed to achieve this.

the INTO on the identification of disadvantaged children and disadvantaged schools and the need for special provision. Special provision would provide a programme of (i) pre-schools; (ii) special staffing arrangements; (iii) specialised training of teachers; (iv) adaptation of the curriculum; (v) extra facilities and equipment. The Department of Education "Programme for Action in Education" (1984) in a consideration of the problems of disadvantaged children states that:

(i) Priority of funding will be given to primary schools and in addition special funding will be given to disadvantaged areas; (3.1)

(ii) Special support will be given to primary schools which cater for a high proportion of children who are disadvantaged in respect of social and educational background and who receive little support in the home environment which would motivate them towards educational achievement (3.3);

(iii) Action is necessary to assist students who, through a variety of circumstances, are likely to drop out before the complete compulsory education or to terminate schooling at end of the compulsory cycle (5.5).

Nothing which follows is intended to detract from the need for and the value of such initiatives which are intended to assist the most educationally derprived. However, the nature of the relationships between social origins, ability and achievement in the Irish educational system would suggest that we are confronted not simply with a minority of disadvantaged children and schools who have obvious social problems, but rather with the wider problem posed by the vast majority of working class children who achieve significantly below their potential. It is not obvious that specific programmes for the disadvantaged school will have a major impact on this wider problem. In this regard, it is important to stress that the class barriers which lead to under-achievement do not diminish as one moves beyond the primary state. In fact, our re-analysis of Greaney and Kelleghan's data indicated that socio-economic group inequalities in survival rates increased as one moved up the hierarchy of transition points. Thus, while 17 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively, of unskilled students completed Leaving Certificate and entered third level, our analysis indicated that the removal of non-meritocratic effects occurring after the age of 11 would have raised these figures to 36 per cent and 8 per cent. In attempting to tackle this wider problem of systematic under-achievement by the working class, the specific features of the patterns of inequality should be taken into account. For example, we have shown that for males the strongest class effects occurred in the less able group while among females the influence of social origins on educational achievement was most powerful among the more able group.

Thus, non-meritocratic factors of substantial importance continue to operate within the post-primary system. The existence of such factors calls into question

Greaney and Kelleghan's conclusions relating to the meritocratic nature of the Irish educational system. We have stressed that it is not our intention to devalue the significance of the very strong association between social origin and verbal reasoning ability. However, such considerations should not blind us to the appreciable class effects of a non-meritocratic form which come into play in the second-level system. Failure to adequately acknowledge the importance of such departures from meritocracy encourages the notion that our post-primary educational institutions have a very limited potential to contribute to the reduction of class differentials. This we believe would be quite erroneous.

A detailed discussion of how these barriers could be identified and eliminated is beyond the scope of this study. However, some indications of the approach to be adopted can be gleaned from our analysis. In the first place, we would emphasise the importance of the unmeasured "family background" factors described in Chapter 7 which account for much of the variation which might otherwise be attributed to ability.

A second more "radical" approach might be to question the relevance of IQ and schooling for occupational success. Authors such as Bowles and Gintis (1976) have argued that cognitive skills *per se* as measured by IQ are more or less irrelevant to economic success. The fact that educational attainment is substantially correlated with economic success when IQ is controlled for, while IQ has little effect when education is partialled out, is explained by a credential effect. These authors maintain that it is not the content of what is taught which is relevant to employers but the credential effect. However, as Husén (1975, p. 53) notes the argument ignores the fact that IQ tests are validated by scholastic success. By "more intelligent individuals" we mean those who in *our* culture and in relation to the criteria employed are able to get along more efficiently. Since educational qualifications will continue to determine life chances, the situation of working class children will not be altered by critiques of credentialism but by reducing class differences in educational achievement.[24] We believe, therefore, that excessive emphasis on credentialism may divert attention from what for us is the real issue — equalising educational outcomes.

It is true, however, that the radical critique does have value in focusing attention on the very important issue of the stratification consequences of labelling by irrelevant criteria. In our prior analysis we have noted the non-meritocratic elements involved in the allocation of pupils to different sectors of

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[24]Heath (1978, p. 103) notes that "the idea that employers cream off the most qualified candidates for jobs, thus raising educational requirements as educational expansion proceeds" has been put forward from quite different theoretical perspectives. The rationale given for the hypothesis varies from meritocracy and cheap screening to preservation of status. For a further discussion of the significance of credentialism see Breen (1984d).

the post-primary system and in determining survival probabilities within this system and in the transition to third level. It is implausible to attribute differences of this scale to characteristics of individuals. Attention should, rather, be paid to the effect of competition between sectors, selective admission procedures, streaming, etc. For example, Coleman (1971), in his analysis of strategies for achieving improved equality of opportunity that relate to the school as such, suggests that the stratification features of schools be de-emphasised. This would involve:

(i)   lessening or removal of selective admission procedures;

(ii)   abolishing or postponing organisational differentiation in the system.

He concluded that practices such as streaming and tracking at early stages in the system tend to be biased against lower class children. One of the useful consequences of examining participation by socio-economic group is that it alerts us to need to study such processes.[25] Such evidence provides support for the Tussing argument that if one wishes to promote equality of educational opportunity then, in general, the State aid should be concentrated on that educational experience which is common to all children and should aim to discourage unnecessary distinctions between pupils. We would also agree with his argument that there is no justification for State support for the fee-paying sector and that full support should be provided at second level only to those schools whose selection of pupils is determined solely by catchment area, denomination and overall size constraints.

However, unlike Tussing, we consider that the importance of institutional factors are likely to be such that providing aid to *individuals* on a means-tested basis is unlikely to prove an adequate method of promoting equality of particapation beyond the primary level. The pursuit of such an objective would require the development of institutional mechanisms which would integrate the efforts of all types of schools in dealing with the problems and prospects of children in their catchment areas. Such a strategy would be necessary to combat the forces within and outside the educational system which may weigh systematically against working class children and which go beyond income differences, such as family climate, the expectations of teachers, and limited aspirations. Support for individuals would seem more appropriate at the third level.

While empirically non-meritocratic class effects after the age of 11 were as substantial as those associated with class differences in verbal reasoning ability at the age of 11, we would endorse the argument in favour of intervention at primary level. If class differentials in "ability" at the age of 11 could be

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[25]D. Hannan and M. Boyle of the ESRI are currently engaged in a study of "Organisation Characteristics, Clientele and Outputs of Irish Second Level Schools".

eliminated or even be significantly reduced this would almost certainly set in motion a process of change throughout the educational system.

In order to achieve a situation of perfect mobility we would have to remove the association between class background and educational achievement. Perfect mobility may, therefore, be impossible to achieve without severing the ties between the child and his family almost completely. Such extreme measures are neither practicable nor desirable. However, what our comparative analysis shows is that it is possible to come a good deal nearer the target of equality of opportunity than has so far been achieved in Ireland. Considerable progress on this front should therefore be possible.

If, however, the existing inequalities are viewed as intractable, then it is important that we do not hide behind an unsustainable defence of our educational system as a "meritocratic" one. If we accept the inevitability of the class nature of the educational system, then the credentialist functions of the system should be acknowledged. In that case, it would be appropriate to pursue the more modest goals of assisting the particularly disadvantaged through specific programmes. However, in such circumstances education beyond the compulsory level should be seen, in the terms Tussing has employed, as substantially a private good and financing arrangements should be made more appropriate to such a situation.

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Appendix I
Samples Used in the Present Study

This Appendix gives a brief outline of the method of selection employed and the weighting procedures (if any) applied in each of the three samples quoted in the present study.

(a) *1968 "Social Mobility" Inquiry*

For this study the initial sample size used was 3603 which yielded a response of 2540. See Hutchinson (1969, p. 2) for further details of response rates, etc. The initial sample was generated by applying a sampling fraction of 1 in 67 to the Electoral Registers for Dublin City and County. Persons resident in institutions were excluded, as were any female names which were generated. The sample was selected on a psuedo-random basis by means of a systematic selection from a cumulated list of the populations of each ward (or District Electoral Division) in Dublin.

For the purposes of our study, some 42 of these questionnaires either could not be traced or contained insufficient occupational information to be recoded using the Hope-Goldthorpe system. Thus, our effective sample size for the 1968 study was 2,498. Checks on a number of demographic features suggested that re-weighting was unnecessary.

(b) *1972 "Dublin Urban Living" Inquiry*

The initial sample for this study comprised 7,200 names selected by applying a sampling fraction of about 1 in 69 to the Electrical Registers for Dublin City and County. Some 1,800 clusters of four names each were selected by systematic sampling. The four names in each cluster were not adjacent on the Register but were separated from each other by three names. A response of 5,012 persons was achieved, some 1,989 of whom were males. Six of these questionnaires proved impossible to code on the basis of the Hope-Goldthorpe system so that the final effective sample size for our study was 1983.

When we examined the distribution of males by age and marital status, we found that there was significant divergence between the sample and the 1971 Census. In particular, the sample seemed deficient in single males. The distributions by age group from the sample and the Census were as follows.[26]
This response bias is probably due to the greater mobility of single people and to the difficulties of finding them at home. In order to correct for this bias, a weighting scheme was employed in our analysis. The weights were based on the above table being the ratio of the Census figure to the sample figure for each cell, multiplied by a coefficient to scale the sample back to its original size, viz., 1983. All the data quoted in the paper are weighted on this basis.

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[26]Twelve of the survey respondents, who refused to give their age, are excluded from the table.

Age	Single				(Ever) Married			
	Sample		Census		Sample		Census	
	No.	%	No. (000)	%	No.	%	No. (000)	%
21–24	128	6.5	21.5	9.8	36	1.8	6.3	2.9
25–29	73	3.7	10.8	4.9	144	7.3	16.8	7.6
30–34	26	1.3	4.9	2.2	197	10.0	19.3	8.8
35–39	26	1.3	3.9	1.8	223	11.3	18.7	8.5
40–44	14	0.7	3.4	1.5	199	10.1	18.0	8.2
45–49	13	0.7	3.2	1.5	186	9.4	17.2	7.8
50–54	15	0.8	2.7	1.2	180	9.1	15.6	7.1
55–59	8	0.4	2.5	1.1	143	7.3	14.4	6.5
60–64	16	0.8	2.1	1.0	114	5.8	12.0	5.5
65–69	12	0.6	1.7	0.8	88	4.5	9.4	4.3
70–74	6	0.3	1.3	0.6	68	3.5	6.4	2.9
75+	6	0.3	1.3	0.6	50	2.5	6.6	3.0
Total	343	17.4	59.3	27.0	1628	82.6	160.7	73.0

(c) *EEC Survey of "Transition from School to Work"*

This study, which is currently in progress in ESRI, was requested by the Commission of the European Communities in 1981. A report giving the full results was sent to the EEC in October 1983 and an ESRI paper will be published in the near future. The study involved interviews with 5,930 young persons aged 15–24 who were not in full-time education. Interviewing took place between late March and early June 1982.

The sample for the study was derived by "sifting" the households interviewed in the course of the EEC Consumer Survey in order to identify those containing members of the target population. In 1982, the Consumer Survey was carried out thrice yearly by An Foras Talúntais in conjunction with ESRI. (It has since become quarterly.) Sifting for the Transition Survey was carried out during three rounds of the Consumer Survey: May 1981, October 1981 and January 1982. In order to obtain the very large number of young people required for the Transition Survey, the normal Consumer Survey sample[27] was augmented by asking interviewers in the October 1981 and January 1982 rounds to call to both the selected address and the household adjacent to it. Hence, the following approximate numbers of households were contacted:

[27]This sample is selected on the basis of the ESRI's RANSAM system (Whelan 1979).

May 1981	2,500
Oct. 1981	10,000
Jan. 1982	5,000
Total	17,000

It is estimated that these households contained about 7,200 young people in the target group, of whom about 82 per cent participated in the study.

In view of the complex, multi-stage selection procedure, it was necessary to re-weight the results of the study to eliminate sampling bias. A five-way classification (by sex, age, urban/rural residence, household size and marital status) derived from the sample analysis of the 1981 Census was used to derive appropriate weights. For the purposes of the present study, females were excluded and the weights rescaled so as to add to the total number of males in the original sample, viz. 3,351.

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