

The dialectics of progress?

The influence of gender and social class on school careers and the transition from school to work

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ILSE LAURIJSSEN

Ilse.Laurijssen@vub.ac.be

IGNACE GLORIEUX

Department of Sociology

Research Group TOR

Free University Brussels

<http://www.vub.ac.be/TOR/>

1 Introduction

It is widely believed that status attainment now, more than in the past, is based upon 'achievement' rather than on 'ascription'. Education, as an indicator of individual abilities, has become more important in the process of social mobility.

As in other countries, the participation in education in Flanders has expanded. The participation in education between 18 and 25 years rose from 16% in 1981 to 25% in 1991. Scolarisation rates have heightened even more for women than men, so that now women even have some advantage over men. However, a study using Flemish data (Tan 1998) found that children of highly educated parents participate four times more (59%) in higher education than those from lower educated parents (16%). So clearly, despite the assumed trend towards meritocracy, the influence of social milieu has remained significant. The participation of youth from lower social categories stays considerably below those from a higher social environment. Educational opportunities and levels are still strongly determined by social background. The same study also shows that the differences in educational participation by social background have not diminished in Flanders between the 1970's and the 1990's.

This finding is not unique to Flanders, quite the contrary. A comparative study in thirteen welfare countries reached the same conclusion of a rather stable connection between social origin and educational opportunities (Blossfeld and Shavit 1993). The educational expansion did rise the general educational levels, but did not lead to more equal opportunities regardless of social origin. The above mentioned study even concluded "Thus, the modernization theorists' hypothesis that educational expansion results in greater equality of educational opportunity must be turned on its head: expansion facilitates to a large extent the persistence of inequalities in educational opportunity." These findings can be best explained by the fact that the participation in education of the lower classes has improved as much as, but not more than, the participation of the higher classes.

Because of the growing importance of diplomas on the labour market and the fact that social background strongly influences educational opportunities, the educational system paradoxically not only enhances social mobility, but also intergenerationally transfers social status (de Graaf and Luijks 1995).

The trend towards increased mobility probably decreased the public acceptance of ascription as a basis for social inequality. However, available empirical evidence shows that status attainment is based not solely on achievement. The effects of social origin have already been studied thoroughly (Ganzeboom and Luijcks 1995), and for these effects various explanations exist, which refer to aspects like aspirations, cultural capital and social networks (cf. for instance the theory of Bourdieu).

The role of gender, as an ascribed characteristic, has been neglected largely. Research into social mobility originally considered particularly the correlation between the position of fathers and of sons. The analysis of women was left aside because it was reasoned that the status of women mainly derives from the status of the husband (Acker 2000). The assumptions which lead to the neglect of women in status theory and research, are no longer accepted as valid. In particular the increased labour market participation of women has urged the inclusion of women in analysing social mobility (Korupp 2000). Meanwhile two extensions of the original studies within the framework of the gender issues have received more attention, namely the influence of the positions of mothers, and the status attainment of daughters.

In this paper we will analyse some of the aspects of the way social background influences the careers of young people, with special attention for the effects of gender. In 1999 the SONAR group (acronym for Study Group on the Transition from Education to the Labour Market) conducted a survey

among 3000 Flemish 23-years olds, which was designed to study in detail the transition from school to work. The questionnaire included an extensive registration of the educational and professional career of the respondents.

In this paper we want to clarify the way the careers in secondary education and tertiary education have an influence on the transition into the labour market, and which moments of 'choice' differentiate most by social background and gender. We use the data collected by SONAR to analyse the influence of social background on the educational career and the entrance into the labour market. We also focus on gender differences in this process. One of our basic assumptions is that social origin becomes less important in later stages of the career, but that the differences between males and females become more important as the careers proceed (especially when the youngsters enter the labour market).

The analyses in this paper concentrate on the role of social origin and gender in the course of the careers. We start with exploring the possible paths through secondary education. Then the entire secondary school career is examined in a more detailed and systematic manner. After secondary education, we look into the differences in attending further education. And finally, the transition to the labour market is analysed.

2 The educational career

Social mobility in our society, besides being determined by intergenerational aspects, also has an important intragenerational component. Therefore it seems very promising to highlight the course of careers in the study of differences by social background and gender. The influences of social milieu after all have a cumulative character (Dronkers and de Graaf 1995), which makes the moment of measurement of the influence of crucial importance.

The differences by origin between pupils in attained educational level become larger as pupils have progressed further into their educational careers. Already attained positions limit the further possibilities, which makes that the influence of social background on transitions in the careers becomes less as one is further on in the career. This is due to the structure of the educational system, in which the successful conclusion of a certain school-type normally acts a condition to access another (higher) school-type. By this selection at each transition the population of pupils becomes more and more homogene.

We start with exploring the careers in secondary education.

2.1 A first exploration of the careers: types in secondary education?

Firstly we have a look at the main pathways through secondary education. From the structure of the Flemish educational system (described in detail in Appendix 1), we know that little restrictions are imposed upon the possible options for pupils. In theory they can follow very different paths through secondary education. However, we can suspect that in reality only a limited number of types of careers in secondary education exist.

Using the educational type in the first, the third and the sixth year of the secondary education, we want to look for the most common types of secondary education careers.

The different possibilities that we discern in each of the three grades are:

In the 1st year: A (general) or B (prevocational)

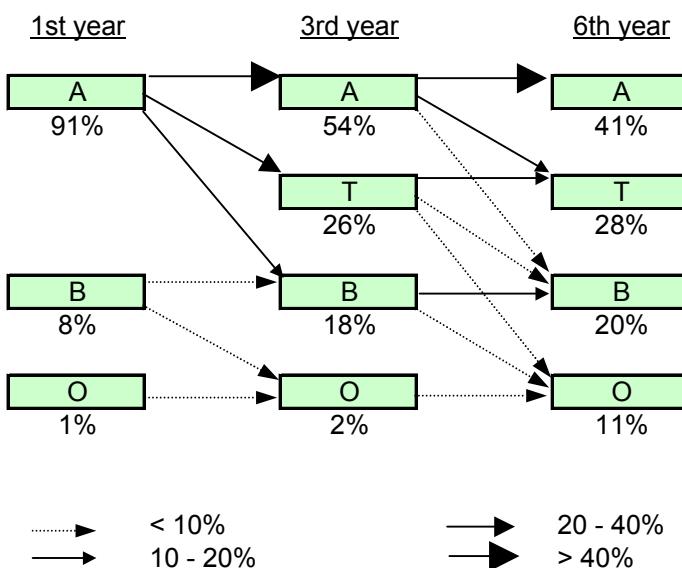
In the 3rd and 6th year: A (general), T (technical)¹ or B (vocational)

In each of these years we also have an additional category O, which means that the subject is out of normal fulltime secondary education.

The distributions over the categories and the movements from one year to the other are illustrated in the graph below (percentages below 1% are ignored).

¹ In this category 'technical' we also consider the pupils in 'artistic' secondary education.

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE CAREERS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION



The various types in the three different years yield 48 ($3 * 4 * 4$) different possible combinations. However, this theoretical maximum quite overestimates the real possible careers through secondary education. Indeed, when we look at the frequencies only 23 have at least one occurrence, and about 11 occur with a proportion of at least 1%. As the 'other' category is quite small in the first year, but becomes somewhat more important in the years to follow, we also took together three combinations who had a 3rd and a 6th year in the 'other' category (AOO, BOO and OOO) into -OO. If we only keep this limited set of combinations of these categories, we clearly have captured the possible paths through the secondary educational system. Only 1% of the respondents followed another path through secondary education, and cannot be put directly into one of these 12 combinations. This is not very surprising and confirms that from within a specific position not all following options are as 'easy' to take. More specifically, as the above graph clearly illustrates, it is very likely that pupils presume their school career at the same 'level', it is not uncommon that they go to a lower level, but it is very unlikely to go from a lower to a higher level. The upward movements never comprise 1% of the population. In contrast, the movements downwards are rather substantial. Such so-called 'cascade' careers in secondary education are a cause for concern in Flemish educational policy.

In the table below we enumerate the most common 'types' in secondary education, together with the proportions in the population. The pupils who end outside of normal fulltime secondary education are placed below.

TYPES IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

TYPE	N	%	% women	mean ses	st.dev.
A-A-A	1223	41%	55%	0,54	0,96
A-A-T	302	10%	44%	0,06	0,87
A-A-B	46	2%	52%	-0,15	0,86
A-T-T	531	18%	43%	-0,20	0,84
A-T-B	158	5%	44%	-0,40	0,77
A-B-B	242	8%	50%	-0,59	0,67
B-B-B	141	5%	56%	-0,74	0,72
A-A-O	42	1%	29%	-0,26	0,74
A-T-O	79	3%	37%	-0,52	0,75
A-B-O	81	3%	40%	-0,91	0,68
B-B-O	74	2%	39%	-0,99	0,64
X-O-O	56	2%	50%	-0,84	0,79
Total	2975	100%	49%	0,00	1,00

The A-A-A type by large is the biggest category, with a representation of 41%. This 'highest' type is somewhat more common for girls than for boys. If we look somewhat closer to the distributions by gender in each secondary educational type, we seem to get the picture that lowering the educational level during the career is a somewhat more male phenomenon. The girls either start their education high and stay at that high level, or they start low. This seems to indicate that the males start secondary education with more unrealistic ambitions than females, which they cannot realise as they then encounter more difficulties in their continuing educational career. Indeed, it is well known in Flemish educational policy that the boys have more problematic careers in secondary education than the girls, especially in terms of year repeating and being behind one's age group.

To bridge towards our main interest, we also show here the mean scores of the socio-economic status of the family of origin (a standardised z-score, for the details concerning the operationalisation please refer to further in the paper) for each educational type. There is a clear arrangement of the educational types by social background. We see that the pupils in the highest 'A-A-A'-type come from families with a higher social status than the pupils in the other educational types. Although not that articulated, the other types are also ordered on social background. The educational type in the first year seems to be the most important indicator of social origin. If one arranges the types by the first, then the third, and lastly the sixth year, one gets an almost perfect arrangement on social background. This clearly illustrates that social origin has an important impact on the careers in secondary education in Flanders. In the following section we will analyse this more thoroughly.

2.2 Analysing changes in the careers in secondary education

Within the Flemish educational system there are a series of moments in which choices have to be made. Although not formally, in practice certain choices

exclude others (such as going to a higher level of education), as was showed above.

Not only the transitions to different educational types from year to year imply limitations upon the further possible routes in education. In secondary education in Flanders, based upon the educational performance, each year 'certificates' are accorded to the pupils, which can also limit the options left in the further educational career. There are three different possibilities. An 'A'-certificate means that the pupil has successfully completed its year and is allowed to continue the next year in the same educational type. A 'B'-certificate means that the pupil is allowed to go the next year, not in the same type, but in a lower type. With this certificate there are thus two choices: repeat the year in the current level, or go to a lower level without having to repeat its year. With a 'C'-certificate the pupil has to repeat its year, whether or not it continues secondary education on the same level.

So, 'choices' of options and the performance in a chosen option, channel pupils into different tracks. Our main interest concerns the role of social background in these processes. According to the literature, social selection is most important in the beginning of the educational career, and becomes less influential in later stages. Two reasonings exist for the diminishing role of social background in educational careers (Blossfeld and Shavit 1993). The first one is derived from the 'life-course' hypothesis which states that younger children are more dependant upon the preferences and the material circumstances of their parents than older children. As children grow older they would be more able to decide for themselves what they want and need to count less on parental (cultural and economic) resources. The second reasoning states that school systems select their students on the basis of (proxies of) their social background characteristics. Thus, previous selections make the population of pupils in later transitions more homogene (and so there's less unmeasured heterogeneity). This implies that children with few resources barely survive the first selection barriers. Those who remain (only the 'smartest') then can take the further barriers more easily. In such a way the transitions at a later stage (for the remaining 'candidates') in the schooling career are less correlated with talent or capacity and other characteristics of the pupil (such as motivation and perseverance) that bring about success in education (Mare 1981). And so, the indirect effect of social origin (through talent and motivation) becomes smaller or even disappears, and the total effect of social origin will be small.

The best way to test these alternative explanations, is by analysing the way the transition chances have changed over time. The life-course hypothesis implies that no change over birth cohorts (with educational expansion) in the transition probabilities should occur. The second explanation leads to the expectation that for later birth cohorts the transition probabilities in the later stages of the educational careers should be correlated more strongly to social background than for older birth cohorts (as more pupils get in these

later stages). Research mostly confirms the life course hypothesis, as the transition probabilities in most countries are rather stable (Shavit and Blossfeld 1993). These findings have been further corroborated by an analysis that controls explicitly for the 'unmeasured heterogeneity in family characteristics' by use of a 'sibling' design (Mare 1993).

2.3 Measurement: how can subsequent transitions best be coded?

As there are many possibilities and moments to change during the educational career, it seems most appropriate to look in detail at the transitions that are being made or not, year after year. This procedure allows us to take into account the repeating of years. In Flemish secondary education, unlike many other educational systems, there is quite some year repeating. We try to operationalise all the transitions that are being made in mainstream fulltime secondary education from the 1st until the 6th year. We do this by unfolding careers into series of successful or unsuccessful transitions. More specifically, we construct 'conditional' transitions, which means that we incorporate the hierarchical nature of education (certain transitions can be made only from certain positions). For each transition only the subjects who have completed the necessary earlier transitions are taken into account. By transforming the careers into dichotomous transitions, logistic models can be applied.

This procedure, however, is not as simple as it seems. When at a certain point a pupil only has two qualitatively different choices, the transition that is being made can be operationalised quite easily. If the 'highest' possible choice is being made, this is considered as a 'success' and coded with 1. If the 'lower' type of schooling is taken, we code this with a 0 and consider the transition as 'not successful'. For a simply structured educational system, like the American, such transitions can be modelled quite easily (progression through education can be conceptualised as a qualifying race).

When at a certain point however more than two possible ways present themselves, it becomes more difficult to decide what is to be considered as a 'successful' transition. In the Flemish educational system there are quite often more than two possible options. One could consider to operationalise to a binary measure 'successful' versus 'unsuccessful'. In doing so however we would lose information. The different options always imply a ranking according to level, which should permit a more complex measure of success.

One way to accomplish this is subdividing one concrete transition into a number of (virtual) subtransitions. From one transition with (n) options we can construct (n-1) conditional transitions. Wolbers and de Graaf (1996) opted for this solution in an application to the Dutch educational system. It was argued that pupils normally only can start in a higher level if the lower level was attained. So, if a pupil has three choices, they coded firstly whether it had chosen for at least the medium (the one but lowest) option, and subsequently, if it hadn't, they coded whether it had chosen the highest

option. We inspired our coding system of the transitions with more than two possible options upon the procedure that was used by Wolbers and de Graaf (1996). However, we thought that using the same 'from bottom till top' encoding was less appropriate to the Flemish educational system, as movements upwards are rare. Especially pupils who stay at the same high level would get a number of times the 'successful' coding, while in principle this would be a rather 'normal' success. So, to avoid this overrepresentation of the high tracks in the successes, we turned the above reasoning into a coding 'from top till bottom'. In doing so, we more clearly consider staying at the same level as a success, and each step that the pupil lowers in level as less successful. So, for each transition we firstly code whether the pupil takes the highest possible option that is reachable from within its position. Subsequently, if the highest option is not chosen, then we code whether the pupil went to the lower level. And we continue this coding until the (one from) lowest level.

Following that procedure applied to secondary education from year to year we get 25 possible transitions and subtransitions, which can be organised within 14 different real transition series (see the appendix 2). Furthermore we also applied a weight to the individual transitions, in such a way that the sum of these within a transition series equals one.

Besides the dichotomous dependent variable which has the values of 0 (for an unsuccessful transition) or 1 (to indicate a successful transition), we take some other variables into our analyses. To measure the influence of social origin on the educational careers, we constructed a combined measure of the social background of the youth on the basis of a series of variables that have connections with or imply social status. By means of principal component analysis (categorical; CATPCA in SPSS) with the educational levels, the labour market situation and the job prestige of the parents, we created a comprehensive measure of the social status of the family of origin.

The educational levels of both the mother and the father were entered as nominal into the analysis. They consist of a very detailed registration into 13 different categories. The missings on these variables (mostly because the respondents didn't know the educational level of their parents) were entered as an additional category. The labour market situation of the parents at the time the subjects left secondary education, was recoded into four categories: 1) working, 2) involuntarily not working (the unemployed), 3) voluntarily outside the labour market (mainly the housewives) and 4) unknown and other situations. Finally, the prestige of both father's and mother's job was entered as a numerical variable. The missing cases on job prestige were replaced with the mean (mostly mothers who had never had a job).

The results from the principal components analysis were quite satisfactory. As almost 50% of the variance is being absorbed in the first component, it makes sense to use the scores on this first component as a general indicator

of the social background. The values on that first component were standardised; the status of the parents therefore has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.

To analyse different educational opportunities for men and women we put the variable gender in our analyses. The category of the males is used as the reference group for this variable and for the interactions in which gender is used. However, the general reference of our analyses is not the males, but simply the mean in the population². This gives us easier interpretations of the effects of social background.

Lastly, to analyse how certain effects change during the careers, we use an additional variable in our analyses: the grade in secondary education, which is directly linked to the particular transition. The grades give us the most clear indication of the progress through secondary education. We use this both as a continuous variable to get an integral picture and as a categorical variable, which is useful to check whether and where certain transitions deviate from the general pattern. By testing the interaction between the grade and social background we also get a reasonable indication of the strength of the life course hypothesis (as age and grade correlate quite strongly).

2.4 Results

It is possible to analyse each of the transitions separately, but this has some drawbacks: the number of observations for certain transitions becomes rather small, it is difficult to get a picture of total effects, and it is not possible to analyse whether some effects change in the course of the educational career. As a solution to these limitations one could pool together the separate transitions in one analysis which makes a simultaneous estimation of all transitions, as is proposed in a Dutch article (Wolbers and de Graaf 1996). Each individual then is counted in this procedure as often as he or she counted to make a transition. The results per transition series however are included in the appendix, but as we are mostly interested in the changes during the career, we only discuss the results from all the transitions analysed simultaneously.

² This is accomplished by using the 'simple' encoding (in which the males get a score of -0,5 and the women 0,5). Most commonly, to create a reference category, an 'indicator' encoding is used (in which case the males would get a score of 0 and the women 1). But this procedure would narrow the reference of the entire analysis (including of all the other effects) to the reference category.

RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS WITH SIMULTANEOUS ESTIMATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
TRANSITIONS

	Model 1	Model 2 A	Model 3 A	Model 2 B	Model 3 B
Year in secondary education		***	***	***	***
to 1 st year	0,89 **	1,01	1,04	0,96	0,97
to 2 nd year	1,22 ***	1,23 ***	1,22 ***	1,27 ***	1,27 ***
to 3 rd year	0,47 ***	0,46 ***	0,46 ***	0,47 ***	0,47 ***
to 4 th year	0,96	0,92	0,91 °	0,93	0,93
to 5 th year	0,90	0,85 ***	0,84 ***	0,87 **	0,86 **
to 6 th year	2,27 ***	2,24 ***	2,25 ***	2,19 ***	2,17 ***
Social origin	1,64 ***	1,64 ***	1,64 ***	2,45 ***	2,51 ***
Gender (females/males)	1,64 ***	1,66 ***	1,70 ***	1,23 *	1,32 *
Social origin by gender	1,20 ***	1,17 **	1,19 **	1,17 **	1,44 **
social origin by year		***	***	0,89 ***	0,88 ***
social origin - to 1 st		1,47 ***	1,53 ***		
social origin - to 2 nd		1,12 *	1,11 °		
social origin - to 3 rd		1,02	1,01		
social origin - to 4 th		0,85 **	0,83 ***		
social origin - to 5 th		0,77 ***	0,76 ***		
social origin - to 6 th		0,92	0,93		
gender by year		*		1,09 **	1,07 *
gender - to 1 st		0,80 *	0,93		
gender - to 2 nd		0,85 °	0,81 °		
gender - to 3 rd		0,96	0,94		
gender - to 4 th		1,19 °	1,13		
gender - to 5 th		1,03 *	1,01		
gender - to 6 th		1,26 °	1,25		
social origin by gender by year					0,94 *
social origin by gender - to 1 st			1,37 **		
social origin by gender - to 2 nd			0,94		
social origin by gender - to 3 rd			0,96		
social origin by gender - to 4 th			0,84		
social origin by gender - to 5 th			0,95		
social origin by gender - to 6 th			1,03		
Constant	6,45 ***	6,59 ***	6,62 ***	6,54 ***	6,55 ***
Chi ²	1072 ***	1172 ***	1181 ***	1152 ***	1156 ***
df	8	18	23	10	11
-2LL	15263	15164	15155	15183	15179

N series: 18742 ; % success: 84

Parameters shown are exp(B)

Model 1: Year, social origin, gender, and origin*gender

Model 2: + origin*year, gender*year

Model 3: + origin*gender*year

Models A: with year as categorical variable

Models B: with year as continuous variable (at least in the interactions)

From model 1 it is clear that both gender and social background have statistical significant effects on the probability to survive a transition in secondary education with success. The odds of success increase as the family of origin has higher status. An increase of one point on the scale for social background (remember that this scale is a standardised one) implies an increase in the odds of success of 1,6. The significant effect of gender on moving successfully through education shows that girls do better than boys. Again, this indicates that the boys experience more problems in secondary education, probably in both year repeating and dropping in level. An important observation is the existence of an interaction effect between social origin and gender. This means that for girls the effect of social origin is more important than for boys.

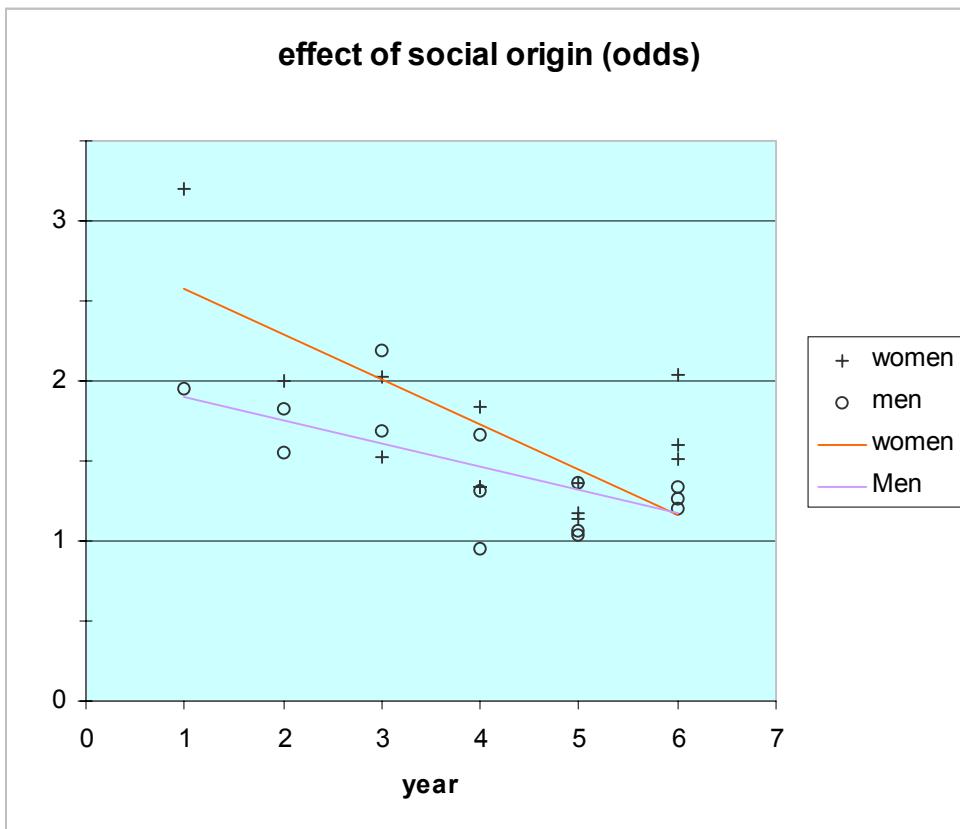
In the second model we add the interaction terms with year in secondary education. This way we can test whether the above effects are stable or change as the pupils move through their education. The model 2A clearly shows that the effect of social origin declines from the 1st to the 5th year. Especially in the 1st grade the effect of social origin is much more (1,5 times more) important than in the other grades. As this interaction effect seems to be quite linear (maybe with the exception of a slightly increased effect in the 6th year), we can safely consider this effect with year as a continuous variable, as is shown in model 2B. As such we can see that the influence of social origin is the largest in the first grade where one point higher on social origin means 2,2 ($2,45 * 0,89$) times as much chance to success. As we move one year up in the educational system, social origin becomes 1,12 times ($1/0,89$) less influential. By the time one has reached the 6th grade the effect of a higher social origin has declined to a 1,22 ($2,45 * 0,89^6$) increase in the odds.

As for the effect of gender, this also varies over the different grades, but not as strongly as the effect of social background. Also, unlike with origin, gender becomes more influential in the higher years. Again we can consider the year of study to be continuous and look at the more parsimonious model 2B. The boys do worse than the girls, but not so much in the beginning as in the end of secondary schooling. Each year the advantage in the odds to success of girls over boys grows with 1,09. In the first grade the odds are 34% ($1,23 * 1,09$) bigger for the girls than boys, in the 6th grade the chances to success for women are even more than double those for men ($1,23 * 1,09^6$).

In the third model we add the three-way interaction between social origin, gender and grade. This shows that the higher influence of social origin for the girls is most strongly in the beginning of secondary education. This differential effect by gender then drops until it reaches its lowest point in the 4th grade. Toward the end of secondary education social origin slightly again acts more differently for the women than the men. If one were to interpret this three-way interaction linear by year (as in model 3B), we have a diminishing interaction between social background and gender further in the

educational career. The graph below illustrates this complex interaction effect.

CHANGES IN THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL ORIGIN BY GENDER ALONG THE SCHOOLING CAREER



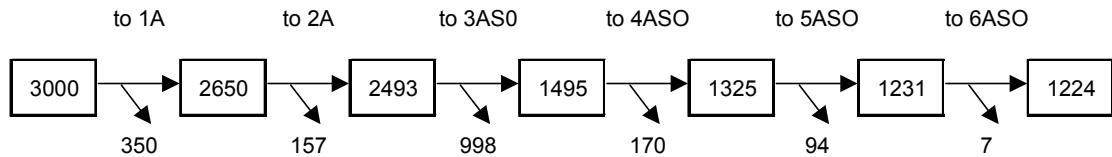
NOTE: THE SCATTERS ARE BASED UPON THE ESTIMATIONS OF THE EFFECT PARAMETERS FROM THE SEPARATE TRANSITIONS (SHOWN IN APPENDIX 2), WHILE THE TREND LINES ARE BASED UPON THE LINEAR EXP(B) FROM THE SIMULTANEOUS ESTIMATION (MODEL 3B)

So clearly, the role of social background diminishes over the years, and more for the women than the men. At the end of secondary education the effect of social origin still is somewhat positive, but equally strong for both genders.

Now, as we have pooled together all the transitions in secondary education, the analysis above is not about a 'natural' career. It does give a complete summary of all possible transitions, but it does not have the character of a 'qualifying race'. The image of the educational career as a qualifying race originates from Boudon (Boudon 1974). He asserted that schooling careers consist of a number of subsequent transitions, and each transition means choosing between continuing or dropping out of education. Every decision would put pupils from lower social origin at a disadvantage, and thus the more decisions to take, the more disadvantage for lower social strata.

With our data we can simulate a model which complies with such an image of the educational system. We simply could rerun the same analysis but take

into account only the 'upper stream' in secondary education (more specific: the transition numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 14 and 20). With this selection of transitions, the year in secondary education has a one on one connection to the transition number.



The results from this analysis (presented in the appendix) lead to quite the same conclusions as the analysis above. The effect parameters confirm what we had concluded from the analysis of all the possible transitions in secondary education. The most important difference probably has to do with the fit of the models. This last analysis explains more of the variance in success than the previous one.

3 From secondary education onwards

Now that we have analysed in detail the progress through secondary education and the role of gender and social background therein, it is time to devote some attention to the further careers, in education and in the labour market. Our analyses here are not yet as advanced as we would have liked them to be, but nonetheless, they provide us with some interesting insights. In this last part of the paper we will first shortly look at the participation rates in fulltime education, by gender and social background. After that we turn to the role of gender in status attainment – in reaching a certain educational level, and in the position on the labour market of males and females. To conclude, the role of social background in the further careers is analysed using the classic status attainment model.

3.1 Participation in education

In the introduction it was already mentioned that in Flanders, as in many other countries, the participation in education is quite strongly influenced by social origin. Using the SONAR-data on youth born in 1976 we looked at the participation rates by different categories of indicators of social origin (the educational level³ and the working situation⁴ of the parents), and this over the years⁵, as the youngsters grow older. These figures clearly show that with a higher social background the chances to be in education, and to stay longer in education, are higher. In Flanders the age of compulsory schooling is 18, which is very high in comparison with most other countries. Of course differentiation in educational participation only begins to show from the end of compulsory education.

The educational level of the parents seems to be the more important than the working situation in determining the educational participation of the respondents. Also in the already mentioned Flemish study (Tan 1998) it was found that the education of the parents is more influential than the social professional category or their income, and even growing in importance over time. The effects of each of these elements of social origin and of gender is illustrated below in a graph which plots the percentage differences⁶ in the

³ Educational level of the parents: "low": up to lower secondary degree, "medium": a higher secondary degree, "high": a tertiary education degree

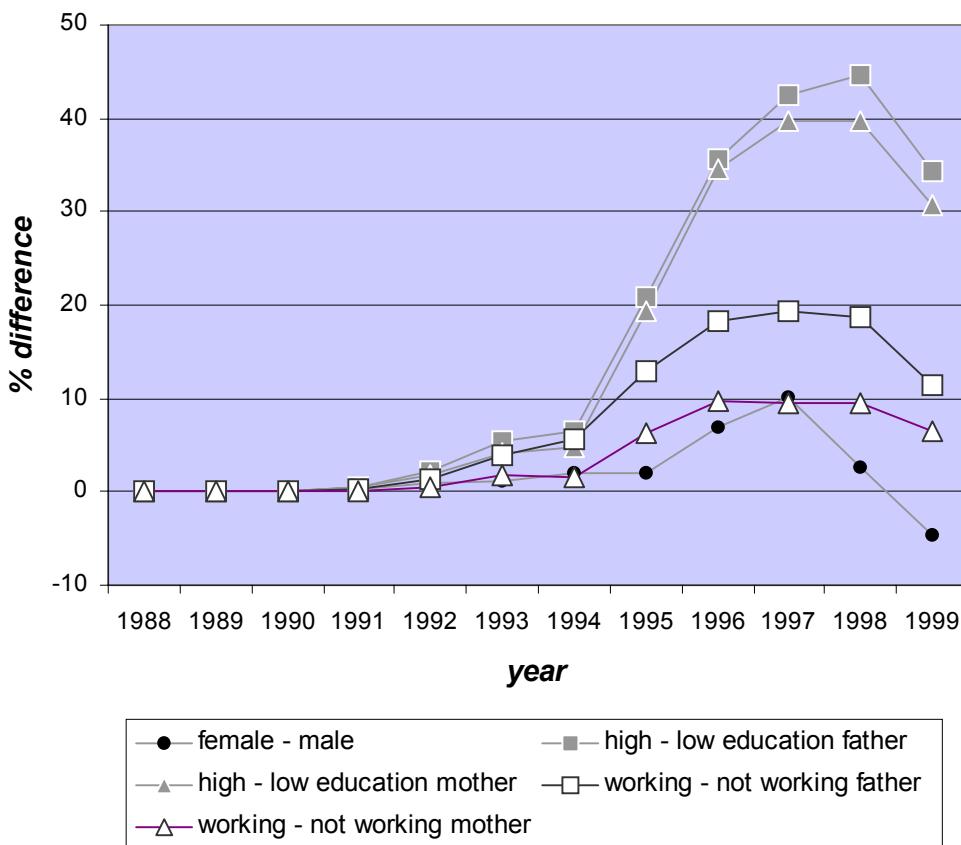
⁴ Working situation of the parents: working or not working, at the time the subject left secondary education

⁵ The years refer to the situation in January of that year – e.g. (January) 1990 – one moment in the school-year 1989-1990.

⁶ Note: percentage differences are no perfect measure of differences; cf. the largest differences (visually) appear of course when the global percentages are around 50%; however within a specific year they indicate where the largest differences can be found

educational participation rates (highest – lowest category) of the 23 year olds.

Differences in educational participation



From the graph it is also clear that the females participate somewhat more in higher education than the males. Towards the end of the period of observation this turns around, but most tertiary education normally should have already ended. So most of the pupils who are still in education then, have repeated some year(s) in their educational career.

3.2 Gender and status attainment

First explorations of the SONAR-data indicate that although girls have caught up with the boys as far as education concerns, gender still affects the entrance in the labour market. To illustrate this we describe some of the gender differences.

3.2.1 Educational levels

We can recall from the previous analyses that the girls do better in secondary education than the boys, the difference between them even growing towards the end of secondary education. About 46% of the girls is in the highest possible type, 'A-A-A', whereas among the boys only 36% is in

this type. The gender differences seem to persist when we look at whether or not the subjects ever start in tertiary education. 66% of the women goes to further education, and 56% of the men. Finally, in the level of education that the respondents have attained at the age of 23, Flemish women again have some better credentials than the men.

ATTAINED EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IN FOUR CATEGORIES (IN % - N= 2982)

Label	Description	Men	Women	Total
< SE	respondents who didn't complete secondary education	15	10	12
SE	Respondents who finished secondary education with a diploma or certificate	29	24	26
SE +	Respondents who started higher education, but did not (yet) complete this with a diploma or certificate	29	21	25
HE	respondents who completed higher education – whether academic or not	28	45	36
<i>Total</i>		100	100	100

12% of the 23 year olds has no degree of secondary education. 26% has a diploma of secondary education and didn't try to get a higher degree. This category also comprises youth who completed the 6th year vocational secondary education (who strictly speaking have no diploma but a certificate of secondary education). The next group differs from the previous one because they started higher education after their secondary education. However, they have not completed this higher study. This applies to 25% of the respondents. It is important to note that this group not only consists of persons who failed in higher education, or who stopped their further studies, but also of persons who are still in their further studies (remember that the respondents are 23 at the time of questioning). A final group has a diploma of higher education. About one third of the respondents belongs to these highly educated.

Boys and girls are clearly distributed differently along these four levels. The highest category, the one's with a diploma of higher education, is clearly more prevalent among the girls than the boys. Each of the other three lower levels is more important with the boys than with the girls.

3.2.2 *Into the labour market*

Leaving aside the youth who are still in the educational system⁷, 87% of the respondents is working. The other 13% has no job. The men clearly have

⁷ The number of students at the age of 23 is unevenly distributed according to educational level, especially among the ones with a highest educational level of general secondary education quite some have not yet entered the labour market. The proportion students likewise is higher among the men than the women. (17 en 14% respectively).

higher activity rates⁸ than the women (90% and 84% respectively). Apparently the women cannot realise their educational advantage over men when they enter the labour market. Of course, the positions on the labour market are influenced by the educational levels, but within a specific level there are still differences by gender in the activity rates, as the table below shows.

ACTIVITY RATES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AMONG THE GRADUATED (IN % - N=2522)

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
University and higher	85	80	82
2-cycle higher education	95	80	89
1-cycle higher education	91	93	92
General secondary education	84	82	83
Artistic secondary education	67	100	82
Technical secondary education	92	88	91
Vocational secondary education	94	78	86
General lower secondary education	88	67	81
Vocational lower secondary education	83	70	78
Primary education	86	59	74
<i>Total</i>	90	84	87

The activity rate varies strongly according to the attained educational level of the non-students in the SONAR-sample. High percentages of working people are to be found especially among the persons with a degree of the one-cycle higher education or a diploma of technical secondary education. The participation rates are the lowest amongst the ones without even a diploma of secondary education, and particularly among the lowly educated women.

The 23 year olds mainly work in the private sector, mostly fulltime and the majority has a permanent employment contract. At first sight it seems that the ones who are at work at the age of 23 already largely have integrated quite well into the labour market. Temporary and part-time jobs however are more common among the women (41% of the women has a temporary contract whereas 25% of the men; 21% of the women works part-time whereas 4% of the men).

Thus it is clear that gender as an ascribed characteristic still influences the course of careers, clear even at the age of 23 already. Where the women seem to do better in education, their position on the labour market is less favourable. Other characteristics of the education probably enter into the transition to the labour market, but the question remains whether this can explain completely the turn of advantage.

⁸ We define the activity rate (rate of labour market participation) as the proportion of people with a job to the total of people out of the educational system.

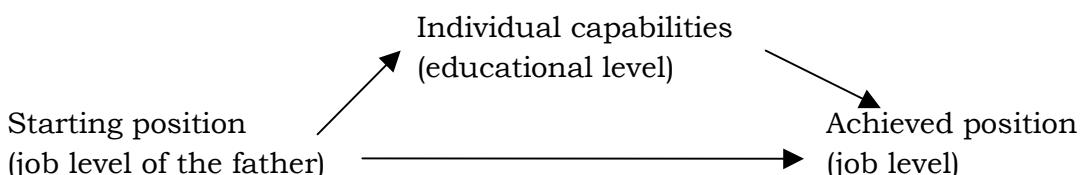
To conclude, gender is important in the educational career, and seems to become even more important as the transition from school to work is being made. Already at the start of secondary education there are differences by gender, which only grow with each further step in secondary education. The girls quite firmly seem to have caught up completely the educational disadvantage they used to have. When they enter the labour market however, the men seem to take over from the women. This is already clear at the age of 23, but we suspect that the working careers of men and women will diverge even more at later stages. As women (still) attach more importance to their families, they are more likely to choose for a job which combines better with family life (Elchardus and Glorieux 1994).

4 Status attainment model

Now we turn to the importance of social origin in the careers. In secondary education clearly youngsters from more advantaged families have better opportunities, although social origin becomes less important in later grades. In this section we want to find out whether social origin still plays a role when one moves to the labour market. We take into account that the influence of social background could well be different for girls and boys.

Changes and trends over time are the primordial points of interest in the development of theory about social mobility. Usually it is assumed that we evolve towards a more open society, characterised by more intergenerational social mobility, which is often interpreted as indicating a process of meritocratisation.

The classic status attainment model is a causal model for the correlation between the status of parents and the status of children (originally formulated by Blau and Duncan 1967). The starting position and the own acquired position are connected through two possible paths. One implies direct transfer of social status, and the other transfers it indirectly through the individual capabilities.



Most theories about the evolutions in status attainment suppose that the most usual way of status transfer from parents to children has changed over time. In the past the transfer of status would be mainly through the direct influence of the parental milieu, and nowadays the paths through the individual capabilities would be the most important way.

Since in the SONAR-project only one birth cohort has been questioned (up till now), with these data we couldn't possibly investigate evolutions. Neither could we try to test explanations of the risen social mobility and the persistence of immobility. Nevertheless we can test this basic model with the SONAR data and see whether the path through the educational achievements indeed is the most important one.

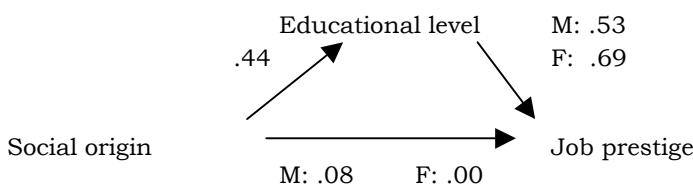
In our test of the basic status attainment model we use the same combined measure of social background as in the earlier analyses to measure the starting position of the subjects instead of, as is often done, only one indicator such as the job level of the father.

By analogy with the literature on status attainment, we test the structural model with the social background, the attained educational level, and the prestige of the first job of the respondent (we use the program AMOS to do this). We also test whether the connections are the same for men and women. The main results from this analysis are illustrated in the figure below with the standardised effect parameters.

The direct effect of social origin on job prestige is very small. For women we can reasonably impose a zero on this effect. For men the effect is statistically significant, but the very small size of the effect indicates that the direct effect of social background is almost negligible.

The influence of the social background on the educational level is the same for men and women. The influence of the educational level on the job prestige is stronger for women than for men.

MODEL:



The parameters from this model indicate that indeed the indirect influence of the social origin on job prestige (men: .23 and women: .30) is more important than the direct influence (men: .08 and women: .00). The educational level clearly has an important role in the getting of a high status, even more for women than for men. The educational level one has attained then has a paradoxical role in the process of social mobility. The position in the labour market appears to be based more on 'merit', as represented by the educational level, than on ascription (as indicated by social origin). So diploma's lead to opportunities regardless of the parental milieu. However, this observation hides the fact that the educational level is determined by social origin to a considerable extent. So education also intermediates the transfer of social inequality. The variance of educational level that can be explained by the social background is quite large and amounts to 20%, for women as well as for men.

The model explains better women's job prestige than men's (R^2 .5 and .3). This is somewhat surprising, but for women there's evidently a much stronger connection between the attained diploma and the job prestige, and for men clearly other factors enter the process.

5 Conclusion

In this paper we have tried to explore both the role of social background and gender in the way that the 23 year olds achieve a position in the labour market. The basic status attainment model made it clear that education represents an important means to intergenerational status transfer in this group of Flemish youth, as has been found in other research. To the extent that parents determine the life chances of their children, they do this mostly by influencing the educational achievements of their children. Indeed, the indirect path, through educational level, definitely is the most important connection between the status of the family of origin and the job status of the respondent. Therefore it is of particular importance to gain a better understanding of the way social background enters into the educational careers.

It is clear that previous positions are important for the further career, as they often imply serious limitations to the options that are still left. So, in this paper, we tried to take into account the dynamic aspects of status attainment. The educational level clearly is important for further success. Intragenerational mobility processes in fact start even earlier, in the educational career. By looking at the effects of social background and gender on subsequent transitions we have 'disaggregated' their total impact and get a more detailed picture of their role in the careers of youth.

From the analyses it is evident that the effects of both social origin and gender change in the course of the educational careers. In the beginning of secondary education the women achieve somewhat better than the men, and in the course of their educational careers the difference in achievement only grows. Controlled for previous advantages, the women keep doing better than the men, and increasingly so towards the end of secondary education. Social origin on the other hand proves to be most important early in the careers. In transitions in later life stages the effect of social background seems to become quite small. But let us not forget that social background affects trajectories in a cumulative way. Indeed, differences by origin act upon initial transitions and the thus attained positions affect further mobility chances. As differences by social origin are being accumulated with each transition, the differences become larger with further progression into the careers.

Further elaboration of the presented analysis seems appropriate. It would be interesting for instance, to check whether the gender differences in success are mostly due to the repeating of years or to the lowering of levels during the educational careers, are maybe just both. We have also seen that the advantage women built up during secondary education, goes on into higher education. How much of this is attributable to their better position in secondary education or to additional gender effects in higher education, is

not yet analysed. So another extension of the analysis would be to incorporate more subsequent steps in the careers into the analysis made of secondary educational transitions. With a more integrated model we would be able to compare certain effects with others.

What hasn't received much attention in this paper is the further analysis of the influence of the different elements of social background. Nonetheless, it would be very interesting to discern for instance the effects of cultural and economic capital (Blees-Booij 1994). We also believe that different status characteristics of either parents can be of varying importance for women and men, or for instance that the position of the mother may be more important for girls than boys.

6 Appendix 1: The educational system in Flanders⁹

6.1 General outline

The Belgian Constitution provides that every child has a right to education. During 12 full school years everyone has to be in education. This compulsory education starts on September 1st of the year in which a child reaches the age of 6, until the end of the school year in which the pupil reaches the age of 18. From the age of 15 (in some cases 16), young people can opt for part-time education and part-time work. However, the majority of the pupils continue to receive full-time education.

Traditionally, there are three levels of education: elementary, secondary and higher education. At the level of elementary and secondary education there is also special education, which is aimed at children and adolescents with a physical or mental disability, with behavioural problems or with serious learning difficulties. Besides these traditional educational levels there's also an offer of continuing education in Flanders, which is primarily aimed at adults.

THE FLEMISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN A NUTSHELL

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION		SECONDARY EDUCATION	HIGHER EDUCATION **	CONTINUING EDUCATION
nursery school 1-2-3	primary education 1-2-3-4-5-6	unified system	1-cycle higher education 1-2-3	part-time adult education
			2-cycle higher education 1-2- 1st grade 1-2- 2nd grade 1-2-(3) 3rd grade	part-time artistic education <i>vocational training offered by the Flemish Employment and Vocational Training Agency ("VDAB") ***</i>
special nursery school	special primary education	special secondary education *	university education 1-2- 1st cycle 3-4-(5) 2nd cycle (5)-6-7 3rd cycle	<i>training for the self-employed offered by the Flemish Institute for the Self-Employed ("VIZO") ***</i> <i>social-cultural education ***</i>
theoretical age (2,5)-3-4-5	6-7-8-9-10-11	12-13 14-15 16-17	18-19 20-21 22-23-24	adults

Remarks:

* special secondary education is meant for pupils aged 13 to 21

** for some lines of study, the second cycle of 2-cycle higher education takes 3 years,
the first cycle of university education takes 3 years
and the second cycle of university education takes 3 or 4 years.

*** these training programmes do not come under the Education Department

Source: Education in Flanders. Fact Sheet. November 1997, Ministry of the Flemish Community, Education Department

6.2 Elementary education: nursery school and primary education

Elementary education comprises both nursery school and primary education. Although nursery and primary education are separate from the

⁹ Based upon: Education in Flanders. A broad view of the Flemish educational landscape, 2001, Ministry of the Flemish Community. Education Department.

structural point of view, attempts are made to create an easy transition from one to the other.

Mainstream nursery education is available for children from 2,5 to 6 years. Although nursery education is not compulsory, almost all children receive nursery education in Flanders.

Mainstream primary education is aimed at children from the ages of 6 to 12 and comprises 6 consecutive years. The start of primary education normally coincides with the start of compulsory education (the age of 6). In most primary schools one works with a system of year classes, in which each class has its own teacher. At the end of primary education, pupils who have achieved the targets of the curriculum receive a certificate of primary education.

6.3 Secondary education

Since 1989, full-time secondary education has been organised in accordance with a unified system in which a great deal of importance is attached to the core curriculum. This uniform structure comprises stages, types of education, and study disciplines. The definite choice of subjects is postponed until the second stage so that pupils are first introduced to as many subjects as possible. This first stage is considered to be an 'orientation' stage. From the second stage, there are four different types of education and the pupil can choose for a particular course of study. A number of these courses only start in the third or even fourth stage (mainly nursing).

- In general secondary education (aso), the emphasis is on broad general education, which particularly provides a firm foundation for going into higher education.
- In technical secondary education (tso), the emphasis is particularly on general and technical theoretical subjects. After tso, young people can carry out a profession or go into higher education. This education also includes practical lessons.
- In secondary education in the arts (kso), a broad general education is combined with active art education. After kso, young people can carry out a profession or go on to higher education.
- Vocational secondary education (bso) is a practical type of education in which young people learn a specific vocation in addition to receiving general education.

In the second and third stage there is a common and an optional part. In the optional part, the core curriculum is supplemented with a broad range of possible subjects. In the third stage, the specific education can be further narrowed down with a view to the ultimate choice of profession or possible educational careers in higher education.

A pupil gains the certificate of secondary education after successfully completing six years of aso, tso, or kso or seven years of bso. With a certificate of secondary education from any school, type of education or course of study, a young person has unrestricted access to higher education.

	GENERAL	TECHNICAL	ARTISTIC	VOCATIONAL
4th grade				(3rd year BSO) (2nd year BSO) (1st year BSO)
3rd grade	(3rd year preparing for HE/ specialisation year)	(3rd year preparing for HE/ specialisation year)	(3rd year preparing for HE/ specialisation year)	(3rd specialisation year)
	2nd year ASO 1st year ASO	2nd year TSO 1st year TSO	2nd year KSO 1st year KSO	2nd year BSO 1st year BSO
2nd grade				(3rd year perfection BSO)
	2nd year ASO 1st year ASO	2nd year TSO 1st year TSO	2nd year KSO 1st year KSO	2nd year BSO 1st year BSO
1st grade	2nd year A 1st year A			BVL 1st year B

ASO general secondary education

TSO technical secondary education

KSO artistic secondary education

BSO vocational secondary education

BVL prevocational year

HE higher education

The years between brackets are optional

Source: Education in Flanders. Fact Sheet. November 1997, Ministry of the Flemish Community, Education Department

From the age of 15 or 16, pupils can transfer to a part-time system. Young people can follow training in part-time vocational secondary education (dbso). They can also opt for a work placement while receiving entrepreneurship training or for a recognised part-time training course. Dbsos is organised at a part-time education centre. The aim is to supplement this training with a job that should correspond to the training in the centre if possible. With this type of education it is possible to gain a certificate, though this is not equivalent to the certificate granted at the end of full-time vocational secondary education. Pupils who wish to follow practical training for a self-employed profession, can conclude an apprenticeship contract with the head of a company/trainer. At the end of the training, successful trainees receive an 'apprenticeship' certificate.

6.4 Tertiary education

Tertiary education is provided by colleges of higher education as well as universities. In Flanders the (only) general condition for admission to tertiary education is the certificate of secondary education. About half of the Flemish youth chooses to go on to tertiary education.

Colleges of higher education offer a broad range of basic courses that can be organised in 11 disciplines. The courses cover either one cycle (3 years) or 2 cycles (normally 2 years each). The basic courses of 1 cycle are

focused on the acquisition of professional skills supported by scientific knowledge. The aim is to give the students practical and professional skills so that they are able to enter a profession after this study. The basic courses of 2 cycles have an academic character and are based on scientific knowledge. They contribute to general education as a whole and are focussed in particular on the application of science, independent thinking and the development of creativity. In addition, the colleges of higher education can also organise continuing education for college graduates.

Academic education provided by the universities is characterised by the integration of education and research. There are six universities in Flanders. The basic university courses are divided into 2 cycles. The first cycle concludes with a first candidate's degree and lasts 2 years. The second cycle usually lasts 2 or 3 years, but for some courses even longer, and mostly conclude with a licentiate's (master's) degree. The third cycle, which leads to the academic title of 'doctor', can only be concluded after the public defence of the doctoral thesis. The academic education is organised in 18 main study domains, in which there are a great number of different courses. More and more, the universities also organise advanced academic courses (supplementary and specialised courses).

7 Appendix 2: Analysis of educational careers

SUMMARY OF THE SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL TRANSITION SERIES UNDER STUDY:

t-n°	s-n°		
1.	1.	transition from primary education	to 1 A
2.	2.	transition from 1 A	to 2 A
3.	3.	transition from 1 B	to 2 BVL
4.	4.	transition from 2 A	to 3 ASO
5.			to 3 TSO if not to 3 ASO
6.			to 3 BSO if not to 3 TSO
7.	5.	transition from 2 BVL	to 3 BSO
8.	6.	transition from 3 ASO	to 4 ASO
9.			to 4 TSO if not to 4 ASO
10.			to 4 BSO if not to 4 TSO
11.	7.	transition from 3 TSO	to 4 TSO
12.			to 4 BSO if not to 4 TSO
13.	8.	transition from 3 BSO	to 4 BSO
14.	9.	transition from 4 ASO	to 5 ASO
15.			to 5 TSO if not to 5 ASO
16.			to 5 BSO if not to 5 TSO
17.	10.	transition from 4 TSO	to 5 TSO
18.			to 5 BSO if not to 5 TSO
19.	11.	transition from 4 BSO	to 5 BSO
20.	12.	transition from 5 ASO	to 6 ASO
21.			to 6 TSO if not to 6 ASO
22.			to 6 BSO if not to 6 TSO
23.	13.	transition from 5 TSO	to 6 TSO
24.			to 6 BSO if not to 6 TSO
25.	14.	transition from 5 BSO	to 6 BSO

t-n°: number of individual transition

s-n°: number of transition series

For instance, someone who begins secondary education in type A, and continues into ASO gets the transition numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 14, and 20 coded, all as a success.

To illustrate a less 'exemplary' career through secondary education: someone who starts in 1A, goes to 2A, goes to 3TSO, 4TSO, 5BSO and then stops with fulltime secondary education would get the following coding: transition 1: success; t-n° 2: success; t-n° 4: no success; t-n° 5: success; t-n° 11: success; t-n° 17: no success; t-n° 18: success; and t-n°25: no success.

RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS FOR EACH SEPARATE TRANSITION SERIES ON SOCIAL BACKGROUND, GENDER AND THEIR INTERACTION (PARAMETER SHOWN IS EXP(B))

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
constant	6,86***	7,67***	51,50***	2,71***	7,22***	5,90***	4,94***	8,56***	5,78***	4,52***	5,24***	17,45***	11,98***	8,67***
social origin	2,50***	1,91***	3,66**	1,85***	1,83**	1,49***	1,13	1,55*	1,36***	1,12	1,09	1,46**	1,56**	1,38°
gender (females/males)	1,58***	1,26*	12,18*	1,62***	1,38	1,95***	1,61**	1,92**	2,14***	1,60**	1,31	2,25**	1,60°	1,64*
social origin by gender	1,64 ***	(1,1)	5,58°	(1,2)	(0,7)	(0,8)	(1,4)	(1,4)	(1,0)	(1,1)	(1,1)	(1,2)	(1,7)	(1,2)
Chi ²	263***	112***	11*	197***	15**	47***	9*	12**	37***	10**	2	16***	14**	7*
df	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
-2LL	2560	2055	174	2979	494	1237	881	491	1142	970	601	488	537	474
N transition series	3168	2854	348	2702	525	1630	934	608	1478	997	665	1292	905	636
% success	84	87	93	73	81	87	82	86	86	81	83	95	91	87

Notes:

- simple contrast on gender (males as reference).
- when the interaction between social origin and gender is not statistically significant, the effect parameter is shown between brackets, but the other parameters are from the model without the interaction.

TRANSITION SERIES:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. PE → 1 A | 8. 3 BSO → 4 BSO |
| 2. 1 A → 2 A B | 9. 4 ASO → 5 ASO TSO BSO |
| 3. 1 B → 2 BVL | 10. 4 TSO → 5 TSO BSO |
| 4. 2 A → 3 ASO TSO BSO | 11. 4 BSO → 5 BSO |
| 5. 2 BVL → 3 BSO | 12. 5 ASO → 6 ASO TSO BSO |
| 6. 3 ASO → 4 ASO TSO BSO | 13. 5 TSO → 6 TSO BSO |
| 7. 3 TSO → 4 TSO BSO | 14. 5 BSO → 6 BSO |

RESULTS OF LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS WITH SIMULTANEOUS ESTIMATION OF THE 'UPPER STREAM' SECONDARY
EDUCATION TRANSITIONS

	Model 1	Model 2 A	Model 3 A	Model 2 B	Model 3 B
Year in secondary education	***	***	***	***	***
to 1 st year	1,27 ***	1,31 ***	1,35 ***	1,32 ***	1,34 ***
to 2 nd year	1,62 ***	1,51 ***	1,50 ***	1,60 ***	1,61 ***
to 3 rd year	0,24 ***	0,23 ***	0,23 ***	0,23 ***	0,23 ***
to 4 th year	0,76 ***	0,76 ***	0,75 ***	0,74 ***	0,74 ***
to 5 th year	0,84 *	0,89 °	0,88 °	0,85 *	0,85 *
to 6 th year	3,13 ***	3,22 ***	3,23 ***	3,24 ***	3,20 ***
Social origin	2,04 ***	1,84 ***	1,85 ***	2,80 ***	2,88 ***
Gender (females/males)	1,63 ***	1,69 ***	1,76 ***	1,16	1,26 °
Social origin by gender	1,20 *	1,12 *	1,14 *	1,14 *	1,49 **
social origin by year		***	***	0,90 ***	0,89 ***
social origin - to 1 st		1,31 ***	1,35 ***		
social origin - to 2 nd		1,05	1,05		
social origin - to 3 rd		1,32 ***	1,30 ***		
social origin - to 4 th		0,89 °	0,86 *		
social origin - to 5 th		0,80 **	0,79 **		
social origin - to 6 th		0,78 *	0,80 °		
gender by year		*		1,12 **	1,11 **
gender - to 1 st		0,77 *	0,90		
gender - to 2 nd		0,79 *	0,76 *		
gender - to 3 rd		1,07	1,03		
gender - to 4 th		1,06	1,07		
gender - to 5 th		1,21	1,17		
gender - to 6 th		1,21	1,13		
social origin by gender by year			*		0,91 *
social origin by gender - to 1 st			1,43 **		
social origin by gender - to 2 nd			0,99		
social origin by gender - to 3 rd			0,90		
social origin by gender - to 4 th			0,71 *		
social origin by gender - to 5 th			0,94		
social origin by gender - to 6 th			1,18		
Constant	4,90 ***	5,05 ***	5,09 ***	5,12 ***	5,12 ***
Chi ²	2081 ***	2152 ***	2167 ***	2126 ***	2132 ***
df	8	18	23	10	11
-2LL	11276	11205	11190	11231	11225

N series: 13124 ; % success: 79

Parameters shown are exp(B)

Model 1: Year, social origin, gender, and origin*gender

Model 2: + origin*year, gender*year

Model 3: + origin*gender*year

Models A: with year as categorical variable

Models B: with year as continuous variable (at least in the interactions)

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