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Trends in Educational Inequality in the Republic of Ireland:
An Analysis of the 1994 Living in Ireland Survey

Christopher T. Whelan and Damian F. Hannan

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Introduction

In this paper we will address the issue of class inequalities in educational opportunities in the Republic of Ireland. The issue of *persisting barriers* has in recent years generated a range of lively theoretical debates and an impressive volume of research. At the centre of this debate have been differing expectations concerning the consequences of the processes of social and economic change experienced by industrial societies; involving fundamental restructuring of the of the class structure, increasing bureaucratisation and rationalisation and substantial expansion of educational participation. (Blossfeld and Shavit, 1993).

The 'liberal theory' of industrialisation views the expansion of the educational system as arising in response to the functional requirements of industrial society. From this perspective ascription gives way to achievement as the educational qualifications become more important for occupational placement and educational selection becomes more meritocratic. This, it is argued, is a functional necessity of advanced capitalism. In order to compete with other nations, an economy must ensure that the optimum use is made of the population's abilities; advancement in the educational system or acquisition of occupational position on any grounds other than merit will be sub-optimal from the point of view of the economy. (Parsons 1970; Treiman, 1970).

A variety of reproduction theorists consider that liberal theory takes a too simplistic view of the extent to which the forces of competition will lead to changes in the process by which individuals come to achieve their positions in society. An alternative perspective views the association between education and class origin and destination respectively as integral parts of the social reproduction process. Educational attainment is considered as one among several strategies for reaching a high social position. (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992: 303-307). The capacity of privileged groups to adjust their strategy in the light of changing circumstances suggests that liberal theory can be accused of underestimating the extent to which education will come to act not simply as a means by which people can be allocated to jobs but also as a factor mediating and, to a degree, maintaining class privilege.

As Erikson and Jonsson (1995:47) note the Republic of Ireland provides a particularly appropriate test of the ascription to achievement hypothesis since, as a consequence of late and rapid industrialisation, recent surveys include cohorts who have experienced the transformation of agrarian society alongside those whose formative experiences preceded such change. Even by 1960, 36 percent of males at work were either themselves self-employed in agriculture occupied in assisting self employed relatives. By 1990 this figure had been halved. Associated with this transformation of the occupational structure was a growth in the importance of educational qualifications as a means of acquiring a position. From the mid 1960s onwards a series of major policy interventions transformed the Irish educational system. The most significant of these was the introduction in 1967 of free secondary education. This gave an impetus to the pre-existing growth of educational participation rates, such that at present four-fifths of each cohort complete the higher stage of secondary education and 40 per cent go on to third level education. An adequate assessment of the consequences of such expansion for class inequalities in educational participation has only recently become possible. If we take the age of twenty five as a cut-off point by which the majority of people will have exited the education system, and allow for the fact that students would have typically entered the secondary system at the age of twelve, then it is clear that it is only since 1980 that any of the cohorts which benefited from free education would have appeared in our surveys. Raftery and Hout's (1993) influential study was based on a combination of a nation-wide sample of men drawn from the Irish Mobility Study of 1972 and a sample of men and women born in 1956 who had originally been selected as part of a

stratified sample of all primary students. Their assessment of the impact of educational reform is consequently based on a highly restricted period relating to the earliest stage of free secondary education. Even in the most recent analysis based on the 1987 ESRI Survey of Living Conditions (Breen and Whelan, 1994) the critical group was restricted to those born between 1955-1962. With the 1994 Living in Ireland Survey, which we will describe later, this is now extended to 1955-1969.

Explaining Educational Inequalities

Erikson and Jonsson (1995:9-10) identify two general sets of factors that govern inequality of opportunity. The first concerns differences in academic ability and educational performance between the offspring of different classes and the second concerns differences between classes in their propensity to continue to higher levels of education. This distinction they note is akin to that proposed by Boudon (1974) between *primary* and *secondary* effects. The latter, Goldthorpe (1996: 491) suggests, can be understood as comprising all influences that shape the distribution of ability at the early stages of schooling and which establishes the range of educational outcomes. With educational expansion the constraints on choice that primary effects impose ought to weaken. Education expansion also combines with each of these factors to influence the extent of class inequalities. Since the mechanisms relating to primary socialisation and other conditions that produce the relation between social background and educational performance are entrenched in Western societies, Erikson and Jonsson argue that the relationship is likely to be relatively invariant. Consequently the search for an explanation of the particular characteristics of educational inequality in any particular society is likely to be found in the cumulative and interactive effects of educational decisions and the proportion of students admitted at each level.¹

Goldthorpe (1996) and Breen and Goldthorpe (forthcoming) propose a model in which persisting class variation in educational decisions are accounted for through the operation of three mechanisms.

- (i) Their model assumes that families from different classes seek to ensure that their children acquire a class position at least as advantageous as that from which they originate or, in other words, they seek to avoid downward mobility. Families in different classes therefore have identical *relative* risk aversion they want to avoid, for their children, any position in life that is worse than the one from which they start. What is essential is that should be some measure of risk associated with continuing in education.
- (ii) Class differences in ability and expectations of success.
- (iii) Class differences in the proportion of families in each class whose resources exceed the costs of their children continuing in education.²

In relation to cost, it is necessary, as Goldthorpe (1996: 492-496) emphasises, to distinguish between the general decline in the influence of costs, which is reflected in overall participation rates, and a change in the pattern of costs across classes which might plausibly be expected to lead to children of less advantaged classes pursuing more extended

¹ Goldthorpe (1996:491) also develops the argument that it is on secondary rather than primary effects that attention must centre if the question of change, or rather absence of change, in class differentials, under conditions of educational expansion is to be addressed.

² This theoretical position was developed, as Goldthorpe (1996:488) elaborates, as an alternative to explanations which start from some supposed connection between class and culture. The latter Goldthorpe argues fail to account both for absolute educational expansion and rapidly declining gender differentials.

educational outcomes at a more rapidly increasing rate than others. What is at issue here is not increasing affluence as such but the absence of any evidence that it has been associated with any significant reduction in class differentials in income, or in the stability of earnings over the life-cycle. In the case of the Republic of Ireland, the available evidence for the period with which we are concerned is consistent with the persistence of substantial class inequalities. (Breen *et al* 1990; Callan and Nolan, 1992; Rottman, Hannan *et al* 1982). Furthermore, the emergence in the 1980s of large scale unemployment is likely to have had a negative impact on stability of earnings and economic security. Thus in relation to both distance between classes in terms of economic resource, and class expectations of stability of income, we think it unlikely that the underlying trends have been such as to promote a reduction in inequalities of educational opportunity. Similarly it is not declining costs which are relevant but a reduction in class differentials and there is little evidence that the abolition of secondary fees had any such effect.

Educational systems differ in the set of decisions which pupils face and in the significance of ability to navigate the school system with potential consequences for class differentials in performance, expectations of success and perceived returns to participation. Erikson and Jonsson (1995:33) identify a set of factors which have potential relevance. They include

... the length of various branches of study; barriers and opportunities; the size of the educational system; the proportion of transferring students from one level to the next and the significance of elite institutions and schools financed by fees.

The Institutional and Social Bases of Inequality within the Irish Educational System.

There are essentially three aspects of Irish educational achievement at second and third level which might help to explain the nature and extent of class inequalities

- the structure and nature of the Irish educational system at second level, and its relationship to local social stratification systems;
- the nature of local/communal status systems and the linkages to local and national economic opportunity structures: with severe inter-individual and inter-class competition for desired but scarce positions in the Irish labour market;
- the nature and strength of the relationship to, and feed-back from, selection for further education/training and employment.

The particularities of the Irish second level system

A separate vocational/technical school system had also been present in Ireland from the mid nineteenth century onwards, but was greatly strengthened and expanded after the 1930 Vocational Education Act. Effectively these were to be local trade/commerce/industrial vocational training schools set up to cater both for those 12-14 year olds not provided for by the secondary school system as well as to provide continuing education and vocational training leading to entry to local labour markets skilled labour to local labour markets. These schools had separate vocationally oriented curricula and a specific final examination³ which, although nationally standardised, were also expected to be directed toward the needs of the local labour market. (Coolahan, 1982; Hannan and Boyle, 1983). These quite separate institutional provisions continued up to the late 1960s; incorporating, as separate governance, curricula and examinations. The secondary schools provided access to University education

³ the Group Certificate

and to a range of white collar occupations and were dominantly middle class in social composition. Such schools were fee paying up to the late 1960s.⁴ The vocational schools – with their vocational/technical curricular, preparing people for entry to local skilled manual, service and industrial/agricultural occupations – were dominantly working class in composition, even to the extent of the social origins and separate vocational/technical training of the bulk of their teachers. These schools were free – at least up to ages 14/15. Even by the mid 1960s the majority of urban and rural communities were effectively provided for by this bipolar system,⁵ with the middle class going to the local fee-paying school, or in the absence of such a school boarding schools; while the local vocational school catered for the residual – dominantly for children from local working class or small farmer families.

The original intentions of the 1960s educational reforms, which provided for free secondary education, was firstly to strengthen and broaden the base of vocational education and rapidly expanding comprehensive education, before strengthening or expanding financial support for secondary grammar education. This however did not happen with the unexpectedly rapid introduction of the 'Free Scheme' in 1967 – which effectively replaced secondary school fees with a state grant to these voluntary schools; as well as rapidly expanding provision for comprehensive education and additional funding for vocational schools. At the same time curricular and examination reforms incorporated the vocational system into the mainstream second level system – allowing such schools for the first time to teach the full range of the secondary/general educational curricula and for the same examination system – in theory abolishing the bipolar system.

Table 1 documents the rapid growth in participation by level of education from the 1960 onwards: showing the proportion of the age group reaching both junior and leaving certificate levels. Over 90 per cent of the cohort had completed the junior cycle terminal examination by the late 1970s. This figure has subsequently risen more slowly as it approached 100 per cent by the mid 1990s. The rate of increase in participation at senior cycle level was even more dramatic. The percentage continuing to the Leaving Certificate more than doubled between 1967 and 1974 and by that stage accounted for almost one in two students; by 1970 the figure had risen 70 per cent and it then rose gradually to reach almost 80 per cent for males and 90 per cent for females by 1994.

Numbers in secondary schools more than doubled by 1974. This was accompanied by a rapid expansion in provision of places in vocational and community/comprehensive schools. The latter which were non-existent in 1967 accounted for about 25 per cent of total provision by 1974. Subsequent so that period the most rapid growth in senior cycle provision occurred in vocational and community and comprehensive schools – with both more than doubling their numbers between 1974 and 1984; with a further doubling in the following decade. Secondary school experience expansion over the last twenty years has been somewhat slower; rising by 36 per cent between 1974 and 1984 and by a further 24 per cent in the decade that followed.

The disproportionately rapid growth of vocational and community and comprehensive schools, however, still left the voluntary secondary sector with around two-thirds of all pupils by the end of the 1980s. Furthermore, most of the growth in senior cycle provision in the comprehensive sector appears to have been driven by a more academic than technical dynamic and to have involved competition with the secondary schools.

⁴ The fees were modest, however, because of state funding of Teachers' salaries.

⁵ although with significant regional variation

Local Social Stratification and School System Selection

Local, communal stratification systems in Ireland are quite elaborated. In most communities outside of the orbit of expanding urban centres local status systems are still very strong. Clear prestige or status distinctions prevail based on current class as well as historical familial and kinship status (Arensberg and Kimball, 1937; McNabb, 1966; Humphreys, 1966). These differences appear to have been much more elaborated in communities where economic differentiation is more pronounced⁶ Both the niceties and brutal discriminations of such local status distinctions became very clear when community voluntary movements or even local communal festivities occurred and lower status people attempted to act above their station': an irony of history gives the joint and successful struggle to get rid of the local land owning aristocracy. As Humphreys (1966) points out, such status distinctions were equally distinguished in Dublin, although less locally or communally networked.

In these socially divisive, status maintenance condition being *sent to the tech.* was, for most middle class and aspiring middle class parents, a fate with which to threaten one's more errant children with but, in fact, one to the avoided even for the least able child. When, pre 1967, fees were required even religious orders such as the Christian Brothers and the Mercy nuns, which were specifically set up to care for the poor, had become diverted to catering mainly for the lower middle class and the upper working class by the mid 1960s: whether by force of circumstances or gradual accommodation to local demands and customs.

The Investment in Education (1966) report shows clearly the high degree of class differentiation that was characteristic of local secondary and vocational schools at that time. Even with the extent of upward mobility that has occurred since that time, as well as the extraordinary growth in educational participation, these school level distinctions still exist:

- Over half of all second level pupils effectively pass another school on their way to their own school. So active selection/rejection of local schools is the norm – particularly for the middle class and with no effective state regulation of such local inter-school competition.
- Almost 80 per cent of vocational schools for instance reported severe local competition for pupils, with their schools suffering most from 'cream-off'.
- Secondary schools on average having an intake of almost half from 'middle' to upper middle class pupils, compared to only 25 per cent in vocational schools' whereas 55 per cent of the pupil intake to the latter are working class compared to just over 30 per cent for secondary schools. (Hannan, Smyth et al., 1996, p.82). Within the secondary school sector itself however there is almost equal social class differentiation – with the more working class orders – like Mercy, Presentation, and to a lesser extent the Christian Brothers – much more likely to take working class pupils. (See Hannan, Shortall, 1993). Besides this class selectivity, selection also on the basis of academic is almost a severe – with for instance almost a third of the intake to vocational schools having 'general ability' scores below one standard than average score, while this holds for just over 10 per cent of those in secondary schools. (Ibid., p. 86)).

To conclude then there appear to be at least four ways in which class inequalities are reinforced in second level schooling;

⁶ Particularly where a specific local working class – whether working as farm labourers or in local commercial or manufacturing/processing opportunities had existed for some time. (see McNabb op. cit.).

- By the concentration of middle class and the most academically able in selective secondary schools.
- Vocational schools particularly are not as well provided with higher level academic courses particularly at upper secondary or senior cycle level.
- These distinctions become even more marked, particularly in schools with a high proportion of working class and lower ability pupils, by streaming/banding practices, which significantly increase the variance in educational achievement, and considerably depress the achievement of the least academically able – particularly amongst the working class. Such streaming or tracking is least likely to occur in schools with predominantly middle class pupils. (Hannan, Smyth et al., 1996).
- Finally, the selection mechanisms used for third level entry and access to better positions in the labour market appear to be more discriminating and less favourable to working class achievement than in other European countries. (Muller *et al*, 1996; Hannan, Rafe and Smyth, 1996).

The Characteristics of the Education/Training – Labour Market Linkages in Ireland

Selection for third level courses in Ireland now depends almost completely on achievement levels in the final second level examination – the Leaving Certificate. Given tight numerous clauses constraints on entry this means a very high degree of 'level congruence' (Allmendinger, 1989) between second level performance and third level entry. Given that around 40 per cent of the cohort and over half of those taking the Leaving actually go on to third level – with over two thirds with expectations to do so – third level entry has come to have a dominating influence on the expectations of pupils competing second level. Since academic subjects – mainly language/literature or humanities subjects, mathematics and science, with a minority of applied subjects such as business studies etc. – dominate the curriculum of those going on to third level, and third level access itself dominates the culture of most second level schools, the curricular and pedagogical needs of 'non college bound' youth, and particularly of those who failed to get a place, are by and large downgraded in most schools. It is somewhat of an exaggeration but the view that provision for those directly entering local labour markets – for those who did not succeed in the third level race – is provided as an afterthought in most secondary schools.

There is, however, a high degree of 'level congruence' between level of education received, and grades achieved in state examinations, and labour market outcomes: the higher the level of education and the better the grades the greater the opportunities: in employment, occupational status and income levels. (Breen, Hannan, O'Leary, 1995; Smyth, SurrIDGE, 1995 and 1996). Whether due to screening/queuing or the application of human capital type 'level' and 'difficulty' criteria in making employment and promotion decisions, there is no doubt that there is a high rate of return to educational achievement in the Irish labour market: despite the fact that there is little institutional linkage involved – or that 'market matching' and internal labour market characterise the Irish labour market to a far greater extent than is true of most other European countries. (see Hannan, Raffe, Smyth, 1996; Muller Shavit et al., 1996). The effects of such selection, combined with rapid growth in participation rates and qualification levels has led to a high degree of qualification inflation in the Irish labour market over the past 20 years. (Breen, 1984; Hannan, 1986; Canny, Hughes, Sexton, 1996). Again this 'back-wash' effect on school and pupil behaviour intensified the academic and 'general education' pressure on schools and pupils: intensifying the uni-dimensional academic biases of teaching/learning and selection; and erecting further barriers to the achievement of working class children.

The extent of 'content congruence' – the relationship between what is done in school/college and the content of the job/occupation afterwards – is however very low on the other hand. Apprenticeship, for instance now accounts for less than 5 per cent of entry to the labour market – compared to over 20 per cent even in the UK; and even if one adds in all the professional, semi-professional and technical jobs that have third level course and degree prerequisites, would still account for a very small proportion of those entering the labour market for the first time in Ireland. Indeed where there were such content pre-requisites for entry to apprenticeships and to certain third level, technical college, courses up to the early 1980s these were subsequently removed. So selection mechanisms for third level, apprenticeships and labour market entry appear to have become even more academically biased over time – ignoring the many other relevant dimensions of educational aptitudes and abilities on which curricula can be based and examinations and selection criteria based: like technical/vocational subjects, business studies of various kinds, art and music etc. Indeed in many respects the provision of young workers with intermediate level skills' (Schupp et al, 1994) – skilled manual and technical as well as clerical and lower administrative etc. – has either been taken over by FÁS – the Irish training authority, by post Leaving Certificate courses in vocational schools, by the Regional Technical Colleges, or by firms themselves by in-firm training. Such functions were mainly provided by vocational schools up to the late 1960s. The effects of the transference of such training to post-school institutional arrangements however has been to give added value to the selection criteria for access to such courses – which again appear to over-emphasise achievement in 'general education' and under-emphasise achievement in directly relevant vocational technical subjects.

This overemphasis on academic achievement and the narrowing of the selection criteria – at least for third level access, access to vocational training and initial labour market entry – and the weakness of institutionally supported alternative pathways to labour market entry and success – when compared for instance to the German dual system, the Dutch occupational labour market linked to their extended vocational training system, or even the British apprenticeship and YTS system – would appear to significantly bias education to work transition pathways against working class achievements.

Implications

Comparative analysis of the educational system in the Republic of Ireland has tended to represent it as a highly standardised but weakly stratified system with an absence of specific vocational linkages. (Muller, Shavit and Ucen, forthcoming). However, the connection between education and class position has then been found to be a good deal stronger than might be expected on the basis of this particular profile. (Breen and Whelan, forthcoming) It may then be hypothesised that strong standardisation overrides weak differentiation. The alternative argument which we have developed is that standardisation and stratification are both potent factors in the system. The form of stratification although not adequately captured by a distinction between academic and vocational education has deep historical roots and pervades the system.

DATA AND VARIABLES EMPLOYED IN THE ANALYSES

Our data on adults is drawn from the The Living in Ireland Survey which was conducted in 1994. The survey provides a random sample of non-institutional households and of adult member within such households. The data has been re-weighted in line with

independent population estimates.⁷ Restricting our analysis to those aged between twenty five and sixty four years old we are left with 5,488 valid cases.

The class schema we employ in the analysis of our adult sample is the widely used seven class version of the CASMIN schema. (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992). For the school leavers survey we make use of the CSO Social Class classification. We measure educational credentials in a relatively straightforward fashion, using the highest level of formal education qualification possessed by the individual. We identify four levels

1. Primary Certificate or no qualifications;
2. Group or Intermediate Certificate (Junior Cycle)
3. Leaving Certificate (Senior Cycle)
4. Third Level Qualification.

Trends in Educational Attainment

In order to examine change over time we distinguish three 'synthetic cohorts' for our adult sample. These cohorts cover those born 1930-1939, 1940-1954, 1955-1969. As we would expect from our earlier analysis we observe a great deal of change over time between the cohorts. For both men and women, as the results set out in Table 2 show, a steady decline is observed, in the number leaving without qualifications, from approximately 60 to 20 per cent; although the decline is somewhat sharper for women. Over time men become much more likely to have junior cycle qualifications and senior cycle reflecting the traditional pattern of labour market segregation. The number achieving third level qualifications doubles for both groups while men continue to enjoy an advantage.

Changes in the Class Origin Education Link

In Table 3 we set out the relationship between class origins and educational attainment for men and women for those aged between 25-64 for men we find that the percentage holding a Primary Certificate at their highest level of educational qualification rises 3 per cent for those with origins in the professional and managerial class to 51 per cent for the non-manual class and finally to 66 per cent for agricultural workers. The reverse trend for third level qualifications sees the figure falling from 57 per cent at the top of the class hierarchy to 6 per cent for non-skilled manual men; and to a mere two per cent for agricultural workers. The pattern of advantages seems rather similar for women with the major difference being that women in the farming and agricultural worker classes enjoy substantial advantages over their male counterparts. After the service class, the picture we find is one of a clustering of the routine non-manual class, the petit- bourgeoisie and women from farm origins; appearing to enjoy a rather similar pattern of advantages. The next group is formed by men from farm origins and skilled manual workers. The unskilled manual group and daughters of agricultural workers occupy what appears to be a somewhat more disadvantageous position and the sons of agricultural workers fare worst in the educational stakes.

In attempting to explain the observed pattern of inequalities we take as our starting point the notion derived from rational action theory (RAT) that individuals rationally consider the cost of and benefits associated with educational choices. The assumptions involved need imply, as Goldthorpe (1996b: 485) notes, only a rather weak notion of rationality which while recognising that departures from the standard of perfect rationality as

⁷ Further details of the sample are provided in Callan *et al* (1996)

frequent holds that *actors have both some possibility and capacity of acting autonomously and for seeking their goals in ways that are, more or less, appropriate.*

Drawing on this framework we attempt to model our data employing a so called 'row effects models. First assuming no class variation in the desirability of educational destinations we rank our four levels from 1, for no qualifications, to 4, for a third level qualification. We then proceed to estimate differences in resources relevant to the achievement of such destinations by allowing for the interaction between the set of dummy variables representing the class origins and the education variable. In evaluating how satisfactory this model two statistics are relevant G^2 and the degrees of freedom of df. The former measures the magnitude of the difference between the observed frequencies and those that allow from the model with a small value indicating a close fit. The latter is an indicator of how parsimonious our model is. Of central interest here is the extent to which the pattern of educational fluidity has changed over time. In order to assess this we apply our row effects model across cohorts holding the association between education and class constant. That is we allow for absolute differences arising from changes in the distribution of class origins and educational destinations but hold the underlying pattern of educational inequalities constant. This model provides a satisfactory account of the data for both men and women. For men it produces a G^2 of 63.9 and for women 60.8; with 48 degrees of freedom we have an statistically acceptable fit in both cases.

In order to provide an account of the implications of the row effects model it is necessary to say something briefly about odds and odds ratios. The notion of odds is one very familiar to all gamblers. Instead of saying that the probability of being poor is .2 and of not being .8, we can say that the odds on being poor is .25 (.2/.8). If the corresponding odds for another group is .05, the disparity between the two groups can be indexed by the ratio of these odds which gives i.e. an odds ratio of 5:1. By choosing an appropriate reference group we can summarise the set of inequalities between that group and all others. The log-linear model is expressed in terms of log odds this is because the effect of any variable on the probability of a particular outcome depends upon the values of the other independent variables; reflecting the fact that it is harder to bring about a change in the probability of a particular outcome if the present value is at the extreme of the distribution. For convenience of presentation we will describe our results in terms of odds ratios. Looking at the specific implications of the row-effects mode we find that it specifies that the log-odds in a higher status destination, relative to the next lower destination, changes by a fixed amount for each shift of origins, regardless of the pair of destinations being compared.⁸ In Table 4 we set out the odds ratios deriving from the model. The results show that for any pair of adjacent destination men from professional and managerial backgrounds enjoy an advantage of 5.46:1 over those from non-skilled manual origins. For example, the odds on the former having a third level qualification rather than a Leaving Certificate is 5.46:1; for third level versus Intermediate Certificate this increase to 29.81:1 (5.46^2) and for third level versus no qualifications 162.77 (5.46^3). Thus given the ranking of classes in terms of resources set out and Tables 6 and taking into account the difference between destinations in terms of desirability we can successfully predict the observed pattern of educational inequalities. The pattern for men and women is almost identical with the only difference being that women from farming origins are substantially less disadvantaged than their male counterparts. Not surprisingly, given how closely the model fits the data, the hierarchy of advantage conforms very closely to that described in our discussion of the outflow table. The professional and managerial class enjoy substantial advantages over all other groups. They are followed by the

⁸ More detailed treatment of the row effects model can be found in Breen 1984; Goddman, 1979 and Hout, 1983)

routine non-manual and petit-bourgeois classes and women from farm origins; at some further distance we find the skilled manual class and men from farm origins who, however, occupy a more advanced position than the non-skilled manual class and women from agricultural worker origins. Finally, men from the latter group are characterised by particularly severe disadvantages in the competition for educational success. This pattern of relative disadvantage has remained undiminished over time in a period of remarkable expansion in absolute educational opportunities.

Educational Transitions

The row effects model provides an effective means of summarising the overall advantages associated with particular class origins. The behavioural assumption underlying it that the decision regarding which educational level to attain is made at the outset of an individual's career, is unrealistic. In order to provide an adequate picture of stability and change in the educational system it is necessary to take into account the fact that the educational attainment process involves a sequence of transitions; with decisions whether to continue or not being made at each point. Mare (1980) showed that the previously employed measures of changes in equality of opportunity tended to confuse the effects of educational expansion and processes of selection and showed that ordinary least squares regression (OLS) effects on variables such as years of schooling can be conceptualised as functions of both the transition probabilities at different levels of the educational system and the logit effects of social origins on transition probabilities. Ad De Graaf and Ganzeboom note neither OLS and analysis of transition rates can be taken as the sole true representations but rather offer complementary views of the world. In Table 5 we show the outcome of an OLS analysis with age as the dependent variable.⁹ The results show the predictable increase in years of education across cohort, a decline in the effect of gender in the second cohort and the, by now familiar interaction between farmer and gender. However, of particular interest to us are the results relating to the interaction of social class and cohort. Here we find that the only significant coefficients are those involving the professional and managerial class and all others. Thus over time the advantage enjoyed by this class over all others declines. In the case of the non-skilled manual class their advantage in terms of years of schooling declines from 4.23 to 3.02 as one moves from the oldest to the youngest cohort. However, the pattern of relatives remain unaltered between the remaining classes. In order to assess fully the implications of this result it is necessary to proceed first to our analysis of the pattern of educational transitions.

In Table 6 we set out details of variation in educational transition rates by cohort and sex. The series of transitions we specify are as follows:

1. From no qualifications to junior cycle qualification;
2. From junior cycle qualification to senior cycle;
3. From senior cycle qualification to third level qualification.

This set of transition is somewhat different than those employed by Raftery and Hout (1993) who had as their first transition 'entry to second level education'. Since such entry has effectively been compulsory for some time given, a minimum school leaving age of fifteen there has been a trend at thesis level towards equalisation of opportunity which will not be captured in our analysis of transitions but which is probably at least in part

⁹ Adult education is not included in this measure but is, in any event, not particularly important in the Republic of Ireland

responsible for the declining impact of professional and managerial origins on age at leaving school.

Mare's (1980) crucial advance in the modelling of educational opportunity results in parameters whose values are not affected by the degree of educational expansion. The educational attainment process is viewed as a sequence of transitions with the odds of continuing at each point being determined by a set of exogenous variables such as parents' social class. The unit of analysis is the transition rather than the individual with the modelling of transition rates proceeding by means of a sequence of logistic regressions. At each stage the dependent variable is the log odds of success versus failure in making the transition from a particular level to the next highest level. The baseline model assumes that transition rates are the same for all transitions, cohorts and class origins. We then proceed to introduce interaction terms in order to provide a satisfactory account of the data. Our final model which is described in detail in equation (i) of Appendix Table 3.1 allows for an interaction between class origins and transition, for all two way interactions and the three way interaction between farming origins, transition and sex and all two way interactions between transition, cohort and sex. This final set of terms captures the fact that differences in transition probabilities between men and women vary by transition with women in general having higher rates for the first two transitions but a lower one for completion of third level. The extent of these transition specific gender differences varies by cohort; with differences narrowing over time for the first and final transitions while for the intermediate one a modest advantage for males is translated over time into a substantial advantage for women.¹⁰ However, for our present purposes the crucial set of terms are those involving interaction with social together with those absent from the model involving the interaction of class origins and cohort and those representing the three way interaction between origins, transition and cohort. The absence of these terms provides evidence of the fact that the impact of class origins on transition probabilities shows no variation across cohort. The pattern of class inequalities has remained constant over time. The unchanging pattern of overall inequalities captured by our row-effects model is generated by a sequence of educational decisions which are equally shaped by class origins in our youngest as in the oldest cohort.

The observed pattern of declining origin effects across cohorts is familiar from previous research. The most widely involved 'substantive' explanation of this pattern is that with increasing age students come to rely less on the resources of their family and are increasingly in a position to make decisions based on their own aspirations. The alternative explanation proposed by Mare (1981) attributes the differential drop-out rates by social origins leading to leading to systematic variation across transitions in unobserved heterogeneity. If only the most able working class children survive the earlier selection points while significantly less able children from middle class origins do so, then origins becomes less and less correlated with the determinants of success such as motivation. With a reduction in the role of such indirect effect the overall impact of class origins declines. It is impossible to exclude the possibility of such unmeasured heterogeneity. However, in evaluating the relative merits of competing hypotheses it is possible to take into what they imply for the relationships we can observe. Blossfeld and Shavit (1993:9-10) note that the former hypothesis which they label the *life-course hypothesis* implies that, as educational participation expands at the lower levels class origin effects at the higher levels will remain less significant because student preferences

¹⁰ The finding of significant gender interaction differs from the results reported by Raftery and Hout (1993:45). However, their information on women was entirely confined to their sample born in 1965. The pattern we have found seem entirely consistent with our understanding from other sources of gender differentiation in the educational system.

become more important relative to the preferences and economic circumstances of parents. If the decline in the extent of selection is accompanied by the same *pattern* of selectivity then we would expect to observe a decline in effects across transitions but stability across transitions but stability across cohorts. The alternative hypothesis which Blossfeld and Shavit label the *differential selection hypothesis* implies that educational expansion will be associated with a trend over time towards stronger *observed* class effects for later transitions since class differences among the students who remain in the system on unmeasured variables, such as motivation, will decline across cohorts.

The results observed for the Republic of Ireland conform to a pattern of stability across cohorts but decline across transitions with no significant interaction between origins and cohort across transitions.¹¹ While, as Mare has argued, we cannot be certain that we are not underestimating the effect of class origins on later transition, however, the stability of the transitions effect across cohorts suggests, as Blossfeld and Shavit argue, that variation in unmeasured heterogeneity is not the sole cause of the widely observed decline in origin effects across transitions. The pattern we find differs in some respects from that observed elsewhere. First, origin effects for men from farming origins do not vary across cohort. This outcome is consistent with the pursuit of different reproduction strategies for inheritors and non inheritors. Non-inheriting sons come to resemble their 'sisters' in terms of their prospects of educational attainment at the final transition. In addition, while there is a consistent pattern of declining origin effects at the second transition the differences are not statistically significant for the routine non-manual or petit-bourgeois classes. While for the final transition the decline is not significant for the skilled manual class. Thus while the general pattern of declining effects across transitions is consistent with the evidence from elsewhere in terms of statistically significant differences the pattern is not uniform across transitions or origins. The pattern of overall class advantage revealed in the tables corresponds to that, already described in detail, arising from our earlier analysis. The decline in odds ratios across transitions is most striking for the professional and managerial class and for women from farming origins. For the former the odds ratio of 20.2 declines to 10.8 for the second transition and finally to 4.4 for the last decision point. For the latter the corresponding figures are 4.7, 3.2 and 1.6. For the routine non-manual and petit-bourgeois classes we observe a decline from odds ratios in the region of four at the first transition to ones approximating two in the final transition. Finally, it is important to stress that, while Raferty and Hout's (1993) earlier analysis showed the declining impact of class origins across transitions results in a situation in which class background was unrelated to entry to third-level, we find evidence of significant persisting class effects on the likelihood of continuing to the successful completion of a third level course.

As Goldthorpe (1996a:483) points, findings of the kind which we have presented relating to marked temporal stability, extending over decades, not only pose grave difficulties for liberal theory but present class theory with the develop explanations of how such inequalities are created and sustained.¹² In attempting to 'unpack' the effects of class origin we make use of information available in the 1994 data set on parents education and economic circumstances in childhood. For the former variable we take the parent with the highest level of education and distinguish the four categories employed for respondents in our analysis to date. For the latter we make use of responses to the following question. *Thinking back to when you were growing up, how would you say that your family was able to make ends meet.* Respondents were offered a set of categories

¹¹ The addition of a two-way and three way interaction terms to our approved model produces a G^2 of 43.1 for 30 degrees of freedom.

¹² See also Breen and Rottman (1995).

running from with *great difficulty* to *very easily*. This variable was treated as a continuous one and, together with a set of dummies representing parents' education, was added to the set of variables contained in our earlier logistic regression. Detailed results are provided in equation (ii) of Appendix Table 1. The odds ratios relevant to our present discussion are set out in Table 8. Not surprisingly the inclusion of the additional variables leads to a substantial reduction in the direct effect of class origins. This is particularly true for the professional and managerial class with the consequence that the relativities between it and all other classes are compressed. However, even with the inclusion of the controls the former enjoy an advantage of over the non-skilled manual group of 6:1 at the first transition; almost 4:1 at the second and over 2:1 at the third. Averaging the effects for the non-manual classes.¹³ We observe corresponding figures of 3:1, 2.5:1 and 1.5:1 in assessing the reduction in relatives between the non-skilled manual group routine non-manual and propertied classes one could be equally impressed by the differentials which persist as by the reduction which is brought about. The results suggest the need to identify resources other than parental education and economic circumstances and which are somewhat more evenly spread across the non-manual classes.¹⁴ Even controlling for class origins and economic circumstances in childhood those from backgrounds where a parent had either a Leaving Certificate or Third Level qualification enjoyed a 5:1 advantage over those where neither parent possessed any educational qualification in the odds of making the transition to a junior cycle qualification; even for those benefiting from a parent with a junior cycle qualification the advantage was of the order of 4:1. Thus for the first transition the existence of some type of educational qualification seems to be most important. For the later transitions the pattern of effects is somewhat more differentiated; the odds ratios relating to comparisons with the reference group without qualifications range from, approximately, 4:1 to 2:1 for the transition to senior cycle; and from 3:1 to 1.4 to one for a third level qualification. The multiplicative coefficient declines from the first to the second transition for 1.30 to 1.18 and takes on a insignificant value of 1.03 at the final stage. Those from households which were perceived to make ends meet very easily enjoyed an advantage in odds ratio terms over those who were judged to have great difficulty of 3.7:1 for the transition to junior cycle; this fall to 2.3 for senior cycle and less than 1.2 for third level completion. Subject to the earlier reservations relating to variations in unmeasured heterogeneity, our results suggest that both parental education and economic circumstances are extremely important determinants of success at the first transition with education the most potent factor.¹⁵

Turning to the impact of the additional variables we find that both follow the familiar pattern of declining effects across transitions.¹⁶ Furthermore, the impact of parental education decline less rapidly across transition than does economic circumstances. By the final transition economic circumstances play no significant role. The pervasive effect of parental education is thus a striking feature of our results. However, the relatively important role of economic circumstances at lower level transitions is in contrast with the results reported for Sweden by Erikson and Jonsson (1996).

¹³ Excluding men from farm-origins

¹⁴ One plausible candidate is variations in economic security which are not captured by our economic circumstances variable.

¹⁵ Given the distribution of the variables the extremes of the economic circumstance variables involve a substantially greater polarisation than the education variable.

¹⁶ The interpretation of this pattern is, of course, in both cases affected by the possibility of the existence of the type of unmeasured heterogeneity discussed earlier.

Conclusions

The Republic of Ireland is a particularly suitable test case for the liberal theory of industrialism. Late and rapid industrialisation has meant that the cohorts in our most recent surveys span the period of agrarian transformation. Our particular concern has been with trends in the association between class origins and educational attainment, in an era not only of rapid industrialisation but of educational reform and dramatic expansion of the system. Given the time required for the consequences of educational change to display themselves, it is only recently that we have found ourselves in a position to offer an adequate evaluation of the process of change.

The rhetoric of equality of opportunity has figured prominently in policy discussions in the Republic of Ireland from the seminal Investment in Education document to the most recent National Economic and Social Council (1966) strategy document. The substantial increase in participation rates at secondary levels have often been thought to necessarily imply progress in pursuit of this target. Furthermore, it has been suggested recently that evidence is now available of reductions in inequalities in entry to third level education. Those who are familiar with the literature on educational inequalities are likely to start by being sceptical of such claims. There is little evidence from elsewhere that expansion *per se*, except when it takes place of saturation of the demand from higher classes, leads to a reduction in class inequalities. In exploring the factors which contribute to trends over time, or to a distinctive position in comparison with other countries, we have drawn on the recent literature in arguing that the crucial are those which affect educational decisions and the manner in which such decisions interact with the proportion of students admitted at the education level. We have also operated on the assumption that students rationally consider the costs and benefits associated with educational choices.

On this basis the most plausible determinants of variation in class inequalities were identified as changes in the relative cost of participation including consequences of failure and a variety of institutional factors. With regard to the former, we argued that the available evidence on trends in inequality in income, and the concentration of unemployment in the lower social classes, did not suggest that this was a plausible candidate as a source of increased equality of educational opportunity. Here it is necessary to distinguish this argument based on relativities from one based on an absolute reduction in costs which is reflected in the achievement which the substantial increase in participation rates at all levels of the system constitute.

With regard to institutional differences the emerging consensus has been that standardisation and stratification contribute to educational inequalities. The Irish system has normally been described as one that is highly standardised but weakly stratified. We have developed the argument that the structure and nature of the Irish educational system at second level and its linkages to local stratification systems, the linkages of such systems to the local and national economic structures, and the nature and strength of the education – labour market linkages are such as to inhibit movement towards equality of educational opportunity. Thus our expectations were that class inequalities were likely to have survived the transformation of the class structure and educational system.

Our analysis of the outflow from class origins to educational destinations shows that the pattern of class relatives, which are by almost any standards substantial, have remained unaltered over time. Our findings are entirely consistent with Raftery and Hout's earlier conclusion that whatever change took place occurred not because of a change in the process of selection but because selection became less important. Apart from across the board increase in opportunity, our OLS analysis of age on leaving school does suggest a reduction in the advantages enjoyed by the professional and managerial

class over all others which is likely to be associated with the fact that entry to secondary education is likely to have reached one hundred per cent for this group some time ago.

Turning out attention to transitions we found no evidence for the declining effect of class origins across time. Subject to methodological caveats, our analysis showed a familiar pattern of declining effects at the higher transitions. However unlike earlier research class origins continued to exert a significant effect on likelihood of achieving a third level qualification for those who completed the senior cycle. Both parents' education and childhood economic circumstances were found to mediate the impact of class origins. Of these influences education was the most important but, unlike the case in Sweden, the role of economic circumstances was substantial at the earlier decision points. Even when controlling for these factors the influence of class was significant reflecting our need to further explore the manner in which class differences are mediated.

The persistence of educational inequalities in Ireland is demonstrated by just how well Raftery and Hout's (1993:56-57) description of *maximally maintained inequality* continues to describe the system. This outcome, which is consistent with a radical version, of class reproduction theory, is one in which the effects of social origin do not change except when the demand for a given level of education is saturated for the upper classes.¹⁷ As long as that situation has not been achieved the higher classes support efforts to expand educational participation whether by lowering fees or increasing capacity. However, expansion *per se* does not lead to a more rapid improvement of opportunities for the disadvantaged class unless the demands of the higher classes have been exhausted. As Rafter and Hout (1993: 60) note, the politics of across the board increases tend to be somewhat easier to implement than involving redistribution. This was particularly true in the Republic of Ireland where in the absence of any social democratic political party the reforms of the 1960s, rather than being conceptualised in terms of their impact on class inequalities, were instead presented in populist terms as part of the policy of economic development and of the *rising tide* that would raise all boats. (Wickham, 1980:34; Breen *et al* 1990). In fact as was fairly quickly recognised, free secondary education provided a "windfall" to middle class families who were already in the process of sending their children to secondary school. The recent decision by the Labour Minister of the present government shows the continued political attractiveness of 'catch all politics'.

As Raftery and Hout (1993:56) *maximally maintained inequality* is a description rather than an explanation of class inequalities. Our explanation, as does theirs, takes a rational action form. Economic change has not eroded class advantages in income and security. Furthermore the manner in which the connection between the Irish educational and occupational system has developed with a high degree of level congruence has involved the maintenance of a series of barriers to working class achievement in a system dominated by the academic needs of college bound middle class students. The institutional features of the educational system seem such as to accentuate class differences in educational achievement, risk aversion and perceived likelihood of success and make particularly relevant the advantages enjoyed by middle class parents in navigating the system. The manner in which class advantages are mediated by parental education and childhood economic circumstance has been described early. A good deal remains to be explained and while, we would tend to look in the direction of factors such as economic security, and associated risk, aversion others might suggest that we have been too dismissive of cultural explanations. In any event, our results do suggest that the

¹⁷ As Breen and Goldthorpe (forthcoming) note *maximally maintained inequality* does not imply that a decline in class differentials can only commence at the point at which all children of more advantaged class origins continue in education, rather this effect occurs once all those who perceive it to be in their best interests to continue are able to do so.

remaining resources are ones which are rather evenly spread across the non-manual classes.

Overall then, the accumulating evidence provides no support for the existence of any trend towards equality of educational opportunity. It is, rather consistent with the class reproduction perspective which stresses the ability of privileged classes to maintain their advantages. The success of this strategy is not dependent concerted or foresightfull action leading to collective action aimed at obstructing movement towards equality of opportunity on calculated strategies of cultural dominance.

All that is required is that they succeed in sufficient numbers in maintaining their own and their family's position by setting their superior resources strategically against whatever changes – in institutional arrangements, public policy etc. – may appear threatening to them (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992:394).

The middle classes of the Republic of Ireland have succeeded admirably in this while continuing to espouse the rhetoric of equality of opportunity and denying the reality of class.

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Table 1: *Percentage of the age group taking the junior (15/16 Group/Inter) and senior (17/18, Leaving) certificate examinations from 1965 to 1995.*

	1967	1974	1979	1986	1994
Junior Cycle					
%					
Male	44	72	91	91	96
Female	38	61	93	95	98
Senior Cycle					
%					
Male	22	42	52	64	78
Female	21	49	70	76	87

Table 2: *Higher Education Qualifications by Sex, 1995-1969, 1940-1954 and 1930-1939*

	No Qualifications	Intermediate or Group Certificate	Leaving Certificate	Third Level
<i>Men:</i>				
1930-1939	62.6	12.9	13.1	11.4
1940-1954	44.2	22.6	16.5	16.6
1955-1969	18.6	34.0	27.3	20.2
<i>Women:</i>				
1930-1939	56.0	16.9	18.9	8.2
1940-1954	40.8	23.7	24.0	11.5
1955-1969	20.8	21.9	42.0	15.4

Table 3: Highest Educational Qualifications by Social Class of Origin and Gender

	Professional & Managerial (I+II)		Routine Non-Manual (III)		Petit Bourgeoisie (IV a+b)		Farmers (IVc)		Skilled Manual (V/VI)		Non-Skilled Manual (VIIa)		Agricultural Workers (VIIb)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
No Qualification	3.1	5.1	21.8	28.9	21.2	25.2	40.8	24.6	32.7	39.1	50.8	51.7	65.5	56.3
Intermediate and Group Certificate	9.4	12.4	20.2	18.1	26.0	17.5	25.7	20.4	33.3	26.2	28.1	24.5	28.0	26.5
Leaving Certificate	30.8	41.2	30.0	38.1	29.4	41.6	19.7	39.9	20.5	26.9	14.9	19.9	4.4	16.4
Third Level	56.8	41.3	28.1	14.9	23.3	15.8	13.9	15.0	13.6	7.9	6.2	3.9	2.1	0.8

Table 4: *Row Effects Model Scoring of Origin Classes According to Their Relative Disadvantage in Access to Higher Levels of Education*

<i>Origin</i>	<i>Scores in Multiplicative Form</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Professional and Managerial (I+II)	1.00	1.00
Routine Non-Manual (III)	2.26	2.48
Petit Bourgeoisie (Iva+b)	2.45	2.26
Farmers (IVc)	3.63	2.15
Skilled Manual (V.VI)	3.65	3.75
Non-Skilled Manual (VIIa)	5.46	5.32
Agricultural Workers (VIIc)	8.76	5.59

Table 5: *Multiple Regression of Determinants of Age on Leaving School*

	B
Cohort	
1940-1954	-0.97**
1930-1939	-1.49***
Male	0.8
Male* 1940-1954	0.31*
Male* 1930-1939	0.06
Professional and Managerial	3.02***
Professional and Managerial*	0.63**
1940-54	
Professional and Managerial*	1.21***
1930-39	
Routine Non-Manual	1.33***
Petty Bourgeoisie	1.42**
Farmers	1.72***
Farmers* male	-0.70***
Skilled Manual	0.43***
Constant	16.16
R ²	201

*PL<.01**PL.<.1***PL..001

Table 6: *Education Transitions by Sex and Cohort*

	<i>Transitions to Intermediate or Group Certificate</i>		<i>Transition to Leaving Certificate</i>		<i>Transition to Third Level</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1930-1939	36.7	46.5	63.9	57.8	34.1	16.8
1940-1954	54.9	60.0	57.3	58.0	35.4	18.1
1955-1969	82.9	83.1	58.9	73.4	22.8	17.0

Table 7: Odds Coefficients for Effect of Social Class on Educational Transitions by Transition

	<i>Junior Cycle</i>	<i>Senior Cycle</i>	<i>Third Level</i>
Professional and Managerial	26.20	10.74	4.44
Routine Non-Manual	3.83	3.91	2.11
Petit Bourgeoisie	4.60	3.45	2.02
Farmers			
Men	1.68	1.73	1.47
Women	4.68	3.19	1.6
Skilled Manual	1.95	1.5	1.52
Non-Skilled Manual	1.00	1.00	1.00

G² Improvement Over 2,480.3

Zero Slopes Model

Degrees of Freedom 35

Table 8: Odds Coefficients for Effect of Social Class, Parents' Education and Economic Circumstances in Childhood on Educational Transitions by Transition

	Junior Cycle	Senior Cycle	Third Level
<i>Social Class:</i>			
Professional and Managerial	6.1	3.7	2.1
Routine Non-Manual	2.1	2.4	1.5
Petit Bourgeoisie	3.0	2.4	1.6
<i>Farmers:</i>			
Men	1.4	1.3	1.3
Women	4.0	2.8	1.5
Skilled Manual	1.5	1.2	1.3
Non-Skilled Manual	1.0	1.0	1.0
<i>Highest Level of Education of Parents</i>			
Third Level	5.6	4	3
Senior Cycle	5.3	3	1.9
Junior Cycle	3.9	2.1	1.4
No Qualifications	1.0	1.0	1.0
<i>Economic Circumstances in Childhood Able to make ends meet?</i>			
Very Easily	3.71	2.29	1.15
Fairly Easily	2.86	1.94	1.12
Easily	2.20	1.64	1.09
A Little Difficulty	1.69	1.39	1.06
Some Difficulty	1.30	1.18	1.03
With Great Difficulty	1.0	1.0	1.0

G² Improvement over Zero Slopes Model 2,957.8
DF

Appendix Table 1: *Logistic Regression of Determinants of Educational Transition. Additive Coefficients*

	β	
	(i)	(ii)
Professional and Managerial	3.26***	1.86***
Routine Non Manual	1.34***	0.77***
Petit Bourgeoisie	1.53***	1.11***
Farming	1.54***	1.38***
Farming* Male	-1.02***	-1.04***
Skilled Manual	0.67***	0.42***
Professional & Managerial* Leaving Cert.	-0.89***	-0.50
Professional Managerial* Third Level	-1.77***	-1.08***
Routine Non-Manual* Leaving Cert.	0.02	0.11
Routine Non-Manual* Third Level	-0.60**	-0.37
Petit Bourgeoisie* Leaving Cert.	-0.29	-0.26
Petit Bourgeoisie* Third Level	-0.82***	-0.67**
Farming* Leaving Cert.	-0.38*	-0.36*
Farming* Leaving Cert.* Male	0.41*	0.43*
Farming* Third Level	-1.07***	-1.01***
Farming* Third Level* Male	0.93***	0.95***
Skilled Manual* Leaving Cert.	-0.27*	-0.25*
Skilled Manual* Third Level	-0.25	-0.19
Male	0.12	0.15
1940-54	-1.37***	-1.37***
1930-39	-2.13***	-2.11***
Senior Cycle	-0.60***	-0.39
Third Level	-2.45***	-1.91***
Male* 1940-54	-0.06	-0.07
Male* 1930-39	-0.22	-0.21
Male* Senior Cycle	-0.67***	-0.70***
Male* Third Level	0.48***	0.48**
Senior Cycle 1940-54	0.53***	0.47***
Senior Cycle* 1930-39	1.13***	1.08***
Third Level* 1940-54	1.56***	1.48***
Senior Cycle* 1930-39* Male	2.17***	2.10***
Senior Cycle* 1940-54* Male	0.80***	0.86***
Senior Cycle* 1930-39* Male	1.20**	1.19**
Third level* 1930-54* Male	0.27	0.30
Third Level* 1930-39* Male	0.20	0.16
Parents Education		
Junior Cycle		1.36***
Senior Cycle		1.66***
Third Level		1.72***
Junior Cycle* 1930-39		-0.61**
Junior Cycle* 1940-1954		-0.58*
Senior Cycle* 1930-1939		-0.30
Senior Cycle* 1940-1954		-1.01***
Third Level* 1940-1954		-1.01***
Third Level* Third Level		-0.62**
Childhood Economic Circumstances		0.26
Childhood Economic Circumstances* 1940-54		-0.10*
Constant	0.84	0.09

G² Improvement Over Zero Slopes Model

2,480.3

2,957.8

DF

35

47

*p < .1 ** p < .01 *** p < .001