

# Parallel Lives: Birth, Childhood and Adolescent Influences on Career Paths<sup>1</sup>

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## **Abstract**

This paper uses sequence methods and cluster analysis to create a typology of career paths for a cohort of British 29 year olds born in 1970. There are clear career 'types' identified by these techniques, including several paths dominated by various forms of non-employment. These types are strongly correlated with individual characteristics and parental background factors observed at birth, age ten and age sixteen. By estimating a multinomial logit model of career types we show how policy makers might identify early on those young people likely to experience long-term non-employment as adults, enabling better targeted preventative policy intervention.



## 1. Introduction

The starting point for this paper is the view that, in terms of tackling long-term non-employment, ‘prevention’ might sometimes be better than ‘cure’. A key step in turning such a belief into effectively targeted social and labour market policy is the early identification of those individuals most at risk. It is this early identification of at-risk individuals that we are concerned with here.

We identify a typology of career paths through from age 16 years to age 29. Career paths characterised by long-term non-employment include permanent unemployment from age 16 to age 29 for males, permanent non-employment on sickness and disability grounds for both genders and long-term withdrawal from the labour market to the home for females. Other ‘types’ of potential concern to policy makers display significant amounts of non-employment interspersed with employment or education.

We show to what extent young peoples’ observable personal and background characteristics, observed at birth, age 10 and age 16, influence their chances of experiencing particular types of career paths. In particular, we identify factors that influence the probability of following career paths into long-term non-employment. Qualifications and school disciplinary history measures, observed at age 16, are strong predictors. There are other key factors, however, many of which can be observed at age 10 or even at birth, e.g. parental education, family socio-economic indicators and health.

We also have a technical motivation for this paper. Our data consist of 10,000 career paths taken from the latest sweep of the 1970 British Cohort Study (BCS). We use optimal matching (OM) and cluster analyses to group these career paths – essentially sequences of activities – into distinct types. These techniques are shown to be ideal for reducing the dimensionality of our data whilst maintaining a considerable degree of their richness. Further, by estimating a regression model for career path type, we show sequence methods to be conducive to explanatory as well as descriptive analysis.

OM methods first appeared in the 1970s in studies of protein and DNA sequences (see Sankoff and Kruskal, 1983). Abbott and Forest (1986) were the first to apply OM methods in

a social science context. A number of studies have followed, with analyses of career paths being among the most common (e.g. Abbott and Hrychak, 1990; Halpin and Chan, 1998; Scherer, 1999; Schoon et al., 2001; McVicar and Anyadike-Danes, 2002). Abbott and Tsay (2000) provide a comprehensive review of these applications up to 1999.

Abbott and Tsay (2000) believe OM studies of career paths to be promising, but are concerned that there are still no successful applications of OM outputs as dependent variables in further explanatory analysis.<sup>2</sup> This paper answers their concern, adding to earlier regression applications of OM results, notably Scherer (1999) and McVicar and Anyadike-Danes (2002).

The application of OM techniques to career paths has also been criticised for more fundamental reasons. Levine (2000) and Wu (2000) both argue that, since careers grow step by step through time, they are not like DNA, and are therefore better analysed with standard event history techniques. In particular, Wu is uncomfortable about future events having the same analytical weight as past ones. Abbott (2001) and others (e.g. Schoon et al, 2001) see this – that OM considers sequences as a whole with no assumption of step by step causality – as a strength of OM, at least in terms of the empirical identification of career path types. Our belief is that the appropriate method depends on the question – we return to this in Section 3.

There are other criticisms of OM, some of which are also touched upon in Section 3 of this paper. In short, it is still seen as a controversial technique in the context of career paths. Abbott and Tsay (2000) admit that until there is a decisive social science application – one that solves a major unanswered empirical question or that overthrows a standard interpretation – OM will continue to receive less than universal support from social scientists. We argue in the conclusion to this paper that, although we are still short of such a decisive application, our analysis does make a significant contribution to the growing set of successful OM applications in the study of career paths. OM's route to acceptance may be incremental, and here we hope to have added a small, but important step.

McVicar and Anyadike-Danes (2002) suggested OM might be a useful tool in creating a typology of career paths from age 16 until age 22, and subsequently fed this typology into a

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<sup>2</sup> Wu (2000) also notes this lack of explanatory application of OM techniques.

regression model of career path type. Also, Schoon et al (2001) have applied OM to a subsample of the BCS data covering activities between age 16 and age 21, but do not progress to explanatory analysis. This paper builds significantly on both previous studies. First, whereas these earlier papers track small samples (712 and 1548) from age 16 until age 21/22, this paper tracks a large sample (10214) from age 16 until age 29. This allows more detailed analysis of non-standard career paths because of the increased sample size, plus more detailed analysis of patterns that develop beyond the first few years, e.g. having children or career paths after university. Second, given the wealth of information on qualifications, individual and family characteristics in the BCS, measured at different points in time, we are able to specify an explanatory model of career path type with considerably more detail than McVicar and Anyadike-Danes (2002). Also, by showing how information (easily) observed at different ages can predict subsequent career paths, this paper is closer than existing studies to the needs of policy makers interested in targeting early interventions for those at risk of non-employment.

The remainder of this paper is set out as follows. Section 2 introduces the data for our application. Section 3 sets out the OM analysis. Section 4 sets out the cluster analysis and presents the resulting typology of career path types. Section 5 uses this typology to estimate a multinomial logit model of career paths. Section 6 presents sensitivity analyses and Section 7 concludes.

## 2. The Data

Our data are taken from the BCS, which longitudinally tracks all those born in Britain in the week of 5-11<sup>th</sup> April 1970. There have been several sweeps of the cohort and our career information is based on current and retrospective activity data from the most recent sweep in 1999/2000, or at age 29/30 years. Personal and background information observable up to age 16 is taken from this latest sweep and earlier sweeps at birth, age 10 and age 16. The information was collected largely by face-to-face interviews with the cohort member, their parents and in some cases their teachers. 64.5% of the original birth cohort were respondents in the latest sweep, giving a sample size of 11,261. For this paper, we omit sample members for whom retrospective or current activity information is not (fully) available giving us a sample of 10,214.<sup>3</sup>

For our cohort, school is compulsory until the summer of 1986 (age 16 years). Our first monthly activity variable is for October 1986 – the autumn following the end of compulsory education.<sup>4</sup> By this time, many young people are back in full-time education, generally either for one year (retakes or short vocational courses) or two years (academic courses leading to university or longer vocational courses). Vocational education tends to lead directly to employment. Academic two-year education tends to lead to employment directly or via university (there may also be a ‘gap-year’ in between). A further 10% are in government supported training schemes, generally for one or two years, which tend to lead to employment. Around 30% have entered employment directly by October 1986 and the rest (less than 10%) are either unemployed or non-employed due to sickness, disability, looking after children or ‘other’.

Figures 1 and 2 show cohort proportions in the various activities by gender. A higher proportion of females than males begins in some form of education and a lower proportion begins in training or directly in employment. More pronounced gender differences emerge as the cohort gets older. By age 29, around 90% of males are full-time employed or self-

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<sup>3</sup> It is well known that non-respondents to such surveys are unlikely to be randomly distributed across the sample. In this case non-response is skewed slightly towards the more disadvantaged end of the original birth cohort. We adopt a simple weighting scheme for respondents, based on father’s social class and mother’s age at birth, to account for this bias in non-response. Nathan (1999) argues that sample attrition does not lead to significant bias in the BCS.

<sup>4</sup> We omit the summer months of 1986 due to the high level of activity ‘churning’ and holidays over the period – by October things have begun to settle down.



employed. For females this figure is closer to 60%, with around 15% part-time employed and a further 15% looking after the home. At age 29, less than 10% for both genders are unemployed or non-employed for other reasons (e.g. sickness or disability).

Although monthly activities are recorded in one of 12 categories, we simplify by aggregating male (female) activities into six (seven) groups. Males are defined as either in education, training, employment (full and part-time), self-employment (full and part-time), unemployment or other. Females are defined as either in education, training, full-time employment or self-employment, part-time employment or self-employment, unemployment, looking after the home, or other.

Our typology of career paths will be based on the above gender-specific activity categories. To create such a typology, we need a method of comparing the similarities between the thousands of activity sequences that lie behind Figures 1 and 2. The following section shows OM to be an ideal method for this purpose.

### 3. Optimal Matching

Consider the following two sequences of activities, or career paths (we have simplified our 156 monthly activity variables into 13 annual modes).<sup>5</sup>

- (a) Educ, Educ, Emp, Educ, Educ, Educ, Educ, Emp, Emp, Emp, Emp, Emp, Emp;
- (b) Emp, Emp, Emp, Emp, Emp, Emp, Emp, Emp, Home, Home, Home, Home, Home.

To classify sequences into groups that are in some sense similar, we need a measure of the difference or *distance* between them. OM measures such distances by asking the question ‘how could we turn one sequence into the other with the least possible cost?’ This cost is a measure of the minimum combination or replacements (substitutions), insertions and deletions (indels) of activities required for such a transformation.

The first step in the application of OM techniques is to specify a cost matrix for these operations. This tends to be somewhat *ad hoc* in the literature, although often guided by simple rules or some model in the background, and is one of the foremost criticisms of OM (e.g. Wu, 2000).

Here we suggest substitution costs based on the degree of attachment to the labour market of the different activities (see Tables 1 and 2 – we call these the ‘standard’ cost matrices). We assume that employment and self-employment, for example, are more ‘similar’ than employment and other. Although to us such a specification seems intuitive, we are conscious of the potential fragility of OM results to this cost specification stage. One might imagine, for example, that if we costed switches between employment and unemployment or other too cheaply, we would be less likely to distinguish between ‘successful’ career paths and ‘unsuccessful’ ones. Interestingly, this turns out to be emphatically *not* the case. Any reasonable set of costs will successfully distinguish distinct career types, quite simply because these distinctions are there in the data. We return to this point in Section 6.

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<sup>5</sup> Schoon et al (2001) take the activity in April of each year and assume this is the activity for the whole year. We believe the annual mode loses less of the richness of the data (and might be less sensitive to recall error), but also estimate based on April activities to test the robustness of our results (see Section 6).

For females, the activity categories are slightly different – no self-employment and additional part-time employment and home categories. We adopt the same intuition, however, giving substitution costs as given in Table 2.

Returning to the example sequences above, and interpreting ‘Emp’ as full-time employment (i.e. the sequences describe two females), we can calculate the cheapest way of turning sequence (a) into sequence (b). Substituting education for full-time employment has a cost of 2, and is repeated six times. There are a further five necessary substitutions (employment to home) each costing 3.<sup>6</sup> This gives a total cost of 27. Costs are then normalised, so that identical sequences are assigned a distance of 0 and maximally different sequences a distance of 1. In this case, one sequence of all education and one of all ‘other’ would be farthest apart, with a transformation cost of  $13 \times 3 = 39$  (either substitutions or indels). The normalised distance between sequences (a) and (b) above is therefore  $27/39 = 0.69$ .

The sequences along with the cost matrices are input into the OPTIMIZE program which then runs the OM algorithm (see <http://www.svc.uchicago.edu/users/Abbott/optfdoc.htm>). The output is a  $\frac{1}{2} \times 10214 \times 10213$  matrix of minimised and normalised distances between each sequence pair. Scherer (1999) specifies distances relative to a base sequence (continuous full-time employment) and goes on to estimate a simple regression model with the OM distances from full-time employment as the dependent variable. In our case we are uncertain how to interpret such a regression, since a sequence of education would be treated as equal to a sequence of unemployment, say, despite one being likely to be favoured by policy makers over the other. Given this difficulty in interpretation we do not use the OM distances directly for explanatory analysis. Rather our distance matrix forms the input to a cluster analysis as discussed in the following section, and this typology then becomes the dependent variable in a logit regression of career path type, discussed in Section 5.

OM is not the only way of deriving ‘distances’ between sequences. McVicar and Anyadike-Danes (2002) discuss alternatives – including clustering directly on the data using correlations of binary monthly activity indicators and multiple correspondence analysis – but argue that none of these methods deal with temporal misalignment as well as OM. In our case here it is equally true that the particular *order* of events in a sequence can be important

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<sup>6</sup> Equally, we could delete employment and insert home five times.

(in terms of targeting early interventions on those most at risk of drifting into long-term non-employment, for example).

Before moving on, let us consider further the rationale for using sequence analysis in general, and optimal matching in particular. Our approach has been motivated in a quite straightforward way: “we have data which are likely to shed light on important matters of relevance to the design of public policy, how might these data be analysed most effectively?” In other words, the choice of method has (implicitly) been treated as a matter of technique, fairly narrowly conceived. Even so, where the data take the form of a categorical classification of individuals observed at evenly spaced intervals of time over a long period, there are alternatives. Our approach works with the relationship between the sequences, and so treats the sequences themselves as the units of observation (e.g. optimal matching). A more conventional alternative might treat the dated observations of the sequence as a series of transition matrices (e.g. stationary/non-stationary markov chains of some order, see Wu (2000)).

One simple way of intuiting the deeper implications of the distinction in the present context is by considering the question: “how many careers are there?”. A markov-type answer, using (roughly) the dimensions of our dataset for males (6 categories and 13 annual observations) implies that there could be as many as  $13 \times 10^9$  ( $\approx 6^{13}$ ). The answer from our dataset is  $\approx 13 \times 10^2$  (we are here talking about the number of unique sequences actually observed), which is smaller by a factor of ten million. The contention is that this stark contrast may tell us something about the ways ‘social context’ shapes lives.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the presumption underpinning optimal matching is that ‘contextual’ factors influence career paths in such a way that some of the ‘distinct’ sequences might not, in fact, be as distinct from others after all. So it might be better to treat two sequences that differ only by a few steps as very close ‘relatives’ rather than treating them as forever divided after that initial ‘fork’ in the path.

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<sup>7</sup> Abbott addressed this same point in the autobiographical introduction to a recent collection of his essays and, in doing so, offered a rather striking analogy involving the detection of regularities in the movement of fish in a lake: if fish swim freely markov methods may well be appropriate; if however the fishes’ movement is constrained by weeds, then sequence methods are likely to have a better chance of uncovering the underlying patterns. (see Abbott (2001, p16)). For a contrary view see Wu (2000).

#### 4. Cluster Analysis and a Typology of Career Paths

Cluster analysis is used to create homogenous groups of cases from large samples, according to some distance measure between them. McVicar and Anyadike-Danes (2002) discuss how such analysis can be used to create a simple typology of career paths in the transition from school to work, without imposing any *ex ante* stochastic restrictions, and without necessarily discarding any of the information contained within the data.

Cluster analysis has well-known weaknesses, however, as discussed by Morgan and Roy (1995). These include sensitivity of results to different variants of cluster analysis, and *ex ante* and *ex post* uncertainty as to the appropriate number of clusters. The best available practical defence against these weaknesses is to subject the results to a battery of sensitivity analyses, some of which we describe in Section 6.<sup>8</sup> A further criticism of cluster analysis is that it has tended not to lead into explanatory analysis. There are exceptions, however, (McVicar and Anyadike-Danes (2002) is one) and we build significantly on this earlier contribution here, as set out in Section 5.

Before going on to develop the classification and ‘explanation’ of the sequences of activities, it is worth, just briefly, looking at the frequency distribution of the sequences.

Our male cohort has 4994 cases and these are distributed across 1367 unique sequences. The frequency distribution is highly skewed with the 1394 cases (28% of the total) of the commonest sequence and, at the other end of the scale 1077 sequences each recorded for just a single case. Only 14 sequences with frequencies greater than 25 are observed but these 14 account for 2847 cases, or almost 60% of the total.

The most frequent sequence is 13 years as an employee and the second most frequent is two years of education followed by 11 years as an employee. In fact the 14 in the list fall into five distinct groups, three of which involve just single activities for all 13 years: employee (1394); self-employed (45); inactivity (25). The other two involve mixtures of (secondary and tertiary) education and vocational training with employment. There are nine sequences

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<sup>8</sup> In the context of the resulting multinomial logit model, an additional defence against this criticism is provided by the Cramer-Ridder test of aggregating categories of the dependent variable (see Section 5), which arguably therefore does determine the appropriate number of clusters *ex post*.

where a period (ranging from one to nine years) of education is followed by employment, and together these account for more than 1100 cases. But of course they represent rather different ‘careers’. For British 16 year olds, two further years are usually required to complete their secondary education<sup>9</sup>, and this probably influences the frequency of the commonest of these sequences. Typically undergraduate university degrees in Britain require three or four years and we see that the frequencies of the corresponding sequences (five and six years in education) are rather larger than those either side of them.

There are 5237 females in the cohort, that is about 5% more females than males but there are very many more distinct female sequences, 1989 in all<sup>10</sup>. Again the overall frequency distribution is highly skewed, with 12% of the cases in the most common sequence and over 1600 sequences with just a single case. There are 22 female sequences with a frequency greater than 25 and these account for just over 40% of the total.

There are some obvious similarities between the most common male and female sequences. At the top of the female list is continuous employment with 636 cases. There is also, as for males, a large set of education plus employment sequences recording comparable-sized frequencies<sup>11</sup>. Whilst there is just one other ‘pure’ activity sequence: ‘looking after the home’ (37 cases); it has a large number of quite common close relatives, where looking after the home is preceded by varying years of full time employment. All together this group (including the ‘pure’ sequence) account for 270 cases (about 5% of the total).

Returning to our typology, initially we set the number of clusters for each gender to be ten. By allowing this many clusters we hope to identify distinct types of career paths, particularly in terms of distinguishing different types of non-employment paths. The OM distances for the whole sample by gender, based on the standard cost matrix, are then clustered by hierarchical (between-groups linkage) cluster analysis.

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<sup>9</sup>It is likely that the 284 with only one post-16 year of education followed by employment did not complete upper secondary.

<sup>10</sup> It should not be entirely surprising that there are more, since there are seven activity categories for females and only six for males.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly the two female vocational training sequences are much smaller than the male - the frequency is less than half.

#### **4.1. Males**

Around three-quarters of males fall into a single large Cluster 1 dominated by full-time employment. Many display employment throughout the entire 1986-1999 period, as discussed above. Others have a few years of training or education initially followed by consistent employment. There are also spells out of employment dispersed throughout the sample period, generally in unemployment, education or training, but these tend to be relatively short and end in a return to employment. Table 3 gives mean and standard deviation number of months of each activity in each cluster.

Cluster 2 is relatively small and best described as ‘employment into other non-employment’. Employment tends to occur at the beginning of the period, and ‘other’ at the end of the period. This clearly is picking up a transition from school, through work, into non-employment. It is questionable whether standard agencies or policies would identify this group as at risk given the apparently successful transition into work shown in the teens. Interestingly, in many cases, there is a short-medium spell in unemployment before the move into other non-employment. There are certain incentives built in to the GB welfare system that might explain such a move from unemployment to other non-employment, e.g. the relative generosity of sickness and disability benefits or pressure to job search in return for unemployment benefits.

Cluster 3 groups together 40 sequences starting with employment and moving into long-term unemployment. Again, despite initially successful transitions from school into work, these men could potentially benefit from being identified early on as being at risk of long-term non-employment. Cluster 4 is another group dominated by employment and long-term unemployment, but the sequence of events differs from Cluster 3. These young men generally start off their transitions from school in employment, education or training and then move into long spells of unemployment, often throughout their early-mid twenties. By their late twenties, however, most have returned to full-time employment. Because they re-enter employment by age 29, they might be considered as broadly successful career paths. The mean of unemployment is very high, however, so this group is certainly deserving of intervention if policy makers are to successfully reduce long-term non-employment.

Cluster 5 is essentially a permanent other cluster. A large component of this group is likely to be men with more serious health problems or disabilities or other substantial barriers to

employment. Since many have never worked, moving from school directly into non-employment, it is likely that many in this group will be easily identifiable as at risk by policy makers relatively early on. This is unlikely to be the case for all in the group, however, with some starting out in education, training or employment briefly before moving into other. Similarly, Cluster 6 is essentially a permanent unemployment cluster. Few have anything but short spells of any other activity, and most enter unemployment directly from compulsory education. Again, we imagine these men face considerable barriers to employment, but should have been easily identifiable as at risk, at least shortly following the end of compulsory education.

Cluster 7 is a large cluster that captures those young men with long further/higher education spells followed by employment. An interesting sub-group here are those young men that choose to take a ‘gap-year’, usually in employment, between further and higher education. There is very little unemployment or other displayed by this group – what little there is mostly falls as short spells of unemployment on completing further/higher education before entering stable employment.

Clusters 8-10 are small clusters that are best described as short-medium other into employment, long education into other, and long other into employment, respectively. A graphical representation of these clusters can be found on <http://www.qub.ac.uk/nierc/>. Interestingly, many of the moves into unemployment or other shown in these clusters coincide with the deep UK recession of the early 1990s. There is no such clear ‘bouncing back’, however, as the economic recovery gathered pace in subsequent years.

Given that we have identified a number of distinct career path types, our next question is what are the characteristics of the young men in the different clusters? We concentrate on information about our cohort members at three stages – at birth, at age 10 years, and at age 16 years.<sup>12</sup> Table 4 gives sample means and standard deviations for our characteristics, family background and qualifications measures, by cluster, for the ten-cluster solution described above.

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<sup>12</sup> Given different sample sizes in the various sweeps of the survey used, and given a scattering of missing values for certain characteristics variables, sample means and standard deviations for these variables may be measured over slightly different samples in some cases.



Of the main clusters, Clusters 2 and 5 are essentially transitions into other, Clusters 3 and 6 are transitions into unemployment, Cluster 4 is a transition into employment via a lengthy unemployment spell, and Cluster 7 is a transition into employment via long education. We compare characteristics of cluster members in these groups to those of the base case – Cluster 1.

For many measures, differences between members of Cluster 2 and Cluster 1 are not particularly large, although consistent in the picture they suggest of Cluster 2 being less advantaged socially. Some notable differences do stand out, e.g. in the higher proportion of Cluster 2 recording difficulties with maths at age 10, in rented accommodation at age 10, excluded/suspended from school by age 16 and with no qualifications by age 16.

Males in Cluster 5 – the permanent other non-employment cluster – are a much more distinct group from those in Cluster 1, with clear contrasts by most measures. Again these measures are consistent in direction in terms of social advantage/disadvantage. For example, those in Cluster 5 are twice as likely to have an unemployed father at birth, four times as likely to record a disability at age 10, twice as likely to record difficulty with reading at age 10, and twice as likely to attain no qualifications by age 16.

Cluster 3 can be thought of as falling between Clusters 1 and 6 in terms of its members. Cluster 6 has twice as many members from ethnic minorities as Cluster 3, which in turn has twice as many as Cluster 1, for example. Cluster 6 has around half the proportion of members with fathers in social classes I/II than Cluster 1, with Cluster 3 having around two-thirds the Cluster 1 figure. Both Clusters 3 and 6 display more than twice the level of suspension/exclusion from school than for Cluster 1. Cluster 4 – the long spell of unemployment within a transition from school to employment – is also in many ways similar to Cluster 3 in terms of the characteristics of its members. It too can be thought of as falling between Cluster 1 and Cluster 6 in this respect.

Cluster 7 – the long education into employment cluster – is markedly distinct from Cluster 1 in the opposite direction – that of increasing social advantage. Parents of members of Cluster 7 are more likely to be in social class I/II, leave education later, and are more qualified than those in Cluster 1. Those in Cluster 7 are considerably less likely to have difficulty with maths or reading at age 10, to receive free school meals, to have been suspended/excluded

from school and generally have far higher qualifications by age 16 than those in Cluster 1. Ethnic minority males form a greater proportion of Cluster 7 than Cluster 1.

Finally, despite their small size, Clusters 8-10 display some interesting patterns. Cluster 9 (long education into other non-employment), for example, though small, appears to pick up a distinct group of socially advantaged, highly educated males that apparently face considerable barriers to employment, perhaps physical or behavioural problems. Clusters 8 and 10 display very high proportions of ethnic minority members.

#### **4.2. Females**

Table 5 presents cluster details for the female ten-cluster solution. It is immediately noticeable that the females are more spread out amongst the ten clusters relative to the males – there are fewer in the large full-time employment cluster (Cluster 1) and more in the other clusters. In fact, just over half the females fall into the full-time employment cluster. The next largest category is education, and all other activities are uncommon in this cluster. Cluster 2 corresponds to the male Cluster 7 – long education into full-time employment – although accounts for a slightly larger proportion of the females relative to the males.

Clusters 3-5 are variations on a theme – non-employment due to looking after the home – and together account for around a fifth of the female cohort. The difference between the groups is the starting point for the home state: those in Cluster 3 ‘begin’ looking after the home in their teens, those in Cluster 4 in their early twenties (preceded largely by employment) and those in Cluster 5 in their mid-late twenties (again preceded largely by employment).

Cluster 6 – permanent other non-employed – corresponds to Cluster 5 for the males, and is of similar size.

Cluster 7 is dominated by employment, both full and part time, but includes a spell of looking after the home usually in the early-mid twenties. A standard pattern here is one of full-time employment followed by looking after the home followed by a return to the labour market on a part-time basis.

Cluster 8 is the female long-term unemployed cluster. Full-time employment, part-time employment and other make up the remaining months of the sample period. This cluster is

perhaps closest to the male Cluster 4 – long-term unemployment in early-mid twenties – and although a small number remain unemployed at age 29 years, there is no real equivalent to the male *permanent* unemployment cluster for the females.

Cluster 9 is a reverse sequence of Cluster 4 for the females – looking after the home into part-time or full-time employment, with the transition generally made in the early-mid twenties. Finally, Cluster 10 is a small other into employment cluster, broadly corresponding to the male Clusters 8 and 10. As for males, a graphical representation of these clusters can be found on <http://www.qub.ac.uk/nierc/>.

As we did for males, so we can examine personal and family characteristics measured at birth, age 10 years and age 16 years by cluster. Sample means and standard deviations for our characteristics measures are presented in Table 6.

First consider a comparison of Cluster 1 (full-time employment) with Cluster 2 (long education into full-time employment). The pattern is very similar as for the comparison of the corresponding male clusters, e.g. higher levels of parental education, a greater proportion of ethnic minorities, and higher social class. Noticeably, the average number of high-grade qualifications for this group is lower among the females than among the males – the group that stay on in longer in post-compulsory education is broader for females than for males.

Now consider Clusters 3-5. We might imagine that these looking after the home clusters can be placed on a scale in terms of characteristics of their members because of the differential timing in the transition into the home state. This in fact turns out to be the case for almost all of the measures presented in Table 6. For example, Cluster 3 has a higher proportion of ethnic minority members than Cluster 4, which has a higher proportion than Cluster 5. Conversely, Cluster 5 has a higher proportion of middle class members than Cluster 4 and Cluster 3 respectively. By most measures, the members of these clusters are generally less *advantaged* than the members of Cluster 1, with Cluster 3 members being the least advantaged of the set.

Cluster 6 is very similar to the male Cluster 5 (permanent other) in terms of the characteristics of its members, so we do not repeat that discussion here. Similarly the female

Clusters 8 (long-term unemployment) and 10 (other non-employment into employment) broadly correspond to the male Clusters 4 and 10.

Cluster 7 is an interesting group – young women that display a similar activity pattern to those of Cluster 1 but have a home break (most probably when they have young children). Generally, members of this cluster appear less advantaged than members of Cluster 1, e.g. their parents have less education and they are more likely to receive free school meals. In many respects they are similar to members of Cluster 4, but not all. Interestingly, there is a significantly lower proportion of ethnic minority women in Cluster 7 compared to Cluster 4. We might interpret this as suggesting that less women from ethnic minorities return to work while their children are young.

Finally, compared to Cluster 1, members of female Cluster 9 (home into employment) are noticeably less advantaged in most respects. Those women that are in the home at these very early ages tend to have been born to younger mothers themselves. This group also has the largest proportion receiving free school meals, have the lowest proportion of fathers in regular employment and live in the most crowded accommodation at age 10 years.

These patterns are generally not unexpected. Many previous studies have found similar correlations between individual physical, educational and family socio-economic factors and success in the labour market, using different parts of the BCS (e.g. Bynner, 1998; Schoon *et al.*, 2001; Bynner *et al.*, 2002). Bynner *et al.* (2002), for example, study the influence of these factors on the chances of being employed at a particular point of time when aged 26 years. In Tables 4 and 6, we have broadly followed their approach (and that of Schoon *et al.*, 2001) of measuring characteristics at different ages, and being based on overlapping data, our study also shares some similar variables with these predecessors. Schoon *et al.* (2001) conclude that division according to social class, gender and educational attainment are crucial for understanding the transition from school to work, a conclusion entirely consistent with our findings here. In a variety of respects, however, our study of labour market outcomes is more detailed and considerably broader in scope than these earlier studies. The crucial difference from Bynner *et al.* (2002) is that we look at career *paths*, through transition from school and well beyond, distinguishing many different labour market states, compared to a simple binary employed/not employed distinction at a particular point in time. By doing so we believe we pick up on certain relationships *not* commonly identified in the literature, e.g.

the contrast between those male cohort members still in unemployment at age 29 and those that have entered or re-entered employment in their late twenties. Schoon et al. (2001), although they do identify a number of career paths, only do so up to age 21, with a small sample, and carry out no further explanatory analysis using their typology.

## 5. Multinomial Logit Model: Predicting the Career Path

To the best of our knowledge, McVicar and Anyadike-Danes (2002) is the only existing study to successfully use output from OM-based cluster analysis as the dependent variable in further explanatory analysis – a multinomial logit model of transition type for a sample of young people in Northern Ireland. Here we build on that earlier work with considerably more detailed data, using the clusters identified in the previous section and the individual and family characteristics introduced there. Our aim is to see to what extent these characteristics can be used to predict career path. We estimate the model first including only those factors observable at birth, then including those factors observable at age 10 years, and finally adding factors observable at age 16. No information observed (e.g. of activities) beyond compulsory education is used in the prediction.

For both genders, the dependent variables for the logits are defined as follows:  $Y_i=0$  if the young person is in Cluster 1,  $Y_i=1$  if the young person is in Cluster 2,  $Y_i=2$  if the young person is in Cluster 3, and so on.

### 5.1. Males

Our starting point is the ten-cluster solution identified in the previous section. Our first question, however, is whether the logit model successfully distinguishes between all ten clusters or whether some can be aggregated. Cramer and Ridder (1991) set out a test procedure to establish whether the set of coefficients for different values of the dependent variable can be treated as equal, essentially by comparing the log-likelihoods of the disaggregated and aggregated models. Using the dendrogram for the evolution of the ten-cluster solution set out in Figure 3, we first test aggregation of Clusters 4 and 8, then Clusters 4, 8 and 6, and so on. The results suggest that for the purposes of the logit model, Clusters 3,4, 6 and 8 can be aggregated into a single cluster (Cluster X), which is essentially a super-unemployment cluster.<sup>13</sup> The next step of aggregation ‘up’ the dendrogram is to group Clusters 2 and 9 from the ten-cluster solution, but this is rejected at 95%.<sup>14</sup> This leaves us with the seven-cluster solution shown in Figure 3. Because of the small size of Clusters 9

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<sup>13</sup> The test statistic is  $-5.17$  and the 95% critical chi-squared value is 11.59 (with 21 degrees of freedom representing the number of parameter restrictions being imposed).

<sup>14</sup> The test statistic is 7.49 with critical value 2.17.

and 10, we also group these together for the purposes of the logit model into an aggregate ‘other’ cluster (Cluster Z).<sup>15</sup>

We are left with six clusters in the logit model, Cluster X, Cluster Z, and Clusters 1, 2, 5 and 7 from the ten-cluster solution. Tables 7a-7c present the results of the logit model for this cluster solution. Cluster 1 (full-time employment) is the base case.<sup>16</sup>

First consider family background factors observed at birth. There is a clear pattern of significant relationships between parental characteristics and the career paths of the birth cohort. Having a father from outside the managerial and professional classes, having an unemployed father at birth, and being resident in the north all increase the likelihood of various transitions into non-employment relative to the standard transition into employment. Conversely, having parents that left education later, having a father from the managerial or professional classes, and being born later in the mother’s life all increase the chances of the long education into employment transition. These patterns are consistent with existing findings that suggest the social class you are born into is a strong predictor of your eventual success in the labour market (e.g. Bynner et al., 2002), but arguably provide a more comprehensive picture of this eventual labour market success than commonly presented. Pseudo  $R^2$  – a measure of the explanatory power of the regression – is a creditable 0.1, but there is clearly room for the inclusion of more and stronger predictors.

Including variables observed at age 10 years in the regression improves the fit considerably. Some of the factors observed at birth now become insignificant – their explanatory power is absorbed by the factors observed later. Most, however, stay significant (and signed) as before. Having difficulty with maths or reading, having a father with no qualifications or not in regular employment (at age 10), or having received a free school meal in the last twelve months all increase the chances of non-employment career paths. Having a disability that interferes with ordinary life at age ten also, unsurprisingly, strongly increases the chances of being in the permanent other (mostly sickness and disability) cluster and the grouped long-education into other and other into employment clusters. The chances of being in these

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<sup>15</sup> This is not supported by the Cramer-Ridder test at 5%, but is supported at 20%.

<sup>16</sup> Because of insufficient variation within the smaller clusters, the ethnic variable is dropped from the regression. We also drop the variable for resident in the north at age 10 because of the number of missing observations.

clusters are also boosted relative to the full-time employment cluster, interestingly, by your father having a degree. In fact this variable always moves us away from the full-time employment cluster, but not significantly so in the case of some of the other clusters. The factors that increase the chances of a transition into non-employment relative to full-time employment also generally decrease the chances of a transition into employment via long-term education, along with rented accommodation and father having no qualifications.

Finally we include three variables observed at age 16.<sup>17</sup> There is a further reduction in the significance of family factors observed at birth, although they still provide significant predictors of the long education cluster and resident in the north at birth is still significant more generally. There is also a slight reduction in the significance of some of the variables observed at age 10, although these generally hold up well. Of the new variables, having been suspended or excluded from school at some stage is a very strong predictor of all clusters – positive for all non-employment clusters and negative for the long education into employment cluster. Having high-grade qualifications at age 16 is strongly linked with the long education cluster. Having no qualifications at age 16 increases the chances of transitions into non-employment. Interestingly, other things being equal, having no qualifications is also positively linked with the long education into employment cluster (there may be a bimodal distribution here). Remember we do not distinguish between different kinds of post-compulsory education – the long education route could be retakes and vocational further education as well as academic further and higher education. The explanatory power of the regression is again increased.

What do these measures of fit really mean in terms of early identification of those at risk of non-employment career paths? Using the maximum of the predicted probabilities for the six clusters, at all stages the model predicts a majority of transitions correctly. Most males, however, are in the full-time employment group. Because of the small size of the other clusters, they are rarely predicted, with the exception of the long education into employment cluster. A more informative approach is to look at the set of predicted probabilities themselves for a number of specific cases. This is shown in Table 8.

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<sup>17</sup> We do not include any variables observed beyond age 16, as Bynner et al. (2002) do, because our aim is to predict career paths from age 16-30 only with information (realistically) available beforehand.



The mean predicted probabilities are close to the actual proportion of the cohort in each cluster. Middle class achievers are likely to be in the long education into employment group, whereas working class achievers are likely to be in the full-time employment group. Chances of transitions into non-employment are always higher for working class than for middle class cohort members. Working class underachievers have a high probability of falling into the long-term unemployment or permanent other non-employment groups. Finally, disabilities increase the chances of transitions into non-employment, particularly the permanent other group for disabled underachievers. Again, this pattern is stronger for those from the working class.

If government agencies calculated such predicted probabilities from these easily available data and intervened subject to some trigger point (e.g. 0.1 for Cluster X), would this improve the targeting of preventative measures? We believe that it might, although there remains a lot of variation not captured by the model. Clearly further exploration of this as a policy tool is warranted, however.

## 5.2. Females

As for males, we start with the ten-cluster solution and see whether any clusters can be aggregated according to the Cramer-Ridder test. We reject the aggregation of Clusters 5 and 7 so are unable to ‘move up’ the dendrogram from the ten cluster solution (see Figure 4).<sup>18</sup> We also test whether we can aggregate Clusters 9 and 10 and Clusters 6 and 10 due to their small sizes, but both moves are rejected.<sup>19</sup> The logit is therefore estimated for the full ten-cluster solution. Tables 9a-9c present the results from the regression.

Despite a low pseudo  $R^2$  the covariates measured at birth display a number of significant relationships with cluster membership.<sup>20</sup> As for the males, social advantage, e.g. father in the managerial or professional classes and parents leaving education later, increases the likelihood of being in the long education cluster (Cluster 2) relative to Cluster 1. Social disadvantage increases the likelihood of an early transition into home duties (Clusters 3 & 4).

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<sup>18</sup> The test statistic is 68.9, with 95% critical value 2.17.

<sup>19</sup> Test statistics of 16.12 and 16.04 respectively.

<sup>20</sup> The ethnic minority and father unemployed indicators are dropped because of insufficient variation in the smaller clusters.

Including covariates measured at age 10 years increases the overall explanatory power of the regression but slightly reduces the number of significant relationships with variables measured at birth and cluster membership. As for males, there is a strong link between the disability indicator at age 10 and membership of the permanent other non-employment cluster (Cluster 6). Paternal qualifications are linked with membership of the long-education cluster and, with opposite signs, with membership of the early transition into the home cluster (Cluster 3). Those with fathers not in regular employment and living in crowded and rented accommodation are more likely to move into looking after the home early. Difficulty with maths or reading variously act as predictors of membership of the non-employment clusters and reduce the likelihood of membership of the long education cluster.

Finally, including covariates measured at age 16 years increases the overall explanatory power of the regression further while reducing the significance of the factors measured at birth as predictors. These factors, together with those measured at age 10, remain significant in many cases, however. Of the new covariates, high grade qualifications increase chances of the long education cluster and decrease chances of most transitions into non-employment, having no qualifications generally has the opposite effect, and having been suspended or excluded from school increases chances of the transitions into non-employment that entail the least employment. The exception to this, as for the males, is the positive link between having no qualifications and membership of Cluster 2 relative to Cluster 1 – suggestive of a possible bimodal distribution, in terms of qualifications, for those staying on longer in post-compulsory education. Our findings are consistent with those of Elliot *et al.* (2001), who find qualifications to be strongly associated with the timing of motherhood in the UK.

Because of the greater spread of cohort members across the clusters for the females (i.e. there are other ‘big’ clusters in addition to Cluster 1), the model predicts more transitions outside of Cluster 1 correctly than for the males. As for the males, however, we find a more useful exercise is to present the predicted probabilities for each cluster for a number of example individuals, as shown in Table 10.

Once again, the mean predicted probabilities are close to the actual proportions of the cohort in each cluster. As for males, middle class achievers are likely to be in the long education into employment group, but in contrast, working class female achievers are likely to be split evenly between the education and full-time employment groups. Working class underachievers are most likely to fall into the early home cluster, whereas middle class underachievers are most likely to fall into the full-time employment cluster. Having a disability at age 10 years appears to have less effect on predicted probabilities for females than for males, with the exception of the high probability of membership of Cluster 6 for working class under-achievers.

## 6. Sensitivity Analysis

As discussed in Section 3 one criticism of OM methods has been the assignation of substitution costs necessary to derive distance measures between sequences. We assume costs that we believe sensible and consistent with the notion of ‘distance from the labour market’. It is important to examine how sensitive our results are to these assumptions, however. Here we repeat the exercise of Sections 3 and 4 using a substitution cost matrix where all substitutions cost the same – the unit cost matrix. This has been used in previous studies where there is no clear reason to assign different costs to different substitutions. As before we examine the ten cluster solution.<sup>21</sup>

For males, once again we find a large cluster, with about three-quarters of the sample, dominated by full-time employment. There is also a large education into employment cluster, very similar to that described in Section 4. There are permanent unemployment and permanent other non-employment clusters as before, although slightly larger in size and slightly broader in scope. Similarly, one cluster now encompasses both Clusters 8 and 10 from Section 4 – other non-employment into employment. Generally, our clusters therefore appear very robust to (major) changes in the substitution costs assumed. In many ways this is no surprise, since there are distinct ‘types’ of career path in the data, e.g. those always employed and those usually non-employed. These differences will be picked up using any sensible assumptions on substitution costs.

What the unit cost matrix gives us that we didn’t pick up originally are three clusters identifying the self-employed. Again, this is expected since self-employment is now no less different from employment than unemployment, for example. One cluster (n=179) is a permanent self-employment cluster, with mean (standard deviation) of 128.7 (22.9) months in self-employment. One is an employment into self-employment cluster (n=115), and the other is an education into self-employment cluster (n=72). In both these clusters the transition to self-employment takes place around the early twenties.

For the females, again we find a similar large full-time employment cluster accounting for around half the sample, and again we see a large long education into employment cluster.

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<sup>21</sup> We do not report results in full here to save space. These results are available on request from the authors, however.

The three previous home clusters have amalgamated into a larger home cluster with varying entrance ages, alongside two smaller clusters identifying late movers to home and those with long education spells initially. There is a larger, but otherwise similar ‘employment with home break’ cluster. The unemployment and other non-employment clusters from Section 4 are here merged into a single cluster. Again, the cluster picture looks robust to changes in the assumed substitution costs. What is new for females here, reflecting the self-employment clusters for males, are two part-time employment clusters – one permanent part-time employment cluster and one education into part-time employment cluster.

An examination of the characteristics of the members of the ‘new’ clusters gives a very similar picture to those shown in Tables 4 and 6. Given this, our interest is in what characterises the self-employed and the part-time employed compared to the full-time employed. There is a consistent pattern here – the self-employed are more likely to be from the north, to have received free school meals, to have lived in rented accommodation, to have fewer qualifications at age 16 and to have been suspended or excluded from school. In the terms of Table 8, these are more likely to look like working class under-achievers than high fliers at age 16. The picture for female part-time employees compared to full-time employees is not so clear, but nonetheless interesting. There is a similar pattern of the more disadvantaged and less qualified being more likely to be employed part-time, but those that have a mixture of full-time and part-time employment during their careers are the least advantaged of these. The permanently part-time employed are more advantaged than this group, though still less advantaged than the permanently full-time employed.

So far our analysis has been based on annual mode activities. In their analysis, Schoon et al. (2001) use the activity measured in April of each year as their measure of that year’s labour market status. We also examine the robustness of our results to adopting this alternative measure of annual activity.

For males the ten cluster solution using April activities is very similar to that using annual models. All the clusters discussed in Section 4 have corresponding clusters here, and generally they are of similar size. The main difference is that the employment into unemployment cluster here is somewhat broader and less distinct than the annual mode case. For females, the picture is also very similar to that presented in Section 4. There are two ‘new’ clusters, however. One is a large employment into part-time employment cluster, often

with short spells of home duties included. The other is a small home into part-time employment cluster. As we might expect, the characteristics of cluster members, whether based on April activities or annual modes, are very similar. Overall, we find no reason ex post to favour either the annual mode or April activity measure – both lead to very similar solutions.

## 7. Concluding Remarks

This paper makes a key contribution to the social science literature applying OM techniques in a number of ways. Perhaps most importantly, we show that the output from OM-based cluster analysis can lead straightforwardly to successful further explanatory analysis. This further analysis is not a token regression added on merely to make this point, but a detailed model of career paths with considerable potential policy implications. We show how our regression model can feed back into the cluster analysis helping to determine the appropriate number of clusters *ex post*. Although we leave a detailed presentation of the arguments for OM versus more standard statistical techniques to a later paper, we attempt throughout this paper to show how, at least in the context of career paths, many of the assumptions behind OM techniques may not be quite as unreasonable as some critics believe. Abbott believes we are still waiting for a decisive social science application of OM and that until such an application exists, OM techniques will not break into the mainstream. An alternative view is that the acceptance of OM techniques may be more incremental, as a growing number of successful and potentially useful applications find their way into the literature. This paper is intended as a small, but significant, step in that direction.

In terms of predicting success in the adult labour market, what does this paper add to the literature? We believe its key contribution to be the *comprehensiveness* of scope made possible by the richness of the data and by non-standard methods for distinguishing alternative routes through (or outside) the adult labour market. Studies focussing on labour market status at a particular point in time are unlikely to tell us as much about the differential timing of motherhood, for example, or differences in the persistence of alternative forms of non-employment across characteristics. We are certainly unaware of any existing study, at least of such rich data, that combines both longitudinal mapping and a predictive model of career paths in any similar way.

Finally, we believe the model presented here to have potential uses for policy makers interested in early intervention to reduce future long-term non-employment. Using information at birth, age 10 and age 16, easily observable by policy makers, the model calculates individual-level predicted probabilities for alternative types of career path. It gives policy makers the potential to improve the targeting of particular types of intervention at

those young people with a high risk of experiencing a particular type of non-employment career path.



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**Table 1: 'Standard' Substitution Costs, Males.**

	Training	Emp	Self	Unemp	Other
Education	1	2	2	2	3
Training		2	2	2	3
Employment			1	2	3
Self-employed				2	3
Unemployment					2

Note: Indel costs are set at 1.5.

**Table 2: 'Standard' Substitution Costs, Females.**

	Training	FT Emp	PT Emp	Unemp	Home	Other
Education	1	2	2	2	3	3
Training		2	2	2	3	3
FT Employment			1	2	3	3
PT Employment				2	2	3
Unemployment					2	2
Home						2

Note: Indel costs are set at 1.5.

**Table 3: Mean and Standard Deviation Months in Activities by Cluster, Males**

<b>Cluster</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Size</b>	<b>Emp</b>	<b>Self-Emp</b>	<b>Unemp</b>	<b>Educ</b>	<b>Train</b>	<b>Other Non-Emp</b>
<b>1</b>	FT Emp	3761	128.5 (37.5)	13.5 (34.2)	3.0 (8.9)	8.1 (14.2)	2.9 (8.0)	1.0 (4.6)
<b>2</b>	Emp into other non-emp	48	52.3 (25.4)	4.3 (15.9)	17.6 (30.7)	1.1 (3.4)	7.1 (12.8)	74.6 (19.7)
<b>3</b>	Emp into unemp	40	66.5 (24.7)	6.7 (14.2)	44.0 (40.3)	6.6 (14.1)	4.3 (9.0)	29.1 (26.9)
<b>4</b>	Long unemp early-mid 20s	76	67.6 (28.9)	4.6 (12.2)	61.6 (31.6)	6.2 (11.6)	9.8 (16.5)	7.1 (13.6)
<b>5</b>	Permanent other non-emp	59	7.1 (11.6)	1.5 (5.8)	8.0 (22.0)	2.6 (8.3)	3.0 (8.3)	134.8 (26.0)
<b>6</b>	Permanent unemp	58	11.1 (13.9)	1.0 (4.7)	123.0 (29.7)	4.2 (12.3)	9.4 (15.8)	8.2 (13.5)
<b>7</b>	Long educ into emp	892	68.0 (26.1)	5.3 (16.5)	3.6 (9.2)	75.2 (22.0)	2.1 (14.3)	2.7 (7.3)
<b>8</b>	Short other non-emp into emp	31	56.3 (35.3)	29.2 (44.1)	9.2 (18.2)	8.4 (15.0)	10.5 (21.4)	43.4 (19.9)
<b>9</b>	Long educ into other non-emp	9	14.8 (17.8)	0	2.0 (6.0)	60.2 (24.9)	12.0 (36.0)	68.0 (22.9)
<b>10</b>	Long other non-emp into emp	20	35.3 (24.6)	12.1 (20.4)	17.8 (26.9)	11.2 (17.8)	4.4 (13.6)	76.3 (21.7)

Note: Standard deviations in parentheses.

**Table 4: Sample Means and Standard Deviations of Background, Characteristic and Qualifications Variables, Males**

<b>CLUSTER→</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Measured at birth</b>										
Ethnic	.021 (.143)	.026 (.159)	.049 (.216)	.058 (.233)	.043 (.202)	.086 (.281)	.059 (.235)	.080 (.272)	0	.22 (.416)
Mothers age at delivery	25.6 (5.41)	25.7 (7.14)	25.0 (5.07)	25.3 (5.54)	27.0 (6.93)	25.3 (7.11)	27.0 (5.07)	24.0 (5.09)	30.6 (2.75)	27.6 (8.23)
Mothers age left FT educ	15.5 (1.29)	15.0 (.647)	15.3 (.699)	15.3 (.952)	15.4 (1.13)	15.5 (1.26)	17.0 (2.46)	15.5 (1.04)	16.6 (2.12)	15.9 (2.06)
Fathers age left FT educ	15.6 (1.78)	15.2 (.801)	15.5 (1.52)	15.2 (.958)	15.6 (1.55)	15.4 (1.68)	17.6 (3.45)	15.1 (.781)	16.4 (1.53)	15.8 (3.13)
Fathers social class I, II	.118 (.322)	.110 (.313)	.073 (.260)	.055 (.229)	.096 (.294)	.052 (.222)	.382 (.486)	0	.131 (.338)	.062 (.241)
Father unemployed	.029 (.168)	.030 (.170)	.088 (.283)	.049 (.216)	.065 (.246)	.041 (.198)	.019 (.137)	0	0	.139 (.346)
Resident in north	.427 (.495)	.531 (.499)	.485 (.500)	.591 (.492)	.542 (.498)	.680 (.467)	.433 (.496)	.539 (.499)	.397 (.490)	.542 (.498)
<b>Measured at age 10</b>										
Disability interfere with ordinary life	.07 (.249)	.08 (.279)	.08 (.275)	.15 (.356)	.31 (.463)	.06 (.229)	.05 (.227)	.12 (.323)	.18 (.386)	.22 (.412)
Father has degree	.06 (.245)	.04 (.206)	.08 (.273)	.06 (.229)	.12 (.329)	.02 (.141)	.28 (.447)	.03 (.175)	.25 (.435)	.12 (.323)
Father has no qualifications	.34 (.474)	.46 (.498)	.35 (.477)	.51 (.500)	.33 (.469)	.46 (.498)	.18 (.384)	.40 (.490)	.33 (.469)	.39 (.489)
Father in regular employment	.79 (.407)	.73 (.444)	.71 (.452)	.63 (.484)	.67 (.469)	.48 (.500)	.83 (.373)	.68 (.467)	.58 (.494)	.70 (.457)
Difficulty with maths	.36 (.481)	.55 (.498)	.39 (.487)	.58 (.493)	.52 (.500)	.39 (.487)	.16 (.364)	.45 (.498)	.54 (.499)	.23 (.423)

**Table 4: Sample Means and Standard Deviations of Background, Characteristic and Qualifications Variables, Males cont'd**

CLUSTER→	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>Measured at birth</b>										
Difficulty with reading	.26 (.441)	.27 (.443)	.25 (.431)	.32 (.468)	.52 (.500)	.37 (.482)	.10 (.302)	.25 (.431)	.31 (.465)	.35 (.477)
Received free school meal last 12 months	.14 (.348)	.21 (.411)	.21 (.408)	.28 (.451)	.37 (.482)	.42 (.494)	.05 (.221)	.21 (.409)	0	.17 (.375)
Person density in accommodation	1.54 (.423)	1.67 (.459)	1.68 (.479)	1.69 (.612)	1.49 (.457)	1.62 (.597)	1.38 (.419)	1.64 (.480)	1.57 (.272)	1.76 (.485)
Rented accommodation	.376 (.484)	.547 (.498)	.436 (.496)	.553 (.497)	.534 (.499)	.666 (.472)	.120 (.324)	.448 (.497)	.563 (.497)	.325 (.468)
Resident in north	.441 (.496)	.548 (.498)	.548 (.498)	.584 (.493)	.542 (.498)	.706 (.456)	.438 (.496)	.585 (.493)	.738 (.443)	.512 (.500)
<b>Measured at age 16</b>										
Number GCEs A-C or CSE grade 1s	1.61 (2.58)	.763 (2.01)	.953 (2.00)	.645 (1.56)	.593 (1.57)	.417 (1.27)	5.62 (4.01)	.952 (2.49)	5.80 (4.46)	.441 (1.04)
Ever suspended or excluded from school	.157 (.363)	.361 (.480)	.372 (.484)	.262 (.440)	.282 (.450)	.380 (.485)	.056 (.230)	.246 (.431)	.144 (.351)	.400 (.491)
No qualifications	.467 (.499)	.796 (.403)	.537 (.499)	.601 (.490)	.787 (.409)	.767 (.423)	.186 (.389)	.603 (.489)	.326 (.469)	.733 (.443)

Note: Standard deviations in parentheses.

**Table 5: Mean and Standard Deviation Months in Activities by Cluster, Females**

<b>Cluster</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Size</b>	<b>FT Emp</b>	<b>PT Emp</b>	<b>Unemp</b>	<b>Educ</b>	<b>Train</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Other Non-Emp</b>
<b>1</b>	FT Emp	2894	122.8 (35.9)	16.7 (32.3)	1.2 (5.3)	10.2 (13.5)	1.9 (5.8)	3.2 (8.5)	0.9 (3.9)
<b>2</b>	Long educ into FT emp	1076	72.8 (25.7)	6.4 (14.7)	2.9 (9.5)	66.9 (24.8)	2.3 (12.1)	1.8 (7.3)	3.8 (9.6)
<b>3</b>	Home starting teens	336	13.6 (14.8)	9.5 (15.2)	2.4 (9.6)	3.2 (8.1)	3.7 (9.3)	122.7 (20.9)	1.8 (7.7)
<b>4</b>	Emp into home early 20s	265	42.3 (20.9)	17.0 (22.1)	2.7 (10.3)	5.8 (13.4)	2.8 (8.1)	84.7 (18.9)	1.7 (7.0)
<b>5</b>	Emp into home late 20s	374	71.9 (26.7)	13.7 (25.7)	4.2 (13.3)	9.3 (16.5)	2.6 (9.0)	50.0 (24.5)	5.3 (15.3)
<b>6</b>	Permanent other non-employed	38	4.7 (9.6)	0.4 (2.0)	1.3 (4.9)	6.8 (14.8)	1.5 (4.9)	3.9 (18.8)	138.4 (25.7)
<b>7</b>	FT emp, Home break, PT emp	91	44.7 (33.3)	71.5 (34.6)	0.9 (3.0)	3.7 (8.1)	1.1 (3.9)	31.9 (14.9)	3.3 (9.6)
<b>8</b>	Long-term unemp	91	33.9 (27.5)	16.3 (24.4)	61.7 (54.7)	5.7 (13.0)	3.2 (6.7)	13.1 (22.6)	23.1 (32.4)
<b>9</b>	Home into PT/FT emp	49	27.1 (23.2)	35.5 (31.4)	3.9 (11.0)	17.3 (23.4)	2.2 (5.8)	68.0 (21.2)	3.0 (9.8)
<b>10</b>	Other non- employed into FT emp	24	45.6 (17.5)	3.8 (8.5)	3.3 (7.5)	19.9 (23.6)	3.3 (11.5)	2.3 (6.9)	78.7 (24.4)

Note: Standard deviations in parentheses.



**Table 6: Sample Means and Standard Deviations of Background, Characteristic and Qualifications Variables, Females**

<b>CLUSTER→</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Measured at birth...</b>										
Ethnic	.026 (.158)	.053 (.223)	.051 (.220)	.046 (.209)	.027 (.161)	.05 (.221)	.011 (.104)	.090 (.287)	.040 (.198)	.081 (.279)
Mothers age at delivery	25.8 (5.51)	27.03 (5.32)	24.3 (6.36)	24.7 (6.22)	25.3 (5.13)	25.3 (5.06)	23.7 (5.92)	26.1 (6.61)	23.4 (4.86)	26.3 (7.83)
Mothers age left FT educ	15.3 (2.68)	16.7 (4.7)	14.6 (2.77)	15.3 (5.91)	15.2 (2.03)	14.4 (4.12)	15.5 (1.55)	14.6 (3.35)	15.7 (1.70)	15.3 (5.75)
Fathers age left FT educ	15.1 (4.99)	16.8 (6.09)	14.0 (4.38)	14.1 (7.42)	14.9 (4.05)	13.4 (5.93)	15.4 (2.8)	13.3 (5.51)	14.0 (5.42)	15.2 (4.7)
Fathers social class I, II	.126 (.332)	.365 (.482)	.051 (.219)	.058 (.233)	.107 (.31)	.054 (.229)	.069 (.254)	.073 (.262)	.088 (.287)	.309 (.473)
Father unemployed	.031 (.173)	.014 (.116)	.067 (.251)	.029 (.169)	.037 (.188)	.112 (.321)	.052 (.224)	.106 (.310)	0	0
Resident in north	.439 (.496)	.435 (.496)	.495 (.501)	.415 (.494)	.411 (.493)	.475 (.506)	.411 (.495)	.531 (.502)	.568 (.501)	.387 (.498)
<b>Measured at age 10</b>										
Disability interfere with ordinary life	.05 (.221)	.05 (.224)	.08 (.270)	.07 (.251)	.08 (.266)	.44 (.505)	.09 (.289)	.08 (.269)	.02 (.158)	.13 (.348)
Father has degree	.07 (.255)	.27 (.444)	.02 (.122)	.04 (.168)	.05 (.221)	.05 (.219)	.05 (.22)	.02 (.144)	.02 (.138)	.08 (.283)
Father has no qualifications	.32 (.468)	.18 (.38)	.46 (.499)	.42 (.494)	.36 (.48)	.43 (.502)	.37 (.485)	.47 (.502)	.42 (.499)	.25 (.441)
Father in regular employment	.78 (.417)	.80 (.402)	.61 (.488)	.70 (.461)	.75 (.431)	.72 (.454)	.69 (.464)	.63 (.485)	.612 (.493)	.83 (.382)
Difficulty with maths	.39 (.487)	.29 (.454)	.45 (.498)	.45 (.499)	.45 (.498)	.80 (.406)	.45 (.50)	.47 (.502)	.38 (.491)	.55 (.51)

**Table 6: Sample Means and Standard Deviations of Background, Characteristic and Qualifications Variables, Females cont'd**

CLUSTER→	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>Measured at birth...</b>										
Difficulty with reading	.13 (.339)	.07 (.255)	.25 (.431)	.20 (.398)	.20 (.403)	.47 (.507)	.16 (.372)	.24 (.43)	.18 (.393)	.09 (.297)
Received free school meal last 12 months	.13 (.336)	.07 (.254)	.35 (.477)	.24 (.425)	.160 (.363)	.28 (.458)	.23 (.422)	.23 (.422)	.38 (.491)	.05 (.213)
Person density in accommodation	1.50 (.404)	1.36 (.392)	1.70 (.439)	1.65 (.509)	1.59 (.445)	1.52 (.362)	1.55 (.374)	1.66 (.403)	1.72 (.476)	1.46 (.483)
Rented accommodation	.325 (.468)	.142 (.349)	.635 (.482)	.568 (.496)	.44 (.497)	.548 (.506)	.513 (.503)	.622 (.488)	.58 (.50)	.175 (.389)
Resident in north	.450 (.498)	.452 (.498)	.478 (.500)	.428 (.496)	.406 (.492)	.626 (.496)	.394 (.492)	.482 (.503)	.53 (.505)	.497 (.515)
<b>Measured at age 16</b>										
Number GCEs A-C or CSE grade 1s	1.23 (2.19)	3.87 (3.48)	.27 (1.14)	.50 (1.39)	.67 (1.69)	.05 (.221)	.39 (1.05)	.31 (.983)	.14 (.447)	1.40 (2.17)
Ever suspended or excluded from school	.044 (.206)	.028 (.163)	.16 (.367)	.105 (.307)	.07 (.257)	.160 (.372)	.08 (.272)	.131 (.339)	.121 (.330)	.085 (.286)
No qualifications	.499 (.500)	.319 (.466)	.780 (.415)	.644 (.480)	.626 (.484)	.743 (.443)	.670 (.462)	.769 (.424)	.712 (.442)	.457 (.509)

Note: Standard deviations in parentheses.

**Table 7a: Logit Model, Males, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities),  
Covariates Measured at Birth**

	<b>C2 v C1</b>	<b>CX v C1</b>	<b>C5 v C1</b>	<b>C7 v C1</b>	<b>CZ v C1</b>
<b>Measured at birth...</b>					
Mothers age at delivery	-.009 (.029)	-.017 (.015)	.030 (.026)	.034** (.009)	.092** (.038)
Mothers age left FT educ	-.382** (.193)	.025 (.086)	-.042 (.146)	.298** (.030)	.192 (.150)
Fathers age left FT educ	-.103 (.143)	-.105 (.076)	.044 (.100)	.121** (.022)	.131 (.114)
Fathers social class I, II	.335 (.502)	-.684* (.363)	-.243 (.518)	.693** (.115)	-.971 (.833)
Father unemployed	-.213 (1.02)	.395 (.404)	.825 (.611)	-.450 (.356)	1.28* (.763)
Resident in north	.499 (.326)	.541** (.168)	.508* (.305)	.281** (.094)	.541 (.457)
<b>Pseudo R<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>.099</b>		<b>Sample size (n)</b>		<b>3999</b>

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. \* denotes significant at 10% and \*\* at 5%. Constants are estimated but not reported.

**Table 7b: Logit Model, Males, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities),  
Covariates Measured at Birth and Age 10**

	C2 v C1	CX v C1	C5 v C1	C7 v C1	CZ v C1
<b>Measured at birth...</b>					
Mothers age at delivery	-.027 (.035)	-.015 (.017)	.036 (.031)	.036** (.010)	.062 (.047)
Mothers age left FT educ	-.213 (.231)	.080 (.094)	-.058 (.166)	.216** (.033)	.219 (.160)
Fathers age left FT educ	-.168 (.192)	-.052 (.086)	.062 (.105)	.078** (.026)	.082 (.137)
Fathers social class I, II	.498 (.592)	-.726* (.426)	-.421 (.620)	.474** (.132)	-.950 (.944)
Father unemployed	-.020 (1.04)	-.641 (.610)	.391 (.782)	-.281 (.399)	1.41* (.822)
Resident in north	.225 (.381)	.405** (.191)	.278 (.349)	.320** (.105)	1.20** (.607)
<b>Measured at age 10</b>					
Disability interfere with ordinary life	-.163 (.749)	.206 (.313)	1.68** (.378)	-.021 (.211)	1.50** (.634)
Father has degree	.691 (.848)	.668 (.460)	1.07* (.634)	.401** (.155)	1.88** (.857)
Father has no qualifications	.040 (.405)	.539** (.201)	.014 (.392)	-.318** (.133)	.389 (.635)
Father in regular employment	-.374 (.650)	-.838** (.282)	.334 (.571)	-.218 (.236)	-.451 (.942)
Difficulty with maths	.811** (.387)	.325* (.192)	.367 (.358)	-.962** (.133)	-.175 (.585)
Difficulty with reading	-.343 (.452)	-.060 (.214)	.728** (.366)	-.744** (.158)	.275 (.602)

**Table 7b: Logit Model, Males, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities), Covariates Measured at Birth and Age 10 cont'd**

	C2 v C1	CX v C1	C5 v C1	C7 v C1	CZ v C1
<b>Measured at birth...</b>					
Received free school meal last 12 months	-.107 (.593)	.280 (.262)	1.13** (.461)	-.469* (.240)	-.426 (.922)
Person density in accommodation	.145 (.426)	.301 (.194)	-.284 (.418)	-.191 (.149)	.852* (.473)
Rented accommodation	.528 (.419)	.331 (.212)	.616 (.410)	-.838** (.159)	.240 (.661)
<b>Pseudo R<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>.159</b>		<b>Sample size (n)</b>	<b>3367</b>	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. \* denotes significant at 10% and \*\* at 5%. Constants are estimated but not reported.

**Table 7c: Logit Model, Males, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities), All Covariates**

	C2 v C1	CX v C1	C5 v C1	C7 v C1	CZ v C1
<b>Measured at birth...</b>					
Mothers age at delivery	-.025 (.035)	-.011 (.017)	.035 (.031)	.031** (.011)	.064 (.046)
Mothers age left FT educ	-.209 (.238)	.093 (.094)	-.098 (.168)	.194** (.035)	.180 (.172)
Fathers age left FT educ	-.153 (.192)	-.044 (.086)	.077 (.109)	.065** (.028)	.085 (.149)
Fathers social class I, II	.629 (.600)	-.683 (.432)	-.290 (.636)	.344** (.144)	-1.04 (1.00)
Father unemployed	.102 (1.05)	-.669 (.615)	.276 (.804)	-.279 (.428)	1.35 (.843)
Resident in north	.145 (.384)	.374* (.192)	.192 (.357)	.366** (.113)	1.23** (.614)
<b>Measured at age 10</b>					
Disability interfere with ordinary life	-.176 (.751)	.182 (.315)	1.67** (.386)	.117 (.221)	1.49** (.640)
Father has degree	.830 (.855)	.693 (.468)	1.01 (.653)	.346** (.169)	1.84** (.887)
Father has no qualifications	.044 (.408)	.540** (.202)	.023 (.395)	-.183 (.142)	.361 (.640)
Father in regular employment	-.193 (.670)	-.767** (.287)	.527 (.592)	-.262 (.252)	-.316 (.994)
Difficulty with maths	.829** (.392)	.329* (.194)	.359 (.364)	-.710** (.140)	-.181 (.595)
Difficulty with reading	-.557 (.458)	-.133 (.216)	.582 (.373)	-.393** (.168)	.201 (.622)

**Table 7c: Logit Model, Males, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities),  
All Covariates cont'd**

	<b>C2 v C1</b>	<b>CX v C1</b>	<b>C5 v C1</b>	<b>C7 v C1</b>	<b>CZ v C1</b>
<b>Measured at birth...</b>					
Received free school meal last 12 months	-.079 (.603)	.281 (.264)	1.19** (.475)	-.423* (.266)	-.473 (.971)
Person density in accommodation	.008 (.429)	.220 (.195)	-.388 (.436)	.076 (.156)	.704 (.479)
Rented accommodation	.385 (.426)	.262 (.213)	.523 (.415)	-.608** (.168)	.112 (.677)
<b>Measured at age 16</b>					
Number GCE A-Cs or CSE Grade 1s	-.035 (.157)	-.061 (.060)	.072 (.126)	.274** (.021)	.091 (.138)
Ever suspended/excluded from school	.917** (.409)	.697** (.212)	.831** (.386)	-.665** (.213)	1.30** (.554)
No qualifications	1.32** (.592)	.289 (.234)	1.47** (.590)	.391** (.172)	.849 (.783)
<b>Pseudo R<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>.228</b>		<b>Sample size (n)</b>		<b>3367</b>

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. \* denotes significant at 10% and \*\* at 5%. Constants are estimated but not reported.

**Table 8: Some Example Predicted Probabilities, Males, Based on Full Model**

	<b>P(1)</b>	<b>P(2)</b>	<b>P(X)</b>	<b>P(5)</b>	<b>P(7)</b>	<b>P(Z)</b>
Average cohort member	.761	.009	.037	.011	.178	.004
Middle class achiever	.113	0	.001	.001	.884	.001
Working class achiever	.653	.003	.031	.006	.298	.010
Middle class under-achiever	.728	.010	.046	.076	.120	.019
Working class under-achiever	.646	.044	.171	.098	.006	.034
Middle class achiever with disability	.233	0	.004	.022	.734	.007
Working class achiever with disability	.689	.003	.047	.093	.127	.042
Middle class under-achiever with disability	.498	.006	.038	.304	.097	.058
Working class under-achiever with disability	.400	.023	.127	.353	.005	.094



**Table 9a: Logit Model, Females, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities),  
Covariates Measured at Birth**

	C2vC1	C3vC1	C4vC1	C5vC1	C6vC1	C7vC1	C8vC1	C9vC1	C10vC1
<b>Measured at birth...</b>									
Mothers age at delivery	.029** (.007)	-.044** (.011)	-.029** (.012)	-.014 (.011)	-.016 (.030)	-.069** (.020)	.026 (.019)	-.073** (.027)	.004 (.039)
Mothers age left FT educ	.173** (.023)	-.067** (.022)	.039 (.034)	-.014 (.026)	-.068 (.051)	.051 (.069)	-.002 (.043)	.146** (.059)	-.051 (.081)
Fathers age left FT educ	.026** (.008)	-.021 (.014)	-.041** (.014)	-.003 (.014)	-.038 (.036)	.017 (.019)	-.058** (.022)	-.036 (.031)	.004 (.049)
Fathers social class I, II	.991** (.098)	-.724** (.267)	-.731** (.287)	-.125 (.187)	-.693 (.736)	-.593 (.443)	-.457 (.435)	-.221 (.547)	1.13** (.480)
Resident in north	.081 (.080)	.219 (.405)	-.109 (.138)	-.117 (.116)	.122 (.337)	-.153 (.228)	.259 (.229)	.599* (.312)	-.142 (.430)
<b>Pseudo R<sup>2</sup></b>			<b>.043</b>			<b>Sample size (n)</b>			<b>4815</b>

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. \* denotes significant at 10% and \*\* at 5%. Constants are estimated but not reported.

**Table 9b: Logit Model, Females, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities),  
Covariates Measured at Birth and Age 10**

	C2vC1	C3vC1	C4vC1	C5vC1	C6vC1	C7vC1	C8vC1	C9vC1	C10vC1
<b>Measured at birth...</b>									
Mothers age at delivery	.033** (.008)	-.038** (.012)	-.022 (.014)	-.012 (.012)	-.022 (.040)	-.076** (.022)	.028 (.022)	-.067** (.034)	-.016 (.044)
Mothers age left FT educ	.097** (.022)	-.030 (.029)	.097** (.029)	.011 (.032)	-.085 (.074)	.075 (.048)	.046 (.062)	.113** (.037)	-.091 (.071)
Fathers age left FT educ	.007 (.009)	-.020 (.017)	-.034** (.017)	-.008 (.016)	.005 (.045)	.013 (.198)	-.048* (.028)	-.047 (.037)	0
Fathers social class I, II	.574** (.114)	-.048 (.298)	-.507 (.334)	.171 (.212)	0	-.343 (.502)	.255 (.465)	.077 (.782)	.831 (.574)
Resident in north	.176** (.090)	-.133 (.142)	-.155 (.154)	-.176 (.133)	.624 (.418)	-.189 (.261)	-.135 (.265)	.524 (.393)	-.437 (.500)
<b>Measured at age 10</b>									
Disability interfere with ordinary life	.106 (.208)	.254 (.279)	.259 (.303)	.458* (.248)	2.30** (.437)	.474 (.484)	.076 (.538)	-.555 (1.04)	.068 (1.04)
Father has degree	.943** (.127)	-1.30* (.729)	.007 (.395)	-.042 (.184)	.290 (1.11)	.099 (.567)	-.163 (.759)	-.099 (1.10)	-.293 (.812)
Father has no qualifications	-.212** (.108)	.481** (.146)	.165 (.159)	.148 (.138)	.579 (.434)	.194 (.274)	.365 (.273)	.064 (.391)	-.632 (.584)
Father in regular employment	-.011 (.179)	-.530** (.198)	-.525** (.228)	-.074 (.229)	.990 (.746)	-.389 (.395)	-.573 (.375)	-.049 (.535)	-.521 (.833)
Difficulty with maths	-.356** (.097)	.178 (.144)	.274* (.155)	.136 (.134)	1.81** (.563)	.197 (.261)	.481* (.266)	-.205 (.403)	.378 (.472)
Difficulty with reading	-.469** (.161)	.623** (.171)	.246 (.201)	.340** (.172)	1.15** (.427)	.073 (.359)	.491 (.316)	.700 (.452)	-.299 (.768)
Received free school meal last 12 months	-.164 (.187)	.582** (.187)	-.014 (.224)	-.080 (.215)	1.04* (.545)	.366 (.372)	-.057 (.375)	.697 (.479)	-.753 (1.14)

**Table 9b: Logit Model, Females, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities), Covariates Measured at Birth and Age 10 cont'd**

	C2vC1	C3vC1	C4vC1	C5vC1	C6vC1	C7vC1	C8vC1	C9vC1	C10vC1
<b>Measured at birth...</b>									
Person density in	-.328**	.542**	.539**	.458**	-.902	.085	.563*	.847**	.154
accommodation	(.127)	(.157)	(.176)	(.157)	(.599)	(.327)	(.295)	(.385)	(.579)
Rented	-.541**	.753**	.831**	.348**	.824*	.411	1.06**	.970**	-1.11
accommodation	(.126)	(.156)	(.168)	(.145)	(.457)	(.287)	(.293)	(.437)	(.785)
	<b>Pseudo R<sup>2</sup></b>		<b>.097</b>		<b>Sample size (n)</b>			<b>4008</b>	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. \* denotes significant at 10% and \*\* at 5%. Constants are estimated but not reported.

**Table 9c: Logit Model, Females, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities), All Covariates**

	C2vC1	C3vC1	C4vC1	C5vC1	C6vC1	C7vC1	C8vC1	C9vC1	C10vC1
<b>Measured at birth...</b>									
Mothers age at delivery	.028** (.009)	-.033** (.013)	-.019 (.014)	-.011 (.012)	-.015 (.039)	-.074** (.023)	.031 (.022)	-.061* (.034)	-.016 (.044)
Mothers age left FT educ	.058** (.021)	-.040 (.030)	.084** (.027)	.013 (.033)	-.086 (.080)	.048 (.041)	.050 (.066)	.120** (.040)	-.095 (.072)
Fathers age left FT educ	0	-.017 (.017)	-.032** (.017)	-.006 (.016)	.010 (.049)	.016 (.022)	-.045 (.028)	-.048 (.036)	.001 (.049)
Fathers social class I, II	.513** (.123)	.015 (.304)	-.442 (.335)	.214 (.214)	0	-.230 (.502)	.323 (.470)	.187 (.789)	.836 (.575)
Resident in north	.184* (.096)	-.086 (.145)	-.131 (.154)	-.165 (.133)	.778* (.430)	-.168 (.261)	-.101 (.266)	.589 (.393)	-.526 (.501)
<b>Measured at age 10</b>									
Disability interfere with ordinary life	.101 (.224)	.212 (.286)	.251 (.305)	.451* (.248)	2.34** (.452)	.491 (.484)	.053 (.541)	-.597 (1.04)	.064 (1.04)
Father has degree	.820** (.137)	-1.29* (.731)	.050 (.396)	-.039 (.286)	-.034 (1.14)	.212 (.569)	-.141 (.771)	.046 (1.10)	-.271 (.813)
Father has no qualifications	-.103 (.114)	.440** (.147)	.137 (.160)	.134 (.138)	.580 (.441)	.171 (.275)	.334 (.273)	.012 (.392)	-.644 (.586)
Father in regular employment	-.129 (.189)	-.405** (.203)	-.469** (.230)	-.044 (.229)	1.44* (.783)	-.362 (.396)	-.512 (.377)	.038 (.545)	-.481 (.832)
Difficulty with maths	-.033 (.104)	.149 (.147)	.227 (.156)	.104 (.135)	1.71** (.566)	.118 (.263)	.429 (.268)	-.303 (.407)	.366 (.480)
Difficulty with reading	-.253 (.169)	.469** (.174)	.154 (.202)	.277 (.172)	1.06** (.441)	-.024 (.360)	.354 (.318)	.552 (.453)	-.306 (.771)
Received free school meal last 12 months	-.159 (.198)	.543** (.190)	-.045 (.225)	-.110 (.215)	1.17** (.552)	.343 (.372)	-.122 (.378)	.654 (.482)	-.731 (1.14)

**Table 9c: Logit Model, Females, Coefficients (Effects on Relative Probabilities),  
All Covariates cont'd**

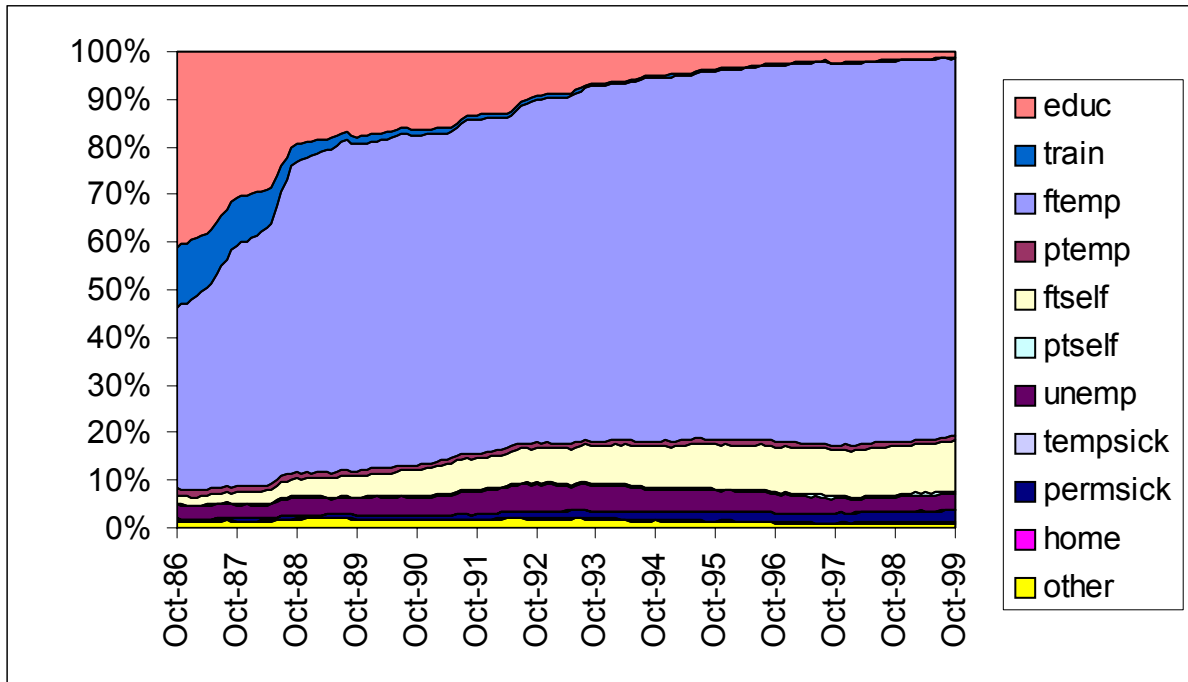
	C2vC1	C3vC1	C4vC1	C5vC1	C6vC1	C7vC1	C8vC1	C9vC1	C10vC1
<b>Measured at birth...</b>									
Person density in accommodation	-.147 (.134)	.464** (.160)	.480** (.177)	.418** (.158)	-1.13* (.624)	.012 (.329)	.502* (.297)	.783** (.391)	.137 (.580)
Rented accommodation	-.328** (.134)	.635** (.158)	.756** (.168)	.294** (.148)	.745 (.464)	.330 (.287)	.954** (.294)	.853* (.436)	-1.10 (.769)
<b>Measured at age 16</b>									
Number of GCE A- Cs or CSE Grade 1s	.346** (.023)	-.125* (.070)	-.125** (.061)	-.055 (.043)	-.830 (.535)	-.223** (.109)	-.213 (.144)	-.532* (.307)	-.016 (.122)
Ever suspended or excluded from school	-.181 (.283)	1.12** (.212)	.490* (.277)	.138 (.282)	1.83** (.533)	.056 (.535)	.667 (.425)	.819 (.562)	.292 (1.05)
No qualifications	.781** (.140)	.755** (.189)	.289 (.183)	.350** (.158)	-.472 (.472)	.052 (.295)	.551* (.334)	.070 (.450)	-.073 (.560)
<b>Pseudo R<sup>2</sup></b>			<b>.144</b>		<b>Sample size (n)</b>			<b>4008</b>	

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. \* denotes significant at 10% and \*\* at 5%. Constants are estimated but not reported.

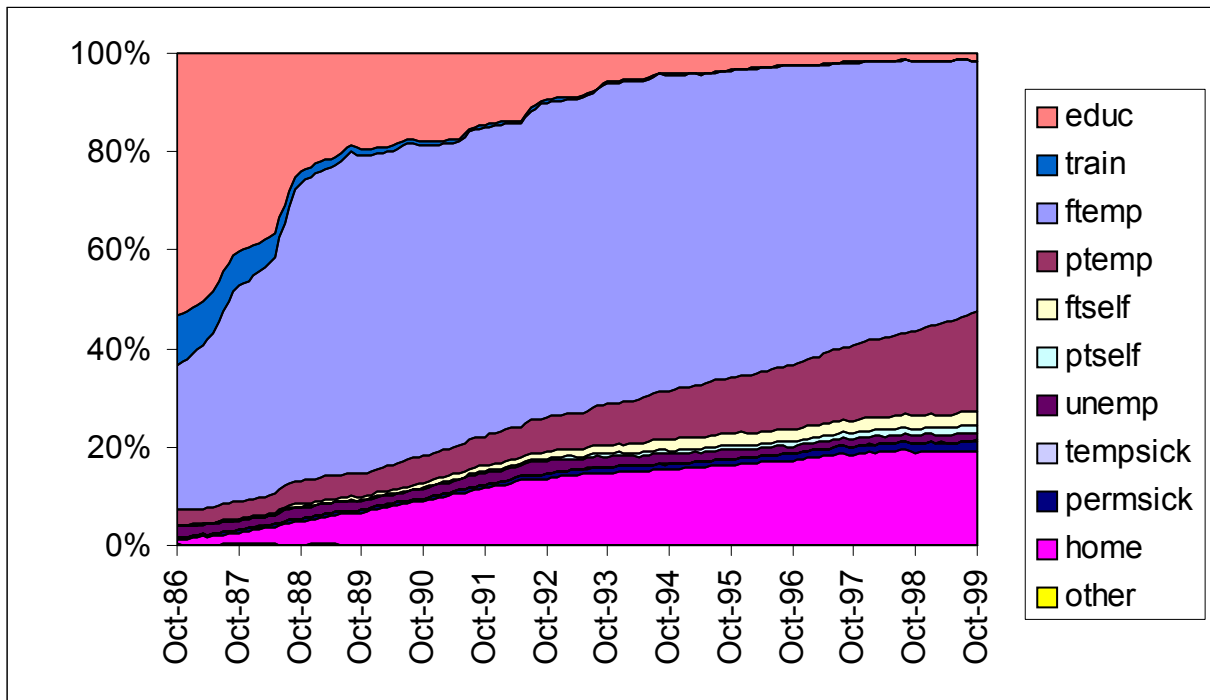
**Table 10: Some Example Predicted Probabilities, Females, Based on Full Model**

	P(1)	P(2)	P(3)	P(4)	P(5)	P(6)	P(7)	P(8)	P(9)	P(10)
Average cohort member	.569	.201	.061	.050	.068	.006	.016	.016	.007	.004
Middle class achiever	.089	.904	0	.001	.004	0	0	0	0	0
Working class achiever	.438	.456	.037	.028	.033	0	.005	.003	0	0
Middle class under-achiever	.498	.286	.023	.046	.088	0	.016	.027	.009	.007
Working class under-achiever	.172	.010	.528	.103	.049	.031	.017	.050	.039	0
Middle class achiever with disability	.117	.867	0	.002	.012	0	.001	0	0	.001
Working class achiever with disability	.445	.339	.079	.049	.073	0	.009	.006	0	0
Middle class underachiever with disability	.463	.274	.025	.053	.125	0	.023	.025	.004	.006
Working class underachiever with disability	.122	.007	.439	.090	.052	.219	.019	.036	.015	0

**Figure 1: Cohort Activities, % of Cohort, October 1986 – October 1999, Males**

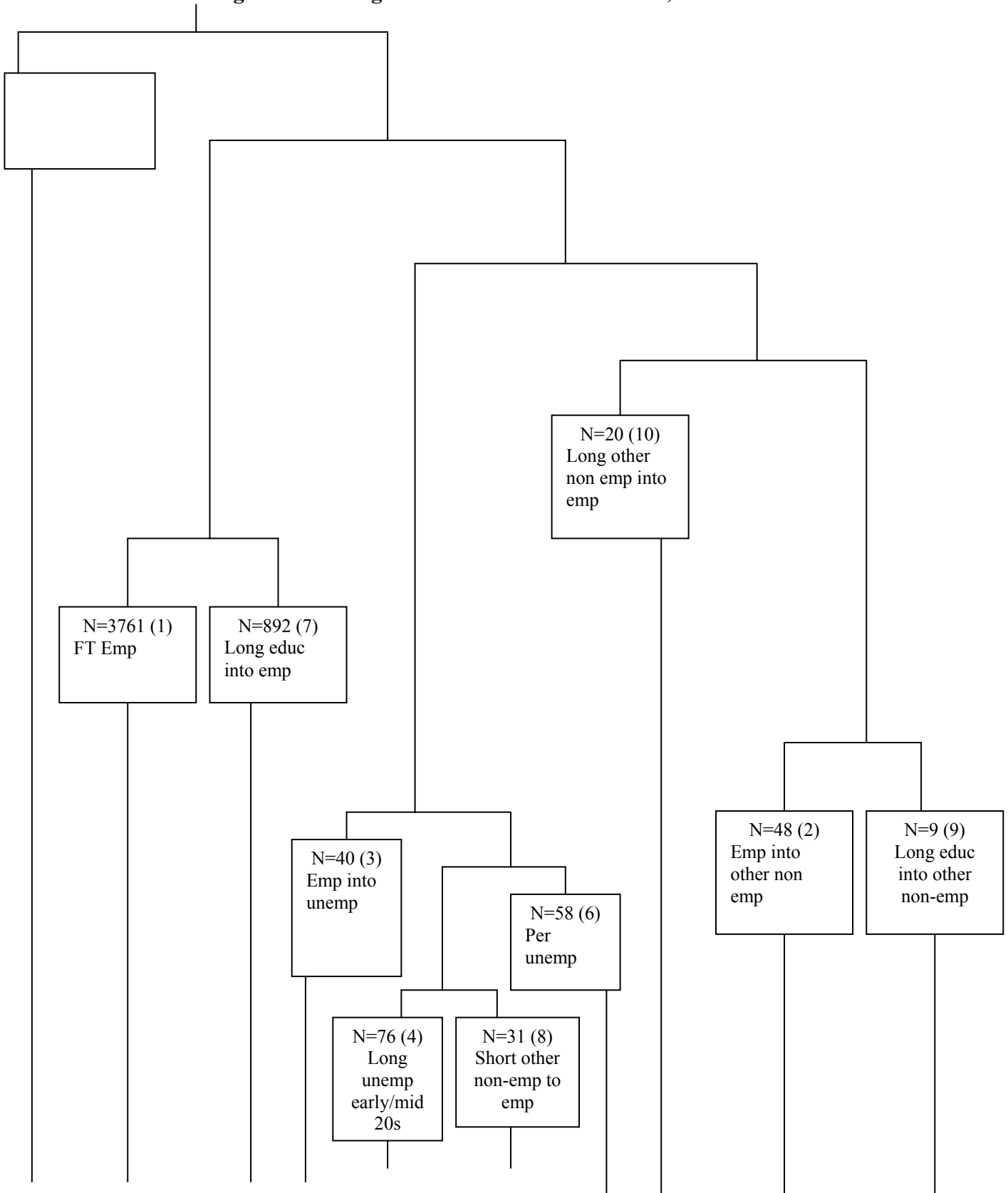


**Figure 2: Cohort Activities, % of Cohort, October 1986 – October 1999, Females**





**Figure 3: Dendrogram for Ten Cluster Solution, Males**



**Figure 4: Dendrogram for Ten Cluster Solution, Females**

