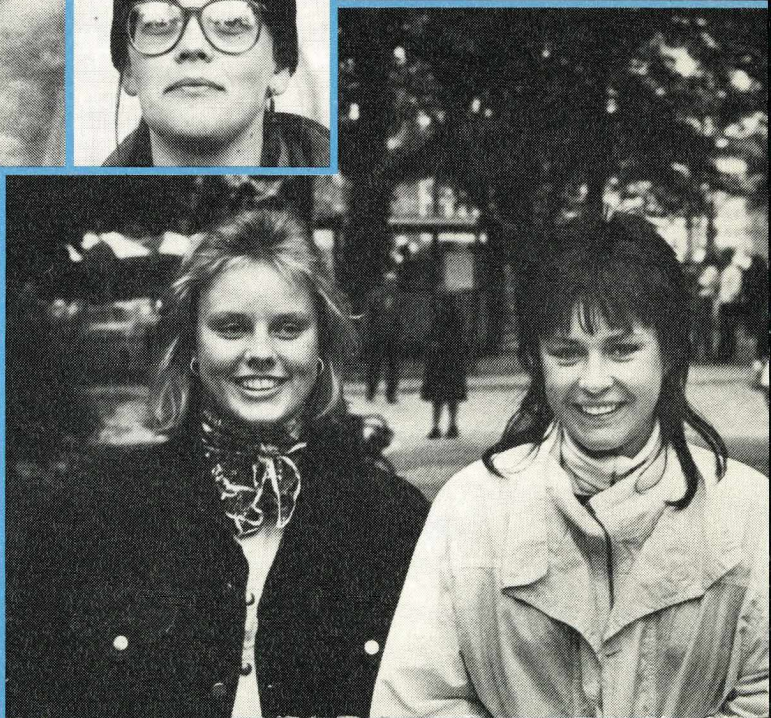
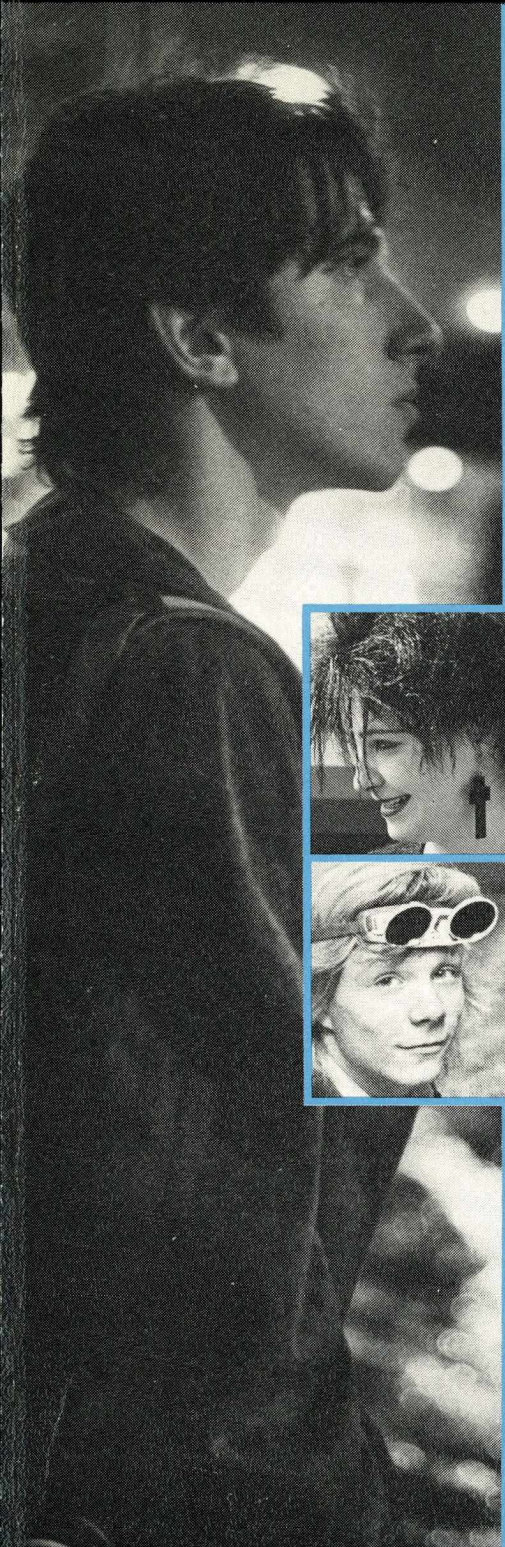


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EDUCATION AND THE FAMILY BACKGROUND OF THE YOUNG IN FINLAND



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Central Statistical
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Education and the family background of the young in Finland

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Foreword

One part of the educational statistics system consists of the statistics describing the supply and use of educational services. The factors affecting the future educational demands of students and their parents can be divided into the students' individual factors and the institutional factors. This study deals with the individual characteristics of a student, and shows how the family background of the young affect their participation in education.

Statistics concerning the family background of students are collected regularly. The first overall study by the Central Statistical Office of Finland was based on data for 1980 (Hannele Hermunen, The social background of students, Studies no 111, the Central Statistical Office, 1984). This study is the second overall study, and is based on census and educational qualifications statistics, and the register of higher education students in 1985. One of the aims of this study is to find out whether any changes had taken place within the five years since 1980.

This study is a two-phase project, in which the Central Statistical Office has collected, prepared and supplied the research material. This study has been carried out at the Research Unit for the Sociology of Education, University of Turku, by Hannu Isoaho, M.A., Dr Osmo Kivinen, and Dr Risto Rinne. The study is a part of a major research project called 'The Changing Social Structure and Strategies of Education', supported by the

Academy of Finland. The work of collecting and organizing the research material was carried out by Pihla Merimaa, Computing Officer at the Central Statistical Office. Further expertise from the Central Statistical Office was provided by Irja Blomqvist and Risto Heinonen (Research Officers), Liisa Kanerva (Computing Officer), and Jorma Ylinen (Planning Officer). Special thanks are also due to Robert W. Johnson, Senior Systems Analyst at the Computing Centre of the University of Turku.

This study could not have been carried out by the Central Statistical Office alone, without the co-operation of the Research Unit for the Sociology of Education. Through this collaboration, existing statistical material could be utilized, and the investigators could be provided with the information they needed. The co-operation has worked out splendidly, and warm thanks are due both to the investigators and statistical officers.

This study will be published in the Research Publications series of the Central Statistical Office. The investigators, however, are responsible for the results and interpretations. The English version has been translated by Dr Keith Battarbee, University of Turku, with the assistance of the staff at the Research Unit for the Sociology of Education.

Heikki Havén,
Helsinki, May 1990

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Summary

Inspection of the data for 1985 reveals three distinct traditions of education in the Finnish educational system, corresponding respectively to white-collar employees, to manual workers, and to farmers and agricultural workers.

The children of labourers and the agricultural population tend to study in vocational and professional education institutions, whereas the sons and daughters of parents in white-collar occupations are significantly more likely to enter higher education.

Moreover, even though the children both of labourers and of farmers are likely to attend vocational and professional education institutions, their specific choices of training diverge very considerably; and by their educational choices, they contribute to the reproduction of the existing social class structure.

The children of labourers are mainly trained for industrial occupations. They may become workers for the paper, pulp and wood processing industries, mechanics and fitters, bricklayers and house-painters, textile workers, cooks, or workers in the food industry.

The children of farmers, on the other hand, make their way to agricultural occupations. They become farmers, farm mechanics, farm manageresses, livestock breeders and gardeners; and even if they go on into higher education, their choice of subjects still often reflects their family background: they become forestry supervisors, agricultural engineers, or take degrees in agriculture and forestry.

The educational choices made by young people from agricultural and working-class backgrounds are characteristically aimed at a rapid transition through education into employment.

The children of white-collar employees, on the other hand, are more likely to persist in the educational system, many of them reaching up as high as possible. They become architects, physicians, jurists, graduate engineers, economists, etc.

In other words, the educational traditions of the white-collar, labouring, and farming sections of the Finnish population are still recognizably distinct; and with the incorporation of the educational differences relating to the educational level of the students' mothers

and fathers, their mother tongue, their place of domicile, their sex, and even the number of their siblings, a strikingly clearcut and differentiated picture emerges.

Comparison with the data for 1980 shows that the differences on the basis of the fathers' educational level had not diminished by 1985, but rather grown. In 1980, 72 % of the children of fathers with no more than basic education qualified from vocational and professional education institutions, and 6 % from institutions of higher education; in 1985, these percentages were unchanged, whereas the proportion of graduate fathers' children studying in vocational and professional institutions fell, but increased in institutions of higher education: in 1980 40 % of children with graduate fathers completed qualifications in vocational and professional institutions, and 16 % in institutions of

higher education, but in 1985 the corresponding figures were 34 % and 18 %.

Regional differences, however, diminished between 1980 and 1985.

The equality of the sexes had advanced by the mid-1980s to a point where there was a female majority among students in vocational and professional institutions, senior secondary schools, and institutions of higher education; only at the postgraduate level is there still a strong male majority.

The impact of the students' mother tongue has also diminished: educational differences attributable to language factors have decreased in comparison with those in the preceding generation, although the Swedish-speaking are still clearly more educated than the Finnish-speaking.

1. Introduction

Schooling is expanding all over the world, but there are major geographical variations. Whereas in North America more than half of the age group 18-23 now attend educational institutions, in the developing countries the figure is only a little over one tenth. Whereas the rich countries are founding "universal higher education" covering at least half of the age group, the developing countries are still wrestling with primary and secondary education, and it is even anticipated that illiteracy may grow (cf. Takala 1989). In Finland, people nowadays spend nearly a fifth of their lives at school: the whole of their childhood and youth, and part of their best adult years.

In spite of the differences in education between different countries, the belief in education is everywhere strong, and, like religion at its best, it functions as a cement holding society together. At school, in addition to acquiring knowledge, people learn to identify with the nation and their future occupations; they become accustomed to the rhythm of everyday life; they mature morally, and internalize obedience to relationships of authority.

On the other hand, changing patterns of living also have an impact on schooling. In the future, people will increasingly often practise several distinct occupations

during the course of their lives, and it is therefore unwise to inculcate in young people a strong commitment to one profession or time and place. Moreover, if the age groups remain small, the reserve of unemployed will in time be recruited into the labour force (Kivinen, Rinne & Ahola 1989).

The impact of education on the increase of social mobility, and especially on the removal of social inequalities, is very limited. This has been established in the classic studies by Jencks (1972), Coleman (1966), Boudon (1974), and Halsey et al. (1980), and subsequently confirmed. Even in educational systems based on the principle of the comprehensive school, home background and the family's social, cultural and economic capital continue to essentially determine students' success and choices at school, and in this way their position in the labour market (cf. Husén 1987; OECD 1989). Generally speaking, parents are prepared to invest their various forms of capital so as to secure for their children a route in the educational system leading to a world of at least the same kind of possibilities as those they are themselves experiencing (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Collins 1979; Rosenbaum 1986; Kivinen & Rinne 1989).

The functioning of educational systems is socially selective. Children from different families are increasingly allocated to their positions in the social division of labour and power on the basis of their educational qualifications. Furthermore, at the same time as achieving integration into the group, education also effectively generates cultural barriers. Through education, in fact, socially legitimate and even equitable divisions among the population are consolidated.

The most respectable way to achieve social prestige is to gather the highest possible educational qualifications. Education is a form of capital, and an object for investment. Education classifies, stratifies, divides and selects. It provides status, knowledge, style and wealth. Education is both a sign of civilization, and a factor expanding the middle class. On the other hand, scarcity is essential to maintain the value of educational qualifications. Stupidity, lack of style and poverty is the lot of some of the people: education both opens, and closes, life routes (Kivinen, Rinne & Ahola 1989).

In a society such as Finland, undergoing an on-going process of corporatization, there is a struggle between occupational groups for education, and the cultural capital this provides, in the sphere of welfare

guaranteed by the State. Control of the power steering educational policy is concentrated on the axis between occupational groups and the State. In Finland no important educational policy decision is made without consulting the "new educational class" interest groups.

The expansion of schooling can essentially be explained in terms of the struggle for cultural capital. It is however possible that the meritocratic game may not continue unchanged far into the 21st century; for a saturation point may be reached, where the blessings of meritocracy come under suspicion. Young people's belief in education is already showing signs of stress. Nevertheless the planning system and the main lines of educational policy indicate continued or even increased belief in the continuous expansion of schooling (Kivinen, Rinne & Ahola 1989).

Educational structures exercise crucial influence on the selection of people with particular qualifications for social positions of a particular status. The forms of differentiation in post-elementary education systems take many different forms around the world, but nearly everywhere the middle stage of schooling (upper secondary and/or tertiary) offers a choice between more 'academic' and more 'vocational' lines of education, either in distinct parallel institutions, or within some form of comprehensive

school. Similarly, the routes of further education leading on from these consist nearly everywhere of a choice between colleges primarily oriented towards vocational training, and universities primarily oriented towards science and scholarship.

In most cases the vocational orientation leads from the family to skilled working-class or white-collar employment, while the academic orientation leads to a wide variety of white-collar positions.

This is the generally prevailing image;

but although generalizations are derived from detailed observations, surprisingly few detailed empirical investigations have been carried out on the home background of the population receiving schooling, either in Finland or elsewhere, and this is the justification for the present study.

Reading a detailed research report demands patience. Nevertheless, we would like to advise the reader not to ignore the frequent statistical tables, for their careful examination will repay the effort.

2. Data sets and terminology

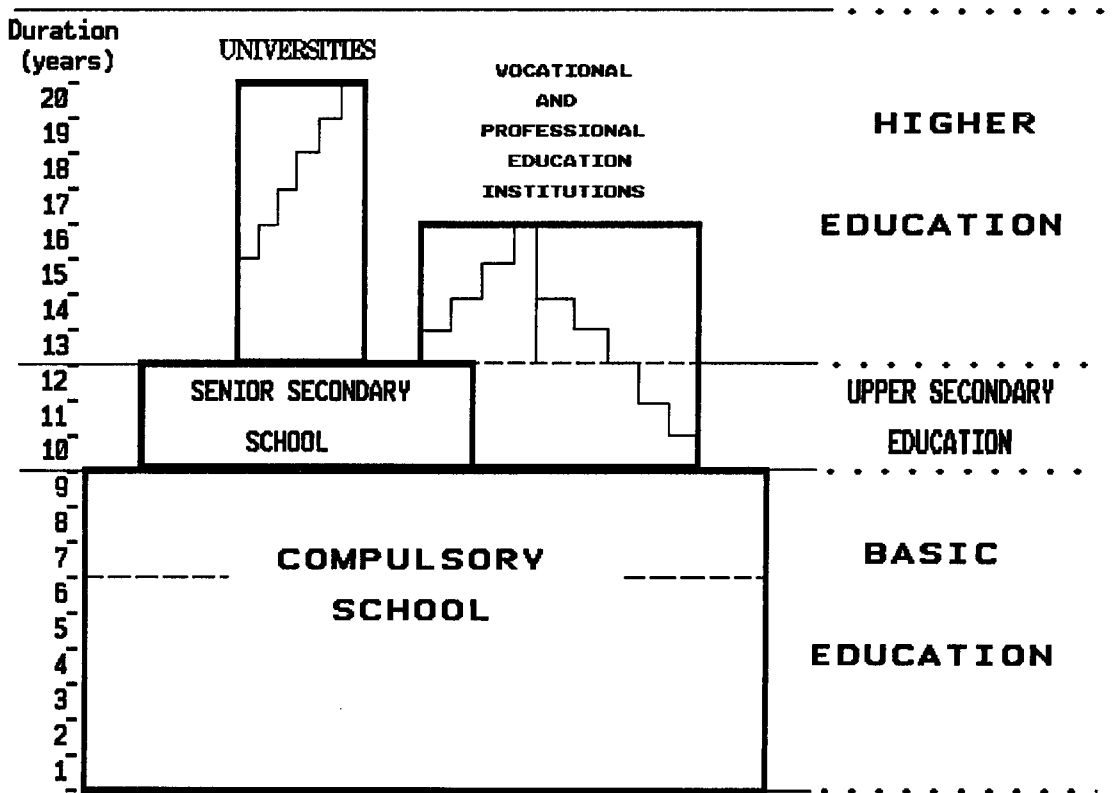
In this investigation, we have used three different data sets. The first one covers all students who completed qualifications in post-compulsory educational institutions in 1985, and consists of 128 929 students.

The main focus is on students who had completed courses of at least 400 hours'

duration in vocational and professional institutions, senior secondary schools, and in universities (see Figure 2.1).

Adult education has been almost entirely ignored. The 'Folk high schools', which represent a third pathway between the vocational colleges and the senior

Figure 2.1 The structure of the educational system in Finland in 1985



secondary schools, have also only been dealt with cursorily. The 'Vocational course centres', which offer a wide range of shorter courses for adults, especially in post-experience further training and manpower retraining, are however included in the vocational colleges sector.

The second data set comprises all young people in Finland aged 20-24, totalling 377 983. The use of this set makes possible comparisons between those in education and those in employment.

The third data set consists of all university students aged 20-24, totalling 40 274.

In Figure 2.1, the main features of the educational system in Finland during the 1980s are set out.

Compulsory education starts at the age of seven (most children having previously attended some form of daycare or pre-school) and lasts nine years. Thereafter slightly more than half the population currently proceed to the senior secondary school (leading to the Matriculation Examination), while about a third proceed to further education in vocational education institutions.

Following the Matriculation Examination, many young people continue with their studies, either in the higher education sector, or at the more advanced level (e.g. business, technical, nursing training, etc.) in the vocational and professional sector; similarly, some of

those who entered vocational training at age 16+ also proceed onto courses leading to professional qualifications. The main points of entry into the labour market are thus at 16+ (for a minority); at 18/19+, after the completion of senior secondary school or 2/3-year vocational qualifications; or during the young person's twenties, following completion of courses of varying duration in the phase labelled 'Higher education' in Fig. 2.1 (which includes both higher education in the strict sense, i.e. degree-level qualifications, and the advanced vocational education sector).

The major directions of flow between one sector and another are illustrated in Fig. 2.2.

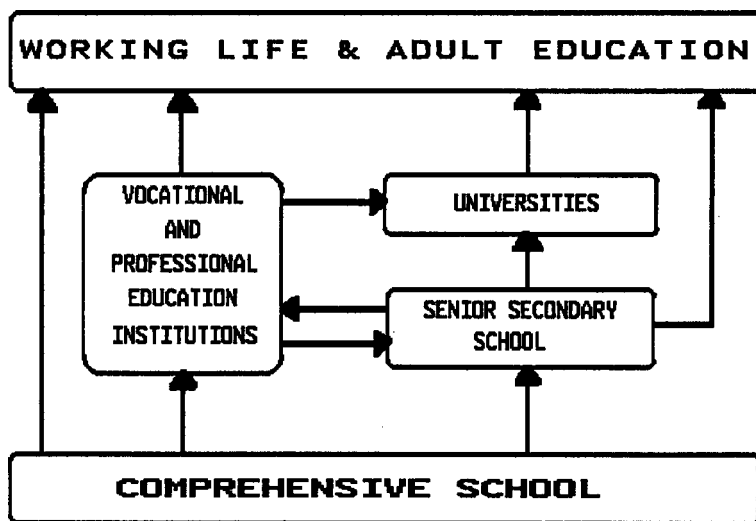
In studying the social background of young people for this investigation, the socio-economic status of their families has been described in terms of the following classification:

- employers;
- the self-employed (workers on own account), a category which includes many farmers (smallholders);
- manual workers;
- administrative and clerical employees;
- managerial and professional employees.

The term 'white-collar' refers to the administrative and clerical and managerial and professional categories

Figure 2.2

Main flows in the educational system in Finland in 1985



combined.

3. Students completing qualifications in 1985

Continued attraction of the Matriculation Examination

By far the largest number of students completing educational qualifications at various levels consist of those completing courses at vocational and professional education institutions¹. Approximately two thirds of the qualifications completed were taken in these institutions. Both the absolute numbers and relative proportions remained broadly similar between 1980 and 1985 (Table 3.1).

The next largest group were in senior secondary schools², which now accounted for approximately one fourth of the total number of qualifications completed. The third largest group was in the universities.

The following analysis will concentrate on these three main groups in Table 3.1:

i.e. vocational and professional education institutions, senior secondary schools, and universities, not merely because these are the largest groups, but also because the smaller groups are not strictly comparable between 1980 and 1985. The major change occurring between 1980 and 1985 was the transfer of most teacher training from the non-university higher education sector to the universities. In addition, the training of nursery school teachers, which remained in the 'Other higher education' sector, was extended from 2 to 3 years, starting in autumn 1983, with the result that approximately 500 fewer students completed this qualification in 1985 than in the previous year.

The fall in the number of qualifications completed in Folk high schools³ is due to the fact that the data for 1980 included

-
- 1) The term 'vocational and professional education institutions' refers to a wide range of post-compulsory educational institutions offering usually two- or three-year training at age 16+ or 19+ leading to semi-skilled and skilled manual and white-collar occupations. In addition, these include institutions that offer degree-level qualifications, e.g. Bachelor of Science in Engineering (B.Sc.Eng.)
 - 2) The term 'senior secondary schools' (also known as 'senior high schools') refers here to post-compulsory senior secondary institutions, formerly part of the selective secondary schools and still often located on the same site with comprehensive schools, offering a three-year course leading to the Matriculation Examination, the basic entrance qualification for all higher education.
 - 3) 'Folk high schools' are two-year residential colleges offering both general courses somewhat similar to those in the senior secondary schools, and a variety of vocational courses.

Table 3.1 Students with qualifications completed, by educational institution in 1980 and 1985

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	YEAR			
	1980		1985	
	N	%	N	%
Vocational and professional	84 107	65.7	84 845	65.8
Senior secondary	28 689	22.4	31 613	24.5
Folk high schools	2 284	1.8	914	0.7
Universities	11 098	8.7	10 768	8.4
Other higher education	1 799	1.4	789	0.6
Total	127 977	100.0	128 929	100.0

both 'vocational' and 'academic' courses, whereas for 1985 only the 'vocational' qualifications were listed.

The most significant change for the main groups in Table 3.1 is the continued increase in the number completing senior secondary school, although the rate of increase was in fact slowing, as can be seen from the following figures:

Year	Matriculation examinations	Change
1970	18 280	
1975	24 828	+ 6 548
1980	28 692	+ 3 864
1985	31 613	+ 2 921

Despite this slowing down of expansion, the popularity of the educational route through senior secondary school to the Matriculation Examination was unbroken, and senior secondary schools strengthened their position relative to that of the vocational and professional education institutions, where the number of completed qualifications remained virtually unchanged.

Despite the relative stability in the total number of qualifications completed in vocational and professional institutions, there were some interesting trends within this sector, as can be seen in Table 3.2.

The prevailing trend was a shift towards institutes providing specialized

Table 3.2 **Number of students with qualifications completed in vocational and professional education institutions in 1980 and 1985**

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	1980	1985	Change
Agricultural institutes	3 248	3 732	+ 484
Forestry institutes	2 136	1 288	- 848
Technical institutes	6 035	5 213	- 822
Vocational institutes	22 248	20 067	-2 181
Specialized vocational institutes	2 547	1 799	- 748
Crafts and industrial arts institutes	1 420	1 872	+ 452
Transport and communication	1 771	982	- 789
Commercial institutes	11 391	13 150	+ 1 759
Nursing institutes	7 364	9 276	+ 1 912
Fire, police and security service institutes	1 232	1 484	+ 252
Home economics institutes	5 853	5 749	- 104
Vocational course centres	17 337	18 080	+ 743
Hotel and catering institutes	1 070	1 589	+ 519
Other	455	564	+ 109
Total	84 107	84 845	+ 738

vocational training: the total number of qualifications completed in vocational institutes fell by more than 2000. Within the specialized vocational institutes, moreover, there was a marked shift away from courses leading to industrial and technical occupations towards those for the health-care sector and commerce.

The third main category of educational institutions consists of the Universities

sector. The number of degrees completed shows a slight fall; the figures for 1980 and 1985 are not entirely comparable, however, since curricular reforms implemented in Finnish universities from 1980 onwards included the phasing out of BA-level degrees, with an MA-level degree becoming the standard first qualification; the numbers graduating with BA-level qualifications have

therefore steadily fallen during the 1980s.

Female majority even in vocational and professional institutions

During recent decades, one of the most striking changes in Finnish society has been that in the status of women, and this can also be seen in the field of education (Figure 3.1).

Women now complete more courses than men do in senior secondary schools, in vocational and professional education institutions, and in universities. The most significant change between 1980 and 1985 is that in vocational and professional institutions, too, a majority of the students completing their studies are now female. Females have formed the majority of students in senior secondary schools since several decades, and in universities since the mid-1970s.

In 1980, 51.8 % of all qualifications were completed by women; by 1985 the proportion had risen to 54.5 %. It does not seem impossible that women may by now actually form a majority of the labour force, considering the changes in women's employment patterns during the last few decades. Table 3.3 shows the employment trends for 1977-1985 by sex: in less than ten years leading to 1985, women had

reduced the male majority in the labour force by about 70 000, to about 100 000. This trend would lead to a female majority in the labour force by the year 2000.

Table 3.4 compares the percentages of women completing qualifications in vocational and professional education institutions in 1980 and 1985.

In the larger institutions, the major increase in women students occurred in agricultural institutes, in vocational institutes, in vocational course centres, in crafts and industrial arts institutes, and in hotel and catering institutes. There is no particular evidence of women moving into traditionally male occupations; in fact, the number of women attending specialized vocational institutes (mainly technical) or courses for transport and communications actually fell.

Largest female concentration in the middle of the educational hierarchy

For a long time, it has been a feature of the Finnish educational system that women have contented themselves with lower qualifications than men. Both at the top of the educational hierarchy, but also at the bottom, women have been relatively under-represented, as can be seen in the analysis of level of education¹

1) Levels of education are discussed in Appendix 1 (Classifications).

Figure 3.1 Female students with qualifications completed, by educational institution in 1980 and 1985 (percentages)

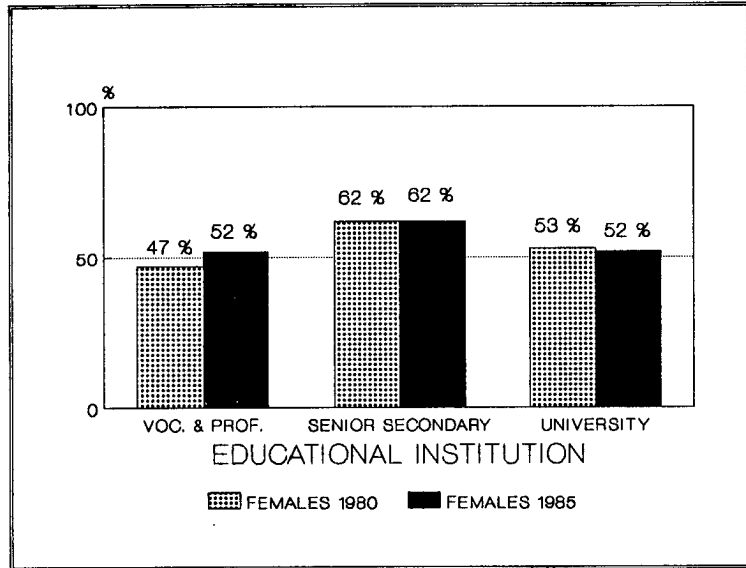


Table 3.3 Labour force by sex, 1977-1985 (in thousands)

YEAR	SEX			
	Males		Females	
	N	%	N	%
1977	1 269	53.5	1 102	46.5
1978	1 271	53.6	1 102	46.4
1979	1 280	53.4	1 119	46.6
1980	1 301	53.3	1 141	46.7
1981	1 313	52.9	1 168	47.1
1982	1 327	52.5	1 199	47.5
1983	1 332	52.3	1 214	47.7
1984	1 344	52.3	1 228	47.7
1985	1 352	52.0	1 249	48.0

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland.

Table 3.4 Female students with qualifications completed in vocational and professional education institutions in 1980 and 1985

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	FEMALES		Change
	1980	1985	1980 – 1985
	%	%	%-units
Agricultural institutes	34	40	+ 6
Forestry institutes	6	5	- 1
Technical institutes	8	8	0
Vocational institutes	30	32	+ 2
Specialized vocational institutes	15	13	- 2
Crafts and industrial arts institutes	71	73	+ 2
Transport and communication	29	22	- 7
Commercial institutes	71	72	+ 1
Nursing institutes	94	93	- 1
Fire, police and security service institutes	2	3	+ 1
Home economics institutes	100	100	0
Vocational course centres	41	46	+ 5
Hotel and catering institutes	70	74	+ 4
Other	62	64	+ 2
Total	47	52	+ 5

and sex in Table 3.5.

The major concentrations of women are between the upper ranges of the upper secondary education sector and the lower ranges of the higher education sector, i.e. in the middle echelons of the educational hierarchy, whereas the highest proportions for men are, on the

one hand, in vocational courses for skilled and semi-skilled trades, and on the other at the higher degree level in universities. The relation between sex and level of education is thus curvilinear. There is a particularly striking drop in women's educational achievement between the first-degree and postgraduate/research

Table 3.5 Students with qualifications completed in 1985, by level of education and sex

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	SEX			
	N	Males %	Females N	%
VOCATIONAL	27 353	48	29 395	52
TECHNICAL & PROFESSIONAL	26 494	43	35 676	57
- upper middle ¹	23 808	42	32 497	58
- lowest high	2 686	46	3 179	54
UNIVERSITY- LEVEL	4 865	49	5 146	51
- undergraduate	637	29	1 542	71
- graduate	3 703	52	3 409	48
- postgraduate or equivalent	525	73	195	27

1) The Matriculation Examination belongs to this level

levels¹ in higher education, where the proportion of women falls to little more than a quarter.

Fathers' educational levels as predictors of their children's achievement

Fathers' educational levels have strong prognostic value in predicting their children's recruitment to various levels of

education (Figures 3.2 and 3.3). For example, 72 % of those students completing their qualifications in 1985 whose fathers had a basic education had studied in vocational and professional institutions, 21 % in senior secondary schools, and only 6 % in universities, whereas only 34 % of students whose fathers held university degrees or equivalents had studied in vocational and professional institutions, compared with

1) Licentiate and doctoral degrees, with the exception of Medicine, Dentistry and Veterinary Medicine, where the Licenciante comprises the basic professional qualification.

Figure 3.2 Educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1980, by father's educational level

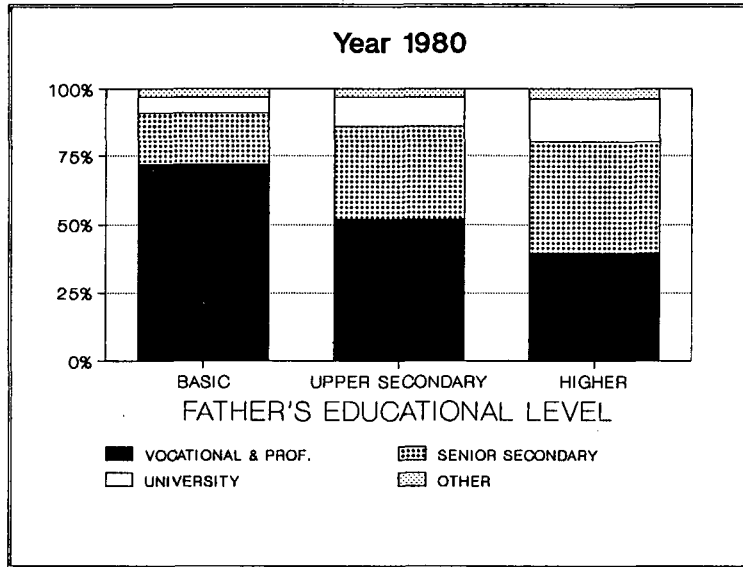


Figure 3.3 Educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by father's educational level

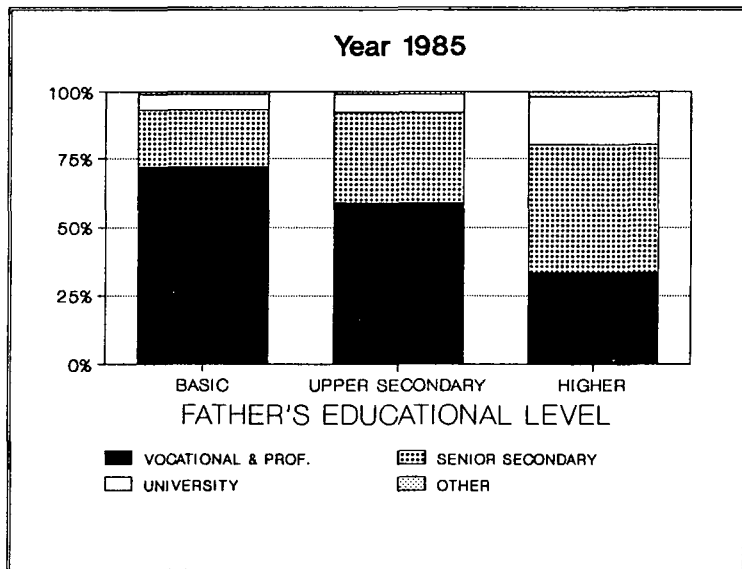
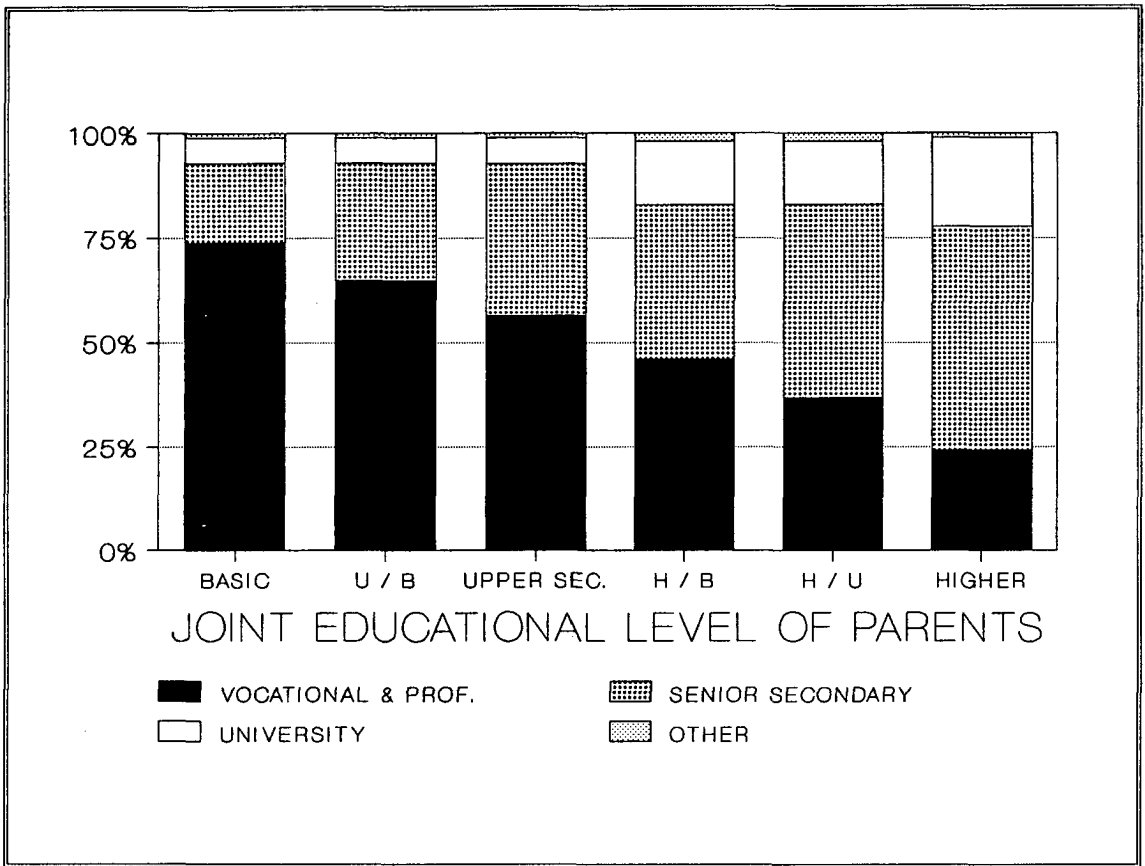


Figure 3.4 Educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by educational level of parents



47 % in senior secondary schools and 18 % in universities.

Comparison of the data for 1980 and 1985 shows that the percentage of children whose fathers had a basic education completing university degrees remained constant at 6 %, whereas the percentage of children with graduate fathers who themselves graduated from

universities had increased.

In the vocational and professional institutions, the trend is the mirror-image of this: fewer and fewer children with graduate fathers had studied on vocational courses, whereas the proportion of students whose fathers only had a basic education remained constant.

In this respect, the most surprising

finding concerns the children of those fathers who had received a upper secondary education: such students were increasingly likely to have studied at vocational and professional institutions, and decreasingly likely to have graduated from a university.

In terms of the father's educational level, therefore, educational equality did not increase between 1980 and 1985: on the contrary, the father's educational level had become an increasingly reliable predictor of the level of educational achievement of his children.

The more educational capital parents have , the less their children opt for vocational and professional institutions

Examination of the association between the educational level of students and of their mothers reveals very similar patterns to those for their fathers, and it is therefore possible to pass over the separate analysis of this link in order to study the joint influence of both parents' educational level.

Since a threefold division of educational levels has been used, there are altogether nine different possible combinations of both parents' levels, but discounting the order of the parents reduces these to six: thus the combinations

- father: basic / mother: upper secondary education and
- father: upper secondary / mother: basic education

can be combined to form the single category

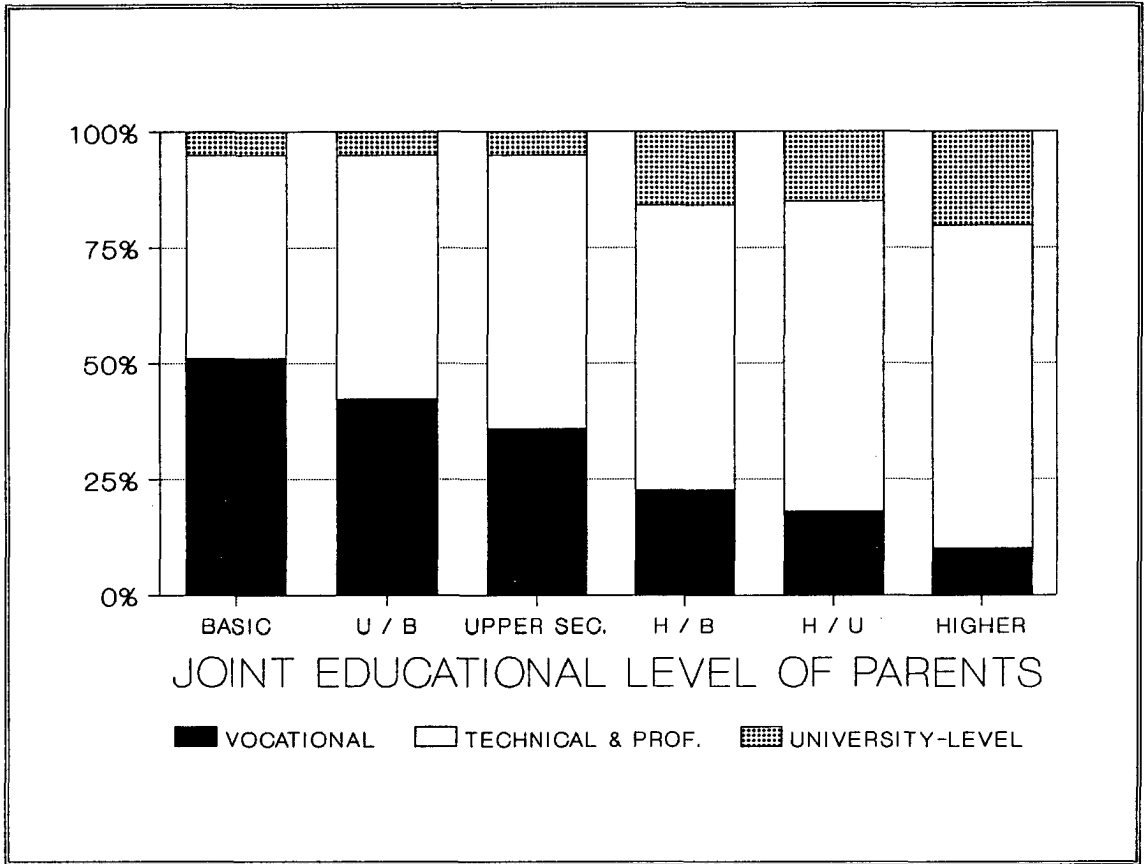
- upper secondary / basic education.

Using this classification, Figure 3.4 examines the connections between the educational levels achieved by students and those of their parents.

This Figure offers both a clear explanation for the steady fall in popularity of the vocational and professional institutions, and a stark illustration of 'academic drift' in the population (cf. Kivinen, Rinne and Ahola 1989), both phenomena deriving from the same cause: the self-intensifying effect of educational achievement, both individually and between generations. In individuals, it can be seen in that those already having educational capital are the most eager to acquire more. Between generations, it can be seen in the pattern by which those with the most educational capital themselves are also the most eager to steer their children onto pathways leading to increasing educational capital.

As the Figure shows, the popularity of vocational and professional institutions diminishes in direct ratio to the extent of

Figure 3.5 Educational level of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by educational level of parents



the parents' educational capital. In cases where both parents had received a basic education, 74 % of their children completing their studies in 1985 did so in vocational and professional institutions, and only 25 % in senior secondary schools or in universities. But when both parents are graduates, these figures are reversed;

vocational and professional institutions account for only 24 %, whereas the figure for senior secondary schools and universities is 74 %.

Another striking finding is that the popularity of higher education does not increase linearly, but by 'jumps'. The first level is defined by parents neither of

Table 3.6 Joint educational level of parents, by educational level of students with qualifications completed in 1985

OWN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	JOINT EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF PARENTS ¹						Total (%)
	Basic/basic	Middle/basic	Middle/middle	Higher/basic	Higher/middle	Higher/higher	
VOCATIONAL	54	30	10	2	3	1	100
TECHNICAL & PROFESSIONAL							
- upper middle	37	30	14	4	8	7	100
- lowest high	45	28	11	5	7	5	100
UNIVERSITY-LEVEL							
- undergraduate	38	25	9	7	9	11	100
- graduate	31	23	10	8	13	15	100
- postgraduate or equivalent	33	19	8	8	14	18	100
Total	44	29	12	4	6	5	100

1) Middle = Upper secondary education

whom had received a higher education; on the second level, one of them had done so; the third level, and the peak effect, occurs where both parents had received a higher education.

Figure 3.5 examines how well students' educational levels can be predicted by the their parents' combined educational level. The results show that the probability of children completing vocational education decreases in proportion as their parents' educational capital increases. Parents

with more educational capital want their children to get "better" education. The effect of educational capital is not steady, however, but appears to be cumulative in cases where

- one parent or
- both parents have completed higher education.

This is seen, for instance, in the sharp decrease in the proportion of those

completing qualifications in vocational education when the parents' combined education level changes from middle/middle to higher/basic. Even clearer jumps can be noted, however, in the proportions graduating from university, which sharply increase at exactly the same point, the figures being 5 %, 15 % and 20 %.

The strikingly large proportion for technical and professional education in Figure 3.5 is mainly due to the inclusion in this category of the Matriculation Examination. Since this qualification is essentially an intermediate stage, however, Figure 3.5 illustrates an incomplete situation: many of those passing the Matriculation will subsequently continue to university level. The analysis therefore needs to be placed in sharper focus.

The results presented in Table 3.6 show, for instance, that 6 % of students completing vocational education have either a father or a mother with higher education, whereas by contrast among postgraduates, 40 % have at least one parent with higher education. The social inheritance of education is thus highly evident. The figures in the Table also reveal, however, that a third of the students graduating with higher education degrees have parents with only basic

education. The transition between the two generations is drastic, and vividly illustrates parents' desire to offer their children better educational opportunities than they had had themselves. It is the rapid expansion of university education which has made the fulfilment of these hopes possible.

Distinctive educational pathways for the children of white-collar employees, manual workers, and self-employed

An additional factor helpful in predicting students' educational pathways is the father's socio-economic status¹ (Figures 3.6 and 3.7). For this purpose, fathers can be divided into three groups. The first grouping consists of manual workers and the self-employed (including many self-employed farmers, particularly smallholders), whose children are more likely to study in vocational and professional institutions, and less likely to attend senior secondary schools or universities than the children of the other groups.

The second group consists of employers and white-collar employees. In terms of their childrens' educational behaviour, they can be placed between the first group (manual workers and the

1) The groups of socio-economic status are discussed in Appendix 1 (Classifications).

Figure 3.6

Educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1980, by father's socio-economic status. The status group 'Miscellaneous' has been omitted.

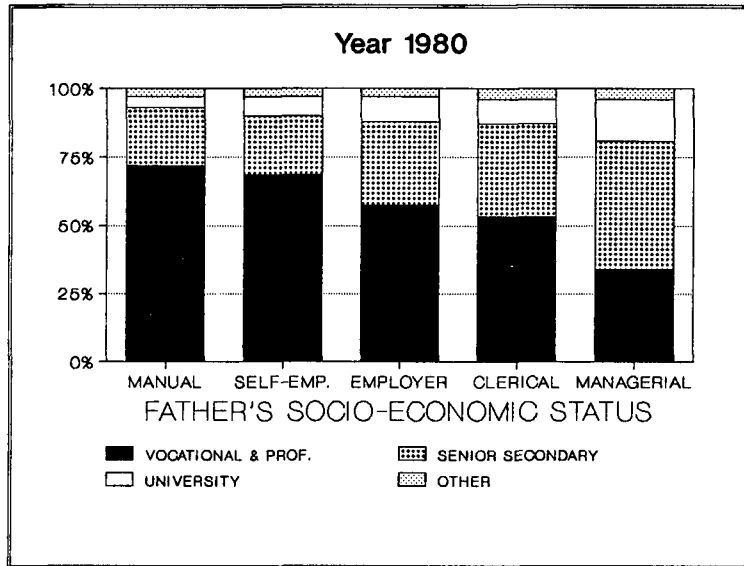


Figure 3.7

Educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by father's socio-economic status. The status group 'Miscellaneous' has been omitted.

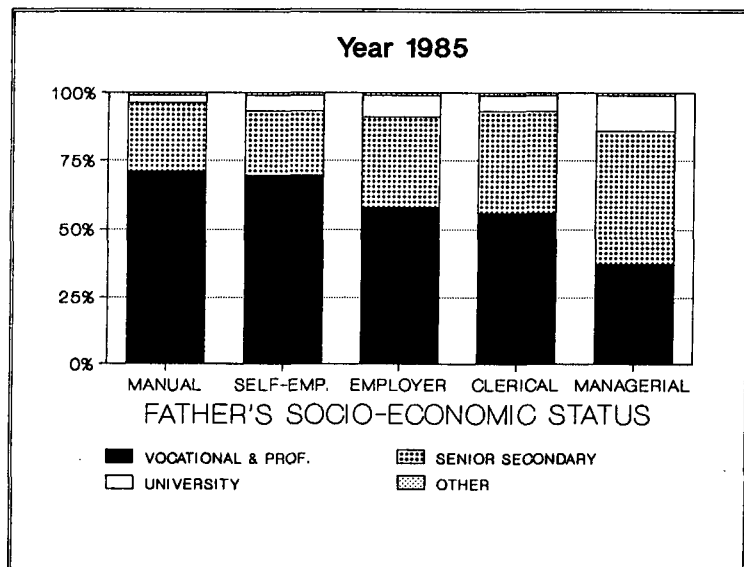


Table 3.7 Educational level of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by father's socio-economic status

OWN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS					
	Employer	Self-employed	Managerial	Clerical	Manual	Misc.
VOCATIONAL	35	50	18	33	49	48
TECHNICAL & PROFESSIONAL						
- upper middle	53	41	65	57	45	36
- lowest high	5	4	5	4	3	6
UNIVERSITY-LEVEL						
- undergraduate	1	1	2	1	1	2
- graduate	5	4	11	5	2	7
- postgraduate or equivalent	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
	Total (N)	4 272	15 142	13 838	14 217	29 384

self-employed) and the third group, which comprises managerial and professional employees. The evidence clearly shows that the children of this third group are relatively least likely to study in vocational and professional institutions, and most likely to study in senior secondary schools and in universities.

When comparing the data for 1980 and 1985, one has to bear in mind that during this five-year period the numbers taking the Matriculation Examination in senior secondary schools grew drastically. The

data show that this increased popularity of the senior secondary school affected all socio-economic groups; in addition, a trend towards increased equality can be seen, since the rate of growth for senior secondary school attendance was relatively highest in the manual workers' group, while in vocational and professional institutions, the proportion from this group actually fell slightly, but rose in the two other groups.

The same three groupings for the father's socio-economic status emerge

Table 3.8 Father's socio-economic status, by educational level of students with qualifications completed in 1985. The status group 'Miscellaneous' has been omitted.

OWN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS					Total (%)
	Em- ployer	Self- employed	Mana- gerial	Clerical	Manual	
VOCATIONAL	5	25	8	15	47	100
TECHNICAL & PROFESSIONAL						
- upper middle	6	16	23	21	34	100
- lowest high	7	22	21	21	29	100
UNIVERSITY-LEVEL						
- undergraduate	7	20	32	20	21	100
- graduate	6	17	41	18	17	100
- postgraduate or equivalent	6	20	44	20	11	100
Total	6	20	18	18	38	100

when the level of students' educational achievement is examined by the socio-economic status of their fathers (Table 3.7).

Qualifications in vocational education were completed by less than one fifth of the children with managerial and professional fathers, about a third of those with employer and white-collar fathers, but by half of those with fathers in the manual worker and self-employed group.

These percentages can also be

calculated in reverse, once a necessary modification has been introduced.

The proportion of retired fathers is directly related to the length of the student's education. 58 % of the fathers of students completing postgraduate degrees had reached retirement, while the corresponding figure for students in upper level of upper secondary education was only 16 %. Since these proportions vary so much, the inclusion of retired fathers leads to distortion in the analysis of the father's status in terms of the

educational level of the students' completed qualifications. The category 'Miscellaneous' has therefore been excluded from Table 3.8, and only economically active fathers have been included.

The most systematic behaviour by a grouping in Table 3.8 defined in terms of the father's socio-economic status is found among the children of manual workers, the proportion of whom steadily decreases with rising level of educational achievement. The extremes are found in vocational education, where half of the students' fathers were manual workers or self-employed, and in postgraduate studies, where this group accounted for only one tenth. Students with manual worker fathers form the relatively largest group both in vocational education and in technical / professional education; nevertheless, there is a marked difference between these levels, with a sharp fall in the proportion of students with manual worker fathers, and a sharp rise in the proportion of students coming both from white-collar families, and especially from managerial and professional backgrounds.

An increase in the proportion of students from managerial and professional backgrounds is even more marked between the technical/professional education and the university level, whereas the proportions from

white-collar and manual worker backgrounds remain unchanged.

It can thus be seen that the children of manual workers are most likely to acquire qualifications in vocational education, while the children of white-collar workers are concentrated in technical and professional education, and the children of managerial and professional fathers are most likely to study at university level.

Next, the family background of students completing qualifications will be analyzed in relation to the level of qualifications obtained.

Appendix Table 1 lists by title the qualifications taken by students with markedly more than the average proportion of fathers belong to manual labouring occupations. The qualifications are listed in order in terms of the rising proportion of working-class affiliation of the students' fathers. These percentages may be compared with the overall average proportion of manual workers, i.e. 38 % (cf. Table 3.8).

In Appendix Table 2, a corresponding analysis has been made in terms of white-collar fathers. The corresponding overall average proportion of white-collar fathers is 36 %.

In Appendix Table 3, a corresponding analysis is offered in terms of self-employed fathers (most of them in agriculture), for whom the corresponding overall average proportion is 20 %.

Table 3.9 Type of educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by father's occupation (special focus on selected traditional graduate occupations compared with a low-status non-graduate occupation)

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION				
	Clergyman	Physician	Judge/ barrister	Architect	Casual labourer
Vocational and professional	32	22	17	22	82
Senior secondary	51	57	50	67	15
University	15	20	31	11	2
Other	2	1	2	1	0
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100
	Total (N)	214	501	121	263

Fathers' occupations as predictors their children's educational pathways

With the introduction of analysis of fathers by occupation, the analyses become more detailed. The special focus here is on possible links between the father's occupation and the choice of education. The more common occupations have been selected for this analysis.

In Table 3.9, a selection of traditionally graduate professions have been compared to the traditionally non-graduate occupation of a casual labourer. This analysis indicates how strong an

effect the father's occupation can have on his children's educational choices. Figuratively speaking, the offspring of labourers seem to have been vaccinated against studying in senior secondary schools or universities, whereas the children of lawyers, physicians, or architects have been immunized against vocational and professional institutions. The children of the clergy, however, appear to some extent to be undergoing "secularization", since they tend to choose vocational and professional education institutions more often than the children of fathers in the other graduate occupations examined.

Table 3.10 Type of educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by father's occupation (special focus on selected educational occupations)

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION					
	University professor	University teacher, re-search staff	Secondary school teacher	Primary school teacher	Training director	
Vocational and professional	14	19	36	39	35	
Senior secondary	55	60	49	44	51	
University	30	18	14	15	13	
Other	1	3	1	2	1	
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
	Total (N)	223	106	735	944	140

Table 3.10 examines the educational careers chosen by the children of fathers employed in educational occupations. If the children of judges or barristers avoided the vocational and professional institutions, this is even more markedly true of the children of university professors, and to a large extent of other university teachers. There is a striking difference between these and the children of teachers in primary and secondary schools, of whom just over one third had studied in vocational and professional institutions.

The focus now shifts to selected military and security occupations. Table

3.11 shows a clear difference between the children of non-commissioned officers, who are strongly represented in vocational and professional institutions, and those of officers, who are found in senior secondary schools. Neither of these groups, however, appears to be interested in higher education, where they are relatively outnumbered even by the children of prison guards and firemen.

For the children of officers (including senior non-commissioned officers), however, the category of 'Other' educational institutions, which includes the military vocational institutes and the military academies, is more heavily

Table 3.11 Type of educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by father's occupation (special focus on selected military and security occupations)

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION					
	Officer	Non-commissioned officer	Inspector or police sergeant	Police-man	Fireman	Prison guard
Vocational and professional	37	64	47	57	68	62
Senior secondary	57	35	41	34	26	33
University	2	1	8	7	3	4
Other	4	1	4	2	2	1
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
	Total (N)	301	181	266	299	137

represented than the university sector. This suggests that military careers may attract the children of military personnel, and also of more senior police officers, although policemen's children are also more likely to study at university.

Next the focus switches to commercial occupations: business managers, sales managers, shop supervisors, retailers and salesmen. Table 3.12 shows decreasing recruitment to universities by their children, in the same order as cited above. A similar trend can be seen for senior secondary schools, with the exception of salesmen, whose children "improve" their position here. The trends

in vocational and professional institutions display the reverse pattern of that for senior secondary and higher education.

Table 3.13 examines occupations in the construction industry. In terms of vocational and professional institutions and senior secondary schools, these occupations fall into four groups:

- civil engineers;
- civil engineering technicians;
- bricklayers, painters, plumbers;
- unskilled or semi-skilled building labourers.

The proportions of those studying in

Table 3.12 Type of educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by father's occupation (special focus on selected commercial occupations)

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION				
	Business management	Sales management	Shop supervisor	Retailer	Salesman
Vocational and professional	39	43	55	62	56
Senior secondary	46	46	37	31	38
University	14	9	6	6	5
Other	1	1	2	1	1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	2 247	1 451	466	1 017	964

vocational and professional institutions increase, and those in senior secondary schools decrease, as we move from civil engineers to unskilled building labourers, while the children of civil engineers and technicians, and of bricklayers, are considerably more likely to complete university degrees than those of painters, plumbers and labourers.

Finally, Table 3.14 focuses on occupations in agriculture and forestry. The highest incidence of university degrees is among the children of research workers in forestry, and the lowest among the children of forestry workers and lumberjacks.

The trend for qualifications in vocational and professional institutions is the opposite, with rising proportions, step by step, from research workers in forestry through supervisors and farmers to forestry workers and lumberjacks.

The foregoing examination of a wide range of occupations clearly suggests an overall tendency for the family background of students in vocational and professional education institutions, measured in terms of the father's occupation, to be sharply different from that of students in senior secondary schools and universities. This is confirmed in Appendix Tables 4 and 5, which list all

Table 3.13 Type of educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by father's occupation (special focus on selected construction occupations)

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION					
	Civil engineer	Civil engineering technician	Bricklayer	Painter	Plumber	Building labourer
Vocational and professional	40	53	68	68	69	78
Senior secondary	52	37	24	27	28	18
University	8	8	7	3	2	3
Other	1	1	1	2	2	1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	507	1 683	394	803	992	847

the occupational backgrounds emerging from the data (including some not discussed above) of students 'favouring' or 'avoiding' vocational and professional institutions.

Impact of father's income

We have so far examined the family background of students by their fathers' educational level, socio-economic status and occupation. The final parental variable to be examined is the father's income.

Annual income has been defined for this purpose as all taxable income,

including earnings, business profits, and other forms of pensionable income such as unemployment insurance benefits and income from property.

The comparison of incomes is somewhat problematical in relation to the questions being analyzed in the present study. The straightforward comparison of annual incomes of the fathers of students completing qualifications from the different levels of educational institution examined gives the following mean figures:

- in vocational and professional education institutions FIM 69 900;

Table 3.14 Type of educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by father's occupation (special focus on selected agricultural and forestry occupations)

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION			
	Researcher in forestry	Forestry supervisor	Farmer	Forestry worker or lumberjack
Vocational and professional	39	59	71	74
Senior secondary	38	32	22	22
University	22	8	6	2
Other	1	1	1	2
	Total (%)	100	100	100
	Total (N)	105	637	1 027

- in senior secondary schools FIM 89 700;
- in universities FIM 84 600.

As such, these figures suggest the false conclusion that students attending senior secondary schools are recruited from the wealthiest section of the population.

The students completing senior secondary school, however, are the youngest in the data, while those graduating from universities are the oldest. Consequently, more of the fathers of university students than those of senior secondary school students have reached retirement age, with the accompanying

fall in income. The asymmetry in the proportion of retired fathers thus causes a distortion in the analysis (cf. page 29).

Income will now therefore be examined by the father's socio-economic status within each category separately.

In Table 3.15 the relation between the type of educational institution and father's annual income is examined, taking into consideration the father's socio-economic status as well. The 'Miscellaneous' category has been broken down into pensioners and the unemployed.

Fathers have been classified according to their annual income as follows:

Table 3.15 Father's annual income (FIM) of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by educational institution and father's socio-economic status

FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION		
	Vocational and professional	Senior secondary	University
Employer	77 200	88 900	88 900
Self-employed	51 500	58 100	59 100
Managerial and professional	133 600	149 000	164 300
Administrative and clerical	94 500	100 500	102 200
Manual	77 900	80 600	79 700
Unemployed	36 600	44 000	50 800
Pensioner	39 700	47 600	53 700

Numbers are medians of each category.

- managerial and professional;
- administrative and clerical;
- employers;
- manual workers;
- self-employed;
- pensioners;
- unemployed.

order:

- universities;
- senior secondary schools;
- vocational and professional institutions.

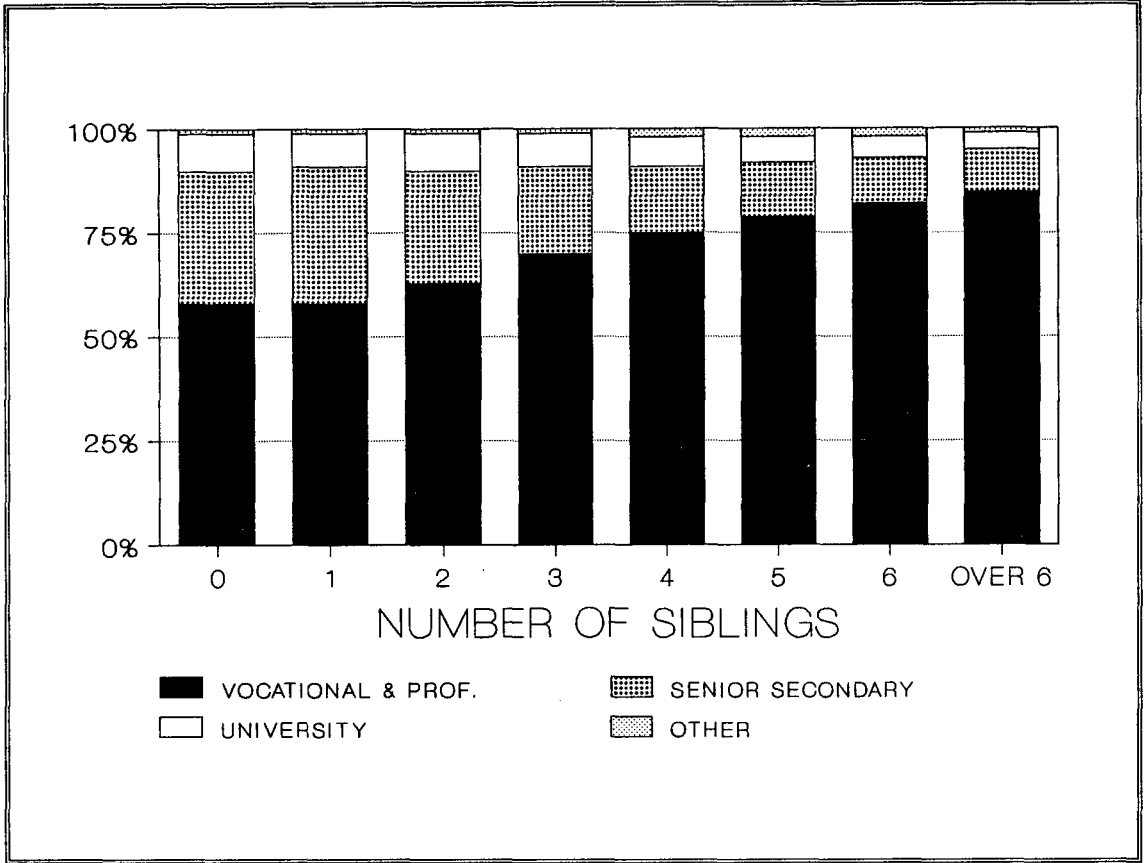
Managerial and professional employees have the highest incomes and the unemployed have the lowest; the differences are considerable.

The types of educational institutions have been classified in the following

The fathers of students graduating from universities had the highest incomes, and the fathers of students studying at vocational and professional education institutions had the lowest, although the differences in income were relatively small. The differences between fathers'

Figure 3.8

Educational institution of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by number of siblings



socio-economic status were much larger.

Educational pathway of the young and number of siblings

Figure 3.8 shows the relation between the educational institution of student and the number of his/her siblings.

The educational pathways of students from families with one child or two

children are quite similar; differences emerge, however, in families with three children or more. The larger the number of children, the more likely they are to study in vocational and professional institutions, and the less in senior secondary schools and universities; i.e., students from families with few children are more educated than those from families with many children¹.

1) Firmer conclusions could be drawn if student's position in the family (order of siblings) were known.

Table 3.16 Population with qualifications completed in 1985, as a percentage of the total population, by Provinces

PROVINCE	Population with completed qualifications as a percentage of the total population
Uusimaa	50.3
Turku and Pori	43.6
Åland	43.5
Häme	45.5
Kymi	44.3
Mikkeli	42.3
Northern Karelia	43.7
Kuopio	45.1
Keski-Suomi	44.0
Vaasa	41.4
Oulu	45.9
Lapland	46.4
Whole country	45.7

Source: Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja STV (Statistical Yearbook of Finland) 1987.

Regional patterns in educational qualifications

Regional policy considerations have exercised a major influence on the large-scale planning of social processes, and this also applies to educational policy. In this study, regional factors have been explored by analyzing the students' place

of domicile, defined as the administrative Province in which is located the municipality where he or she is registered.

Table 3.16 shows the population with completed qualifications as a percentage of the total population aged 15 or over, broken down by Provinces.

In 1985, 45.7 % of the total population of Finland consisted of persons with

completed qualifications: in other words, slightly over half of the population was still merely in possession of basic education or even less. The proportion with completed qualifications is constantly increasing, however, as nowadays the majority of young people completing the compulsory nine-year comprehensive school then proceed into some kind of tertiary education: i.e. either vocational education or the senior secondary school.

In this regional breakdown, the Province of Uusimaa (within which Greater Helsinki is located) clearly stands out from the others, with the highest percentage of population with completed qualifications.

On the other hand, Northern Finland also does well, since the percentages of population with completed qualifications in the two northernmost Provinces of Lapland and Oulu are exceeded only by that in Uusimaa.

The regional differences between the extreme North and the South are thus relatively minor, and the centrally-situated Provinces of Vaasa and Mikkeli have the lowest numbers of population with completed qualifications.

This picture changes to some extent, however, when the data of students with qualifications completed in 1985 are analyzed by institutions of education (Table 3.17).

The analysis is focused on major categories, such as vocational and professional institutions, senior secondary schools, and universities; the 'folk high schools' and various other institutions of tertiary education have been classified under the category 'Other'.

The Province of Uusimaa again presents a distinctive profile from the other Provinces, since, in relation to the rest of Finland, Uusimaa students are least likely to complete their studies in vocational and professional institutions, and most likely to do so in senior secondary schools and universities. The figures in Uusimaa for university education in particular stand out above those for the rest of the country.

In terms of qualifications completed from vocational and professional institutions, the Provinces of Åland, Northern Karelia, Oulu, and Lapland are similar to each other, and these Provinces have the highest relative proportions of students completing vocational and professional institution qualifications. The lowest relative proportions of students graduating from universities are found in the Provinces of Kymi, Mikkeli, Vaasa, and Lapland.

Close similarities can be found between the patterns for the Province of Turku and Pori and that of Häme, and there is also considerable homogeneity between the Provinces of Kymi, Mikkeli,

Table 3.17 Institution of education of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by Province of domicile

PROVINCE OF DOMICILE	EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION				Total (%)
	Vocational and profes- sional	Senior secondary	University	Other	
Uusimaa	55	29	14	1	100
Turku and Pori	66	25	8	1	100
Åland	73	20	7	0	100
Häme	67	25	7	1	100
Kymi	69	25	5	2	100
Mikkeli	69	24	6	1	100
Northern Karelia	71	21	6	1	100
Kuopio	69	23	6	1	100
Keski-Suomi	67	23	8	2	100
Vaasa	70	24	5	1	100
Oulu	71	21	7	1	100
Lapland	73	20	5	2	100
Whole country	66	25	8	1	100

and Vaasa.

Urban students study further than those living in the country

About 63 % of all the students with qualifications completed in 1985 were domiciled in urban municipalities, and 37 % elsewhere, mainly in rural

municipalities. These figures correspond fairly closely to the urban-rural distribution for the population as a whole (STV 1987).

Nevertheless, there are significant differences on the urban-rural dimension (Table 3.18). One in ten of the urban students graduated from university, whereas for rural students the

Table 3.18 Institution of education of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by type of municipality of domicile

MUNICIPALITY OF DOMICILE	EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION				Total	
	Vocational and profes- sional	Senior secondary	University	Other	(%)	(N)
Urban	63	25	10	1	100	80 225
Rural	70	23	5	1	100	48 060
Whole country	66	25	8	1	100	128 285

corresponding proportion was one in twenty; and conversely, in the vocational and professional institutions the proportion of rural-origin students was higher than that of urban students. For senior secondary schools, however, the proportions living in urban and rural municipalities are virtually identical, at one in four.

Strong higher education tradition among the Swedish-speaking population

Language is not a phenomenon separate from society: on the contrary, through

learning a particular language, man also adopts a particular perception of social reality.

Every language has its own cultural inheritance and social status. Particularly important in this respect is the mother tongue, and this has therefore also been examined, as an essential part of a student's family background. The main focus of attention here is on a comparison between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students, but it is also interesting to examine patterns for students from the Lappish-speaking population.

The students' mother tongue provides

Table 3.19 Institution of education of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by mother tongue

MOTHER TONGUE	EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION				Total	
	Vocational and professional	Senior secondary	University	Other	(%)	(N)
Finnish	66	24	8	1	100	122 223
Swedish	55	31	14	1	100	5 781
Lappish	84	11	3	2	100	61

an additional moderately reliable predictor of students' educational choices (Table 3.19).

Swedish-speaking students are relatively less likely to have studied in vocational and professional institutions, and more in senior secondary schools and universities; there is a marked difference from the other language groups. The Lappish-speaking students also form a distinctive group, being heavily concentrated in vocational and professional institutions, and hardly any of them graduating from universities.

Some kind of parameter for the changes between two generations is provided by examining the relation between the students' mother tongue and

their fathers' educational level (Table 3.20).

Comparison of the figures in Tables 3.19 and 3.20 can show whether the educational differences caused by language have increased or decreased between the two generations.

This comparison can be carried out by comparing the students' and their fathers' qualifications:

- vocational and professional institutions vs. basic education
- senior secondary schools vs. upper secondary education
- universities vs. higher education.

The comparison is easiest in terms of

Table 3.20 Educational level of fathers of students with qualifications completed in 1985, by mother tongue

MOTHER TONGUE	FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL			Total	
	Basic education	Upper secondary education	Higher education	(%)	(N)
Finnish	60	29	11	100	98 623
Swedish	47	31	22	100	4 966
Lappish	90	10	0	100	40

universities versus higher education. The educational differences associated with language have clearly decreased here, being considerably larger among fathers with higher education than among their children.

It is also noteworthy although none of the Lappish-speaking fathers had received higher education, the Lappish students included some graduating from universities.

The Finnish- and Swedish-speaking students with completed qualifications

can also be compared with each other by inspecting simultaneously three variables: type of educational institution, mother tongue, and father's educational level (see Figs. 3.9 and 3.10).

A fairly strong tradition of higher education emerges in the Swedish-speaking population, where as many as 44 % of the fathers with children graduating from universities had themselves received higher education, whereas the corresponding figure for the Finnish-speaking population is 26 %.

Figure 3.9

Educational level of fathers of Finnish-speaking students completing qualifications in 1985, by institution of education

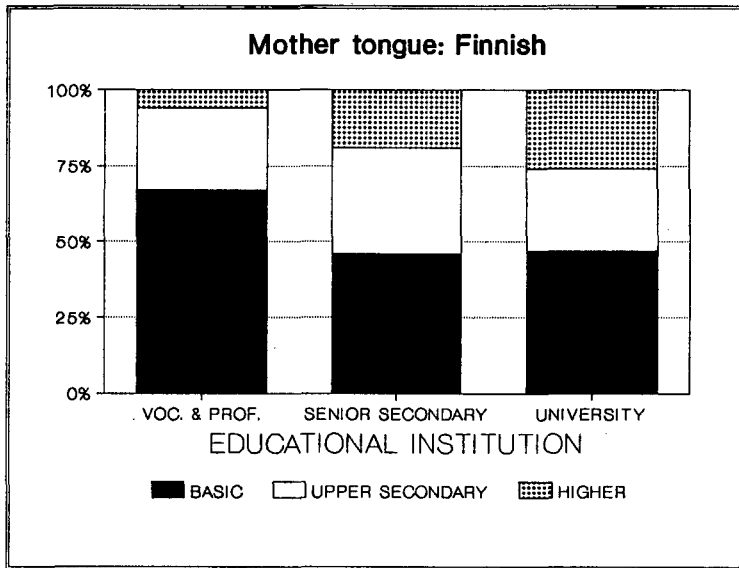
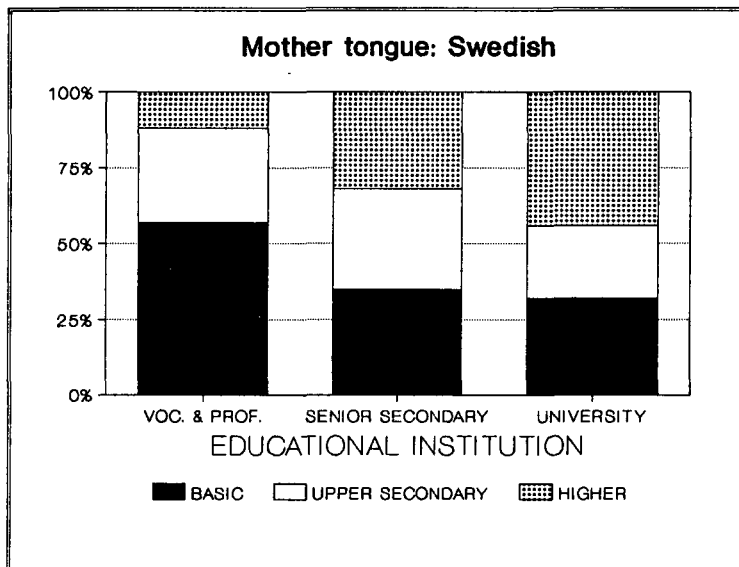


Figure 3.10

Educational level of fathers of Swedish-speaking students completing qualifications in 1985, by institution of education



4. 20–24-year-olds in 1985

In the previous chapter, we examined the students completing educational qualifications in 1985; in this chapter, we shall concentrate on the second data set, consisting of all the 20–24-year-olds in 1985. These data offer opportunities for a wide range of comparisons, as they cover the entire age group in Finland.

Slight increase in percentage studying

Table 4.1 shows the socio-economic status of the 20–24-year-olds in 1985. Two thirds of them had already entered

employment, while a quarter were still proceeding with their studies.

One of the major groups in the fairly large 'Other groups' category consists of young men doing their military service, which is often carried out between 20 and 24 years of age.

In the socio-economic classification for 1980, the employed and the unemployed were not classified separately, and the figures for 1980 and 1985 in Table 4.1 are therefore not completely comparable.

The number of unemployed in 1980 can, however, be estimated from other statistical sources. According to a survey

Table 4.1 Socio-economic status of 20–24 -year-olds in 1980 and 1985

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	YEAR 1980 ¹		YEAR 1985	
	%	N	%	N
Employed	64.1	244 845	58.9	222 737
Unemployed	–	–	6.5	24 563
Students	23.5	89 867	24.7	93 196
Other groups	12.3	47 004	9.9	37 487
Total	100.0	381716	100.0	377 983

1) Source: Suomen virallinen tilasto SVT (Official Statistics of Finland), SVT VI C:106, part I A

Table 4.2 Sex of 20–24-year-olds, by socio-economic status in 1985

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	SEX		Total		
	Males	Females	%	N	
EMPLOYED	50	50	100	222 737	
- employers	65	35	100	1 801	
- self-employed	65	35	100	9 511	
- managerial and professional	44	56	100	9 918	
- administrative and clerical	23	77	100	79 221	
- manual workers	66	34	100	122 286	
UNEMPLOYED	53	47	100	24 563	
STUDENTS	43	57	100	93 196	
OTHER GROUPS	75	25	100	37 487	
	Total	51	49	100	377 983

of principal activities, about 4 % of the 20–24-year-olds in 1980 were unemployed (SVT VI C: 106, part II).

In 1985, both the percentage unemployed, and the numbers and percentage of students, had grown in comparison to 1980.

Significant increase in percentage of female students

Table 4.2 indicates that in 1985 males comprised 51 % of the 20–24-year-old age

group. Among the employed, the number of men and women are equal, but there are more men among the unemployed.

Among students, however, there is a clear female majority. This is partly explicable by men taking their military service at this age, but it also reflects significantly higher participation in education by women than by men.

Among the employed, women comprise a clear majority both in the managerial / professional and in the administrative/ clerical employees. Their

Table 4.3 Socio-economic status of 20–24-year-olds, by father's educational level in 1985

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		
	Basic education	Upper second- ary education	Higher educa- tion
Employed	63	54	36
Unemployed	7	5	3
Students	20	31	52
Other groups	10	10	9
Total (%)	100	100	100
Total (N)	204 269	82 068	30 702

dominance is particularly noticeable (77 %) in the group of administrative and clerical employees.

Within each category, the percentages for men in 1980 are

- employed 52 %;
- unemployed 52 %;
- students 47 %.

(SVT VI C: 106, part II).

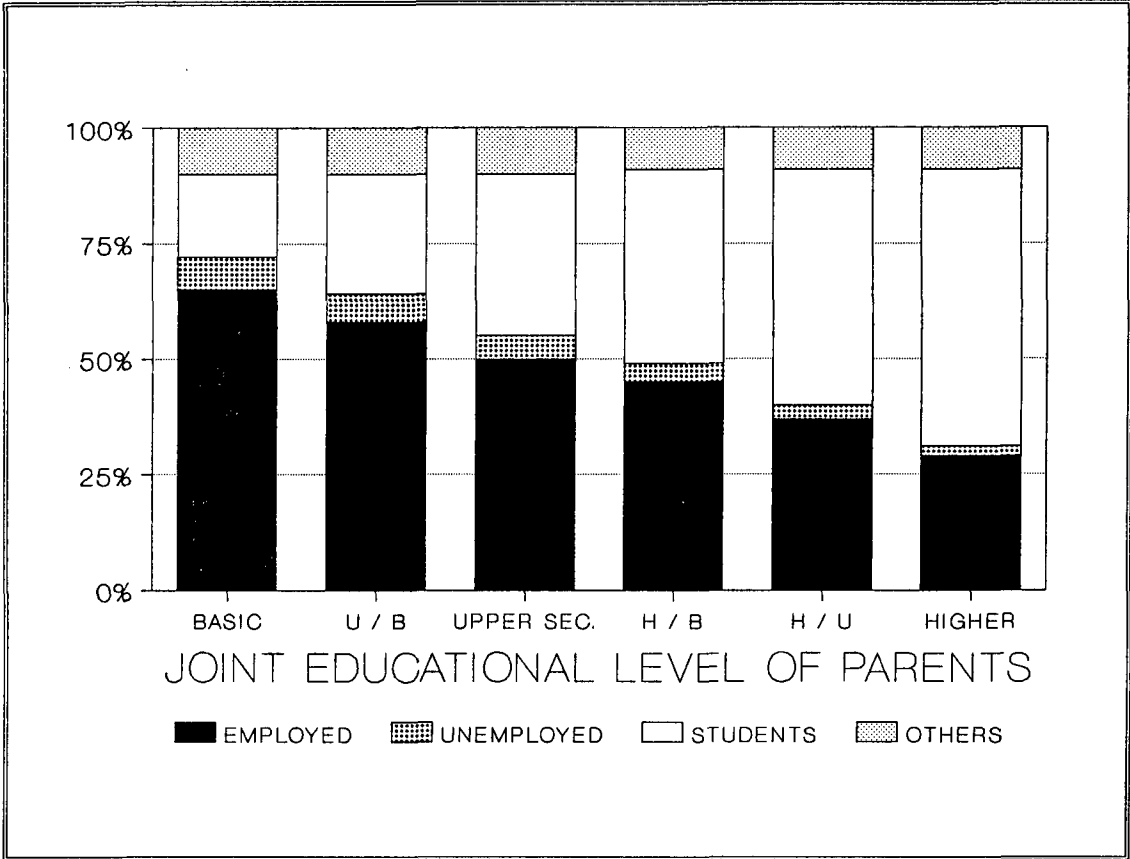
When these figures are compared with those for 1985 (Table 4.2), a marked decrease can be noted in the male percentage in the category of students, reflecting the increasingly central importance of education for women.

Impact of parents' educational capital on their children's socio-economic status

Among the children of fathers with basic education, one fifth were in education (Table 4.3). In the case of graduate fathers, however, more than half their children were studying, and the children of fathers with an upper secondary education came somewhere between these extremes.

Since employment represents the main alternative to studying, the employment patterns are the inverse of those for on-going education. The children of fathers with basic or upper secondary education were more likely to have

Figure 4.1 Socio-economic status of 20–24-year-olds by educational level of parents



entered employment. The father’s level of education can also help in predicting the likelihood of unemployment for their children, since this decreases systematically as the father’s educational level rises.

Figure 4.1 illustrates how cultural capital, in the form of the parents’ education, affects the socio-economic status of their children.

The parents’ combined educational levels have been reduced to six categories,

as was done for the data of those with completed qualifications (see page 23).

The results reveal a highly systematic pattern: the number of 20–24-year-olds in employment diminishes in proportion to the increasing educational capital enjoyed by their parents; in other words, the more cultural capital the parents have in the form of education, the later their children enter employment. Where both parents have basic education, 65 % of their 20–24-year-old children are in employ-

Table 4.4 Socio-economic status of 20–24-year-olds by father's socio-economic status. (Employed fathers only).

OWN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS				
	Employer	Self-employed	Managerial	Clerical	Manual
Employed	59	59	41	54	63
Unemployed	3	6	3	4	7
Students	28	26	47	32	20
Others	10	9	9	9	10
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	12 910	44 214	37 443	49 411	70 258

ment; when both parents have higher education, however, the corresponding figure is 29 %.

The parents' combined educational level also helps to predict the likelihood of unemployment for their children: unemployment decreases steadily in proportion to the parents' increasing educational capital.

The most interesting relations between the socio-economic status of the 20–24-year-olds and their parents' educational level concern the 'Students' group: the percentage of children studying increases fairly steadily in

proportion to the parents' increasing joint educational capital, with the figures 18-26-35-42-51-60.

At age 20–24, almost half of the children of managerial and professional fathers are still studying

The belief in education is evidently strongest in the category of managerial and professional fathers, as the percentage of children studying is clearly the highest in that group (Table 4.4),

Table 4.5 Socio-economic status of 20–24-year-olds by father’s occupation (special focus on selected traditional graduate occupations compared with a low-status non-graduate occupation)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	FATHER’S OCCUPATION				
	Physician	Lawyer or barrister	Clergyman	Architect	Casual labourer
Employed	26	31	35	40	64
Unemployed	2	3	2	2	11
Students	62	58	55	47	14
Others	10	8	9	12	11
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	1 308	327	532	337	1 081

while the lowest percentage is in the manual workers group.

Children of physicians and university professors “believe” most in the magic of education

So far, the family background of the young has been examined in terms of the educational level and socio-economic status of their parents. More detailed interest will now be focused specifically on the relation between the socio-economic status of the young and their fathers’ occupations.

First we will examine the traditional graduate occupations, such as the clergy, physicians, lawyers, and architects. Table 4.5 explores the relation between the fathers’ membership of these occupations and the socio-economic status of their children. For comparison, the Table also includes the extreme non-graduate and low-status occupation of casual labourer.

Clear differences emerge between the profiles for the different occupations examined here. At age 20–24, two out of three of the labourers’ children are in employment, whereas, for instance, only a quarter of the children of the physicians are at work.

Table 4.6 Socio-economic status of 20–24-year-olds by father's occupation (special focus on selected educational occupations)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	FATHER'S OCCUPATION				
	University professor	University teacher, re-search staff	Secondary school teacher	Primary school teacher	Training director
Employed	27	33	30	38	46
Unemployed	2	3	3	4	3
Students	64	54	58	52	40
Others	7	10	9	7	11
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	616	271	1 873	2 453	386

Similarly, relatively many of the labourers' children are unemployed, whereas unemployment does not seriously affect the children of fathers in the graduate occupations.

The main alternative to employment or unemployment is studying; accordingly, relatively few of the children of labourers carry on with their studies, compared with the children of physicians or lawyers.

On the basis of these findings, the graduate occupations examined here form the following order: physicians, lawyers, clergy, and architects; the children of physicians thus display the greatest faith in the power of education.

Next we shall examine some selected occupations in the educational sector: primary and secondary school teachers, and academic teaching and research occupations in universities. For comparison, the occupation of training director has been included (Table 4.6).

The training directors stand out from the others, since almost half of their children aged 20–24 are already working, whereas the corresponding proportion for the children of professors is only just over a quarter. (Moreover, among those in employment, the children of training directors are the most likely to be in labouring occupations, and those of

Table 4.7 **Socio-economic status of 20–24-year-olds by father’s occupation (special focus on selected military and security occupations)**

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	FATHER’S OCCUPATION					
	Officer	Non-commissioned officer	Police inspector or sergeant	Policeman	Fireman	Prison guard
Employed	45	49	52	55	61	59
Unemployed	4	7	4	6	5	4
Students	42	32	38	31	24	26
Others	9	12	7	9	10	10
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	726	389	802	869	485	347

professors, like those of physicians in the data for the preceding Table, the least so.)

On the other hand, it could not be said that the children of training directors undervalue education, since two out of five are continuing their studies. The belief in education is even stronger in the case of the other occupations, however: most noticeably for the children of professors, followed at regular intervals by those of secondary school teachers, university teachers and research assistants, and primary school teachers.

Next we shall turn our attention to selected military and security occupations,

where the belief in education clearly loses ground. The occupations included in Table 4.7 fall into three main groupings:

- officers in the armed forces, police inspectors and sergeants;
- non-commissioned officers and ordinary policemen;
- firemen and prison guards.

Two out of five of the children of fathers in the first grouping continue their studies, one out of three in the second grouping, and in the last grouping one in four. The relatively largest numbers of

Table 4.8 **Socio-economic status of 20–24-year-olds by father's occupation (special focus on selected commercial occupations)**

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	FATHER'S OCCUPATION				
	Business management	Sales management	Shop supervisor	Retailer	Salesman
Employed	45	49	53	59	57
Unemployed	2	3	5	5	5
Students	43	38	33	27	30
Others	10	10	9	10	9
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	6 334	4 217	1 358	3 208	3 101

unemployed are found among the children of fathers who are non-commissioned officers or policemen.

In the military sector, there is a clear distinction between commissioned and non-commissioned officers, whereas the differences between ranks within the police are of minor significance.

Table 4.8 indicates that the commercial occupations under scrutiny can be divided into two categories, the first one comprising business and sales managers, about 40 % of whose children continue their studies; the second grouping is formed by shop supervisors, retailers, and salesmen, about 30 % of whose children are studying.

These grouping are also distinguished in terms both of employment and of unemployment: young people whose fathers are shop supervisors, retailers, or salesmen are more prone to unemployment; the same pattern is also repeated for those of their children in work (among whom the children of salesmen are most likely to be in labouring occupations).

The next occupations to be examined are in the construction sector. The occupations listed in Table 4.9 are divided into four main groupings:

- civil engineers;
- civil engineering technicians;

Table 4.9 Socio-economic status of 20–24-year-olds by father's occupation (special focus on selected construction occupations)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	FATHER'S OCCUPATION					
	Civil engineer	Civil engineering technician	Bricklayer	Painter	Plumber	Building labourer
Employed	39	49	63	64	64	65
Unemployed	3	4	7	6	7	9
Students	47	38	22	20	20	15
Others	11	8	8	10	10	11
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	1 318	4 812	1 324	3 084	3 213	3 326

- bricklayers, painters, plumbers;
- building labourers.

At age 20–24, nearly half of the children of civil engineers are still studying, with almost one third in higher education. The civil engineering technicians almost reach the same level.

A sharp jump occurs when we move over to the grouping consisting of bricklayers, painters, and plumbers, where the percentage of young people still studying falls decisively, and that of the employed rises to close on 70 %. These trends are further reinforced

among the children of construction labourers.

The last occupations to come under scrutiny here are in agriculture and forestry. Table 4.10 includes the following:

- research worker in forestry;
- forestry supervisor;
- farmer;
- forestry worker, lumberjack.

These occupations diverge from each other in many respects. More than half of the children of forestry research workers are still continuing their studies, whereas

Table 4.10 Socio-economic status of 20–24-year-olds by father's occupation (special focus on selected agricultural and forestry occupations)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	FATHER'S OCCUPATION			
	Researcher in forestry	Forestry supervisor	Farmer	Forestry worker or lumberjack
Employed	36	48	59	61
Unemployed	4	5	5	11
Students	53	39	27	19
Others	8	10	9	10
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	282	1 647	31 093	3 240

at the opposite extreme, only a fifth of the children of forestry workers or lumberjacks are still in education between the ages of 20 and 24. The children of forestry supervisors and farmers fall somewhere between these extremes, but also significantly diverge from each other.

The foregoing analyses thus clearly demonstrate that the father's occupation offers a strikingly reliable predictor of the socio-economic status of his children. The overall findings have been collated in Appendix Table 6.

First of all, there are listed those fathers' occupations which particularly

seem to encourage the children to educate themselves to as high a level as possible. Secondly, there are listed the occupations that seem to steer the children towards entering employment as soon as possible. In both cases, the grounds of selection are the percentages of their children still studying between the ages of 20 and 24.

The mothers' occupations have not been examined separately here, since the results are very similar to those for the fathers. A summary list of the mothers' occupations has been included (Appendix Table 7) to meet any further interest.

Mothers working in teaching and health care educate their children furthest, while the belief in education is evidently at its

lowest with mothers working in industrial and cleaning occupations.

5. Students of the age group 20–24 in Finnish institutions of higher education

Most students in higher education study in southern Finland

In 1985 there were 20 institutions of higher education¹ in Finland, ten of which were multi-faculty institutions (universities). Table 5.1 gives the numbers both for all students in higher education, and separately for those in the age group 20–24, by institution of higher education. All 20 institutions are included. The multi-faculty higher education institutions are:

- University of Helsinki
- University of Turku
- University of Åbo Akademi²
- University of Oulu
- University of Tampere
- University of Jyväskylä
- University of Kuopio
- University of Joensuu
- University of Lapland
- University of Vaasa.

The other ten are more specialized or

monotechnic institutions: three in economics and business administration, three in engineering and architecture, one in veterinary medicine, one in music, one in industrial arts, and one in theatre and drama.

The University of Helsinki is the largest university in Finland in terms of the number of students. Higher education students tend in general, moreover, to concentrate in the metropolitan area: 44 % of them study in Helsinki or the surrounding region. Together with 16 % in Turku, and 13 %, in Tampere, therefore, three out of four students in Finnish higher education study within the zone Helsinki – Turku – Tampere.

In the following, we will not examine all students in Finnish higher education, but only those in the age group 20–24 years. This group comprises about 45 % of all the students.

A female majority in most institutions of higher education

With the one exception of the University of Oulu, there is a female majority in all

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- 1) In Figures 2.1 and 2.2, all these 20 institutions belong to the Universities-sector
 - 2) Swedish-language university in Turku

Table 5.1 Students aged 20–24, and all students, in institutions of higher education in 1985

INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	Students aged 20–24		All students ¹	
	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)
University of Helsinki	22.6	9 114	27.3	25 167
University of Turku	10.0	4 034	9.9	9 114
Åbo Akademi	5.0	2 020	4.7	4 375
University of Oulu	9.5	3 834	8.3	7 669
University of Tampere	8.4	3 394	10.0	9 183
University of Jyväskylä	8.1	3 258	7.0	6 457
Helsinki University of Technology	9.2	3 707	9.4	8 667
College of Veterinary Medicine	0.4	161	0.3	291
Helsinki School of Economics	3.5	1 403	3.4	3 099
Swedish School of Economics	2.2	877	1.8	1 644
Turku School of Economics	2.0	824	1.6	1 463
University of Vaasa	2.3	918	1.7	1 614
Lappeenranta University of Technology	2.3	913	1.6	1 519
Tampere University of Technology	3.6	1 442	3.4	3 166
University of Kuopio	2.5	1 018	2.3	2 116
University of Joensuu	4.8	1 930	4.1	3 803
University of Lapland	1.4	544	1.1	1 000
Sibellius Academy	1.3	507	1.1	980
University of Industrial Arts	0.7	295	0.8	757
Theatre Academy	0.2	81	0.2	146
Total	100	40 274	100	92 230

1) All students: source Statistical Yearbook of Finland 1987

Table 5.2 Sex of students aged 20–24, by institution of higher education in 1985

INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	SEX		Total	
	Male	Female	(%)	(N)
University of Helsinki	41	59	100	9 114
University of Turku	37	63	100	4 034
Åbo Akademi	39	61	100	2 020
University of Oulu	51	49	100	3 834
University of Tampere	35	65	100	3 394
University of Jyväskylä	34	66	100	3 258
Helsinki University of Technology	82	18	100	3 707
College of Veterinary Medicine	24	76	100	161
Helsinki School of Economics	48	52	100	1 403
Swedish School of Economics	52	48	100	877
Turku School of Economics	47	53	100	824
University of Vaasa	45	55	100	918
Lappeenranta University of Technology	85	15	100	913
Tampere University of Technology	88	12	100	1 442
University of Kuopio	36	64	100	1 018
University of Joensuu	34	66	100	1 930
University of Lapland	49	51	100	544
Sibelius Academy	40	60	100	507
University of Industrial Arts	37	63	100	295
Theatre Academy	49	51	100	81
Total	47	53	100	40 274

Table 5.3 Sex, by faculty of university students aged 20–24 in 1985

FACULTY	SEX		Total	
	Male	Female	(%)	(N)
Theology	48	52	100	702
Law	55	45	100	1 605
Medicine	35	65	100	2 193
Humanities	22	78	100	6 220
Natural Sciences	52	48	100	5 291
Education	23	77	100	1 992
Social Sciences	39	61	100	3 473
Agriculture and Forestry	53	47	100	1 193
Engineering and Architecture	85	15	100	1 335
Administrative Sciences	64	36	100	700
Sport Sciences	46	54	100	278
Teacher Education ¹	32	68	100	2 141
Translation Studies ¹	16	84	100	336
Total	39	61	100	27 459

1) Teacher Education and Translation Studies are considered separately even though they are not faculties

the multi-faculty institutions (see Table 5.2). The male majority at the University of Oulu is explained by its strong Faculty of Technology.

The most female-predominant universities are those of Joensuu and Jyväskylä, where women comprise almost two thirds of the student enrolment.

Among the specialized institutions, there is a male majority in the colleges of technology, and at the Swedish School of

Economics. In the mid-1980s, technology still maintains a strongly male profile in Finland, with around 85 % of the students in the technological institutions being men.

The highest concentration of female students among the specialized institutions is at the College of Veterinary Medicine, where three out of four students are women.

In 1985, the percentage of women

students in the universities was 60 %. They were particularly strongly concentrated in the Humanities and in Education¹, and the departments of Translation Studies. Fairly large female concentrations were also found also in the departments of Teacher Education and Medicine (see Table 5.3).

The only really male domain was that of Technology (with no more than 15 % women students). There was also a fairly distinct male concentration in Economics and Public Administration at the University of Tampere, and slight male majorities in Law, Agriculture and Forestry, and Natural Sciences.

Specialized institutions attract children of fathers with higher education

On the basis of the proportion of students' fathers with higher education or with basic schooling, the institutions of higher education in Finland can be classified along a range from 'elitist' to 'populist' (Table 5.4).

According to this classification, the elitist institutions were:

- the Helsinki University of Technology;
- the Swedish School of Economics;

- the Sibelius Academy;
- the College of Veterinary Medicine.

Relatively elitist institutions were:

- the Helsinki School of Economics;
- the University of Helsinki;
- the University of Industrial Arts;
- the Theatre Academy.

The institutions of higher education which emerged as markedly populist were:

- the University of Joensuu;
- the University of Vaasa.

Other, relatively populist institutions were:

- the University of Jyväskylä;
- the University of Oulu;
- the University of Tampere;
- the University of Kuopio.

The general conclusion which can be drawn is that the multi-faculty institutions (universities) tend to be more populist in character, while the specialized colleges tend more to be elitist, forming a distinct sector not only in terms of their curricula, but also of the family background of their

1) Education refers to the academic subject of educational theory, as distinct from the vocationally-oriented training of teachers (Teacher Education).

Table 5.4 Father's educational level of higher education students aged 20-24, by institution, in 1985

INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL			Total	
	Basic education	Upper secondary education	Higher education	(%)	(N)
University of Helsinki	31	27	42	100	8 052
University of Turku	37	33	30	100	3 629
Åbo Akademi	37	31	32	100	1 814
University of Oulu	45	30	25	100	3 401
University of Tampere	44	31	24	100	3 002
University of Jyväskylä	45	32	22	100	2 901
Helsinki University of Technology	22	26	52	100	3 360
College of Veterinary Medicine	29	23	47	100	150
Helsinki School of Economics	27	29	44	100	1 271
Swedish School of Economics	25	26	50	100	790
Turku School of Economics	38	31	31	100	742
University of Vaasa	48	32	20	100	836
Lappeenranta University of Technology	38	37	24	100	834
Tampere University of Technology	37	36	27	100	1 305
University of Kuopio	43	33	24	100	888
University of Joensuu	52	30	18	100	1 697
University of Lapland	41	32	27	100	459
Sibelius Academy	27	24	49	100	268
University of Industrial Arts	31	28	41	100	481
Theatre Academy	33	26	41	100	66
Total	37	30	33	100	35 946

Table 5.5 Father's educational level of university students aged 20–24, by faculty, in 1985

FACULTY	FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL			Total	
	Basic education	Upper secondary education	Higher education	(%)	(N)
Theology	40	27	33	100	630
Law	27	29	44	100	1 443
Medicine	30	26	44	100	2 456
Humanities	41	30	29	100	5 436
Natural Sciences	41	31	28	100	5 091
Education	39	32	29	100	1 778
Social Sciences	41	32	28	100	3 267
Agriculture and Forestry	38	32	31	100	1 093
Engineering and Architecture	39	31	30	100	1 195
Administrative Sciences	41	32	27	100	629
Sport Sciences	32	35	33	100	253
Teacher Education	43	30	27	100	1 919
Translation Studies	52	33	15	100	279
Total	39	30	31	100	25 469

students.

Distinct patterns in Medicine and Law

We shall now scrutinize the patterns found in the universities in closer detail.

Table 5.5 analyzes the data for 20–24-year-old students in 1985 in order to explore the relation between students'

family background (fathers' educational level) and disciplines studied (faculties or departments). Two faculties diverge sharply from the others in terms of high percentages of students with graduate fathers: those of Law and Medicine; whereas the lowest percentages of graduate fathers are found among the students in departments of Translation Studies.

Table 5.6 Father's educational level of students aged 20–24, by faculty, in 1985 (University of Helsinki)

FACULTY	FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL			Total	
	Basic education	Upper secondary education	Higher education	(%)	(N)
Theology	41	26	33	100	567
Law	22	27	51	100	833
Medicine	19	20	61	100	675
Arts	29	26	45	100	1 454
Science	34	28	38	100	1 954
Education	34	29	37	100	558
Social Sciences	26	29	45	100	673
Agriculture and Forestry	37	31	32	100	1 028
Translation Studies (Kouvola)	46	32	22	100	124
Swedish School of Social Work and Local Administration ¹	41	22	37	100	186
Total	31	27	42	100	8 052

1)The Swedish School of Social Work and Local Administration is an independent unit within the Faculty of Social Sciences

This picture can still be brought into sharper focus by concentrating on individual universities. Using the findings cited above to distinguish between 'elitist' and 'populist' institutions, the only university which can be characterized as elitist is the University of Helsinki, and the University of Joensuu has been

chosen to represent the 'populist' universities, with the University of Turku representing the middle range.

Table 5.6 shows the educational level of students' fathers by faculties in 1985 for the University of Helsinki.

The Faculty of Medicine stands out clearly, with over 60 % of its students

Table 5.7 Father's educational level of students aged 20–24, by faculty, in 1985 (University of Turku)

FACULTY	FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL			Total	
	Basic education	Upper secondary education	Higher education	(%)	(N)
Humanities	39	34	27	100	963
Social Sciences	45	34	20	100	357
Natural Sciences	41	34	25	100	764
Medicine	23	27	49	100	548
Law	34	29	37	100	372
Education	47	38	15	100	66
Teacher Education (Turku)	34	33	33	100	260
Teacher Education (Rauma)	43	34	23	100	299
Total	37	33	30	100	3 629

having graduate fathers; the corresponding proportion was also quite high in Law, with over 50 %. Fairly high proportions are also found in the Arts and the Social Sciences, however. The lowest proportions of graduate fathers are found in Translation Studies, in Agriculture, and in Theology.

Turning to the University of Turku, some marked differences emerge between Turku and Helsinki within the same disciplines or faculties (see Table 5.7). Considerably higher proportion of graduate fathers are found among

University of Helsinki students, for all disciplines or faculties. The largest difference occurs between the Social Sciences in Helsinki (45 %) and in Turku (20 %); the standing of the Social Sciences in Turku relative to other disciplines is also quite different, for only in Education is there a lower proportion of graduate fathers.

By far the highest proportion of graduate fathers occurs also in Turku in Medicine, and the second highest in Law, though not as markedly so as in Helsinki, since there is a relatively small drop in

Table 5.8 Father's educational level of students aged 20–24, by faculty, in 1985 (University of Joensuu)

FACULTY	FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL			Total	
	Basic education	Upper secondary education	Higher education	(%)	(N)
Humanities	56	26	18	100	381
Social Sciences	50	37	13	100	146
Natural Sciences	51	32	17	100	327
Forestry	43	40	17	100	65
Teacher Education (Joensuu)	50	26	24	100	319
Teacher Education (Savonlinna)	48	31	21	100	294
Translation Studies (Savonlinna)	56	34	10	100	155
Total	52	30	18	100	1 687

Turku between Law and the following discipline, Teacher Education.

In Table 5.8, the University of Joensuu is examined¹. The comparison between Helsinki and Joensuu reveals even more striking differences than those between Helsinki and Turku.

The largest differential in the

percentages of graduate fathers, 32 percentage points, is found between the Social Sciences in Helsinki (45 %) and in Joensuu (13 %). The difference found between Arts in Helsinki (45 %) and Humanities in Joensuu (18 %) is also fairly striking.

In the University of Joensuu the

1) Education has been ignored at the University of Joensuu, due to the small number of students: excluding Teacher Education, there were in 1985 only ten students in the age group 20–24.

percentage of graduate fathers was highest in Teacher Education, and lowest in Translation Studies; it was also fairly low also in the Social Sciences. Overall at Joensuu, the proportion of graduate fathers is evidently reduced by the absence of faculties of Law and Medicine, both of which are found at Universities of Helsinki and Turku. It is therefore better to compare these three universities in terms of the faculties or disciplines common to all three.

The universities of Helsinki, Turku and Joensuu have four faculties in common: the Humanities or Arts, Social Sciences, Education and Natural Sciences. If the departments of Teacher Education are excluded, the Faculty of Education is very small in Joensuu and also fairly small in Turku, however, and these have therefore been omitted from the comparison.

The results of the comparison are unambiguous: a very sharp difference emerges between the Universities of Helsinki and Turku; there is also a considerable difference between the Universities of Turku and Joensuu, though not nearly as great as that between Helsinki and Turku. The most selective student material in Finnish higher education 1985 was enrolled at the University of Helsinki, and it is on these

grounds justified to describe it as an elitist university¹.

Children of managerial and professional fathers form the largest group in higher education

In the foregoing discussion, the institutions of higher education in Finland were classified in order in terms of the students' fathers' educational level; this will now be supplemented by a scrutiny based on the fathers' socio-economic status.

Table 5.9 shows the family background of students aged 20–24 in all institutions of higher education by the socio-economic status of their fathers. Since the percentages of fathers belonging to the categories of the unemployed and 'others' are very small (0 – 2 %), these two groups have been combined with that of the retired in order to simplify the analysis.

The managerial and professional category is the largest source of students in all the institutions of higher education, with the sole exception of the University of Joensuu. The children of managerial and professional fathers are particularly predominant in:

1) It should be noted, however, that the educational structure of the population in each university's region, which to some extent comprises its catchment area, has been ignored.

Table 5.9 Father's socio-economic status, by institution of higher education (students aged 20–24) in 1985

INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS						Total (%)
	Em- ployer	Self- em- ployed	Mana- gerial	Cleri- cal	Man- ual	Pen- sioner, etc.	
University of Helsinki	4	12	40	14	13	16	100
University of Turku	4	12	32	16	20	16	100
Åbo Akademi	6	12	33	16	16	17	100
University of Oulu	4	12	27	17	19	22	100
University of Tampere	4	13	26	16	21	21	100
University of Jyväskylä	4	13	25	18	19	22	100
Helsinki University of Technology	4	8	48	16	11	14	100
College of Veterinary Medicine	9	11	45	13	9	13	100
Helsinki School of Economics	7	6	49	14	11	13	100
Swedish School of Economics	7	8	49	15	8	13	100
Turku School of Economics	7	11	33	16	17	16	100
University of Vaasa	8	15	27	15	18	17	100
Lappeenranta University of Technology	4	13	26	22	17	17	100
Tampere University of Technology	4	10	27	19	21	18	100
University of Kuopio	5	14	25	19	18	20	100
University of Joensuu	3	16	20	18	20	23	100
University of Lapland	2	9	31	18	18	21	100
Sibellus Academy	4	9	47	14	9	17	100
University of Industrial Arts	5	12	37	15	12	19	100
Theatre Academy	5	11	39	18	8	20	100
Total	4	12	34	16	16	18	100

- the Swedish School of Economics;
- the Helsinki School of Economics;
- the Helsinki University of Technology;
- the Sibelius Academy;
- the College of Veterinary Medicine.

They are also fairly strongly represented at:

- the University of Helsinki;
- the Theatre Academy;
- the University of Industrial Arts.

The proportion of children of managerial and professional fathers is clearly lowest in the University of Joensuu.

The largest proportions of children of the self-employed (consisting largely of agricultural smallholders) are found at the University of Joensuu and the University of Vaasa, and the lowest at the Helsinki School of Economics.

The relatively highest concentrations of children with fathers belonging to the category of manual workers are found in the University of Tampere and the Tampere University of Technology, but there are also clearly above-average proportions of manual workers' children at the Universities of Joensuu, Turku, Jyväskylä, and Oulu.

The relatively smallest incidences of children of manual workers are in the Swedish School of Economics, the Theatre Academy, the Sibelius Academy,

and the College of Veterinary Medicine.

If the numbers of children of manual workers and the self-employed are combined, the highest concentrations are found in

- the University of Joensuu;
- the University of Tampere;
- the University of Vaasa.

Mothers of higher education students often administrative and clerical employees

The family background of students in higher education in 1985 is also worth examining in terms of the socio-economic status of their mothers, since systematic differences emerge between the status of the mothers and of the fathers.

Whereas the largest category among the fathers consists of managerial and professional employees, the largest group of mothers is found in administrative and clerical occupations, as can be seen in Table 5.10, and managerial and professional mothers form the second-largest category. Altogether 60 % of the 20–24-year-old students in higher education in 1985 had a mother in these two groups, thus further reinforcing the image of the universities and higher education in general as institutions for white-collar parents' children.

If the proportions of students with administrative / clerical and managerial /

Table 5.10 Father's socio-economic status, by institution of higher education (students aged 20–24) in 1985

INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	MOTHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS						Total (%)
	Em- ployer	Self- em- ployed	Mana- gerial	Cleri- cal	Man- ual	Pen- sioner, etc.	
University of Helsinki	3	10	27	35	12	13	100
University of Turku	3	8	22	37	17	13	100
Åbo Akademi	3	8	23	40	12	13	100
University of Oulu	3	9	18	34	17	20	100
University of Tampere	2	10	18	35	18	18	100
University of Jyväskylä	2	11	17	36	16	18	100
Helsinki University of Technology	3	7	32	37	11	11	100
College of Veterinary Medicine	5	15	29	32	7	11	100
Helsinki School of Economics	4	5	29	43	8	11	100
Swedish School of Economics	3	5	28	45	8	11	100
Turku School of Economics	4	8	23	35	17	13	100
University of Vaasa	5	12	17	36	15	15	100
Lappeenranta University of Technology	1	10	17	38	19	14	100
Tampere University of Technology	2	8	19	38	18	15	100
University of Kuopio	3	10	19	36	14	17	100
University of Joensuu	2	12	15	35	17	19	100
University of Lapland	2	6	22	39	15	17	100
Sibelius Academy	2	5	33	35	9	16	100
University of Industrial Arts	1	9	27	39	11	12	100
Theatre Academy	3	5	19	47	10	16	100
Total	3	9	23	37	14	15	100

Table 5.11 Father's socio-economic status, by faculty (university students aged 20-24) in 1985

FACULTY	FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS						Total (%)
	Em- ployer	Self- em- ployed	Mana- gerial	Clerical	Manual	Pen- sioner, etc.	
Theology	3	13	32	16	14	22	100
Law	4	8	44	17	12	15	100
Medicine	5	9	43	14	13	17	100
Humanities	4	12	30	15	19	21	100
Natural Sciences	4	13	29	17	19	19	100
Education	3	12	30	18	18	18	100
Social Sciences	4	12	29	16	18	20	100
Agriculture and Forestry	6	31	28	11	10	14	100
Engineering and architecture	4	10	30	18	18	20	100
Administrative Sciences	5	11	31	15	19	19	100
Sport Sciences	4	9	36	19	21	10	100
Teacher Education	4	13	31	16	19	18	100
Translation Studies	4	13	15	22	27	19	100
Total	4	12	32	16	17	19	100

professional mothers at different institutions are compared, the highest concentrations are found in:

- the Swedish School of Economics;
- the Helsinki School of Economics;
- the Helsinki University of Technology;
- the Sibelius Academy;
- the University of Industrial Arts;

- the Theatre Academy.

Slightly above-average concentrations of the children of manual workers and the self-employed, on the other hand, occurred at:

- the Lappeenranta University of Technology;

Table 5.12 Father's socio-economic status, by faculty (students aged 20–24) in 1985 (University of Helsinki)

FACULTY	FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS						Total (%)
	Em- ployer	Self- em- ployed	Mana- gerial	Cleri- cal	Man- ual	Pen- sioner etc.	
Theology	3	14	31	16	14	23	100
Law	4	7	50	15	9	15	100
Medicine	3	6	56	12	8	14	100
Arts	3	7	43	14	13	19	100
Science	4	12	37	14	17	16	100
Education	3	12	38	16	17	15	100
Social Sciences	3	8	45	16	14	15	100
Agriculture and Forestry	6	31	29	11	10	14	100
Translation studies (Kouvola)	4	7	20	23	28	18	100
Swedish School of Social Work and Local Administration	4	13	34	14	17	18	100
Total	4	12	40	14	13	16	100

- the University of Joensuu;
- the University of Tampere;
- the University of Vaasa;
- the University of Jyväskylä.

Above-average percentages of children from managerial and professional families in Law, Medicine and Sport Sciences

A more detailed examination will now be made of the socio-economic status of

university students' fathers in 1985, broken down by faculties and disciplines (see Table 5.11).

The major concentrations of children of managerial and professional fathers were clearly found in Law and Medicine, followed by Sport Sciences, and the lowest concentrations in Translation Studies.

Children of manual workers were relatively heavily represented in Translation Studies, and were least well

Table 5.13 Father's socio-economic status, by faculty (students aged 20-24) in 1985 (University of Turku)

FACULTY	FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS						Total (%)
	Em- ployer	Self- em- ployed	Mana- gerial	Clerical	Manual	Pen- sioner, etc.	
Humanities	5	12	29	14	21	19	100
Social Sciences	4	14	23	18	23	17	100
Natural Sciences	3	12	27	20	24	15	100
Medicine	6	9	47	14	10	14	100
Law	5	9	38	17	17	13	100
Education	11	9	27	18	17	18	100
Teacher Education (Turku)	5	10	35	14	19	16	100
Teacher Education (Rauma)	3	16	29	16	20	16	100
Total	4	12	32	16	20	16	100

represented in Agriculture and Forestry, Law, Medicine, and Theology. The major concentrations of the children of the self-employed were found in Agriculture and Forestry.

We shall now scrutinize in more detail selected individual universities, focusing, as before, on the Universities of Helsinki, Turku, and Joensuu.

In the University of Helsinki (see Table 5.12) the highest proportion of managerial and professional fathers is found in Medicine, followed, at regular

intervals, by Law and the Social Sciences.

The highest concentration of children of the self-employed is in Agriculture and Forestry, and that of children of manual worker fathers in Translation Studies.

The University of Turku is examined in Table 5.13. In Turku, as in Helsinki, the highest proportion of managerial and professional fathers is in Medicine, followed at a clear distance by Law and Teacher Education. The highest concentrations of children of manual workers were in the Natural Sciences and

Table 5.14 Father's socio-economic status, by faculty (students aged 20–24) in 1985 (University of Joensuu)

FACULTY	FATHER'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS						Total (%)
	Em- ployer	Self- em- ployed	Mana- gerial	Clerical	Man- ual	Pen- sioner, etc.	
Humanities	2	16	20	12	23	28	100
Social Sciences	3	17	14	21	21	24	100
Forestry	5	29	15	18	14	18	100
Teacher Education (Joensuu)	3	13	26	18	15	24	100
Teacher Education (Savonlinna)	5	15	26	18	19	16	100
Translation Studies (Savonlinna)	4	17	12	21	26	21	100
Total	3	16	20	18	20	23	100

the Social Sciences.

At Joensuu (see table 5.14), the highest proportion of students from managerial and professional families was in Teacher Education, and the lowest in Translation Studies and in the Social Sciences and Forestry. There was a noticeable concentration of the children of manual worker fathers in Translation Studies.

Comparison reveals clear differences between the Universities of Helsinki, Turku, and Joensuu: for instance, in the Humanities, the proportions of students

with managerial and professional fathers were 43 %, 29 %, and 20 % respectively, and in the Social Sciences the corresponding figures were 45 %, 23 %, and 14 %.

In conclusion, the data scrutinized here unequivocally demonstrate different patterns in the recruitment of students, the University of Helsinki differing decisively from the other two universities examined, although there are also clear differences between the Universities of Turku and Joensuu.

6. Conclusions

Cultural background, wealth and sex are no longer the fatal determinants of the individual's educational career. In the 1990s, social background no longer steers the educational choices of the population as powerfully as it did at the beginning of the century; but although the predictive value of students' home background has diminished, it has certainly not disappeared. The present study of students' education and home background shows indisputably that marked educational differences continue to persist.

Inspection of the data for 1985 reveals three distinct traditions of education in the Finnish educational system, corresponding respectively to white-collar employees, to manual workers, and to farmers and agricultural workers.

The children of labourers and the agricultural population tend to study in vocational and professional education institutions, whereas the sons and daughters of parents in white-collar occupations are significantly more likely to enter higher education.

Moreover, even though the children both of labourers and of farmers are likely to attend vocational and professional institutions, their specific choices of training diverge very considerably; and by their educational choices, they contribute

to the reproduction of the existing social class structure.

The children of labourers are mainly trained for industrial occupations. They may become workers for the paper, pulp and wood processing industries, mechanics and fitters, bricklayers and house-painters, textile workers, cooks, or workers in the food industry.

The children of farmers, on the other hand, make their way to agricultural occupations. They become farmers, farm mechanics, farm manageresses, livestock breeders and gardeners; and even if they go on into advanced or higher education, their choice of subjects still often reflects their family background: they become forestry supervisors, agricultural engineers, or take degrees in agriculture and forestry.

The educational choices made by young people from agricultural and working-class backgrounds are characteristically aimed at a rapid transition through education into employment.

The children of white-collar employees, on the other hand, are more likely to persist in the educational system, many of them reaching up as high as possible; and in these aspirations, they benefit from solid support from their families.

White-collar mothers and fathers are anxious to transfer their own educational capital to their children. Education is not as easy to transfer as money or property, however; the children also need to assent to the relevant system of values. In white-collar families, it appears that these values are being internalized very successfully. As they grow up, these children become architects, physicians, jurists, graduate engineers, economists, etc., following in the footsteps of their fathers and, for the most part, of their mothers too.

The educational traditions of the white-collar, labouring, and farming sections of the Finnish population are still recognizably distinct; and with the incorporation of the educational differences relating to the educational level of the students' mothers and fathers, their mother tongue, their place of domicile, their sex, and even the number of their siblings, a strikingly clearcut and differentiated picture emerges.

Comparison with the data for 1980 shows that the differences on the basis of the fathers' educational level had not diminished by 1985, but rather grown.

Regional differences, however, diminished between 1980 and 1985.

The equality of the sexes had advanced by the mid-1980s to a point where there was a female majority among students in vocational and professional institutions, senior secondary schools, and institutions

of higher education; only at the postgraduate level is there still a strong male majority.

The impact of the students' mother tongue has also diminished: educational differences attributable to language factors have decreased in comparison with those in the preceding generation.

There are other significant changes, too, which have taken place between the generations. The level of education of the population is constantly rising; and the expansion of the education system has provided the means for many people to better their social positions. In this, however, the inheritance of the students' homes is an important factor. For many of the parents' generation, continued education was either almost impossible, or entailed considerable sacrifices. The parents' frustrated hopes were one of the elements on which a belief in the omnipotence of education was built, and this belief has successfully been handed on to their children.

The central force which drives educational development forward can thus be formulated as a law of educational accumulation: parents will aim to guarantee for their children at least the same level of educational qualifications as they themselves have achieved. In Finland, parents' wishes for their children to continue their secondary education to the Matriculation Examination has steadily increased; and the senior

secondary school trains the students' sights on those lines of study which lead on to high-prestige higher education. The resultant contradictions, however – between the goals generated by the ethos of the educational system, and the limitations imposed by reality upon their realization – cause disappointment and frustration for many (cf. Kivinen, Rinne & Ahola 1989).

It remains to be seen how much this situation may in the future lead young people to growing disbelief in (or reassessment of) the blessings of education.

Ulrich Teichler (1988) suggests that a 'soft educational system' model has become the mainstream ideal for educational policy in the industrialized countries. This model, marketed through OECD conferences and publications, is based on the following elements:

1) Late selection in pre-career education.

Since the end of World War II, the thrust of educational reforms has been to prolong the initial time-span of common learning and delay the choice of occupation until later.

2) Permeability. A wide range of measures are used with the aim of reducing educational blind alleys, and of making cross-transfers and the changing of educational routes easier.

3) Compensatory measures for the disadvantaged. Compensatory provisions have been planned for the pre-school, schooling and post-schooling stages, leading to a variety of pre-school programmes and forms of compensatory education, and of 'second chance' educational routes for adults.

4) Diversified structures for higher education. Inside the higher education system there has been built a multiform network, diversified in terms of course duration, status, orientation and criteria of recruitment, and the degrees it produces vary greatly. At the same time, however, measures have also often been taken to avoid a clearcut segmentation of higher education.

5) Life-long education. The creation of systems for life-long education has been aimed at the promotion of greater flexibility, mobility of labour and educational mobility.

Prolongation of the time-span for education, broadening of the system, the removal of some blind alleys, delaying the selection of an occupation, and compensatory measures, however, do not imply the deletion of selection and elimination from the basic character of the educational system. The rhetoric surrounding recent educational reforms

has helped to create a popular belief in a real equality of choice in education, whereas success or failure at school must logically be considered as a consequence of the differences in human abilities. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1984; 1988) speaks about a process of "misrecognition", by which the school has been allocated an ever more important role as a seemingly neutral judge regulating people's life routes.

There is a basic conflict between the principle of educational opportunity, and the socially inevitable process of selection. Those parents who have themselves received a better education are generally better aware of the problem than others, and are ready to invest extensively both time and effort, and economic and social capital, in order to secure a schooling route for their children which will lead to a world of at least similar possibilities as those they have had themselves. The continual rise in the educational standard of the population as a whole, however, inevitably leads to a relative devaluation of educational achievement, and inflation of qualifications, including those formerly rated highly. An parent who earlier obtained high status through the Matriculation Examination may have difficulty in recognizing that the Matriculation Examinations passed by his children no longer confer the same distinction, but have become a mass

educational qualification (see Kivinen & Rinne 1989; cf. Clark 1984; Neave 1976; 1989; Trow 1974).

After having received their education, young people have to pass through the filters of both the educational qualification market and the labour market in order to achieve their positions in society (Rosenbaum 1986). In Finland, both in 1980 and in 1985, this allocation of young people to their social status largely took place in accordance with their parents' socio-economic and educational starting points. In spite of the longer and comprehensive schooling system, the selection of the young for further education and higher education followed the familiar pattern, according to which young people from families possessing a high cultural capital and educational background are likely to achieve high status, while a low level of parental cultural capital predicts a low education for the children.

In spite of the democratic rhetoric of educational policy, the major educational pathways have remained distinct, and under its surface of equality, education in Finland in the 1980s has evidently not in fact increased social mobility.

Education is divided internally on the basis of sex, socio-economic status and the students' parents' educational level. Within upper secondary education, there exist several parallel routes: between the senior secondary school and the

vocational colleges, and also within the vocational colleges themselves. For example, women continue the historical tradition of training for the care professions. The elitistic background of law and medical students on the one hand, and the populist background and female majority in translation studies, on the other, are clear examples of segmentation within an ostensibly comprehensive educational system. Expansion produces segmentation, even if the framework of the system is formally preserved, and the routes kept open.

Naïve educational optimism, and belief in the inherent value of education or in the unproblematic increase of human capital and development of national wealth through educational investment, are no longer as convincing in the early 1990s as they used to be. During the 1980s, in many parts of the world a reassessment of government higher education policies was initiated (e.g. Kogan 1988; Meek & Goedegebuure 1989; van Vught 1989). At the end of the 1970s, educational euphoria had started to give way to increasing pessimism and “opposition to reforms” (cf. Teichler 1988; Husén 1979; 1987). Many empirical research results were beginning indisputably to show that the expansion of participation in education had not effectively removed selection and competition; “On the contrary, in spite of the enormously expanded number of

educational positions, the competition tends to become harder than before” (Husén 1987; cf. OECD 1989).

In his report for UNESCO, ‘Higher education and social stratification,’ Torsten Husén (1987) comes to the following conclusion about the distance between rhetoric and reality:

- 1) Education cannot any more be examined as a lever point situated in a social vacuum, starting from which society could be made equal,
- 2) Meritocratic tendencies penetrate the formal education of modern societies, and so the education becomes increasingly selective and competitive, a still more complicated institution of classification.
- 3) Pupils’ home background defines quite permanently and very strongly the differences in school performances.

In Finland the educational routes of young people begin to diverge clearly at the age of approximately 15, after completion of the basic comprehensive school. Slightly more than half of the age group continues to the senior secondary school, and slightly less than half to the vocational and professional institutions. At this stage, therefore, the age group is divided by an educational wedge into approximately two parts, with quite

different social backgrounds and aiming at quite different positions in the labour market. (Kivinen 1988).

Moves are now being planned in Finnish educational policy to dismantle this sharp division at the upper secondary stage, e.g. through the introduction of a comprehensive upper secondary level “youth school”, the model for which has partly been based on the Swedish upper secondary school system. In formal terms, this new school would abolish the division of the schooling system into two distinct sectors, although internally (according to the Swedish model) it would probably incorporate some kind of division into ‘lines’. In reality, however, the Swedish experience of the reform of the upper secondary school in the 1960s, and of the introduction of “comprehensive institutions of higher education” in the 1970s, both suggest that the extension of the comprehensive educational system to 12 years does not fundamentally increase the degree of equality, or equality of opportunity, offered by the schooling filter (Jonsson 1988; Murray 1988; Askling 1989; Statistical Yearbook of Education 1988).

The aggregate of cultural, social and economic capital deriving from family background meets a range of functional demands and expectations set by the educational environment, and divides the pupils into different routes inside the comprehensive educational system, even

though these social divisions increasingly nowadays have the appearance of choices made by the students themselves – supported by various forms of vocational guidance – and not officially constrained by internal restrictions in the educational system (Rinne & Jauhiainen 1988; Kivinen & Rinne 1988).

In Finland, the principle of dividing the whole of human life into alternating modules of education and work is not as yet being taken seriously enough. This pattern of periodical education, as a process lasting a life-time, would necessitate change in both the educational and the labour markets; once such reforms in the labour market are achieved, the reconstruction of the educational market could also succeed. Until such changes, however, it must be asked how much sense there is in the constant prolongation of the time-span for comprehensive upper secondary education, except as an extended crèche, labour reserve, or waiting room for the surplus population before their entrance to the labour market. The emergence of even a relatively minor shortage of labour would inescapably necessitate a reassessment of education policies.

The findings presented here need, at many points, further clarification. There are many insights to be gained from the materials used for this investigation, and it is intended to proceed further with the analysis at the Research Unit for the

Sociology of Education (RUSE) at the University of Turku, especially with regard to the higher education sector. A second topic for special attention will be the process of (self-)selection for various occupational pathways, while the third theme of particular interest is the analysis

of ways in which social stratification is structured in terms of differentiated routes, leading from the intellectual capital of the home, through the educational filter and the labour market, to differentiated status within society.

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Appendix 1. Classifications

Educational level

Educational qualifications have been classified by duration: the longer the course(s) leading to the present level of qualifications, the higher the qualifications. The following educational classification has been used (Central Statistical Office of Finland):

0 Pre-primary education

- pre-compulsory schooling

1 Lower level of basic education

- duration of education less than 9 years, i.e. (pre-1970) elementary school or (post-1970) incomplete comprehensive school

2 Upper level of basic education

- duration of education approx. 9 years, i.e. (post-1970) completed comprehensive school

3 Lower level of upper secondary education ¹

- duration of education approx. 10–11 years e.g. 1–2 years of post-compulsory (i.e. vocational) education or incomplete senior secondary school

4 Upper level of upper secondary education ²

- duration of education approx. 12 years e.g. 3-year post-compulsory vocational education or 3-year senior secondary school

5 Lowest level of higher education

- duration of education approx. 13–14 years e.g. sub-degree level qualifications

6 Undergraduate level of higher education

- duration of education approx. 15 years, Bachelor's degree level

7 Graduate level of higher education

- duration of education approx. 16 years, Master's degree level

1) This level is referred to in this study as 'lower middle'

2) This level is referred to in this study as 'upper middle'

8 Postgraduate or equivalent education

- postgraduate (post-Master's-level) qualifications.

The students' home background is examined on the basis of criteria including their fathers' and mothers' educational levels: for this purpose, the following tripartite division has been used:

- Basic education (levels 1 – 2 above)
- Upper secondary education (levels 3 – 4)
- Higher education (levels 5 – 8).

The following classification is used for the level of the education qualifications completed by the student population examined in this investigation (cf. Havén & Syvänperä 1983):

“Vocational education”

- 3 Lower middle

“Techical and professional education”

- 4 Upper middle
- 5 Lowest high

“University-level education”

- 6 undergraduate

- 7 graduate
- 8 post-graduate.

Here only levels 3 – 8 are used because we focus on students attending post-compulsory education.

Socio-economic status

The following classification of socio-economic status has been used (cf. SVT VI C: 107, Central Statistical Office):

- 1 Employers
- 2 Self-employed (workers on own account)
- 3 Managerial and professional employees
- 4 Administrative and clerical employees
- 5 Manual workers
- 6 Pensioners
- 7 Students
- 91 Unemployed
- 92 Other employed (occupation unknown)
- 93 Other non-employed
- 99 Socio-economic status unknown.

The main categories used in classifying the socio-economic status of students' parents in this investigation are the following:

- Employers
- Self-employed

- **Managerial and professional**
- **Administrative and clerical**
- **Manual workers**
- **Miscellaneous (groups 6, 7, 91, 92, 93 and 99 above).**

The categories used in classifying the socio-economic status of the young

themselves are the following:

- **Employed (groups 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 above)**
- **Unemployed**
- **Students**
- **Others (groups 6, 92, 93 and 99).**

Appendix 2. Appendix Tables

Appendix Table 1. Educational qualifications preferred by children of manual workers, 1985

QUALIFICATIONS by target occupation	MANUAL WORKER FATHERS	
	(%)	(N)
Paper and pulp worker (3 yr)	92	38
Ship's plumber (< 3 yr)	76	38
Wood processing worker (< 3 yr)	69	55
Textile worker	67	106
Machine-tool setter (3 yr)	67	139
Ventilation fitter	66	56
Bricklayer	66	155
Ship's cook (3 yr)	66	32
Painter/decorator (< 3 yr)	65	110
Paper processing worker	65	119
Plate-welder (3 yr)	65	68
Housekeepers	64	189
Printer	64	61
Footwear worker	63	49
Car sheetmetal worker (< 3 yr)	63	119
Toolmaker	63	40
Processed foods worker	62	138
Vehicle mechanic	62	45
Fireman	62	84
Barber	62	89
Machine operator	61	279
Plate-welder (< 3 yr)	61	1 116
Catering worker	61	241
Plumber	60	367
Processed meat worker	60	43
Manufacturing technician	60	101
Tailor	60	30
Cook	60	1 171

Note: (3 yr) = 3-year course; (< 3 yr) = course lasting less than 3 years.

Appendix Table 2. Qualifications preferred by the children of white-collar workers, 1985

QUALIFICATIONS by target occupation or field	WHITE-COLLAR FATHERS		
	(%)	Managerial- professional / Clerical (%)	(N)
Architect	84	68/16	32
Physician	69	52/17	339
Natural scientist / mathematician	69	50/19	32
Lawyer, MA-level	68	50/18	237
Engineer (manufacturing industry), MA-level	67	53/14	58
Hotel and catering administration	66	37/29	41
Computer programmer	66	34/32	73
Imports/exports management, MA-level	65	62/ 3	31
Engineer (energy technology), MA-level	64	44/21	28
Social scientist	64	41/23	86
Physicist	64	39/25	36
Ship's mate	64	35/29	33
Music lecturer	63	46/17	72
Finance and investment management, MA-level	63	46/17	35
Marketing management, MA-level	63	42/21	106
Macro-economics management, MA-level	63	42/21	43
Dentist	63	40/23	128
Accounts management, MA-level	63	37/26	118
Sports trainer	62	44/18	50
Military officer	62	39/23	78
Secretary (specialized)	62	31/31	84
Lawyer (diploma level)	61	32/29	38
Forestry management, MA-level	60	40/20	30

Appendix Table 3. Qualifications preferred by the children of the self-employed, 1985

QUALIFICATIONS by target occupation	SELF-EMPLOYED FATHERS	
	(%)	(N)
Farmer	75	1 047
Agricultural mechanic (under 3-year course)	73	273
Farmer-mechanic	72	410
Agricultural technician	67	33
Agricultural college (lower level of upper secondary education)	63	109
Agricultural college (lowest level of higher education)	62	82
Agricultural management degree (MA-level)	62	42
Dairy worker	60	30
Livestock worker	47	251
Home economist	47	74
Food worker	46	95
Machine mechanic	44	111
Fur farmer	44	32
Blacksmith	40	40
Social worker	39	38
Market garden worker	38	156
Specialist nurse (internal medicine)	38	61
Metal worker (under 3-year course)	36	140
Forestry supervisor	36	118
Specialist nurse (surgery)	36	53
Farm management (girls)	35	1 501
Gardener	35	191
Horse groom	35	66
Teacher (graduate)	35	60
Fur dresser (3- year course)	35	43

Appendix Table 4. Fathers' occupations associated with high preference for vocational and professional education institutions

FATHER'S OCCUPATION OR FIELD	Proportion of students qualifying from vocational and professional institutions (1985)	
	(%)	(N)
Chimney sweep	87	68
Casual labourer	82	263
Unskilled labourer	78	847
Pulp mill worker	78	182
Stevedore	76	207
Metal smelting furnaceman	76	172
Foundry worker (moulder)	76	102
Paper & cardboard mill worker (shiftwork)	76	76
Concrete-mixer operator etc	76	127
Electric machine operator	75	97
Construction machine operator	75	1 116
Crane operator	75	228
Forester	74	1 027
Forklift operator	74	490
Packer / labeller	74	196
Miner / shot firer	74	121
Agricultural or livestock labourer	74	546
Rubber manufacturing worker	74	78
Construction carpenter	73	2 454
Paper manufacturing worker	73	582
Cement works labourer	73	146
Telephone mechanic	73	360
Plywood / fibreboard worker	73	91
Sawyer	72	394
Rod layer (construction industry)	72	101
Farmer	71	11 108
Sheet metal worker	71	831
Welder / flame cutter	71	818
Joiner / cabinet maker	71	268
Butcher	71	153
Plastics manufacturing worker	71	128
Market gardener	71	113
Motor vehicle or tram driver	70	5 365
Fitter	70	944
Security guard	70	342

Appendix Table 5. Fathers' occupations associated with low preference for vocational and professional education institutions

FATHER'S OCCUPATION OR FIELD	Proportion of students qualifying from vocational and professional institutions (1985)	
	(%)	(N)
University professor	14	223
Judge	15	67
Flight captain	15	26
Economist (planning/research)	18	50
Pharmacist	18	34
University teacher/research assistant	19	106
Lawyer (barrister)	19	54
Chemist	19	48
Geologist	19	22
Physician	22	501
Architect	22	120
Archeologist / geographer / mathematician	24	38
Public administration (executive)	27	176
Dentist	27	103
Lawyer (solicitor)	28	53
R & D (agriculture / horticulture / fisheries)	29	52
Public relations / tourism / cultural administration	29	42
Chemical engineer	31	112
Minister of religion	32	214
Veterinarian	32	68
Insurance executive	32	50
Bank clerks'	33	42
Performing artists (theatre / opera)	33	30
Computing management	34	80
Surveyor	34	35
Public administration (administrative)	35	581
Administration (commercial, labour & voluntary organizations)	35	179
Training director	35	140

Appendix Table 6. Fathers' occupations and education preferences

6a. HIGH CONFIDENCE IN EDUCATION (TOP TEN)

Fathers' occupations associated with high preference for extended education

FATHER'S OCCUPATION OR FIELD	Percentage of 20-24-year-olds still in education (%)	Total number of 20-24-year-olds (N)
Veterinarian	66	170
Pharmacist	66	87
Dentist	64	238
University professor	64	616
Judge	64	190
Physician	62	1 308
Research and development (agriculture)	61	132
Principal or head teacher	59	1 371
Secondary school teacher	58	1 873
Lawyer (solicitor)	58	134

6b. LOW CONFIDENCE IN EDUCATION (TOP TEN)

Fathers' occupations associated with high preference for rapid entry into employment

FATHER'S OCCUPATION OR FIELD	Percentage of 20-24-year-olds still in education (%)	Total number of 20-24-year-olds (N)
Stoneworker	7	110
Casual labourer	14	1 081
Newspaper delivery	14	125
Chimney sweep	15	264
Concrete-mixer operators etc.	15	442
Unskilled labourer (housing construction)	15	2 228
Unskilled labourer (other construction)	15	1 098
Cleaner etc.	15	137
Fishery	15	288
Assemblyline worker	15	203

Appendix Table 7. Mothers' occupations and education preferences**7a. HIGH CONFIDENCE IN EDUCATION (TOP TEN)**

Mothers' occupations associated with high preference for extended education

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION OR FIELD	Percentage of 20-24-year-olds still in education (%)	Total number of 20-24-year-olds (N)
Dentist	65	512
Psychologist	64	123
Physician	61	400
University professor	61	61
University teacher/research staff	61	185
Secondary school teacher	59	3 660
Public relations / tourism / cultural administration	58	149
Teacher (special education)	57	419
Senior hospital nurse	57	308
Lecturer (vocational and professional education institutions)	57	927

7b. LOW CONFIDENCE IN EDUCATION (TOP TEN)

Mothers' occupations associated with high preference for rapid entry into employment

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION OR FIELD	Percentage of 20-24-year-olds still in education (%)	Total number of 20-24-year-olds (N)
Sawyer	15	489
Processed food worker	15	207
Leather worker	15	208
Casual labourer	15	401
Sausage maker etc.	15	361
Packer / labeller	16	4 106
Assemblyline worker	16	1 083
Plastics manufacturing worker	17	874
Cleaner	17	29 609
Laundry worker	17	1 027

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Abstract

The study investigates the impact of family background, sex and home region on the educational behaviour of young people in Finland as regards their participation in post-compulsory education and completion of educational qualifications.

According to the study, there were three distinct educational traditions in Finland in the mid-1980s: the offspring of working-class people and farmers were recruited into vocational and professional education institutions, the offspring of white-collar workers into universities. The offspring of working-class people were attracted especially by industrial occupations and the offspring of farmers by agricultural ones.

There are considerable educational differences attributable to family background, and they showed little or no sign of diminishing over the first half of the 1980s. Regional differences, however, have diminished. The connection between mother tongue and educational differences has also weakened. As regards equality between men and women, postgraduate degrees are the only educational qualifications in which men still clearly outnumber women.

The study also ranks Finnish universities in terms of "elitism" as based on students' family backgrounds.

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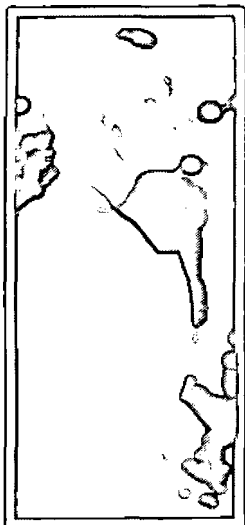
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Education and the family background of the young in Finland

Hannu Isoaho — Osmo Kivinen — Risto Rinne



This study was carried out in the Research Unit for the Sociology of Education at the University of Turku in Finland. It investigates the impact of family background, sex and home region on the educational behaviour of young people as regards their participation in post-compulsory education and completion of educational qualifications.

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Women outnumber men in senior secondary schools, vocational and professional education institutions, and universities.

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