Family Background and Income, School Career and Social Mobility of Young Males of Working-Class Origin — A Geneva Survey

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Our intention in this study has been to devote a somewhat detailed examination to the social mobility chances of youngsters of working-class origin. Usually the working classes are taken as an undifferentiated block in social mobility studies. We were interested in determining some of the internal divisions which delineate sub-strata within this very large group, from the point of view of social mobility chances. Two kinds of characteristics are considered: family background and standard of living. Schooling is also taken into account. This third factor is, of course, of key importance for the occupational career of the youngsters. But it is itself largely influenced by family characteristics. In the following pages we shall try to disentangle some aspects of these intricate relations.

1. *The data*

The observations which are at the basis of the present study are mainly of two kinds:

A. General survey. Analysis of the situation at 20 years of age of all males belonging to one specific age group.[1]) We have detailed information about the school (and apprenticeship) career of all the members of this age group from the age of 12. In addition our material contains data on a series of basic social characteristics of these same individuals.

B. Complementary survey. Special comparative interview study of two groups, for collecting complementary information on different points, in particular on income. The two groups are the following: i) Senior high school students of working-class origin. All male pupils of 18–19 years of age and from working-class families, attending the canton of Geneva grammar school (Collège de Genève, main channel to university studies), in the academic years 1961–1962 and 1962–1963. Compulsory education ends at the age of 15. Therefore these senior pupils were staying

on at school voluntarily. They may be considered as being the most upwardly mobile fraction of the working-class youth. They are on their way to later integration into the professional milieu. These cases are rare and for this reason we had to consider two academic years in order to obtain a sufficiently large sample. About one hundred names were listed. Interview (at home with the parents) was possible in 71 cases. ii) Manual apprentices. Male apprentices (manual occupations only) having *same social origin* (working class) and of about the same age. Among these adolescents, some are upward mobile if the detailed divisions of the manual working class are taken into account (sons of unskilled or semi-skilled manual workers). The others are not mobile from the same point of view (sons of skilled manual workers). But all of them are likely to remain members of the manual working class and in that broad sense are non-mobile.

The manual apprentices are, of course, much more numerous among the boys of working-class origin than the senior high school pupils. A sample of about 100 such apprentices was taken from the official list. This sample was roughly matched with the group of senior high school pupils as regards fathers' job (one carpenter on the one side for one carpenter on the other side, etc.). Home interview with the parents was possible in 82 cases.

2. *Overall social mobility*

Before entering into the analysis of the factors of social mobility affecting the career of the boys of working-class origin considered separately, it may be interesting to examine the general rate of social mobility for one complete age group of young males. Table 1 gives this general picture. It shows that the majority of the manual workers' sons are themselves manual workers. The proportion is more than 3/4 as regards the unskilled workers' sons and nearly 60 % with respect to semi-skilled or skilled workers' sons. Most of these youngsters are already skilled or are still apprentices. In such cases they are experiencing an upward movement if their fathers are unskilled or semi-skilled workers. There are no university students among the unskilled workers' sons, and 3.4 % among the semi-skilled or skilled workers' sons. Because of the importance of this last group in the labour force the students of working class origin represent nearly 20 % of the 71 Geneva University students of table 1. The other young working-class males are distributed between the different strata of the white-collar and staff groups.

When analysing table 1, special attention should be paid to the category entitled "Private schools or studies outside of Geneva". Its importance is rather high in the upper social classes. Future observations will show how many of the youngsters of this category become members of the professions.

Table 1. *Overall social mobility (males).*

Activity of the young males at 20 years of age[1])	Occupation of head of family[2])															
	Unskilled manual workers		Skilled and semi-skilled manual workers[13])		Farm and business[14])		White collars[15])		Technicians and staff[16])		Professions and management[17])		Other cases[18])		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Unskilled or semiskilled manual work[3])	16	13.4	42	11.1	16	8.2	6	3.8	–	–	1	1.4	5	16.1	86	8.3
Skilled manual work[4])	77	64.7	181	47.8	85	43.8	47	29.4	12	15.6	7	9.5	11	35.5	420	40.6
Unskilled white-collar occupation[5])	3	2.5	27	7.1	10	5.2	9	5.6	5	6.5	4	5.4	2	6.5	60	5.8
Skilled white-collar occupation[6])	18	15.1	64	16.9	31	16.0	35	21.9	13	16.9	7	9.5	2	6.5	170	16.4
Technicians or staff[7])	2	1.7	36	9.5	20	10.3	30	18.6	17	22.1	4	5.4	4	12.9	113	10.9
Pre-university studies[8]) .	2	1.7	10	2.6	12	6.2	11	6.9	13	16.9	12	16.2	2	6.5	62	6.0
Private schools or studies outside of Geneva (without specification)[9])	1	0.8	6	1.5	8	4.1	7	4.4	6	7.8	19	25.7	5	16.1	52	5.0
University students[10])	–	–	13	3.4	12	6.2	15	9.4	11	14.3	20	27.0	–	–	71	6.9
N (= 100 %)	119		379		194		160		77		74		31		1034	
Outside of Geneva (not classified elsewhere)[11])	7		26		16		6		6		17		15		93	
Special situations	2		6		9		3		4		6		4		34	
Unclassified[12])	1		4		4		8		1		4		3		25	
Total	129		415		223		177		88		101		53		1186	

NOTES to Table 1.

1) All the males of the generation considered in the general survey. Activities in winter 1962–1963.

2) The father. Special cases (father dead, etc.) were classified after consideration of the specific situation of the family unit.

3) Entered work without apprenticeship diploma. Unskilled or semi-skilled.

4) Entered work with apprenticeship diploma, or still apprentice, or attending a school for crafts.

5) Entered work without apprenticeship diploma, or without final high school diploma.

6) Entered work with apprenticeship diploma, or still apprentice.

7) Still attending technical, commercial, social work, pedagogical (primary school teachers), fine arts high schools, or entered work with final high school diploma.

8) Still attending the "Collège de Genève".

9) Including university outside of Geneva.

10) University of Geneva only.

11) No activity, homework, prison, military service (without other indication).

12) Dead, miscellaneous, or no indication.

13) Including foremen, and office hands (messengers, etc.).

14) Farmers, independent artisans, independent business (small and medium), commercial agents.

15) Without special responsibilities.

16) Technicians, administrative and commercial staff (middle rank), primary and secondary school teachers, and kindred cases.

17) Industrials, big business, top officials (private and public), professions (university level).

18) Special cases, and unclassified.

3. *Influence of school career*

Three points of reference are considered here: educational situation at 12 years of age, at 15, and highest level of education attained before leaving school. In many cases the educational situation at the age of 15 years is identical with the highest level of education attained, since compulsory schooling ends at that age.

The first fact to be observed from table 2 is the high proportion of the educationally retarded. At the age of 12 almost two-thirds of the subjects that is, of all working-class boys are no longer in the correct grade. Many of them are two years or more behind. At 15 years of age the situation is still worse: more than three-quarter of the subjects are retarded. It is clear from table 2 that most of the educationally retarded become manual workers, usually of the qualified category. The percentage distribution is given below (table 3).

Table 2. *Educational situation at 12 and 15 years of age and activities at the age of 20.*

Educational situation at 12 and 15 years of age[1])	Activity at 20 years of age[2])															
	Unskilled or semi-skilled manual workers		Skilled manual workers		Unskilled white collar		Skilled white collar		Technician or staff		Pre-university studies		University studies		Total	
	12	15	12	15	12	15	12	15	12	15	12	15	12	15	12	15
No retardation																
Grammar school	–	–	4	1	7	5	7	–	8	5	5	–	11	11	42	22
Modern high school	–	1	1	24	–	1	1	12	–	19	–	1	–	2	2	60
Primary school	7	1	70	17	3	1	30	3	19	–	4	–	2	–	135	22
sub-total	7	2	75	42	10	7	38	15	27	24	9	1	13	13	179	104
One year retardation																
Grammar school	–	–	–	3	–	1	–	7	–	3	–	10	–	–	–	24
Modern high school	–	5	–	51	–	6	–	26	–	7	–	1	–	–	–	96
Primary school	6	8	90	41	10	2	34	11	7	1	2	–	–	–	149	63
sub-total	6	13	90	95	10	9	34	44	7	11	2	11	–	–	149	183
Two years or more																
Primary school (ordinary classes)	8	7	33	32	3	5	3	11	1	1	–	–	–	–	48	56
Primary school (special classes)	31	31	38	75	2	5	2	5	–	1	–	–	–	–	73	117
sub-total	39	38	71	107	5	10	5	16	1	2	–	–	–	–	121	173
Other cases																
Special cases[3])	6	3	14	10	3	3	4	7	3	1	–	–	–	–	30	24
Unclassified or no indication	–	2	8	4	2	1	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	12	7
Total	58	58	258	258	30	30	82	82	38	38	12	12	13	13	491	491

NOTES to table 2.

1) 12 = educational situation of the subjects in school year 1955–1956, at 12–13 years of age; 15 = educational situation of the subjects in school year 1957–1958, at 14– 15 years of age.

2) Activity of the same subjects in winter 1962–1963, at 19–20 years of age. Some categories of Table 1 are excluded from table 2: private schools or studies outside Geneva (without specification), outside of Geneva (not classified elsewhere), special situations, unclassified.

3) Out of Geneva, grade not specified, private school.

Table 3. *Relationship between schooling at the age of 15 and activities at the age of 20*[1].

	Activities at the age of 20				
Educational situation at the age of 15	Unskilled or semi-skilled manual	Skilled manual	Unskilled non manual	Skilled white-collar, technician or staff, pre-university or university students	N (= 100 %)
No retardation	2.0	40.0	7.0	51.0	104
One year retardation	7.0	52.0	5.0	36.0	183
Two years or more (including special classes)	22.0	62.0	6.0	10.0	173
Total	11.5	53.0	5.5	30.0	460

1) From table 2. "Other cases" excluded.

Table 4. *Relationship between schooling at the age of 15 and branch of activities at the age of 20.*

	Branch of activity at the age of 20		
Educational situation at the age of 15	Skilled manual work Branches I[1])	Skilled manual work Branches II[2])	N (= 100 %)
No retardation	6.5	93.5	30
One year retardation	9.0	91.0	77
Two years or more	38.5	61.5	88
Total	22.0	78.0	195[3])

1) Bakers, cooks, truck-drivers, building workers, and kindred, predominantly outdoor occupations.

2) Printing, metal industries, electricians, watchmakers, decorators, and kindred predominantly indoor occupations.

3) Not including 63 cases for which the necessary indications were lacking.

But the kind of skilled manual occupation attained varies with the degree of retardation. This is apparent from the subdivision of the skilled manual group (table 4).

Our branch classification is of a very simplified nature, but it separates two rather distinct milieus within the working classes. The first is composed mainly of the trades which are usually ranked more or less low according to the results of the occupational prestige surveys. Our data on the differences in school achievements between the young workers of branches I and II are corroborated by observations of the apprenticeship office of Geneva.[2])

One half of those not retarded at the age of 15 acceed to a qualified non-manual job or a higher position (table 3).

In conclusion, two years or more school retardation before 15 years of age reduces to an extremely low rate the chances of passing from the manual into the non-manual classes. One year's retardation is, without having such strong effects, nevertheless a very considerable handicap. Yet, as pointed out above, the large majority of working-class boys belong to these categories, and in addition they very often fail at school before the age of 12.

The minority of young males of working class origin who succeeded in finishing secondary school are not included in table 5. This table concerns only those who left[3]) school one grade before the end of secondary school, or from lower grades. Approximately one third of those with some secondary education are skilled white-collar workers. Whatever the schooling, those who are unskilled or semi-skilled manual workers are few. Even in the case of the former pupils of special classes, the proportion is only of one quarter. It would be interesting to analyse the relation of this fact with the influx of foreign workers into the less qualified jobs.

4. *Family background*

The factors considered here may be regarded more or less as indications of the social sub-stratum of the working classes to which the subject belongs. From that point of view a scale could be conceived with at one extreme the integrally proletarian situation (no qualification, job of an especially hard character, low level of education, kinship restricted to the deprived groups, etc.), and at the other extreme the workers who would be better placed in the middle classes. Of course, we take into account only a very limited set of factors. Nevertheless, the result is clear: chances in life vary systematically with the position occupied in the classification used in table 6 and 7. The differences shown by table 7 would be even greater if the two samples of the complementary survey had not been matched with regards to fathers' job. In addition to the level of qualification of the father and his branch of activity, descent proves to be a very influential factor (mother

Table 5. *Highest level of education attained, and activity at the age of 20*[1].

Highest level education attained	Activity at the age of 20					
	Unskilled or semi-skilled manual workers	Skilled manual workers	Unskilled white collar	Skilled white collar	Technician, or staff, pre-university or university studies	N (= 100 %)
Primary school						
Special classes	25.7	65.3	4.0	5.0	–	101
5–7th grade or less	13.9	69.5	8.3	8.3	–	36
8th grade	12.7	66.7	3.2	17.5	–	63
9th grade	5.3	78.9	–	15.8	–	19
School for crafts	–	85.7	–	14.3	–	21
Secondary schools						
8th grade[2])	7.9	54.0	4.8	33.3	–	63
9th grade	–	54.9	5.9	39.2	–	51
10–12th grade[3])	5.0	12.5	20.0	17.5	45.0	40

1) Highest class attained before apprenticeship or work. Those whose highest grade was the 13th of secondary schools (the last one), automatically classified in "Technician, or staff, or pre-university studies" in our system, are excluded from the table, as well as the subjects in teachers' college, etc. or at the university (45 cases).

2) 7th grade in a few cases.

3) Some of the subjects classified here were still at school, at 20 years of age at 10–12th grade (20 cases).

or father of non-manual origin). The level of education of the parents is of equal importance. The influence of the kind of occupation of the mother seems to have a very clear effect. Thus all the factors considered here have a strong impact.

Table 6. *Family background and activity at 20 years of age (general survey).*

Family background	Activity at the age of 20			
	Manual workers[1])	Skilled white collar[2])	Staff and professions[3])	N (= 100 %)
Father unskilled manual ..	81	16	4	107
Father semi-skilled or skilled manual	64	18	18	328
Total	68	18	14	435
Father economic branch I[4])	68	22	10	135
Father economic branch II[5])	60	18	22	172
Total	64	20	16	307
Mother working (manual occupations)	74	16	10	123
Mother working (non-manual occupations)	48	19	33	27
Mother not engaged in any activity outside home	68	17	15	269
Total	69	16	15	419

1) Skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled.

2) Unskilled white-collar workers are excluded from the table.

3) Technicians or staff, pre-university studies, university studies.

4) Bakers, cooks, truck-drivers, building workers and kindred predominantly outdoor occupations.

5) Printing, metal industries, electricians, watchmakers, decorators, locomotive engineers, barbers and kindred predominantly indoor occupations.

Table 8 illustrates the effect of family background when the level of education at the age of 15 (end of compulsory schooling) is controlled.

Most of the sons of unskilled manual workers are themselves members of the manual strata at the age of 20, whatever their educational situation at 15 years of age. But the proportion decreases from the group of those who finished school at special class level down to the group of former secondary school pupils. Those who were at 15 years of age at the right level (9th grade) in secondary school number

Table 7. *Family background (complementary survey).*

Family background	Manual apprentices	Grammar school pupils (higher division)
Father unskilled manual	39	22
Father skilled manual	61	78
N (= 100 %)[1])	75	68
Mother working (manual occupations) ..	26	24
Mother working (non-manual occupations)	15	23
Mother not engaged in any activity outside home	59	53
N (= 100 %)	80	71
Father's father manual occupations (including farm)	82	61
Father's father non-manual occupations ..	18	39
N (= 100 %)	62	57
Mother's father manual occupations (including farm)	86	55
Mother's father non-manual occupations ..	14	45
N (= 100 %)	64	56
Level of education of the father:		
Primary school	72	41
Secondary school[2])	28	59
N (= 100 %)	71	70
Level of education of the mother:		
Primary school	71	47
Secondary school[2])	29	53
N (= 100 %)	76	70

[1]) The total considered is not the same for each factor, because of the deduction of the unclassified cases.

[2]) Some high school, or further.

very few in the category of unskilled manual-workers' sons. Even in the case of this small group of 8 "survivors", 5 entered into some manual occupation, and only 2 mounted to the "staff and professions" stratum.

When they are seriously retarded at the age of 15, the skilled workers' sons have no perceptible advantage by comparison with the boys of unskilled workers (points *a* and *b* of table 8). But the difference is very noticeable for those with better schooling (points *c* and *d* of the same table). For the 9th grade secondary school group the chances of getting a job at the "staff and professions" level are of 52 %.

The influence of family background operates from a very early age and table 8 reflects only some of its rather late effects, that is its action on career orientation

Table 8. *Family background, educational situation at 15 years of age, and activity at the age of 20 (general survey)*[3])

Schooling at the age of 15 and family background	Activity at the age of 20			
	Manual workers	Skilled white collar	Staff and professions	N (= 100 %)
a) Special classes[1])				
Father unskilled manual	90	10	–	49
Father skilled manual..	89	9	2	114
b) 8–9th grade primary ..				
Father unskilled manual	82	18	–	27
Father skilled manual..	80	18	2	56
c) 8th grade secondary ..				
Father unskilled manual	70	22	8	23
Father skilled manual..	47	31	22	91
d) 9th grade secondary[2]) .				
Father unskilled manual	63	12	25	8
Father skilled manual..	31	17	52	67

[1]) or ordinary classes in primary school, but not above the 7th grade.

[2]) or 10th grade secondary in a few cases.

[3]) Same classification as table 6.

for a given educational situation at 15 years of age. Its impact on the elimination rate before the age of 15 years is illustrated by table 9, which indicates the educational situation of the child at 15 years of age (that is the cumulative effect of school selection up to that age) according to the level of qualification of the father. Analysis of the effect of the kind of activity of the mother (manual or non-manual job) leads to the same type of results.

Table 9. *Influence of family background on school selection up to the age of 15 (general survey).*

Family background	School situation at 15 years of age				
	Special classes[1])	8–9th grade primary	8th grade secondary	9th grade secondary	N (= 100 %)
Father unskilled manual ..	46	25	22	7	107
Father skilled or semiskilled manual	35	17	28	20	328

[1]) or ordinary classes in primary school, but not above the 7th grade.

5. *Standard of living*

We shall now deal with the influence of more "material" factors of selection.

The general survey provides but very little and indirect information on this point. Table 10 is restricted to the size of the dwelling. On this basis it appears that young men of "staff and professions" group do not come only from a clear-cut, well-to-do fraction of the working classes. The rate of social mobility, of course, increases rather systematically according to the size of the dwelling. But the differences are not so great, especially as regards the two main categories (3 rooms or 4 rooms) which include the bulk of the observed population.

Table 10. *Family standard of living and activity at the age of 20 (general survey).*

Standard of living	Activity at the age of 20[2])			
	Manual workers	Skilled white collar	Staff and professions	N (= 100 %)
Dwelling[1])				
1–2 rooms	82	14	4	28
3 rooms	72	15	13	151
4 rooms	64	22	14	159
5 rooms (or more) ..	65	15	20	69
Total	69	17	14	107

[1]) Kitchen included in the number of rooms.

[2]) Same classification as table 6.

The relationship between number of rooms of the dwelling and educational situation at the age of 15 was analysed. This relationship is of the expected direction, but not very strong: about 40 % of the boys of families with 1–3 rooms have 2 years or more retardation as against 34 % for those of families with 4 rooms or more. The differences for the other educational categories (one year retardation in primary school, etc.) is of one to four percent.

The indicator of well-being considered here does not influence the rate of social mobility of children with either very poor or very good school background at 15 years of age (categories *a* and *d* of table 11). Its effects are more noticeable if at the same age, the educational situation of the child is less clearly settled (categories *b* and *c*).

Rather similar results were obtained by tabulations relating to telephone ownership as an other indication of standard of living, with one exception. In the working classes, the upward mobility of boys with very good schooling seems to be

greater in families which abstain from having a telephone installed than in families which possess this facility. We shall later encounter a somewhat comparable fact as regards television (table 12).

There is no difference in the size of the dwelling between the two samples of the complementary survey (table 12). However, some differences arise when the two elements of home equipment in table 12 are considered: bathroom and refrigerator. The correlation is similar with respect to car ownership (slightly more in grammar school students' families). But it is interesting to note that the difference is stronger and goes in the opposite direction for television (17 % of the grammar school students' homes are equipped with TV as against 32 % of the apprentices' homes).

The most striking fact apparent from table 12 is the similarity of income distribution of apprentices' and grammar-school students' families. Before commenting on this result we have to see if it is not an effect of the conditions under which the groups were selected. As already mentioned we first took, within a specific age group, all grammar school students of working-class origin.

Table 11. *Family standard of living, educational situation at 15 years of age, and activity at the age of 20 (general survey).*

	Activity at the age af 20[1])			
Schooling at the age of 15 and size of the dwelling	Manual workers	Skilled white collar	Staff and professions	N (= 100 %)
a) *Special classes*[2])				
Dwelling 1–3 rooms ..	92	8	–	72
Dwelling 4 or more rooms	88	12	–	77
b) *8–9th grade primary*				
Dwelling 1–3 rooms ..	93	7	–	30
Dwelling 4 or more rooms	77	21	2	47
c) *8th grade secondary*				
Dwelling 1–3 rooms ..	57	28	15	46
Dwelling 4 or more rooms	46	30	24	63
d) *9th grade secondary*				
Dwelling 1–3 rooms ..	39	16	45	31
Dwelling 4 or more rooms	34	17	49	41

[1]) Same classification as table 6.

[2]) Or ordinary classes in primary school, but not above the 7th grade.

Our expectation was that this group would not be typical from the income point of view. Since the sample of apprentices was matched with the previous group with respect to the job held by the head of the family, this sample might present the same peculiarity. Fortunately, we were able to check this point by comparing

Table 12. *Family standard of living (complementary survey).*

Standard of living	Manual apprentices	Grammar school pupils (higher division)
Income (family yearly income)		
Less than 10.000 SF	10	14
10.000 – 15.000 SF	51	38
15.000 – 20.000 SF	31	35
20.000 or more	8	13
N (= 100 %)	77	69
Dwelling[1])		
1 – 2 rooms	26	27
3 rooms	42	41
4 rooms or more	32	32
N (= 100 %)	82	69
No bathroom	15	10
Bathroom	85	90
N (= 100 %)	82	71
No refrigerator	24	10
Refrigerator	76	90
N (= 100 %)	82	71
Television		
No	68	83
Yes	32	17
N (= 100 %)	82	71
Automobile		
No	56	45
Yes	44	55
N (= 100 %)	82	71

[1]) Kitchen not included in the number of rooms.

our results with those of a study made by another team.[4]) In this study a larger sample was used, representing the whole population of families with children of eleven years of age. Data on income were derived from fiscal declarations (year 1963). Our income data are derived from interviews (years 1961–1962). Never-

theless the results are very much the same. Further surveys will indicate if it to some extent a matter of coincidence. The average family income per years is the following, according to the two series of observations: all working-class families[5]: 1215 SF; manual apprentices' families[6]: 1214 SF; grammar school pupils' families[7]): 1247 SF. We have compared the distribution of cases by income levels with regard to "all working-class families" of "Service de la recherche survey" on the one hand and "manual apprentices' families" of our complementary survey on the other. The distributions were found to be very similar. Table 12 shows that the third group, that is "grammar school pupils' families", is less represented in the lower middle category and more in the very low and upper middle categories. If only two income categories are taken, the distribution is as follows:

Income (family yearly income)	Manual apprentices	Grammar school pupils (higher divisions)
Less than 15.000 SF	61	52
More than 15.000 SF	39	48
N (= 100 %)	77	69

It may be added that the average number of children is somewhat larger in the families of manual apprentices than in the families of grammar school pupils covered by the complementary survey. The income advantage of the second group is therefore a little higher than that shown by the previous figures.

To sum up, from the data gathered here, the non-mobile and mobile subjects are not seen to be coming from very distinct income categories within the working classes, even though there are some discrepancies.

But, of course, the comparatively low income of these classes as a whole must be taken into account in explaining that the percentage of senior secondary school pupils among their children is lower than that for the other social classes.[8])

6. *Final remarks*

Of all factors taken into account in this paper, the most influential seems to be success or failure at the early stages of schooling. Family standard of living and family background modify the effect of this basic factor, and in addition they influence orientation after the end of compulsory school. The action of family income has not been found as strong as expected. Our observations suggest that the important differences are linked more with way of life than simply with resources. This may be derived first from indications on the pattern of consumption

of the families. With an average income which is only slightly higher than that of all working-class households, working-class families with upward mobile boys tend apparently to put more importance on home equipment; they have somewhat more spacious dwellings, and are somewhat better equipped as regards bathroom, etc. But they do not feel it so necessary to invest, for instance, in buying TV installation. These differences in consumption habits indicate that perhaps these families pattern, as far as possible, their way of life on the middle-class model. Data on descent, on level of education of the parents and on the kind of activity of the mother, lead to the same kind of conclusion. Logically enough the young males of working-class origin who are in the process of being integrated into the non-manual milieu often stem from homes with some middle class characteristics. It may be guessed that this contributes substantially to give them the proper cultural background (motivations, vocabulary, etc.). In addition the family attitude and ability help them to overcome the many obstacles of their school Odyssey.

NOTES:

1) This age group is the one which is the focus of the longitudinal studies reported on in *Milieu social et carrière des adolescents*, 3 issues, 1961–63, by ROGER GIROD, in collaboration with JEAN-FREDERIC ROUILLER, Université de Genève.
2) Bulletin "Carrefour", Office cantonal de la formation professionelle, avril 1963.
3) In a few exceptions, the subjects are still at school.
4) Sociological unit (headed by W. Hutmacher) of the "Service de la recherche" of the Board of Education, canton of Geneva. We thank this unit for allowing us to consult its tables.
5) Survey of the "Service de la recherche", Board of Education.
6) Our complementary survey.
7) *Ibid.*
8) Average monthly family income: white-collar workers, 1370 SF; staff (technicians, teachers, middle rank salaried managers, etc.) 1950 SF; etc. From the "Service de la recherche" survey.