Young People in Britain: The Attitudes and Experiences of 12 to 19 Year Olds

Alison Park, Miranda Phillips and Mark Johnson National Centre for Social Research Research Report No 564

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The views expressed in this report are the authors' and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department for Education and Skills.

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1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- This report describes the findings of the 2003 Young People's Social Attitudes survey, a survey of 12 to 19 year olds. The interviews were carried out in connection with the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey, an annual survey of adults aged 18 and over.
- This report examines the extent to which particular subgroups of young people
 differ in their views and experiences. We focus particularly upon age, sex and
 household background characteristics such as household income and adult
 educational background (information about which was collected as part of the
 British Social Attitudes survey).

1.1 Politics and decision-making

- Political interest among young people has declined since 1994. Under a third (31 per cent) said that they had even some interest in the subject, and over a third had none at all.
- Six in ten (59 per cent) young people thought that, when it came to voting in a general election, "people should vote only if they care who wins". The view that it is everyone's duty to vote is less widely held, by only three in ten (31 per cent). Nine per cent thought there was no point to voting at all.
- Although a sizeable minority of teenagers 18 per cent see voting as "a waste of time", a clear majority reject this view, as well as the notion that politics has no particular purpose.
- There has been a dramatic decline since 1994 in the proportion of young people who support or feel close to a particular political party, or who are able to say who they hoped would win if there was a general election. In 1994, this applied to over two-thirds (68 per cent) of young people; by 2003, this had fallen to just over a third (39 per cent).
- Young people's knowledge of politics has declined since 1994. Then, over a half (53 per cent) got at least 3 correct answers out of 4 in a political knowledge quiz. This applied to only 45 per cent of young people in 2003. As was the case in 1994 and 1998, girls had lower levels of political knowledge than boys.
- On all measures of political engagement, young people from affluent and more highly educated households were more engaged than those from less well off and less highly educated households.
- Young people living with adults who were interested in politics were eight times more likely to have at least some interest in politics than those living with adults who had no interest in politics whatsoever (48 and 16 per cent respectively). The former group of young people were also more likely to support or feel close to a

political party, or to be able to choose one they would like to win a general election.

- Clear majorities of young people thought that they should have some say in decision-making about local facilities and issues such as compulsory identity cards.
- Nearly a third (32 per cent) of young people in education had engaged in some form of action in protest against what they perceived to be an unfair decision made at their school. This was particularly true of those who were interested in politics. Nearly three in ten (27 per cent) of those with some interest in politics had engaged in protest, compared with only 10 per cent of those with no political interest at all.

1.2 Social Networks and Connectedness

- Almost all young people had participated in, or been to, some form of leisure activity in the last six months, with going to the cinema being the most common activity (86 per cent).
- Involvement in more 'civic' activities was far less common. Sixteen per cent of young people had done some form of voluntary or charity work in the last six months, and three per cent had taken part in a organised event or protest.
- A clear majority of young people used the internet (84 per cent) a much larger proportion than found among adult BSA respondents (50 per cent). Usage was strongly associated with household income and, not surprisingly, having access to the web at home.
- All but one per cent of young people had close friends (the median number of friends reported was five). Seven in ten young people said they had a "best friend".
- Parents were important sources of help for young people nearly two thirds (65 per cent) said they would turn to their mother if they were depressed (and over a third said "mother" would be their *first* choice for help). Boys were twice as likely as girls to say they would ask their father for help.
- Despite having good networks of friends and family, young people were not very trusting of people in general, with over seven in ten (71 per cent) saying that "you can't be too careful" in dealing with people. In this respect, young people were less trusting than adults, only 59 per cent of whom subscribed to this view in 2002.
- The majority of young people (82 per cent) said that they were "not prejudiced at all" against those from other races. The educational attainment of the adult respondent in the household was related to young people's self-reported prejudice; young people from households where the adult respondent had no educational qualification were twice as likely to describe themselves as

prejudiced than young people living in households where the adult respondent had a higher education qualifications.

1.3 Family life

- Young people have become less traditional in their views about working mothers since 1994. A clear majority of young people (78 per cent) think that working mothers can establish just as good a relationship with their children as those who are not in work, up from 70 per cent in 1994.
- The highest support for working women, and the lowest acceptance of traditional gender roles, is found among those whose mothers work, even when household income, education and family type are taken into account.
- Girls were less traditional in their views than boys. Around one in five boys (21 per cent) took a traditional approach to gender roles; among girls, only 13 per cent agreed.
- In 1994, 55 per cent agreed with the view that one parent could bring up a child as well as two parents; by 2003, 71 per cent thought this. Then, 59 per cent *disagreed* with the notion that unhappy couples should stay together "for the sake of the children", compared with 65 per cent in 2003.
- Just over a half of young people (54 per cent) thought that a man and woman having sexual relations before marriage was not wrong at all, and a further 16 per cent thought this was rarely wrong. A third (34 per cent) thought that sex between a couple who were both aged under 16 was always wrong. Very few young people thought that sex among this age group was rarely wrong, or not wrong at all (12 and 4 per cent respectively).
- Boys tended to be more 'traditional' than girls in their views about families and parenting. Over three-quarters of girls (77 per cent) thought that one parent could bring up a child as well as two parents, compared with under two-thirds of boys (63 per cent).
- Nearly six in ten (59 per cent) of young people thought that parents generally know what is best for their children (while 19 per cent disagreed). A half disagreed with the proposition that children are not given enough freedom by their parents (while 26 per cent agreed).
- The majority of young people (62 per cent) thought that they should help tidy up the home on a regular basis (that is, by doing this at least a few times a week). However, a smaller proportion of young people reported *actually* helping their parents with household tasks. Nearly a half (46 per cent) said they helped with tidying up at least a few times a week. There were considerable differences between boys and girls in the extent to which they reported helping out at home, with girls being significantly more likely to do so than boys.

1.4 Education

- Opposition to selective schooling is high among young people, with two-thirds against it – the same proportion as did in 1994. This stands in stark contrast to the views of adult BSA respondents, of whom only 50 per cent oppose selective schooling.
- Young people were evenly divided over the merits of formal exams in deciding upon the ability of pupils. Those young people from more advantaged households were the least supportive of formal exams, even though they do best in them.
- Slightly more young people agreed than disagreed that pupils were too young when they had to choose which subjects to specialise in.
- The majority of respondents thought that girls worked harder and cared more about doing well at school than boys (58 per cent and 52 per cent respectively). This was particularly true of those from less advantaged backgrounds.
- When young people were asked who they thought *actually* did better at school, the majority believed boys and girls to do about equally well (when in fact girls *do* outperform boys). Age was an important factor in explaining this; 12-15 year olds were far less likely than 16-19 year olds to think that girls do better than boys, which is likely to reflect the fact that they have undertaken less exam based assessment.
- Clear majorities wanted parents and children to have at least some of the say over what is taught in schools (87 per cent and 74 per cent respectively). There was less support for parents' input among young people from more advantaged backgrounds.
- The vast majority of young people (85 per cent) thought parents should have at least some of the say in the forms of punishment used in school, although far less thought children should (55 per cent). Again, those from more advantaged backgrounds (particularly with respect to income) tended to be less supportive of parents and children being involved.
- According to young people, bullying appears to be present to a greater or lesser extent in the majority of schools. 87 per cent of 12 to 15 year olds reported bullying at their school, as did 68 per cent of 16 to 19 year olds. Those from more advantaged backgrounds were less likely to report bullying at their schools.
- Nearly half (48 per cent) the young people said that students threatening teachers happened in their schools, though only nine per cent said that it happened a lot.
- The most favoured punishment for a bully was neither expulsion nor suspension, but some other form of punishment within the school. A pupil threatening a teacher was viewed as a more serious offence, with the preferred punishment

being expulsion, supported by 58 per cent. Boys were more likely to take a hard line on this issue than girls.

1.5 Work and the future

- There has been a decrease since 1994 in the proportion of young people who plan to leave education at the end of their compulsory schooling (just one in ten said this in 2003), and an increase in the proportion planning to leave home to go to university or college. Boys were more likely than girls to say they would leave school at age 16 (15 per cent compared to 7 per cent).
- Young people were committed to paid work, but were aware of the importance
 of balancing work with other things in life: three-quarters agreed that work is not
 the most important thing in life, up from two-thirds in 1998. Socio-economic
 factors were consistently relevant to measures of work commitment and
 orientation.
- In terms of their ambitions in life, the most commonly mentioned ambition was "to be happy" (50 per cent), with smaller proportions mentioning work, good health, or having a family. Socio-economic factors such as household income were linked to variations in response to these questions.
- When asked about the importance of certain factors in determining whether a person does well in life, young people generally felt that sex and race were not important factors, and that hard work and a good education were. There has been a marked increase in the proportion who think that a person's race is "not at all important" in determining whether or not they do well up from 33 per cent in 1994 to 52 per cent in 2003.

2 INTRODUCTION

2.1 Background to the study

This report describes the findings of the 2003 Young People's Social Attitudes survey, a survey of 12 to 19 year olds. The interviews were carried out as part of the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey, an annual survey of adults aged 18 and over. For twenty years, this survey has been one of the most authoritative sources of trend data on the views of the British public on a wide range of social, economic, political and moral issues. However, as the youngest respondents included in the survey are aged 18, the survey does not allow us to examine younger groups' views about these issues.

The Young People's Social Attitudes survey was designed to fill this gap. The sample is generated from the British Social Attitudes survey, with all young people aged 12 to 19 living in households where an adult was interviewed as part of the BSA survey being eligible for inclusion. There have been two previous rounds of the survey – in 1994, funded by Barnardos (Roberts and Sachdev, 1996), and 1998, funded by the ESRC and a range of government departments. The 2003 survey was funded by the Children and Young People's Unit (CYPU), whose functions have now been absorbed by the Children Young People and Families Directorate at the Department for Education and Skills.

The fact that the Young People's Social Attitudes survey is carried out in tandem with the British Social Attitudes survey has a number of benefits. Firstly, it makes it possible to generate a highly economical representative sample of 12-19 year olds. Secondly, the extensive socio-demographic information collected as part of the British Social Attitudes survey minimises the need to ask young people a large number of 'background' questions about their family and their household.

Fieldwork was carried out during the summer of 2003. All data presented here have been weighted to take account of the selection probabilities of the adult household or respondent. Further details about the survey can be found in Chapter 8.

2.2 The respondents

This section describes the basic characteristics of the 663 young people interviewed in the 2003 survey, based either on the information they themselves supplied or upon that obtained from the adult respondent living in the same household and interviewed as part of the British Social Attitudes survey. In 89 per cent of cases, the adult respondent was the parent or step-parent of the young person interviewed; in seven per cent of cases they were the sibling of the young person. Only in two per cent of cases was the adult respondent not related to the young person.

2.2.1 Age and sex

Just over six in ten (63 per cent) respondents were aged between 12 and 15; the remainder were aged between 16 and 19. The mean age of the respondents was almost 15 years.

Table 2.1	Age
Age	%
12	17
13	16
14	14
15	16
16	12
17	12
18	8
19	6
Base	663

Overall, just over a half of the young people were female (54 per cent), and just under a half male (46 per cent). Among 12 to 15 year olds, girls outnumbered boys more markedly (57 and 43 per cent respectively), but among 16 to 19 year olds each of the sexes represented exactly half the sample.

2.2.2 Current activity

Over eight in ten of the young people interviewed (84 per cent) were in full-time education. One in ten were in paid work or waiting to take it up. The remainder were unemployed (4 per cent) or engaged in government training or an employment programme (1 per cent). Among the 16 to 19 age group, over half (56 per cent) were still in full-time education and 27 per cent were in full-time employment or waiting to take up a job they had been offered. There were no notable gender differences in this respect.

Among those in education, over eight in ten (82 per cent) were at school. Seven per cent were at a sixth form college, and seven per cent at a College of Further Education.

2.2.3 Ethnicity, religion and national identity

Nine in ten respondents described themselves as white. Five per cent were Asian, two per cent Black, and three per cent of mixed origin.

A third of young people described themselves as belonging to a religion, with the majority, just over a quarter, belonging to a Christian religion. Two thirds did not regard themselves as belonging to any religion, an increase of ten percentage points in as many years (from 55 per cent in 1994 to 65 per cent in 2003).

As the next table shows, young people were markedly more likely than adults *not* to see themselves as belonging to a religion. It should be noted that the overall figure for adults disguises considerable age related differences; among 18 to 24 year olds, 60 per cent said they did not belong to a religion (as did 56 per cent of 25 to 34 year olds). These findings largely reflect generational differences in religious attachment, with younger generations being both less likely than their predecessors to define themselves as religious and maintaining this distinctiveness as they themselves get older. Consequently, the proportion of people in Britain who see themselves as belonging to a religious group will continue to fall over time (Park, 2000). Indeed, between 1994 and 2003, the proportion of adults with no religious affiliation has grown from 39 to 43 per cent.

Table 2.2 Religion

		12-19 year olds		18 +
	1994	1998	2003	2003
	%	%	%	%
None	55	64	65	43
Christian	36	30	27	50
Islam/Muslim	3	1	5	3
Hindu	1	1	1	1
Jewish	-	-	1	1
Sikh	1	-	1	1
Base	580	474	663	4432

When presented with the range of options shown in Table 1.3 and asked which, if any, best describe the way they think of themselves, nearly two thirds of young people described themselves as British, a similar proportion to that found among adults. A higher proportion of young people than adults described themselves as English (60 and 51 per cent respectively). There were no significant differences between the national identities offered by young people in 1998 and 2003.

Table 2.3 National identity

	12-19 year olds		18 +	
	1998	2003	2003	
% choosing:				
European	17	14	12	
British	66	64	67	
English	62	60	51	
Scottish	9	11	11	
Welsh	8	7	6	
Irish	4	3	3	
Other identity	5	6	7	
None of these	2	2	1	
Base	474	663	4432	

Note: multi-response variable

2.2.4 The characteristics of the households within which young people lived

Nearly all the young people (98 per cent) lived with one or more parent. Over half (59 per cent) were in households containing two adults, while 17 per cent lived with one adult only. Just over a quarter (24 per cent) lived with three adults or more.

As the sample for the Young People's Social Attitudes survey is generated by the British Social Attitudes survey, data from the latter survey can help paint a detailed picture of the households within which the young people interviewed lived. The remainder of this section is based upon this information.

A quarter of the young people were living in a big city, or the suburbs or outskirts of a big city. Nearly six in ten (57 per cent) were living in a small city or town, and 17 per cent in the country or in a country village. Nearly three quarters (72 per cent) lived in owner-occupied homes. The remainder were in rented housing, the majority (23 per cent) in social housing.

Fifteen per cent of young people lived in a household where the adult respondent (usually their parent) had a degree. In a further 15 per cent of cases, the adult interviewed had another higher educational qualification. For one in five, the highest qualification was an A level (or equivalent). In the case of the remainder of young people, half the sample, the adult interviewed had either no qualifications or qualifications up to GCSE level. The educational status of the adult interviewed will be referred to throughout this report as, in certain sections, it is associated with differences between the attitudes and experiences of young people.

Table 2.4 Highest educational qualification of adult respondent

	0/0
Degree	15
Other higher education qualification	15
A level or equivalent	18
GCSE equivalent or lower	34
No qualification	16
Base	663

A quarter of young people were living in households with a total gross annual household income of under £15,000. For one in five, their total household income was over £50,000.

Table 2.5 Total household income

	%
Below £15,000	24
£15,000 to £28,999	21
£29,000 to £49,999	24
£50,000 plus	20
Missing/Don't know/Refused	11
Base	663

2.3 This report

A diverse range of topics were covered in the 2003 survey, the most important being politics, decision making, education, work, gender roles and inequality, families, social engagement and interaction. This report explores each of these topics in turn. In some cases, the questions asked in 2003 duplicate those included in previous years, making it possible to explore the extent to which young people's views have changed or remained constant over the last decade. In addition, some questions were also asked as part of the 2003 British Social Attitudes survey, allowing us to compare attitudes across generations.

In all cases, we can examine the extent to which particular subgroups of young people differ in their views and experiences. We will focus particularly upon some of the subgroups described in Section 2.2, most notably those relating to age, sex and household background characteristics such as household income and adult educational background. As some of these characteristics are linked to one another, we also use multivariate techniques to assess their relative importance in exploring young people's attitudes and values. These methods are described in more detail in Chapter 8.

3 POLITICS AND DECISION MAKING

The findings of the 1994 and 1998 rounds of the Young People's Social Attitudes survey did not paint an encouraging picture of young people's engagement in politics. They suggested that, on a wide range of measures, young people had become less involved in conventional politics. They were less interested than they had been four years earlier, less knowledgeable, and were less likely to have formed an attachment to any party (Park, 1999). However, in many respects, these trends were equally evident among older groups.

Concerns about young people's engagement with politics has prompted calls for political institutions and practice to adapt and become more accessible to the young (Wilkinson and Mulgan, 1995; Bentley and Oakley, 1999). A number of experiments with new voting methods have now taken place, partly in response to such concerns, though their impact upon turnout has been mixed (Electoral Commission, 2002b). Others have advocated citizenship education at school (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998). Citizenship education became a statutory national curriculum subject in English secondary schools in 2002 (www.nc.uk.net). Its teaching covers three interrelated strands: knowledge and understanding about becoming an informed citizen; developing skills of enquiry and communication; and developing skills of participation and responsible action.

This chapter examines whether, and how, the picture painted in 1998 has changed. Clearly, it is too early to be able to assess the impact of Citizenship education in schools (as, although a large proportion of the sample will have attended some classes, they will only have done so since 2002 rather than throughout their secondary school career). However, by showing us how attitudes and values have changed over time, the 2003 findings will allow us to build up a picture of the context within which Citizenship education will have to operate in the future. The DfES has commissioned the National Foundation for Educational Research (NfER) to conduct an eight year longitudinal study with a cohort of young people who entered secondary school in 2002, to assess the effects of citizenship education on the knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviour of young people.

We begin by examining young people's attitudes towards politics and their overall political interest. We then assess how readily they identify with the main political parties, and examine their levels of political knowledge. We then turn to examine young people's views about broader forms of political engagement and decision-making. Do young people, for instance, feel that they should be consulted about political decisions that might affect them? What, if anything, would they do if they felt an unfair decision had been made in their school or local area?

In all cases, we will try to discern the characteristics associated with particular attitudes. Are there, for instance, certain types of young people who are particularly resistant to politics? In particular, to what extent do young people from more and less advantaged backgrounds differ in their views about politics? We also examine whether young people's views reflect those of the people with whom they live. And how do a young person's views about conventional politics relate to their views about political participation more broadly?

3.1 Attitudes to politics and voting

In 1998, we found that levels of political interest among young people, already low, had fallen since 1994 (Park, 1999). This process has continued. In 2003, few young people expressed interest in politics; under a third said that they had even some interest in the subject, and over a third had none at all. Moreover, significantly fewer young people were interested than was the case in 1994. Then, 38 per cent said they had at least some interest in politics; in 2003, this applied to only 31 per cent. Over the same period, the proportion expressing no interest at all has grown, from just over a quarter to over a third.

Table 3.1 Political interest

	1994 %	1998 %	2003 %
A great deal or quite a lot of interest	12	10	8
Some interest	26	24	23
Not very much interest	32	32	32
None at all	27	34	36
Base	580	474	663

There were some marked variations in the levels of political interest found among different groups of young people. As in previous years, those aged between 16 and 19 tended to be more interested in politics than those aged between 12 and 15. In 2003, twelve per cent of 16-19 year olds had a great deal, or quite a lot, of interest in politics, compared with only six per cent of 12-15 year olds. Just under a third (32 per cent) had no interest in politics at all, compared with 39 per cent of 12-15 year olds.

However, the most dramatic variations in young people's political interest related to the broader characteristics of the households within which they lived rather than their own personal characteristics. In particular, young people from richer households, and from households where the adult respondent had a higher education qualification, were markedly more interested in politics than average. Table 3.2 illustrates this with reference to adult educational attainment. It shows that around a quarter of young people living in homes where the adult British Social Attitudes respondent had a degree (or another higher education qualification) had no interest in politics (and nearly four in ten had at least some interest). By contrast, nearly a half of young people living in households where the adult respondent had no educational qualifications had no interest in politics, while only just over a quarter expressed even some interest. These differences reflect those found among adults, whereby those who are more highly educated tend to be more interested in politics than those with lower levels of education.

Table 3.2 Political interest (12-19 year olds) by adult education level

	Highest qualification of adult			
	Higher education	A level equiv.	GCSE equiv.	None
	%	%	%	%
Great deal/quite a lot	14	7	5	8
Some interest	25	27	21	19
Not very much interest	35	31	33	26
None at all	26	35	41	48
Base	199	118	228	107

This relationship between young people's interest in politics and adult educational attainment is likely to reflect the fact that the latter is strongly associated with political interest (with the highest levels of interest being found among the most educated). Indeed, multivariate analysis shows that, once adult political interest is taken into account, a range of other factors (including education and household income) are no longer significantly related to levels of political interest among young people.

The strength of the relationship between the political interest shown by the adult British Social Attitudes respondent and that shown by the young person is shown in Table 3.3. Young people in households where the adult had said they had quite a lot, or a great deal, of interest in politics were *eight* times more likely to have this same level of political interest themselves than were young people living with an adult respondent who said they had no interest in politics whatsoever. This suggests that young people's political interest is significantly affected by the discussions they hear at home, and that early exposure to talk about politics has an important influence on their own eventual interest in the subject.

Table 3.3 Political interest (12-19 year olds) by adult political interest

	Adult political interest			
	Great deal, quite a lot	Some	Not very much	None at all
	%	%	%	%
Great deal/quite a lot	16	6	9	2
Some interest	32	23	19	14
Not very much interest	32	34	35	25
None at all	20	37	37	60
Base	164	250	145	104

Young people in 2003 were substantially less interested than adults in politics, a finding which is in line with a range of other studies (for example, Park, 1999). Nearly a third of adults said they had a great deal, or quite a lot, of interest in politics, compared with just eight per cent of young people. However, there is little evidence of a decline in political interest among adults over the same period, with the proportion who express a great deal, or quite a lot, of interest remaining stable over the last two decades (Bromley et al, 2004). True, there was a slight increase between 1994 and 2003 in the proportion expressing *no* interest at all (from eight to 13 per cent), but extending the time-series further back shows that this figure is no different to the 14 per cent who expressed no interest in politics in 1989.

Given the apparent relationship explored earlier between the levels of political interest shown by adults and young people living in the same household, the fact that political interest among young people has declined while adult levels of interest have remained stable is curious. A number of possible explanations exist. It is possible, for instance, that parents now are less effective in communicating their own interest to young people. Alternatively, the decline in interest among young people might indicate that they have responded differently to adults to the political events of recent years.

Table 3.4 Political interest (adults age 18+)

	18+		
	1994	1998	2003
	%	%	%
Great deal/quite a lot of interest	32	29	30
Some interest	35	36	33
Not very much interest	25	24	25
None at all	8	11	13
Base	2302	3146	4432

Record low turnouts in recent local, European and general elections have meant that voter turnout has become a key political issue. Research at the time of the 2001 general election suggested that only 39 per cent of 18 to 24 year olds voted, against a backdrop of 59 per cent turnout overall (Electoral Commission, 2002a). However, turnout in the 2004 local and European elections does not conform to this pattern, marking a possible upsurge in voter turnout.

None of the young people interviewed in 2003 would have been old enough to vote in 2001. All, however, will be entitled to cast a vote at one or both of the next two general elections. To examine young people's views about voting, we asked them to choose between the three following views of voting in a general election: "it's not really worth voting"; "people should vote only if they care who wins"; and "it is everyone's duty to vote". In 2003, as in 1998, we found the instrumental view to be the most popular – that people should vote only if they care about the outcome. The view that it is everyone's duty to vote is less widely held, by only three in ten. Reassuringly, perhaps, fewer than one in ten young people thought there was no

point to voting at all (although this group contained a disproportionate number of young people from disadvantaged backgrounds).

The proportion taking the view that it is an individual's civic duty to vote has declined since 1998, from 36 to 31 per cent, though this change is not statistically significant. Irrespective of this, these findings should do not paint a rosy picture when it comes to levels of turnout in future elections, not least because there is a high correlation between people's views on this issue and their propensity to turn out and vote at election time (Park, 1999).

Table 3.5 Views about voting in General Elections

	1998	2003
	%	%
It's not really worth voting	7	9
People should vote only if they care who wins	55	59
It is everyone's duty to vote	36	31
Base	474	663

As we found earlier with political interest, the most marked differences between young people's views on these issues related to household background. Those living in more affluent, and more educated homes, were more likely to think that everyone has a duty to vote and were correspondingly less likely to take a more instrumental view of voting. In Table 3.6, for instance, those living in the most affluent households were twice as likely as those in the poorest homes to think that everyone has a duty to vote (44 and 21 per cent respectively). Adult political interest was also significantly associated with a young person's views about voting, with those who lived with adults who had at least some interest in politics being more likely to consider it everyone's duty to vote than those living with adults who had no interest in politics at all. Multivariate analysis confirmed that both adult political interest and household income are independently and significantly associated with young people's views about voting.

Table 3.6 Views about voting in general elections by household income quartile

	Household income quartile			
	Below £15,000	£15,000 - £28,999	£29,000 - £49,999	£50,000 plus
	%	%	%	%
It's not really worth voting	15	11	6	4
People should vote only if they				
care who wins	63	60	59	51
It is everyone's duty to vote	21	28	34	44
Base	159	142	162	129

Young people's lack of interest in politics, and their instrumental views about voting, have not translated into wholesale political apathy or cynicism. As the next table shows, although a sizeable minority of teenagers – nearly one in five – see voting as "a waste of time", a clear majority reject this view, as well as the notion that politics has no particular purpose. There has been no significant change since 1998 in the views held by young people on these issues.

Table 3.7 Views about politics

% agree There's no point to politics – in the end,	1998 26	2003 30
everything goes on just the same Voting in elections is a waste of time	14	18
Base	474	663

However, as the next table shows, there has been an increase in the proportion who neither agree nor disagree with the statement "there isn't any real difference between the main political parties in Britain", or who did not know how to answer this question (from 6 to 10 per cent). So, while a quarter of young people in 1998 were unable to say whether they agreed or disagreed with the view that there is no real difference between British political parties, this applied to nearly four in ten in 2003 (and was the most common response among the young people interviewed). This is a significant increase over a short period of time, and suggests that young people are far from clear about the differences and similarities between the main political parties in Britain today.

Table 3.8 Britain's political parties

	1998	2003
There isn't any real difference between the main		
political parties in Britain		
Agree	38	31
Neither agree nor disagree	19	28
Disagree	37	32
Base	474	663

Although there are notable differences in the responses of young people in different age groups to these questions, these largely reflect the fact that younger groups were less likely to give a definitive response to the statements. For example, 44 per cent of 12 to 15 year olds said "neither agree nor disagree" or "don't know" in response to the statement "there isn't any real difference between the main political parties in Britain" (compared with 25 per cent of 16 to 19 year olds). It is also notable that nearly a half of girls (47 per cent) gave this response to this statement, compared with only 25 per cent of boys.

There were marked differences between young people from different household backgrounds. Once again, household income and educational background were closely linked with views about politics. For example, well over a half (56 per cent) of young people in households where the adult respondent had a degree or other higher educational qualification disagreed with the view that there is no point to politics, nearly double the rate found among those in households where the adult respondent had no educational qualifications (29 per cent). Similarly, while only five per cent of young people living in the most affluent households (with an annual household income of £50,000 or more) agreed that voting in elections is a "waste of time", this view was held by 29 per cent of those in the poorest households (with an annual household income of below £15,000).

3.2 Political party identification

Party identification describes the emotional attachment that many individuals have to a particular political party. It is thought to develop at an early age within the family and then be reinforced during early adulthood, particularly once a person reaches voting age (Butler and Stokes, 1969). Given this, it is not surprising that the 1994 and 1998 surveys found that levels of party identification were lower among young people than adults. However, the surveys also revealed a marked increase between 1994 and 1998 in the proportions of young people and adults with no party identification.

To establish party identification, we ask young people whether they thought of themselves as a *supporter* of any one political party (and, if so, which one). Those who said they were *not* supporters were then asked whether they thought of themselves as *a little closer* to one party than the other (and, if so, which one). Finally, those who neither supported nor felt close to a party were asked who they would hope to win a general election if there was one tomorrow.

We begin by considering the extent to which young people support or feel close to a particular party. As in 1994 and 1998, few young people express this level of attachment to a particular party; in 2003, only eight per cent of young people described themselves as supporting a particular party (compared with over a third of adults), while a further 13 per cent said they felt closer to one party than another (compared with over a quarter of adults). All in all, over three quarters of young people said they were neither a supporter of a particular party nor felt closer to one party than they did to another, double the rate found among older groups. There has been a marked increase in the size of this group of young people over the last decade, from 56 per cent in 1994 to 78 per cent in 2003.

Table 3.9 Whether supports or feels close to a particular political party

	-	12-19 year old	ds	18+
	1994	1998	2003	2003
	%	%	%	%
Supports a particular party	21	15	8	35
Not a supporter, but feels closer to one party than another	22	20	13	26
Neither supports nor feels close to a	56	65	78	40
party Base	580	474	663	4432

We also asked those young people who did *not* support or feel close to a party "if there was a general election tomorrow, which party would you hope would win". Combining these responses with those to our two earlier questions gives us a traditional measure of party identification. This reveals that nearly six in ten young people have no party identification at all, nearly double the proportion found in 1998. Consequently, while in 1994 over two-thirds (68 per cent) of young people supported or felt close to a particular party, or were able to say who they hoped would win a general election, the same was true of just over a third (39 per cent) in 2003.

As Table 3.10 shows, this dramatic increase is not accounted for by increased *uncertainty* among young people about who to support. Rather, it is largely accounted for by a four-fold rise in the proportion who, when asked which party they would hope to win a general election, said "none". This suggests a quite considerable disenchantment with the world of British party politics, possibly in response to the events leading up to the war in Iraq (which began three months before the survey fieldwork took place). Irrespective of its cause, it will clearly be very important to monitor how this trend develops over time.

Table 3.10 Party identification

	1	12-19 year olds		
	1994	1998	2003	2003
	%	%	%	%
Conservative	14	12	9	25
Labour	35	38	21	37
Liberal Democrats	10	7	6	11
Green	6	2	1	2
Other party	4	2	2	3
None	6	9	29	16
Don't know/Other answer	26	30	32	7
Base	580	474	663	4432

This increase in the proportion of people with no party identification has by no means been confined to the young, although it is less marked among adults. Over the same period, the proportion of adults in this category has also increased, from 14 per cent in 1994 to 20 per cent in 2003. However, this change is particularly marked among young adults (aged between 18 and 24). Among this group, the proportion with no party identification increased from 26 to 40 per cent between 2002 and 2003, lending support to the view that the events of that period had a disproportionate effect upon the young.

As theories of party identification clearly stress the way in which it develops as an individual gets older, it is not surprising that 16 to 19 year olds were more likely than 12 to 15 year olds to identify with a party (50 and 32 per cent respectively). Less obviously, boys were more likely than girls to identify with a party, this applying to 43 and 35 per cent respectively. In multivariate analysis, both age and sex proved significantly linked to whether or not a young person identified with a particular party.

Once again, there were marked differences between young people from affluent and less well off households, as well as between those from more and less highly educated households. Over a half (53 per cent) of young people in households where the adult respondent had a higher educational qualification identified with a particular political party, compared with less than a third (32 per cent) of those in households where the adult respondent had no educational qualifications at all. Adult political interest also proves to be strongly associated with young people's development of a party identity; nearly six in ten (59 per cent) of young people living in households where the adult respondent had quite a lot of interest in politics identified with a party, compared with under a quarter (23 per cent) of those living with an adult respondent who had no such interest. Multivariate analysis found that both these factors – adult political interest and adult educational background – were independently and significantly linked to whether or not a young person identified with a particular political party.

Section 3.1 showed how young people have become less interested in politics over the last decade. However, the changes described there are rather small in comparison with the decrease in the proportion of young people identifying with a political party. This suggests that the root of the problem might lie within party politics rather than politics more generally. Of particular note is the fact that the proportion of young people who identify with the Labour party has fallen, from 35 per cent in 1994 to 21 per cent in 2003. Over the same period, the proportion of adult Labour identifiers has fallen only slightly from 40 to 37 per cent. To some extent, then, the dramatic fall we have seen in party identification over time might reflect, on the one hand, disillusionment with the Labour party during its term in office and, on the other, the lack of any perceived realistic alternative party with whom to identify.

3.3 Political knowledge

We have seen that political interest among young people has fallen, as has the proportion who identify with a particular political party. Has their knowledge about politics also changed over the last decade?

All three Young People's Social Attitudes surveys have included a short quiz about politics, consisting of a number of statements to which teenagers could answer "true", "false" or "don't know" (see Martin *et al.*, 1993). The statements asked in all three years are shown below, along with the proportion giving the correct answer.

Table 3.11 Political knowledge quiz

0/	1994	1998	2003
% correct answer			
Great Britain is a member of the	84	81	80
European Union (true)			
The longest time allowed between	19	21	16
general elections is four years (false)			
Northern Ireland is part of the United	76	75	71
Kingdom (true)			
Women are not allowed to sit in the	66	67	61
House of Lords (false)			
Base	580	474	663

Responses to each of these questions show a small decline over the last decade in the proportion getting the correct answer, although this decline is not significant. However, adding together each young person's answers to show how many each got correct *does* reveal a marked decline in political knowledge. Most notably, while over a half (53 per cent) of young people got at least 3 correct answers out of 4 in 1994, this applied to only 45 per cent of young people in 2003.

Table 3.12 Quiz score - how many correct?

	1994	1998	2003
	%	%	%
0 or 1 correct	15	15	19
2 correct	32	34	36
3 correct	42	41	39
4 correct	11	10	6
Base	580	474	663

As was the case in 1994 and 1998, girls had lower levels of political knowledge than boys (Park, 1999). In 2003, 38 per cent of girls got at least three correct answers out of four on the quiz, compared with 53 per cent of boys. Those aged between 16 and 19 were more knowledgeable than younger groups (with 55 per cent getting at least three out of four correct answers, compared with 39 per cent of 12 to 15 year olds).

Young people in more affluent and more highly educated households had higher levels of political knowledge than those living in less affluent or less educated ones. As the next table shows, young people in households where the adult respondent had no qualifications were nearly three times more likely than those where the adult

respondent had higher educational qualifications to get a low quiz score (either one or no correct answers).

Table 3.13 Political knowledge (12-19 year olds) by adult education level

	Highest education of adult			
	Degree, other HE	A level equiv.	GCSE equiv.	None
	%	%	%	%
0 or 1 correct	11	16	23	30
2 correct	31	42	36	41
3 or 4 correct	58	42	42	29
Base	199	118	228	107

Not surprisingly, the political interest of the adult respondent was closely linked to young people's political knowledge. Nearly six in ten (57 per cent) of those living in households where the adult respondent had quite a lot of interest in politics scored three or more on the quiz, compared with just a quarter (26 per cent) of young people living with an adult who had no interest in politics at all.

3.4 Participation and engagement

Does the fact that levels of political interest among the young are low, and falling, imply that this group has no wish to be involved in making decisions about issues that affect them? To assess this, we asked:

Suppose a council want to close a sports centre because it is not making money. How much say should young people living in the local area have in whether or not the centre is shut down?

Now suppose the government was thinking about asking young people to carry identity cards at all times. How much say should young people have in whether this happens?

These questions were introduced for the first time in 2003, and so it is not possible to examine whether young people's views have changed over time. In both cases, clear majorities of young people thought that they should have, at the very least, "quite a bit of the say" in these decisions. Over three quarters thought this of the decision to shut a local sports centre, and around two-thirds in relation to compulsory identity cards.

Table 3.14 How much say should younger people have in closure of local sports centre/ compulsory identity cards for young people?

	Closure sports centre %	Compulsory identity cards
All of the say	13	19
Quite a bit of the say	63	46
Some of the say	21	27
Not very much of the say	2	6
No say at all	1	2
Base	663	663

We also asked respondents how much say "older people" should have in these decisions. In both cases, smaller proportions thought this group should have a lot of influence (that is, either "all" or "quite a bit" of the say) than took this view about young people. Thus, while three-quarters thought young people should have a lot or quite a bit of influence over the closure of a local sports centre, only 58 per cent thought older people should have this much influence. However, few thought older groups should have no influence at all.

We also asked young people to consider the influence *parents* should be able to exert over a young person's decision to become a vegetarian. On something this personal, young people were far less likely to think that parents should have an influence – just over half thought they should have no say at all, or not very much say.

Table 3.15 How much say should older people have in closure of local sports centre/ compulsory identity cards for young people? How much say should parents have in their child becoming a vegetarian?

	Closure sports centre	Compulsory identity cards	Young person becoming vegetarian
	0/0	%	%
All of the say	8	9	4
Quite a bit of the say	49	40	13
Some of the say	36	36	32
Not very much of the say	6	11	33
No say at all	1	3	18
Base	663	663	663

Younger groups (aged 12 to 15) were more likely than 16 to 19 year olds to think that young people should have a high level of influence (that is, all or quite a bit of the say) in these sorts of decisions. For example, over two-thirds of 12-15 year olds thought young people should have this much influence over the decision to

introduce identity cards, compared with 59 per cent of 16-19 year olds. However, 16-19 year olds were *less* deferential than younger ones when it came to deciding how much say older people should have in this situation, with 45 per cent giving them a high level of influence compared with 52 per cent of 12-15 year olds. It is notable that young people's views about their own involvement in these decisions did not vary according to their interest in politics – those who were not interested were just as keen as those who were that young people had a say.

Table 3.16 How much say should younger/older people have in introduction of compulsory identity cards for young people, by age group

	How much say should younger people have		How much say should older people have	
	12-15	16-19	12-15	16-19
	%	0/0	%	%
All or quite a bit of say	68	59	52	45
Some of the say	25	31	34	39
Not very much/no say	6	10	13	16
Base	417	246	417	246

There were comparatively few differences according to the household background of the young person. The exception to this relates to the role that older people should have in deciding whether or not identity cards should be introduced for young people. Here young people living in households where the adult respondent had a higher educational qualification were markedly *less* deferential towards older people. Under half (46 per cent) thought older people should have a high degree of influence over this decision, compared with 61 per cent of those living in households where the adult respondent had no educational qualifications at all. A similar, but less marked, finding applies to the role of older people in deciding whether to shut a local sports centre.

These responses suggest that young people's lack of interest in conventional party politics does not imply a wish to avoid *any* involvement in political decision making, particularly when it potentially has an impact upon young people's lives. This picture is bolstered when we consider young people's stated willingness to engage in various forms of political protest in response to an unfair decision. To assess this, we began by asking all young people who were still at school:

Suppose a decision had been made by the head and other teachers at your school (or college) that you thought was really unfair. Which, if any, of the things on this card do you think you would do?

Young people were shown a card listing the range of activities described in Table 3.17. When it came to protesting against an unfair decision at school, only one in twenty pupils (4 per cent) said they would do nothing. The most common actions, chosen by over half the young people, were contacting their headteacher or another teacher or asking a parent to contact the school. Four in ten would raise the issue with a students' council. Nearly one in five said they organise or participate in a student protest, and a quarter said they would start or sign a petition. Overall, a

third said they would do one of these things, and another third that they would carry out two. Over a quarter said they would do three or more actions.

Although this question is a useful measure of propensity to engage in politics (particularly when repeated over time, as it is on the British Social Attitudes survey), it clearly does not measure actual participation. Consequently, we also asked whether they ever *had* undertaken these sorts of actions in reality. Nearly six in ten had done none (although it is not possible to tell whether this reflects a lack of opportunity given their age or apathy). Nearly a third (32 per cent) had carried out one action, and one in ten had done two or more.

Table 3.17 Suppose an unfair decision was made at school: actions would take/have taken

	Would do	Have done
% would do/have done		
Ask parents to write to school	56	13
Contact headteacher/other teachers	50	15
Raise issue with students council	38	12
Start/sign petition	24	12
Organise/take part in protest with other students	18	6
Contact radio, TV or a newspaper	7	*
Contact MP/MSP	4	*
Total number of actions	%	%
None	5	58
One	33	32
Two	34	7
Three or more	28	3
Base	554	554

Base: all young people in full-time education

Certain groups were more likely than others to report having undertaken actions like these. Girls were more likely than boys to have done so (46 and 37 per cent respectively), and 16 to 19 year olds were more likely to have done so than 12 to 15 year olds (48 and 40 per cent).

Among older groups, educational attainment is strongly linked to non-electoral participation, such as going on protests or marches, or signing petitions. In particular, graduates are notably more likely than any other group to have engaged in these sorts of actions, perhaps because of their higher than average levels of political efficacy (Curtice and Seyd, 2002). But the influence of higher education does not appear to be confined to the individual concerned. Rather, it is also associated with the extent to which young people living with them get involved in the sorts of protest actions listed in Table 3.17. For example, nearly a half (49 per cent) of young people living in a household where the adult respondent had a higher education

qualification said they had undertaken at least one of these actions, compared with only a third (32 per cent) of those in households where the adult respondent had no qualifications at all.

How does engagement in these forms of activity relate to interest in conventional politics? In particular, are those young people who are *not* engaged with conventional politics the most likely to take part in these forms of protest? Our findings strongly refute this; it is those young people who have *high* levels of political interest who are the most likely to have engaged in protest actions such as these. Over half (54 per cent) of those with some interest in politics had engaged in at least one form of protest, compared with only 39 per cent of those with no political interest at all. This same relationship has also been found among adults (Bromley, Curtice and Seyd, 2000).

We then asked all young people the following question:

Now suppose a decision was being made in your local area that you thought was really unfair. Which, if any, of the things on this card do you think you would do?

The most common envisaged action was writing a letter of complaint, chosen by nearly half the young people. A third said they would ask their parents to write. In total, over eight in ten (86 per cent) said they would do at least one of these things. However, in reporting what actions they *had* undertaken in similar circumstances, over eight in ten had done none.

Table 3.18 Suppose an unfair decision made in local area: actions would take/have taken

	Would do	Have done
% would do/have done		
Write letter of complaint	47	3
Ask parents to write a letter of complaint	33	3
Start or sign a petition	29	8
Contact MP/MSP	12	1
Contact radio, TV or newspaper	12	1
Contact government department	11	1
Go on protest or demonstration	13	3
Contact headteacher/other teachers	9	1
None of these	13	83
Total number of actions	%	%
None	14	83
One	40	14
Two	27	2
Three or more	20	1
Base	663	663

There were fewer significant differences among different groups of young people in this respect than was the case when looking at school based protest. However, it is notable that young people from more affluent and educated backgrounds were no more likely than their counterparts in less advantaged homes to report having protested against an unfair local decision (if anything, they were slightly less likely to have done so, although this difference was not statistically significant). This lack of difference deserves comment as it stands in such stark contrast to the clear relationships found earlier between a more advantaged household background, on the one hand, and a greater tendency towards political interest and action. It is likely, however, that this reflects the relative youth of the sample (and thus their limited opportunities to date to get involved in these sorts of activities).

Once again, the politically interested were the most likely to have taken part in a similar political activity. Nearly three in ten (27 per cent) of those with some interest in politics had engaged in protest, compared with only 10 per cent of those with no political interest at all.

3.5 Conclusions

Since 1994, young people's interest in politics has declined, as has their knowledge of basic political facts. Most dramatically of all, the proportion of young people who support or feel close to a particular party, or who would want a particular party to win a general election, fell from 68 to 39 per cent between 1994 and 2003. The extent to which this reflects a short-term response to immediate concerns such as the Iraqi war remains, of course, to be seen. However, the fact that the most marked changes in young people's political attitudes and values relate to party politics (rather than political interest or knowledge more generally) indicate that developments in this area might best explain current levels of political disenchantment among the young.

In some respects, the changes that have taken place in young people's attitudes to politics are mirrored among adults. In particular, they too have become notably less likely to identify with a particular political party.

There was a very close relationship between the levels of political interest expressed by an adult and that expressed by any young people living with them. Put simply, young people living with politically interested adults were substantially more likely to be interested in politics themselves, to identify with a particular political party, and to think that it was everyone's duty to vote. Other factors linked to varying attitudes to politics among young people were age (with older groups being more interested and engaged) and sex (with boys being more likely to identify with a party, and having higher levels of knowledge about politics). However, these differences were small in comparison with the variations found according to adult political interest or socio-demographic factors such as household income and adult education. Indeed, on all the measures we considered, young people from more advantaged backgrounds were significantly more likely than those from less advantaged households to be interested and engaged with politics.

We did not find any evidence of a change in young people's views about voting in general elections. In 2003, as in 1998, the majority thought that people should vote "only if they care who wins".

The extent to which these trends might be reversed is unclear. In particular, the dramatic decline we found in party identification may prove to be a temporary response to the particular events of 2003. However, the low levels of interest and engagement with politics should cause concern for those worried about levels of turnout in future elections. In particular, it is notable that turnout in the 2001 general election fell the most among those who were the least interested in politics, suggesting that the election failed in motivating those who were already less interested in, and engaged with, politics (Bromley, Curtice and Seyd, 2004).

Despite these findings, it is clear that young people do think they should have a say in decisions that affect them, whether these be over identity cards or the closure of a sports centre. Notably, young people's views on these matters are not associated at all with their interest in politics – those expressing no interest at all in politics were just as likely as those who were very interested to think that young people should be consulted.

4 SOCIAL NETWORKS AND CONNECTEDNESS

Over the last decade or so there has been increased interest in social inclusion and exclusion, the strength or weakness of social networks, the vitality of local communities – and the benefits and outcomes associated with these. The broader concept of social capital brings together many of these elements into a more coherent framework, attributed to early work by Putnam (1993). He included a number of different indicators of capital, including participation in clubs or societies, socialising, reciprocity and trust, and friendship networks.

We have drawn on many of these concepts in our research with young people, and while we do not go as far as to assess the state of social capital, we do examine some of its key constituent parts—notably social participation, friendship networks and support, and trust and reciprocity. This chapter seeks to answer a range of questions relating to these issues. For instance, how active are young people in their local community or area? Is there evidence of an increasingly disinterested, inactive group of young people? Do 12-19 year olds have wide friendship networks and support from close friends and family? Are young people trusting of those in the wider community?

For all the measures discussed, we examine whether there are significant differences between various sub-groups of young people. Key break variables include age, sex, household income, urban/rural setting, and educational achievement of the adult respondent in the household. We also undertook analyses using quintiles of the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD); as there were few significant findings these have not been included in the discussion. We are able to consider time series for some items, as the 1994 and 1998 Young People's Social Attitudes surveys carried many of the same questions. Finally, where possible, we look at differences between young people and adult respondents to the 2003 British Social Attitudes survey to examine the effect that age can have on a variety of opinions.

4.1 Social participation

There is an interest (notably within a social capital context) in the extent to which people actively participate in society, particularly when activities involve interaction with others, whether in the local community or in a wider context. Engaging in society in this way is seen as an important element of social capital, and is somewhat related to the idea of 'citizenship'. There is a concern that those who are inactive, or who are isolated from the local community are disadvantaged in many ways – for example in terms of their health.

In order to explore this issue we examined the extent to which young people actively participate in leisure activities, and considered whether some young people are excluded from such participation. The range of activities considered ranged from going to a play or visiting an art gallery, to playing sports or doing voluntary work. We found that a large majority of young people had *been* to some form of event in the last six months - just one in twenty had not been to any. Going to the cinema was the most common activity (86 per cent), followed by watching sport (43 per cent).

It was apparent that young people were more likely to have taken part in activities as a spectator than as an active participant – though this distinction is a little crude. When activities such as sport, drama, music or voluntary work were considered, over a quarter had not taken part in any of the listed activities (27 per cent). This seems particularly high when it is noted that this included activities at school. Despite that, the image of young people as generally inactive is not supported; 42 per cent had played sport, and 35 per cent had taken part in some form of drama, dance or music. One in five young people had been involved in a youth club or religious group. It is noticeable that activities with a more 'civic' element (voluntary work and political protest) were the least common of all - 16 per cent had done some voluntary or charity work, and three per cent had taken part in a political or protest group event.

Table 4.1 Activities in the last 6 months

	%
Visits	
Been to the cinema	86
Gone to watch some sport	43
Been to see a play/dance show/musical	28
Visited an art gallery, museum or exhibition	28
Been to a gig or concert	26
None of these	5
Activities	
Played sport as part of a sports club	42
Been in a dance, drama or music group	35
Been a member of a youth club or religious group	20
Done some voluntary or charity work	16
Taken part in an event organised by a political or protest group	3
None of these	27
Base	663

Perhaps surprisingly, participation in leisure activities did not vary considerably between urban and more rural locations. One activity that was associated with geographical location was playing sport – 55 per cent of those living in a village or other rural location had played sport in the last 6 months, compared to 39 per cent of those living in a city or town. It is tempting to assume that this is related to the availability of open space in the countryside and the lack of it in urban locations – though clearly our data can not confirm this view. In addition, those living in a rural area were more likely than those in towns or cities to go to the cinema (95 per cent compared to 85 per cent) or to visit an art gallery or museum (39 per cent compared to 26 per cent).

Age and sex were important factors, but only for certain activities. For example, girls were more likely than boys to have been to see a play, dance or musical (36 per cent compared to 19 per cent), while boys were more likely to have participated in sports than girls (54 per cent compared to 31 per cent).

In terms of age, young people aged 16-19 were more likely to have been to a gig or a concert than 12-15 year olds (38 per cent compared to 19 per cent). However, when the more participatory activities are considered, 16-19 year olds were more likely to have been inactive (i.e. to have done none of the activities) - nearly four in ten 16-19 year olds compared to just over two in ten 12-15 year olds (39 per cent and 21 per cent respectively). This inactivity could be due to a lack of interest amongst members of the older age group, or might be because their opportunities to get involved in some of these activities are reduced as they reach the end of compulsory education. To explore this issue, we considered the profile of those who are, and are not, still in full-time education. We found a clear difference between these two groups. Only half of all 16-19 year olds who were *not* in education had taken part in at least one of the 'participation' activities, compared to 70 per cent of those in education. There were similar differences for some of the individual activities - for example, 27 per cent of 16-19 year olds in full-time education had been in a dance, drama or music group, compared to 16 per cent of those not in education. These findings suggest that education can play a role in activity rates, and that leaving education can serve as a barrier to participation for some of the older age group.

Are there other potential barriers to participation that could affect young people, regardless of their age? Conversely, are there household or family characteristics which encourage participation? We now consider three factors: financial constraint, educational achievement of the adult respondent in the household, and access to facilities. We examined responses to the participation questions by household income, and found that this was a significant factor for the 'spectator' activities, but less so for those involving active participation. For example, 96 per cent of those living in households in the highest income quartile had been to the cinema in the last six months, compared to 81 per cent of those living in households in the lowest quartile. A similar pattern is found for visiting an art gallery or museum, and going to a play or musical. This no doubt will partly reflect the fact that going to see a film or a concert tends to cost money, whereas being involved in these activities may not necessarily have such cost implications.

When we considered the highest educational achievement of the adult respondent, the results showed a clear relationship between higher qualifications and increased involvement for most activities. The strongest finding relates to visiting an art gallery or museum. Forty per cent of young people in a household where the adult respondent had a higher education qualification had done so, compared to just 14 per cent of those in a household where the adult respondent had no qualifications at all.

Another potential barrier to activities is transport as young people in particular are likely to be highly dependent on public transport or lifts from family or friends. We asked how easy or difficult it would be for respondents to get to their nearest cinema and sports or leisure centre by walking, using buses, trains, trams or the tube. While a clear majority said they would find it "very" or "fairly" easy to get to either facility, nearly one in five (19 per cent) would find it difficult ("very" or "fairly") to get to their nearest cinema, and 15 per cent said the same for the sports or leisure centre. Those living in a rural area were far more likely to say this than those in an urban area – for example, those living in a village or rural setting were nearly twice as

likely to find getting to the cinema difficult than those living in a city or town (31 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). Despite that, we saw earlier that young people from a rural location were *more* likely than their urban counterparts to go to the cinema, so access problems do not appear to be insurmountable.

We find a similarly curious relationship between ease of access and participation when considering sports facilities. Here we see that those in urban areas find sports facilities more accessible than those in rural areas, and yet their likelihood of participating in sports was lower than that found in rural areas. It may be that this is because we are not comparing identical measures – activities in a sports or leisure centre are not necessarily "sports as part of a sports club" – the measure of participation considered earlier.

Table 4.2 Ease of access to local facilities by urban/rural location

	Urban	Rural
	0/0	0/0
Cinema		
ery easy	40	9
fairly easy	43	60
Fairly difficult	12	22
/ery difficult	4	9
Don't know	1	-
ports/leisure centre		
ery easy	51	28
airly easy	35	45
Fairly difficult	10	16
/ery difficult	2	8
Don't know	2	3
Base	549	111

Overall then, when examining young people's leisure activities we have found that many factors are associated with participation – age, sex, urban or rural location, whether the young person is in full-time education or not, household income, the educational qualification of the adult respondent in the household, and access to facilities. We ran regressions including all these variables to find which were still important when the other factors were taken into consideration. Generally speaking, socio-economic factors (whether income or adult's qualification) were relevant when other factors were controlled for. For specific activities different factors were relevant. For example, age and sex were associated with playing sport as part of a club when all other factors were controlled for, with the younger age group and boys being the most likely to have played sport. Age was still relevant (after controlling for other factors) in terms of going to a gig or a concert, and for doing none of the spectator activities (for both, the older group were more likely to have so than the younger group). In the case of doing charity or voluntary work, the main associated factor was being in full-time education – after controlling for others factors, those

who were in full-time education were twice as likely as average to have done charity or voluntary work.

We also asked young people whether they regarded themselves as belonging to any particular religion, and if so, how often they attended services or meetings, apart from special occasions such as weddings, funerals or baptisms. As described in Section 2.2.3, around two-thirds of young people did not associate themselves with any religion – a very similar proportion to that found in the previous Young People's Social Attitudes survey in 1998. Just ten per cent attended once a week or more, with a further six per cent going at least once a month. It is apparent that young people are less likely to attend religious activities than any of the other leisure activities mentioned earlier such as cinema, sport, and music or drama.

Table 4.3 How often attends religious services / meetings

	1998	2003
	%	%
No religion	64	65
Once a week or more	9	10
once in two week	2	2
once a month	3	4
twice a year	5	4
once a year	2	2
Less often	1	2
Never or practically never	14	11
Varies too much to say	*	1
Don't know	1	n/a
Base	474	662

When we compare young people's religious activity with the religion of the adult respondent in the household, there is a clear association. This is not surprising given that many young people will be brought up with their parents' religious beliefs or activities, particularly while still living at home. Nearly two-thirds (63 per cent) of young people in households where the adult respondent said they did not belong to a particular religion also said they had no religion, compared with just over a third (37 per cent) of young people living in a household with an adult who had a religious affiliation.

4.2 Internet usage

When thinking about how connected a person is with society generally, internet use may be regarded in different ways. One view is that those who spend large amounts of time on a computer or using the internet are isolated from social contact. An alternative view is that the internet hosts its own form of social interaction - the idea of a 'virtual society' (see for example, Norris 2004). Indeed, it is not the case that all internet usage is isolated, as friends may surf the web together.

Although our data do not allow us to disentangle the different types and settings of internet usage, they do allow us to examine internet use among young people. We asked three questions: whether there was access to the internet from their home; whether the respondent ever used the internet for any reason apart from for school or college work; and if so, how many hours a week on average they spent doing so.

The great majority of young people use the internet to at least some extent (84 per cent). There is virtually no difference in usage according to sex, with boys and girls being equally likely to use the internet, and age is not a significant factor.

Not surprisingly, one factor that is associated with internet usage is having access to the internet at home: 93 per cent of young people with access at home use the internet, compared to 59 per cent of those without home access. However, it is clear that this is not a pre-requisite, as 19 percent of those who use the internet do so without having access at home. As might be expected, there is a marked relationship between having access at home and household income level. At the two extremes, 41 per cent of those in households in the lowest quartile have internet access at home, compared to 99 per cent of those in the highest quartile. The differences between each income quartile are significant.

Table 4.4 Whether has access to internet at home by household income quartiles

		come quartile		
	Below £15,000	£15,000 - £28,999	£29,000 - £49,999	£50,000 plus
	0/0	%	%	%
Yes	41	67	88	99
No	59	33	12	2
Base	159	142	162	129

There is also a marked difference according to the educational level of the adult respondent in the household. Thirty-six per cent of young people in a household where the respondent has no qualifications never use the internet – this compares to just eight per cent of those where the adult respondent has a higher education qualification.

The question about internet usage was also asked of adult respondents in the British Social Attitudes survey in 2003, enabling a comparison of young people and adults Table 4.5 below). The differences are striking - just half of adults had ever used the internet, compared to 84 per cent of 12-19 year olds. This supports the commonlyheld view of young people as far more experienced with, and receptive to, new technology than older people.

Table 4.5 Whether ever uses the internet other than for (school) work

	12-19 year olds	18+
	%	%
Yes	84	50
No	16	50
Don't know	n/a	*
Base	663	4432

For those who use the internet for reasons other than work or school, the median time spent per week was 3 hours. Around the median the hours vary fairly widely, from 29 per cent who use it for 1 hour or less per week up to six per cent reporting 16 hours or more per week. There may be some concern over those who use the internet excessively, especially as this suggests an inactive lifestyle. If we define 'heavy usage' as more than an average of seven hours per week (one hour a day), under one in five of all young people fall into this category (18 per cent).

We wanted to examine whether particular types of young people are more likely to spend this amount of time on the internet. Age and sex are both relevant factors here. Boys were more likely than girls (23 per cent and 13 per cent respectively), and older teenagers were more likely than younger ones to be heavy users of the internet (23 per cent of 16-19 year olds compared with 14 per cent of 12-15 year olds).

Having found a core group of 'heavy users', we now turn to consider whether there is any evidence that this kind of internet usage is related to a withdrawal from social interaction or other leisure activities. We begin with participation in leisure activities. The results here are inconclusive. Internet usage is not related to playing sport, nor being 'inactive' (not taking part in any of the participatory activities) – there are no significant differences between those who never use the internet and those who are heavy users. Those who are heavy internet users were less likely to do voluntary or charity work compared to light users (10 per cent and 19 per cent respectively), but those who never use the internet were the least likely to do this kind of work (just nine per cent).

We can also check whether internet usage is related to a withdrawal from social networks by examining likelihood of different groups reporting having a "best friend" (this is discussed further in the next section). In fact, there is no significant difference according to internet usage. Overall then, these results do little to suggest that being a heavy internet user does not lead to social isolation.

4.3 Friendship and support

Having good friends and spending time with them is perhaps the main arena for social interaction amongst young people. We asked respondents how many close friends they had, whether they had a "best friend", and how much contact they had with that friend. It is reassuring to find that it is very rare for a young person to feel that they do not have any close friends. Just one per cent of young people said this,

with the majority feeling that they had at least one close friend. In fact, the median number of close friends reported was five.

Over two-thirds of all young people surveyed had a friend that they thought of as their "best friend" (69 per cent). It might be expected that the age and sex of the respondents would affect this response – in fact age was not important, but sex was significant: the proportion of boys saying they did not have a best friend was ten percentage points higher than for girls (37 per cent compared to 27 per cent). This gender difference is also evident among adults (Park and Roberts, 2002). Respondents who had a best friend were likely to see this person regularly: 34 per cent saw their best friend every day, 24 per cent several times a week, and a further five per cent once a week.

We wanted to see whom young people would turn to in times of trouble and, in particular, to assess the extent to which young people would turn to friends rather than family (or vice versa). To assess this we asked respondents who they would turn to first (and then second) for help if they "just felt a bit down or depressed, and ... wanted to talk about it". Despite the common image of young people and their parents having somewhat strained relationships, the most common port of call was the young person's mother, chosen by nearly two-thirds (65 per cent). Best friends came second (42 per cent), followed by father (28 per cent) and other friends (21 per cent).

There were marked differences between boys and girls when it came to turning to one's father for support. In fact, boys were twice as likely as girls to say they would turn to their father either as their first or second choice (39 and 18 per cent respectively). However, there were no significant differences between boys and girls in the proportions who said they would turn to their mother.

There were also marked differences according to age, with 16-19 year olds being more likely than 12-15 year olds to mention turning to a boyfriend/girlfriend or partner, or best friend, and less likely than younger respondents to mention turning to their mother or father. This fits with the idea of young people becoming less dependent on family as they grow older, and friends / partners becoming more important. Despite this change, "mother" was still the most popular answer for the older age group (54 per cent), followed by "best friend" (47 per cent), and then "boyfriend/girlfriend/partner" (26 per cent). Research using similar questions asked of adults found that parents were also important for older people (Park and Roberts, 2002).

Table 4.6 Who would turn to if depressed

	Any mention (1st or 2nd choice) 1	1st choice
	%	%
Mother	65	36
Best friend	42	27
Father	28	6
Other friend	21	10
Brother or sister	15	7
Boyfriend/girlfriend/partner	13	7
Other adult relative	6	2
Other adult	2	1
Other relative (aged under 18)	2	1
Someone else	1	*
No-one	4	3
Don't know	1	1
Base	663	663

¹ Percentages total more than 100 as this combines responses to two questions.

A slightly different way of assessing social interaction beyond the close circle of family and friends is to consider neighbours. We asked:

Suppose you lost your keys, or were locked out of your home. Is there a neighbour you could go and wait with for a few hours?

Nearly two thirds (64 per cent) said there was "definitely" a neighbour they could wait with, and a further 25 per cent saying "probably". Just 11 per cent gave a more negative answer (eight per cent "probably not", three per cent "definitely not"). Contrary to what might be expected, young people's views about relying on a neighbour were not affected by whether they lived in an urban or rural area.

4.4 Social trust

Concern about a breakdown of social networks has long been an important issue (Johnston and Jowell, 1999). Having close social networks and links with the local community are also key to the concept of social capital. Social trust is one element of these debates, though establishing the causal direction of the relationship is difficult: without trust in others, it is likely that people will become increasingly isolated from social networks; on the other hand, involvement in the community and strong networks are likely to contribute to higher levels of trust.

We asked a general question to assess whether our respondents tend to trust other people or not:

Generally speaking would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Perhaps slightly alarmingly, less than a quarter felt that most people can be trusted, with 71 per cent who said "you can't be too careful". This question was also asked in the 1998 survey, with very similar results. However, it should be noted that some commentators feel this kind of measure of trust is less relevant to young people, who tend to locate trust in their closer friendships than in a broader sense of society (for example, Whiting and Harper, 2003). Indeed, when we compare with adult responses (this question was last asked in 2002), we find that the proportion saying "you can't be too careful" is far lower, at 59 per cent. This supports the view that adults are more trusting than young people (using this measure of social trust).

Table 4.7 Whether trust most people or not

1998	2003
%	%
22	24
72	71
5	5
474	663
	% 22 72 5

We examined whether young people's social trust varied according to whether they lived in a rural or urban area. There was a small (non-significant) variation in response to this question - over two thirds (68 per cent) of those living in a rural area or village agreed that "you can't be too careful in dealing with people", as did nearly three quarters (72 per cent) of those living in an urban setting.

4.5 Personal morality

We turn now to the broader question of personal morality. The questions we consider here ask respondents to make judgements about social behaviour, and allow a consideration of the kind of social rules that are used in making such judgements. While these questions give a good indication of the respondent's views about 'right' and 'wrong' in relation to other people, they also set the context which enables us to ask directly whether they would act in a certain way or not. In a general sense, we can see these attitudes as an indication of young people's views about civil responsibility – that is, do we need to follow agreed norms and rules if society is to function well, or are these not seen as important.

The following series of questions has been asked in all three Young People's Social Attitudes surveys, in 1994, 1998 and 2003, allowing us to examine any change over the last decade or so. The questions focus on knowingly keeping extra change from a shop (with a distinction being made between a big and a small shop).

We first asked how respondents judged the following situation:

A man gives a £5 note for goods he is buying in a big store. By mistake, he is given change for a £10 note. He notices but keeps the change.

Overall in 2003, the majority of young people felt this situation was wrong to some degree, with just 11 per cent saying there was "nothing wrong" with it. However, most did not take a strong view, with only one in five feeling it was very seriously or seriously wrong. These findings are very similar to the 1998 survey, though in 1994 attitudes were less extreme with significantly smaller proportions at both ends of the scale ("nothing wrong" and "very seriously wrong").

Table 4.8 Attitudes towards keeping change in a big store

	1994	1998	2003
	%	%	%
Nothing wrong	6	10	11
A bit wrong	35	29	30
Wrong	43	38	38
Seriously wrong	13	14	14
Very seriously wrong	3	6	6
Don't know	*	*	n/a
Base	580	474	663

We then asked young people whether they might keep the change in the same situation. The result was fairly evenly balanced, with 46 per cent saying they would and 51 per cent saying they would not. The findings have shifted slightly over time, though not in one particular direction. The biggest change between 1994 and 2003 (that five per cent more young people said "yes" in 2003) is not statistically significant.

Table 4.9 Whether personally would keep change in big store

	1994 %	1998 %	2003 %
Yes	41	47	46
No	52	43	51
Don't know	6	9	3
Base	580	474	663

When asked about the same situation occurring in a corner shop, opinions were more disapproving, though the most common answers are the same as for a big store, with 40 per cent saying this was "wrong" and 24 per cent "a bit wrong". Again the 1994 responses are less extreme than for 1998 and 2003. The proportion who thought this situation was "very seriously wrong" doubled between 1994 and 2003.

Table 4.10 Attitudes towards keeping change in a corner shop

	1994	1998	2003
	%	%	%
Nothing wrong	5	7	7
A bit wrong	24	23	24
Wrong	48	45	40
Seriously wrong	18	16	19
Very seriously wrong	5	7	10
Don't know	*	*	*
Base	580	474	663

When asked whether they would so the same in a corner shop if the situation arose, unsurprisingly a greater proportion said no than when asked about a big store (66 per cent compared to 51 per cent). The proportion saying that they would keep the change has barely changed since 1998 with around a third saying this in both years – and these figures are not significantly different from 28 per cent in 1994.

Table 4.11 Whether personally would keep change in corner shop

	1994	1998	2003
	%	%	%
Yes	28	33	32
No	68	58	66
Don't know	4	7	2
Base	580	474	663

Responses to these questions about personal morality differed according to the educational background of the adult respondent in the household, with a significant relationship being found for three out of the four 'morality' variables (the exception being whether the respondent themselves would keep change in a corner shop). So, for example, considering the question about a person keeping change in a corner shop, a quarter of those in a household where the respondent's highest qualification was at higher education level said this was "seriously wrong", compared to just 10 per cent of those where the respondent had no qualifications.

Reponses to these questions did not vary according to the young person's level of social trust. The most trusting were no more or less likely than the less trusting to think that keeping the change in such circumstances was wrong.

4.6 Prejudice and perceptions of prejudice

To what extent do young people perceive Britain to be a prejudiced society? To assess this, we asked young people about their perceptions of any differential treatment given to different groups within society. In particular, we asked about the amount of prejudice they felt existed towards different ethnic groups, and whether

they thought the amount of racial prejudice in Britain would change over the next 5 years. Finally, we asked them whether they themselves were prejudiced. Some of the questions were also asked in the previous YPSA surveys; in addition, two key measures were asked of adult respondents in the 2003 British Social Attitudes survey, meaning that various comparisons across time and age are possible.

Two different scenarios were given to respondents to assess whether they thought different types of people receive equal treatment, or whether they are treated differently:

1. Suppose two people – one white, one black – each appear in court, charged with a crime they did <u>not</u> commit. What do you think their chances are of being found <u>guilty</u>?

2. Now suppose another two people from different backgrounds – one rich, one poor - each appear in court, charged with a crime they did <u>not</u> commit. What do you think their chances are of being found <u>guilty</u>?

Generally speaking, although the majority thought that the white and black person would be treated in the same way (63 per cent), substantial proportions were not confident that the court would treat people equally regardless of their ethnicity or background. Perhaps the most striking finding is that the two situations were thought of quite differently – 55 per cent of young people thought a poor person was more likely to be found guilty, compared to 30 per cent saying this for a black person. This is particularly interesting as it could be argued that ethnicity is more apparent or visible than social background, so one might have thought that discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity could be seen as more likely. These differences in perceptions about fair treatment suggest that young people regard Britain as a society in which class and background are still important, and where the rich often do better than the poor.

However, considering the first scenario, Table 4.12 shows that there has been change over time in attitudes, with young people in 2003 appearing to have more faith in the justice system than those in previous surveys (63 per cent said the white and black people would have the same chances of being found guilty, compared to 48 per cent in 1994).

Table 4.12 Chances of white or black person being found guilty of a crime not committed

	1994	1998	2003
	%	%	%
White person more likely	3	2	5
Same chance	48	53	63
Black person more likely	44	40	30
Don't know	5	5	2
Base	580	474	663

Responses to this scenario about the likely outcomes for a white and a black person were affected by age, with the 12-15 year olds being more likely to believe the system would treat people equally (68 per cent compared to 54 per cent of 16-19 year olds), and the older group being more likely to think the black person would be found guilty (38 per cent compared to 25 per cent). Those living in a household where the adult respondent had no qualifications were more likely to say the white person would be found guilty than those where the respondent had a higher education qualification (9 per cent compared to 2 per cent). Living in an urban or a rural area did not affect responses.

Considering change over time for the second scenario (Table 4.13 below), the picture is less clear than for the first. The trend is not in one direction, as while overall there has been a significant decrease in the proportion of young people saying the poor person would be found guilty (55 per cent in 2003 compared to 64 per cent in 1994), the figure in 1998 was higher than in 1994. When we consider whether particular factors affected responses to this question, geographical location was associated, but those which affected the white/black scenario were not relevant. Young people living in an urban location were more likely to say the poor person would be found guilty than those living in rural settings (57 per cent and 46 per cent respectively).

Table 4.13 Chances of rich or poor person being found guilty of a crime not committed

	1994	1998	2003
	%	%	%
Rich person more likely	3	3	3
Same chance	30	25	40
Poor person more likely	64	70	55
Don't know	2	2	2
Base	580	474	663

In order to explore perceptions of racial prejudice in more detail, we asked young people about the amount of prejudice they felt existed in Britain towards two different ethnic groups – Asians, and black people. Their responses show that perceptions of prejudice vary according to the ethnic group in question, with young people being nearly twice as likely to think that there is a lot of prejudice against Asians than against black people (39 per cent compared to 20 per cent). Similarly, respondents were more likely to say there was hardly any prejudice against black people than against Asians – 23 and 11 per cent respectively. When we consider the patterns over time, it is clear that this differentiation has always been present, and in the same direction (that is, more prejudice is perceived to exist towards Asians than black people).

However, over and above distinctions between the ethnic groups, there is a clear reduction over time in the proportion who perceive there to be prejudice against these two groups, with the proportions saying "a lot" of prejudice reducing over time while the proportion thinking there is "hardly any" increasing with each survey. Thus, the proportion saying there is a lot of prejudice against black people

has reduced by around ten percentage points between each round of the survey – 39 per cent in 1994, 28 per cent in 1998 and 20 per cent in 2003. This is a particularly encouraging finding as it suggests that young people view Britain as a country with less racial prejudice than they did a decade ago. This trend also fits with analysis of British Social Attitudes data over time which found that levels of prejudice have reduced over time (Rothon and Heath, 2003).

Table 4.14 Perceived amount of prejudice in Britain against Asians/Black people

	19	94	19	98	20	003
	Asians	Black people	Asians	Black people	Asians	Black people
	%	%	%	%	%	%
A lot	51	39	45	28	39	20
A little	41	49	45	55	49	54
Hardly any	6	10	7	14	11	23
Don't know	1	2	3	3	2	2
Base	580	580	474	474	663	663

We also asked respondents directly whether they thought that the amount of racial prejudice in Britain in five years' time would be more, less or the same amount as now. Looking first at 12-19 year olds' views in 2003, the picture is fairly optimistic. The most common views were that there will be about the same amount (37 per cent) or less than now (36 per cent). But over one in five (23 per cent) thought that there would be more racial prejudice in 5 years.

When we compare responses to this question across the three YPSA surveys, there has been little real change in opinions - the outlook has generally tended towards a majority thinking that there will be the same or less prejudice in 5 years. This seems surprising bearing in mind the fact that the make-up of the British population has changed considerably since the early 1990s (*ibid.*), and that young people's perceptions of the amount of prejudice have changed markedly over the same time period.

However, these young people's attitudes are in stark contrast to adults in the 2003 BSA survey, where just over half of all adults thought there would be more prejudice in 5 years time (52 per cent). Only 18 per cent predicted that the amount would reduce – this is around half the proportion of young people giving this view in the same year.

Table 4.15 Amount of racial prejudice in Britain in 5 years time compared with now

	12-19 year olds			18+
	1994	1998	2003	2003
	%	%	%	%
More in 5 years	25	19	23	52
Less	35	40	36	18
About the same	36	35	37	26
Other answer	*	*	*	1
Don't know	3	6	4	4
Base	580	474	663	4432

We also asked respondents to say how prejudiced they themselves are towards people of other races. In 2003, young people were most likely to say that they were not prejudiced at all – 82 per cent gave this response. Seventeen per cent said "a little prejudiced", and just one per cent saw themselves as "very prejudiced". Previous research suggests that while this item may be assumed to be answered in a 'socially acceptable' way (that is, respondents may not be prepared to say that they are prejudiced), it is a good indicator of racial prejudice, as it correlates with more implicit measures of prejudice (Evans, 2002).

Again, there is a difference between young people's and adult's responses to this question – while few adults say they are "very prejudiced" (three per cent), the proportion saying they are "a little prejudiced" is ten percentage points higher than for young people, while being "not prejudiced at all" is the view of 69 per cent (compared to 82 per cent of young people).

There has been a reduction in the proportion saying they are prejudiced over time, with over a quarter of young people saying they were "a little prejudiced" in 1994, compared to just 17 per cent in 2003. It is noticeable that the figures from 1998 and 2003 are virtually identical.

Table 4.16 Own prejudice against people of other races

	12-19 year olds			18+
	1994	1998	2003	2003
	%	%	%	%
Very prejudiced	2	*	1	3
A little prejudiced	26	17	17	27
Not prejudiced at all	70	81	82	69
Other answer	*	*	*	1
Don't know	1	n/a	1	*
Base	580	474	663	4432

Research has shown that educational attainment is a key factor in explaining differences in racial prejudice (for example, Rothon and Heath, 2003). As the majority of our sample were still in full-time education, it was not possible to consider the relationship between their qualifications and prejudice; however, it was possible to compare the views of young people according to the educational attainment of the adult respondent in their household. This showed that young people from households where the adult respondent had a higher education qualification were half as likely to be prejudiced ("very" or "a little") than young people living in households where the adult respondent had no qualifications (12 per cent, compared to 25 per cent). This difference is similar to that found when considering the relationship between racial prejudice and an individual's *own* educational background (Rothon and Heath, 2003).

4.7 Conclusions

Overall a positive picture has emerged of young people's social networks and connectedness. Many are actively engaged in a variety of leisure activities, both as spectators and, less so, as active participants. The most popular activity by far was going to the cinema; activities which involved more direct participation were less commonly reported. It is noticeable that leisure activities were far more popular than those which suggest civic engagement (such as doing charity work or taking part in some form of protest). While boys were more likely to play sports than girls, the reverse was found for going to see a play, dance or musical show. Socioeconomic factors affected participation rates, with those in more affluent households more likely to report going to 'spectator' activities. Unsurprisingly, religious affiliation and involvement was not so widespread as participation in leisure activities.

The majority used the internet to some extent, though this was significantly more likely if they had access to the internet at home. Young people were far more likely than adults to use the internet. We found no correlation between heavy usage of the internet and social isolation (measured in this instance by involvement in leisure activities and friendship networks).

Turning to social support, almost all young people had close friends, and most had a "best friend". In addition to friendship networks, parents are clearly important sources of help in times of need. When asked who they would turn to when depressed, the majority said they would talk to their mother, with more than a third saying they would turn to their mother as their *first* choice. Turning to broader social interaction, there was a mixed picture: while a clear majority felt there was a neighbour that they could wait with if they were locked out of home, most young people seemed to lack social trust when asked about people in general.

There were no particularly strong views on questions of morality – namely, whether keeping extra change in a shop is wrong or not. Although most young people said that this was wrong to some extent, when asked whether they would personally keep the change, there was a fairly even split. Opinions were stronger when asked about the same situation occurring in a corner shop.

Perceptions of prejudice were fairly varied, with prejudice towards Asians judged to be worse than prejudice against black people. We found a marked reduction over time in the proportion who thought there was a lot of prejudice in Britain - the proportion saying this in relation to black people has halved since 1994. Young people were noticeably more optimistic than adults about the amount of prejudice in Britain in the future: over half of adults thought there would be more prejudice in 5 years, compared to less than a quarter of young people. Finally, since 1994 there has been a drop in the proportion of young people saying that they themselves are prejudiced.

5 FAMILY LIFE

There have been considerable changes in the nature of family life over the last few decades. The proportion of households which consist of a couple and their dependent children has fallen from around a third in 1971 to just over a fifth in 2003 (Social Trends, 2004). Over the same period the proportion of lone parent households with dependent children has doubled, and now stands at five per cent. Now, nearly a quarter (23 per cent) of children live in a lone-parent family. Cohabitation outside marriage has increased considerably, its rate among non-married women under 60 more than doubling since 1986, from 13 to 28 per cent.

The behaviour of those within families has also changed. This is particularly true of mothers, who are increasingly likely to be in paid work. Thus, while in 1990, 48 per cent of mothers with a child aged under five worked, by 2001 this proportion had risen to 57 per cent (Dench et al, 2002).

This chapter begins by examining young people's views of family relationships, focusing particularly on gender roles. It then considers attitudes towards marriage and parenthood, and towards the relationships between parents and children. As many of these topics were covered in the 1994 and 1998 surveys, we will consider how views on these issues have changed over time, as well as how they vary between different groups of young people. In addition to focusing on differences related to age, sex, and household characteristics such as education and income, we will also consider whether having a working mother is related to a young person's attitudes, as well as the extent to which views vary between those living in lone- and two-parent families.

5.1 Families and gender roles

Young people have become less traditional in their views about working mothers since 1994. A clear majority of young people (78 per cent) think that working mothers can establish just as good a relationship with their children as those who are not in work, up from 70 per cent in 1994. And just over a half *disagree* with the view that family life suffers when a woman works full-time (while 25 per cent agree). Disagreement with this stance has increased since 1994, though the increase is not quite statistically significant.

Although young people are now more supportive of working women than they were in 1994, their views about gender roles more generally show evidence of having hardened slightly. In 1994, nearly eight in ten disagreed (and 11 per cent agreed) with a 'traditional' view of gender roles - that it is men's responsibility to earn money while women should look after the home. Now, just over seven in ten disagree (and 17 per cent agree). Meanwhile, the proportion who think that having a job is the best way of ensuring independence for women declined, from 62 per cent in 1994 to 50 per cent in 2003. Despite these changes, in both cases the less 'traditional' view attracts a higher level of support than the traditional one.

Table 5.1 Gender roles and the family

% agree A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her	1994 70	1998 74	2003 78
child as a mother who does not work Having a job is the best way for a woman to be independent % disagree	62	61	50
All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job A man's job is to earn money; a woman's	47	45	52
is to look after the home and family	78	76	73
Base	580	474	663

Although these questions were not asked of adults in the 2003 British Social Attitudes survey, they were included in the 2002 survey. Comparing its findings with those described here shows that, in all cases, young people were more liberal than adults in their views about gender roles. For instance, over three quarters of young people (78 per cent) thought that working women can be just as good mothers as women who do not work, compared with under two-thirds (64 per cent) of adults (Crompton et al, 2003). And, while 73 per cent of young people disagreed with a traditional view of gender roles, the same was true of 63 per cent of adults.

As we found among young people in 2003, there are signs that adults' views about gender roles have hardened somewhat, having liberalised markedly during the 1980s as women's participation in the labour market increased. For instance, between 1994 and 2002, the proportion of people agreeing that "family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job" rose, from 32 to 35 per cent. Meanwhile, the proportion agreeing that having a job is the best way of ensuring female independence fell, from 59 to 53 per cent.

These changes have led to speculation that the pressures caused by women's employment on family life might be beginning to take their toll (Crompton *et al*, 2003). Were this the case, we might expect to find lower than average levels of support for working women, and a greater adherence to traditional gender stereotypes, among young people who themselves had working mothers. In fact, the relationship is precisely the opposite, with the highest support for working women, and the lowest acceptance of traditional gender roles, being found among this group. This difference was evident in responses to all four of the statements shown earlier in Table 5.1 and holds true even when household income, education and family type are taken into account.

This relationship is illustrated in Table 5.2, which shows agreement and disagreement with the view that men should earn money while women stay at home. Among those whose mothers worked, only around one in ten agreed with this view, under half the rate found among those whose mothers were in work (around a

quarter of whom agreed). Nevertheless, even among those whose mothers did not work, the less traditional view was the most prevalent one.

Table 5.2 A man's job is to earn money; a woman's is to look after the home... (12-19 year olds) by employment status of mother

	Mother in paid work	Mother not in paid work
	%	%
Agree	11	26
Neither agree nor disagree	9	14
Disagree	80	60
Base	412	251

These differences in opinion between those whose mothers did and did not work were also evident in 1994. Moreover, the pattern of change since then among these two groups is similar, suggesting that the slight hardening of views about gender roles we have found can not be accounted for by the experiences of young people with working mothers.

There were other notable difference of view on this issue. In particular, girls were less traditional in their views than boys. This difference was most notable in responses to the statement considered in Table 5.2 above. Around one in five boys (21 per cent) took a traditional approach to gender roles; among girls, only 13 per cent agreed. These differences between men and women in their views on gender roles are evident in other research among young people as well as among adults (Furnham and Gunter, 1989; Crompton et al, 2003).

The age of the young person was not as consistently related to their views about gender roles. The most notable exception to this related to the belief that family life suffers if women work, with 16-19 year olds being notably less likely than 12-15 year olds to agree (18 and 30 per cent respectively).

Beliefs about gender roles and the family were also related to the broader characteristics of the households within which young people lived. In general, those living in more affluent homes, and in homes in which the adult respondent had a higher education qualification, were the least likely to adopt a traditional approach to gender roles. This is illustrated in Table 5.3, which shows that young people in the most affluent homes were three times less likely than those in the poorest to agree with a traditional view of gender roles and responsibilities. This difference holds true irrespective of whether or not the young person's mother was in paid work.

Table 5.3 A man's job is to earn money; a woman's is to look after the home... by household income

	Household income quartile				
	Below £15,000	£15,000 - £28,999	£29,000 - £49,999	£50,000 plus	
	%	%	%	%	
Agree	30	14	8	9	
Neither agree nor disagree	15	11	6	10	
Disagree	55	73	86	81	
Base	159	142	162	129	

There was no consistent relationship between a young person's family circumstances and their views about gender roles. On the one hand, those living in two-parent families were *less* likely than those in one-parent families to agree with traditional views about gender roles (15 and 27 per cent respectively). On the other hand, those in one-parent families were *more* likely than those living with two parents to think that having a job is the best way of ensuring independence for women (58 and 49 per cent respectively). In all cases, however, these variations reflect other characteristics of the households within which young people live, most notably whether or not the young person's mother works. Once this is taken into account, there are no significant variations in view by family type.

5.2 Marriage, sex and parenthood

Recent decades have seen dramatic changes in people's behaviour in relation to marriage, sex and parenthood. These changes have been accompanied by a shift in people's attitudes, with increasing acceptance of pre-marital sex and of parenthood outside marriage (Barlow et al, 2001). Similar shifts are evident among young people. In 1994, 55 per cent agreed with the view that one parent could bring up a child as well as two parents; by 2003, 71 per cent thought this. Then, 59 per cent *disagreed* with the notion that unhappy couples should stay together "for the sake of the children", compared with 66 per cent in 2003. However, views about cohabitation show a less clear pattern. Acceptance of cohabitation, already widespread in 1994, is now found among a clear majority of young people (85 per cent). On the other hand, there has been a fall in the proportion who would *advocate* cohabitation for a couple who intend to get married. In 1994, 82 per cent of young people agreed with this, compared with 73 per cent in 2003.

Table 5.4 Gender roles and the family

% agree	1994	1998	2003
One parent can bring up a child as well as two parents	55	59	71
It is alright for a couple to live together without intending to get married	80	84	85
It is a good idea for a couple who intend to get married to live together first	82	78	73
% disagree When there are children in the family,			
parents should stay together even if they don't get along	59	58	66
Base	580	474	663

Earlier we found young people to be less traditional than adults in their views about gender roles. The same is true of their beliefs about marriage and parenthood, though in this case the differences between adults and young people are more marked. Take, for instance, the belief that one parent can bring up a child as well as two parents, a view to which 71 per cent of young people subscribe. This is nearly double the agreement found among adults, among whom only 38 per cent agree. And, while 85 per cent of young people see cohabitation as acceptable, the same is true of 69 per cent of adults. However, the latter figure disguises quite considerable age differences, with young adults being considerably more accepting than older ones. These differences between young and old largely reflect generational differences, rather than a tendency for one's views about these issues to change as one gets older (Barlow et al, 2001).

Just over a half of young people (54 per cent) thought that a man and woman having sexual relations before marriage was "not wrong at all", and a further 16 per cent thought this was rarely wrong. On this issue, adults were more liberal than young people – 62 per cent of them thought there to be nothing wrong with pre-marital sex. However, when the couple in question were both aged under 16, this pattern changed. While 61 per cent of adults thought this to be "always wrong", the same was true of only 34 per cent of young people. However, very few young people or adults thought that sex among this age group was rarely wrong, or not wrong at all (12 and 4 per cent respectively).

Boys tended to be more 'conventional' in their views than girls. Over three-quarters of girls (77 per cent) thought that one parent could bring up a child as well as two parents, compared with under two-thirds of boys (63 per cent). Boys were more than twice as likely as girls to think that parents should stay together for the sake of their children (25 and 11 per cent respectively). This mirrors British Social Attitudes research which has found that young women are notably more liberal than young men in their views on marriage and parenthood (Barlow et al, 2001).

The age of the young person was also linked to their views about marriage and parenthood, with 12 to 15 year olds tending to be more conservative in their views than 16 to 19 year olds. Among the former, one in five (21 per cent) thought that parents should stay together for the sake of their children, double the rate found among 16 to 19 year olds (11 per cent of whom agreed). Moreover, while just under a half (46 per cent) of 12 to 15 year olds thought that pre-marital sex was "not wrong at all", the same applied to over two-thirds (68 per cent) of 16 to 19 year olds.

There were some differences in view according to the circumstances of the young person's household, although these varied from one topic to another. For example, as Table 5.5 shows, when it came to whether or not one parent could do as good a job as two, those living in lower income households were more accepting than those in higher income households. This difference remained significant even when other characteristics were taken into account, including the educational background of the adult respondent and whether or not the household was a one or two-parent family.

Table 5.5 One parent can bring up a child as well as two by household income

	Household income quartile			
	Below £15,000	£15,000 - £28,999	£29,000 - £49,999	£50,000 plus
	%	%	%	%
Agree	81	78	64	62
Neither agree nor disagree	8	11	14	14
Disagree	11	9	22	23
Base	159	142	162	129

The educational status of the adult respondent was not clearly associated with differences in young people's views about marriage and parenthood. However, it was associated with notable differences in young people's attitudes towards sex, whether before marriage or under the age of consent. In both cases, the most censorious group were those young people living in households where the adult respondent had no educational qualifications at all.

Table 5.6 Attitudes to pre-marital and under-age sex (12-19 year olds) by educational status of adult respondent

	Highest education of adult			
	Degree, other HE	A level equiv.	GCSE equiv.	None
% agree				
Pre-marital sex is				
always/mostly wrong	11	8	7	19
Sex between two under 16s is				
always wrong	33	28	33	45
Base	199	118	228	107

This relationship is likely to reflect the fact that adults with no, or few, educational qualifications are more censorious about sex than other groups, and this view is then passed on to their children. This is illustrated particularly clearly in Table 5.7 which compares attitudes within the same household towards pre-marital sex. It shows that in households where the adult respondent saw pre-marital sex as "not wrong at all" over six in ten young people took the same view. By contrast, in those households where the adult thought pre-marital sex was wrong at least some of the time, only three in ten young people thought there was nothing wrong with it. Young people in the latter group were also more likely than those in the former to take the most censorious view of under-age sex – that it was "always wrong" (48 and 36 per cent respectively).

Table 5.7 Attitudes to pre-marital sex (12-19 year olds) by adult attitudes to pre-marital sex

	Adult view of pre-marital s	
	not wrong at all	always, mostly or sometimes wrong
	%	%
Young person's view of pre-marital sex		
not wrong at all always, mostly or	61	31
sometimes wrong	20	51
Base	253	<i>75</i>

5.3 Parents and children

We turn now to young people's attitudes towards the family and, specifically, the relationship between parents and children. To what extent, for instance, do young people think that parents "know best"? Is there any evidence that they find the confines of family life too restricting of their freedom? To assess this, we asked young people whether they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements about family life. The results are shown in the next table, which presents the proportion of young people who took the most 'family-centric' view of these matters.

As the table shows, nearly six in ten young people thought that parents do indeed generally know what is best for their children (while 19 per cent disagreed). A half disagreed with the proposition that children are not given enough freedom by their parents (while 26 per cent agreed). Little sign here, therefore, of a generation that feels unduly constrained by family life. This is also borne out by responses to the statement "I would rather spend time with my friends than my family"; nearly a half of young people disagreed with this proposition (and 23 per cent agreed). Finally, there was almost unanimous disagreement with the view that parental help should cease once children leave home; over eight in ten disagreed with this view, nearly ten times the proportion who agreed (9 per cent). There was little change in young people's views between 1998 and 2003.

Table 5.8 Parents and children

	1998	2003
% agree		
Parents generally know what is best for their		
children	63	59
% disagree		
Once children have left home, they should no		
longer expect help from their parents	85	82
I'd rather spend time with my friends than with		
my family	49	46
Parents nowadays don't give their children enough		
freedom	45	50
Base	474	663

In contrast to the areas considered earlier in this chapter, there were remarkably few consistent differences of view between different groups of young people. The most notable related to age, with 12 to 15 year olds tending to be more family-centric than 16 to 19 year olds. Among the former, 61 per cent agreed that parents tended to know best, compared with 54 per cent of the latter. And, while only one in five (20 per cent) of 12 to 15 year olds said they would rather spend time with friends than family, the same was true of just over a quarter (27 per cent) of 16 to 19 year olds. A relationship between age and attitudes towards the family is also apparent among adults, with younger adults being less family-centric than older groups (McGlone, Park and Roberts, 1996). However, while the differences between 12 to 15 year olds and 16 to 19 year olds no doubt primarily reflect lifecycle factors (with the younger group becoming less family-centric as they get older) it is not clear whether the same factors underpin age differences among adults. Indeed, there is evidence that the less family-centric views of younger groups reflect generational differences (whereby younger generations are less family-centric than older ones and will remain so as they age).

The only issue upon which there were significant variations between young people in different socio-economic groups related to whether parents gave children enough freedom. On this topic, young people living in less advantaged households tended to be more likely than those in more advantaged homes to think this was not the case. For instance, a third of those in homes with an annual income of under £15,000 thought that parents did not give their children enough freedom, compared with only 22 per cent of young people in homes with an annual income of £50,000 or more. It is not clear, however, whether this reflects an objective difference in the independence granted to these groups of young people, as opposed to a subjective difference in their views about what level of freedom young people should have.

We also asked young people about the extent to which they thought children should help out with various household tasks – helping make an evening meal and helping tidy up the home. We also asked young people whether they themselves did this and, if so, how often!

As Table 5.9 shows, the majority of young people (63 per cent) thought that they should help tidy up the home on a regular basis (that is, by doing this at least a few times a week). A smaller proportion thought young people should help with the evening meal – 43 per cent thought this should happen regularly. In both cases, however, a smaller proportion of young people reported *actually* helping their parents with household tasks. Nearly a half (46 per cent) said they helped with tidying up at least a few times a week, while a quarter (24 per cent) said they helped with the evening meal this often.

Table 5.9 Household chores: attitudes and behaviour

	Make evening meal %	Tidy up home %
Should help	/0	/0
Every day/nearly every day	14	28
2-5 days a week	29	35
Once a week	35	25
Less often than once a week	16	10
Never	5	3
Does help		
Every day/nearly every day	8	20
2-5 days a week	16	26
Once a week	19	26
Less often than once a week	24	16
Never	31	10
Base	663	663

There were considerable differences between boys and girls in the extent to which they reported helping out at home, with girls being significantly more likely to do so than boys. Nearly a third of girls helped with the evening meal at least a few times each week, double the rate among boys, and, while over a half of girls helped tidy the home this often, the same was true of just over a third of boys.

Table 5.10 Household chores: attitudes and behaviour

	Boys	Girls
% who		
Help with evening meal more than once a week	16	30
Help with tidying home more than once a week	36	54
Base	303	360

Perhaps not surprisingly, the circumstances within which young people lived were also related to the extent to which they helped out at home. In particular, those living in one-parent families were more likely than other groups to help with preparing dinner; 14 per cent did so every day, or nearly every day, compared with six per cent of those living in two-parent homes. Meanwhile, young people whose mothers worked were more likely than those whose mothers did not work to help out regularly with tidying up around the home. A half (49 per cent) of the former did this at least several times a week, compared with 39 per cent of those whose mothers were not working.

5.4 Conclusions

Young people have very liberal views about many of the issues considered in this chapter. A substantial majority reject 'traditional' gender roles, and most are supportive of working women. Seven in ten consider that one parent can bring up a child as well as two, and few think that parents should stay together for the sake of the children. On many of these issues, views have become more liberal still between 1994 and 2003. There are some exceptions to this, most notably in relation to gender roles (where there has been a slight shift towards a more 'traditional' view) and the advocacy of cohabitation. In both cases, however, clear majorities continue to hold the most liberal view.

There are very substantial differences of opinion between different groups of young people with, for instance, the youngest tending to be more conservative in their views about marriage than older groups. However, the most clear cut differences were between boys and girls, with girls holding notably more liberal views than boys about gender roles, working mothers and family life. Despite this, when it came to the reality of domestic life, girls were considerably more likely than boys to report regularly helping out at home.

The circumstances within which young people lived were also linked to differences of opinion. In particular, those whose mothers were in work tended to be more supportive of working women, and less accepting of traditional gender roles, than those whose mothers did not have paid jobs. Young people with working mothers were also more likely than others to help out regularly around the home, as were those in lone-parent families.

Among adults, education is strongly linked to views about gender roles and family life. In some cases, the influence of parental education is also evident among young people. In particular, those living in households where the adult respondent had a degree were more liberal in their views about gender roles and working women. They also tended to have more liberal views about pre-marital sex and sex below the age of consent.

6 EDUCATION

Education has changed markedly over the last few decades, and continues to do so. Significant developments include the establishment of a national curriculum and the expansion of higher education. Within this, each cohort of school leavers achieve better results than their predecessors. In this chapter we focus upon young people's experiences within education to date and, in particular, upon their views about what should and does happen at school.

We begin by considering attitudes towards the way in which schooling is organised, focusing on views about selective schooling, formal examinations, and the age at which young people specialise in particular subjects. We also examine whether young people perceive there to be gender differences in school. We then examine their views about the appropriate roles of parents and children in determining both what is taught at school and what punishments are used. We also find out about the perceived prevalence of bullying other pupils and pupils threatening teachers, and examine what punishments are seen as appropriate in these circumstances.

As in previous chapters, where possible we look at changes in attitudes over time and assess how different groups of young people differ in their attitudes, for example by sex, age, and the characteristics of the household in which they live. In addition, we also examine the small proportion of young people who had attended private school; around eight per cent of the sample. While the number of respondents in this category is small (only 56), their experiences and views might be expected to differ radically from those of other young people. In doing this, however, it must be borne in mind that these respondents will have a distinctive socioeconomic profile; of those young people who attended private school, 55 per cent had parents with a higher education qualification, and 43 per cent were in the highest income quartile.

6.1 The organisation of schooling

As Table 6.1 shows, two thirds of young people opposed the idea of children going to different secondary schools according to their performance at primary school, the same proportion as was found in 1994. Opposition among young people is markedly higher than it is among adults, a half of whom thought children should go to different secondary schools according to how well they did at primary school.

Table 6.1 Secondary school selection on ability

	12-19 year olds		18+	
	1994	2003	2003	
% Agree	%	%	%	
Children should go to a different kind of secondary school according to how well	30	31	48	
All children should go to the same kind of secondary school no matter how well	67	67	50	
or badly they do at primary school Base	580	663	4432	

Young people who had attended private school were more likely than those who had not to support selective schooling. There were no differences by sex, and the adult respondents' education or income played no obvious role. Given the difference in views between young people and adult respondents, age might have been expected to be important in determining young people's views. However, the differences found were not significant and the reverse of what would have been predicted: more 12 to 15 year olds than 16 to 19 year olds thought children should go to a different kind of school based on their performance at primary school.

Views towards the effectiveness of exams were divided - 44 per cent agreed that they were the best way of judging the ability of pupils, and 42 per cent disagreed. These proportions did not differ significantly from those found in 1994.

Table 6.2 "Formal exams are the best way of judging the ability of pupils"

	1994	2003
	%	%
Agree	46	44
Neither agree nor disagree	14	14
Disagree	38	42
Base	580	663

Boys and girls did not differ in their views, but 12 to 15 year olds were more likely than 16 to 19 year olds to agree that formal exams are the best way to judge a pupil's ability. It is notable that support for exams is lowest among the age group with the most experience of them.

There were no differences of view associated with whether or not the young person had attended private school. However, there were some notable socio-economic differences, with young people in more advantaged households being the least supportive of exams (despite being the group who tend to do better in them). For instance, as Table 6.3 shows, young people in households with an annual income in the top quartile were the most likely to disagree with the view that exams are the

best way of judging pupils (54 per cent), while those in households whose income was in the bottom quartile were the least likely to disagree (33 per cent).

Table 6.3 "Formal exams are the best way of judging the ability of pupils" by household income

	Household income quartile			
	Below £15,000	£15,000 - £28,999	£29,000 - £49,999	£50,000 plus
	%	%	%	%
Agree	52	49	36	34
Neither agree/disagree	15	15	16	12
Disagree	33	36	48	54
Base	159	142	162	129

Similarly, as seen in Table 6.4, the higher the education level of the adult, the more likely the young person was to disagree - 56 per cent of those in households where the adult had a higher education qualification and only 25 per cent of those in homes where the adult had no qualifications at all.

Table 6.4 "Formal exams are the best way of judging the ability of pupils" (12-19 year olds) by adult's education

	Highest qualification of adult			lt
	Higher education	A level equiv.	GCSE equiv.	None
	%	%	%	%
Agree	29	42	47	62
Neither agree/disagree	15	16	14	13
Disagree	56	42	38	25
Base	199	118	228	107

Young people were also fairly evenly split over whether pupils have to decide to specialise in subjects too early. As Table 6.5 shows, 44 per cent agreed that they had to specialise too young, while 35 per cent disagreed. These views had not changed significantly since 1994.

Table 6.5 "On the whole pupils are too young when they have to decide which subjects to specialise in"

	1994	2003
	%	%
Agree	42	44
Neither agree nor disagree	18	19
Disagree	38	35
Base	580	663

Sixteen to nineteen year olds were more likely to think the decision took place too early than 12 to 15 year olds, possibly reflecting the fact that they will have already passed the point in their schooling at which specialisation occurs. Those who had attended private school did not have significantly different views to those who had not; neither were adult respondents' income or education related to variations in opinion.

6.2 Gender differences at school

In order to assess perceptions of gender differences in school we asked young people who they thought worked harder in lessons, who cared more about doing well in school, and who actually did better.

Clearly, as Tables 6.6 and 6.7 show, young people felt girls both work harder in, and care more about, school than boys. Almost three in five young people believed girls work harder than boys, whereas two in five believed there was no real difference between them. The number who felt boys worked harder was so small as to be inconsequential. These figures do not differ significantly to those found in 1998. When it came to whether girls care more about doing well at school, just over a half of young people felt this was the case, and the proportion thinking boys did was again tiny.

Table 6.6 Who works harder at school?

	1998	2003
	%	%
Boys work harder	2	1
Girls work harder	61	58
No real difference	36	41
Base	474	663

Table 6.7 Who cares more about doing well at school?

	1998	2003
	%	%
Boys care more	1	2
Girls care more	55	52
No real difference	43	45
Base	474	663

Girls were slightly more likely than boys to think girls worked the hardest, though this difference was not significant (60 per cent compared to 54 per cent). Only a tiny proportion of boys thought that they worked harder than girls (2 per cent of boys compared to 0 per cent of girls). Sixteen to nineteen year olds were a little more likely than 12 to 15 year olds to believe girls worked harder than boys (62 per cent compared to 55 per cent, though this was not significant). Household income, the education level of the adult respondent, and whether the young person attended a private school were not linked with variations in views about how hard boys and girls worked at school.

Girls were also more likely than boys to think girls cared more about their school work (56 per cent compared to 48 per cent). Sixteen to nineteen year olds did not differ to 12 to 15 year olds in their views about who cared most about doing well at school. Household income, the adult respondent's education level, and the young person's attendance at private school were, however, linked to young people's views about this. In particular, young people in households where the adult respondent had a higher education qualification were more likely than those in households where the adult respondent had GCSE equivalent or less to see no real differences in this respect between boys and girls. In other words, the higher the educational background of the adult respondent, the less the young person saw gender disparity in how much boys and girls care about their school work.

Despite girls being perceived by most to care more about their school work, and to work harder, fewer young people thought this was reflected in how well they actually did. As Table 6.8 shows, two in five young people thought girls actually did better than boys in the end, while nearly three in five thought that boys and girls did about the same.

Table 6.8 In the end who do you think does better at school?

	1998	2003
	%	%
Boys do better	3	3
Girls do better	39	39
About the same	56	57
Base	474	663

This finding is made all the more interesting when we consider that it is factually incorrect; girls continually outperform boys at all levels of education. It is at least partially explained by the fact that 12 to 15 year olds were less likely than 16 to 19 year olds to think girls do better (34 per cent compared to 49 per cent), and were more likely to think girls and boys do about the same (63 per cent compared to 47 per cent). This age difference is likely to reflect the fact that the older group will have had more experience of schooling, exams and results. So, those who have gone through at least one set of national exams or are about to, realise the higher achievement of girls. In contrast those in the younger age group will have had less exposure to such objective measures of attainment.

6.3 Parental and young people's involvement in decision making

6.3.1 The school curriculum

Next, we consider how much say young people think parents and children should have over what is taught in schools. To assess this, we asked "How much say should parents have in what is taught in schools?" and "How much say should children have in what is taught in schools?".

Table 6.9 shows that young people were very keen for parents to be consulted in some way. The most common view was that they should have some of the say (44 per cent). Only two per cent thought parents should have no say at all, and only a small minority thought parents should have all of the say.

When it came to children's involvement, there was less enthusiasm for their involvement than there was for parents. Just over a third (36 per cent) thought children should have at least quite a bit of the say, compared with the 43 per cent who thought this of adults. Half as many young people thought parents should have not much say or no say at all as thought children should (13 per cent and 26 per cent). Overall, three-quarters of young people thought children should have at least some say.

Comparisons between 1994 and 2003 show some change in views about parental involvement, with a movement towards young people believing parents should have less say. The proportion who chose not very much or none at all doubled over the period (from 7 per cent to 13 per cent, which was significant).

Table 6.9 Views on parents' and children's say in what is taught in schools

	12-19 year olds			
	Parents		Children	
	1994	2003	1994	2003
Should have	%	%	%	%
All of the say	7	8	7	7
Quite a bit of the say	38	36	27	29
Some of the say	47	44	41	38
Not very much of the say/No say at all	7	13	24	26
Base	580	663	580	663

Twelve to fifteen year olds were more likely than 16 to 19 year olds to think children should have all or quite a bit of the say (39 per cent compared to 30 per cent).

Interestingly, whether the young person had ever attended a private school was associated with their views. Those who had not were more likely to think that parents should have all or quite a bit of the say than those who had (45 per cent compared to 30 per cent). Further, young people who had not attended a private school were more supportive of children's input than those who had done so (nearly two in five of the former thought children should have all or quite a bit of the say, compared with one in five of the latter).

The educational background and income of the adult respondent in the young person's household were also important factors in explaining opinions. As shown in Table 6.10, young people in households where the adult respondent had no qualifications were significantly more in favour of parents having all of the say than those where the adult had any qualifications. This mirrors the finding in Chapter 3 that young people in less socio-economically advantaged homes tend to be more deferential towards older people than those from more advantaged backgrounds.

Table 6.10 Views on parents' say in what is taught in schools (12-19 year olds) by adult's education

	Highest qualification of adult			
	Higher education	A level equiv.	GCSE equiv.	None
	%	%	%	%
All of the say	3	5	8	17
Quite a bit of the say	34	36	37	39
Some of the say	49	42	41	41
Not very much of the say	12	14	13	2
No say at all	2	3	1	-
Base	199	118	228	107

Likewise, those young people in households where income was in the lowest quartile tended to be more in favour of parents having all of the say than those where the household income was higher. At the same time, however, young people from households with a higher income also tended to be less supportive of children having an input. Forty-five per cent among the lowest quartile compared to 27 per cent among the highest quartile thought children should have all or quite a bit of the say.

6.3.2 Punishment used in schools

There was a very high level of support for parents having at least some of the say in the kinds of punishments to be used at school (85 per cent). Only three per cent of young people felt they should have no say at all.

Table 6.11 Views on parents' and children's say over punishment used in schools

	12-19 year olds			
	Par	ents	Children	
	1994	2003	1994	2003
Should have	%	%	%	%
All of the say	19	9	7	5
Quite a bit of the say	36	37	18	16
Some of the say	31	39	35	34
Not very much of the say	9	12	23	31
No say at all	5	3	15	14
Base	580	663	580	663

Girls were more likely to favour parents having a say on this matter than boys (50 per cent compared to 42 per cent thought they should have all or quite a bit of the say). There were no differences between the views of 12 to 15 year olds and 16 to 19 year olds. Comparing views on parents' say for 1994 and 2003 shows that the percentage of young people who thought parents should have all or quite a bit of the say fell from 55 per cent to 46 per cent, and the proportion believing parents should have all of the say halved.

A similar story with respect to the adult respondents' education and income emerges as in the previous section. Generally, the more educated the adult respondent and the higher the household income, the less the young person believed parents should have a considerable input. The general pattern found previously existed also for young people who had attended a private school, namely that they were less supportive of parents having an input.

As was the case with the school curriculum, there was a higher level of support for parents having a substantial input than there was for children having a substantial input. While 46 per cent thought parents should have at least quite a bit of the say in

which punishments are used at school, only 20 per cent took this view about children.

Boys were more likely than girls to think that children should have all or most of the say (almost one quarter of boys thought this, compared to 18 per cent of girls). Twenty-three per cent of 12 to 15 year olds felt children should have all or most of the say, compared to only 15 per cent of 16 to 19 year olds. Forty-two per cent of 12 to 15 year olds felt children (which would include themselves) should not have any say in the punishments used at school.

No relationships were found between the education level of the adult respondent and young people's views on children's involvement in discipline. Nor was attendance at a private school related to views on this. However, young people living in a household where the income was in the top quartile were more likely than those where the income was in the bottom quartile to think children should have not very much of the say or no say at all.

6.4 Bullying and threatening behaviour

The percentage of young people who said there was "a lot" of bullying at their (most recent) school remained the same in 2003 as it was in 1998, and was considerably below that reported in 1994 (21 per cent compared to 28 per cent). Unfortunately the percentage who reported "a little" bullying has increased slightly, though insignificantly, since 1998, and now includes almost three out of five young people. The norm appears to be at least a little bullying in schools. The percentage who reported no bullying was virtually the same as 1998, but higher than 1994 although again this was not significant.

Table 6.12 Students get bullied...

	1994	1998	2003
	%	%	%
A lot	28	21	21
A little	54	57	59
Not at all	17	21	20
Base	580	474	663

We also asked young people whether teachers got threatened by students at their (most recent) school. Almost one tenth of young people said this happened a lot, a similar level to that reported in 1994. Nearly two in five young people thought teachers were threatened a little, the same level as in previous years. The majority said it did not happen at all, an increase on the proportion who thought that in 1994.

Table 6.13 Teachers get threatened...

	1994	1998	2003
	%	%	%
A lot	11	6	9
A little	40	39	38
Not at all	46	53	52
Base	580	474	663

There was no difference in the levels of bullying or teachers being threatened reported by boys and girls. However, there were notable age differences in relation to bullying. Among 12 to 15 year olds, almost one quarter felt there was a lot of bullying at their school, whereas only 17 per cent of 16 to 19 year olds felt similarly. Of the younger age group, 64 per cent said there was a little bullying, but only 51 per cent of the older. This may reflect the realities of bullying, or it may reflect differing interpretations of what constitutes bullying.

There were significant differences in the levels of bullying reported by those who had and had not been to private school, such that one third of the former said it had not happened at all, compared to one fifth of the latter. Only 13 per cent of those who had been to private school reported a lot of bullying, compared to 21 per cent of those who had not. Those who had attended private schools were significantly more likely than those who had not to say that teachers were never threatened by students (80 and 49 per cent respectively).

There were also notable differences between young people in more and less advantaged households. Those in homes where the adult respondent had a higher education qualification were less likely to report a lot of bullying than those where the adult had no qualifications (16 and 27 per cent respectively). And, while only 15 per cent of those in homes in the top income quartile reported a lot of bullying, the same was true of 26 per cent of those in the bottom quartile.

We asked young people how they thought bullies and those who threatened teachers should be dealt with. Views about bullies remained broadly constant with those of young people from 1994 and 1998, the dominant view being that they should be dealt with within the school, and the least favoured being suspension. Compared to previous years, however, the level of support for the three options has converged, with support for expulsion increasing to one third, support for suspension increasing to 27 per cent, and support for dealing with bullies within the school decreasing to 39 per cent.

Table 6.14 Punishment for bullying

1994	1998	2003
%	%	%
31	30	33
26	24	27
40	44	39
580	474	663
	% 31 26 40	% % 31 30 26 24 40 44

There were no sex differences in young people's views about how best to deal with bullies. Twelve to fifteen year olds were equally supportive of expelling and suspending bullies (30 per cent), whereas the 16 to 19 year olds favoured expulsion over suspension (37 per cent to 21 per cent). Young people who had and had not attended a private school differed significantly in their views on the punishment of bullies. Those who had attended private schools were significantly less likely (21 per cent) to favour expelling bullies than those who had not (34 per cent). However there did appear to be a preference among those who had been to private school for suspension over expulsion (34 per cent and 21 per cent), with the reverse true for those who had not been to private school (26 per cent and 34 per cent).

Views on how to punish a person threatening a teacher were also fairly consistent with previous years' findings, although there was some hardening in people's views. This scenario was treated more seriously by young people than bullying; almost three out of five thought this situation warranted expulsion, a far higher proportion than took this view about bullying.

Table 6.15 Punishment for person threatening teacher

	1994 %	1998 %	2003 %
Expelled	53	57	59
Suspended	23	21	21
Other, but stay in school	21	21	19
Base	580	474	663

There was a significant difference between boys and girls when it came to dealing with a pupil who had threatened a teacher. Boys were considerably more likely to take a hard line, with 67 per cent wanting expulsion and 16 per cent suspension, whereas only 51 per cent and 24 per cent respectively of girls supported those measures. No age differences were apparent in relation to dealing with those who threaten teachers, nor was attendance at private school, household income or adult respondent's educational level.

6.5 Conclusions

These findings paint an interesting picture of contemporary school life. On issues such as examinations and subject specialisation, young people appear relatively divided, both on the extent to which examinations are the best way of judging their ability and on whether they have to choose which subjects to specialise in too young. A clear majority, however, prefer a non-selective education system to a selective one (in contrast to adults, where opinion is more divided).

When it came to doing well at school, there was a clear perception that girls care more about their school work, and work harder, than boys. Curiously, however, fewer thought that girls actually did better than boys in the end.

There was a clear desire among young people for both parents and children to have an influence over what punishments are used in schools as well as what is taught there. Interestingly, young people from more educated and wealthy backgrounds were less supportive of parents and children having a big influence than were young people from other backgrounds. On both issues young people saw parents' input as being more important than children's.

Bullying is still common in schools, and is seemingly more frequent at state schools than private schools, at least in the eyes of the pupils. Although most young people did not report teachers having been threatened at their school, there was still a high number who did, again particularly among those who had attended state schools. Harsher punishments were wanted for pupils who threatened teachers than for those who bullied, particularly among boys. It is notable that we found relatively few changes in the experiences of young people in this respect over the last decade. This clearly gives ground for concern.

7 WORK AND THE FUTURE

The previous chapter examined young people and their attitudes towards education and schooling. Here we focus on the next stage in a young person's life, about which there is considerable policy and research interest. A key theme in the literature is *transition* –between childhood and adulthood, dependence and independence, and education and employment (Morrow and Richards, 1998). At age 16 in particular, there are a number of different routes open to young people, including continuing in education, training for work, or entering employment. And, of course, at this age, young people are close to leaving home and becoming independent of their parents in terms of finances, housing and relationships.

In recent years, government policy has paid particular attention to young people and their transitions between education and work. Recent initiatives, such as the Connexions service (which provides advice for 13-19 year olds) have addressed the individual needs of young people. A dialogue between government and young people ("Listen Up") in 1999 asked for their views and requirements in terms of education and transitions into adulthood (Home Office, 2000). In the future, an important source of data is likely to be the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE) which will follow a large cohort of young people from age 13/14 until they reach their mid-twenties (Centre for Longitudinal Studies website¹).

There have also been initiatives in education, such as the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) which was introduced to give some financial encouragement to young people to pursue post-compulsory education. This emphasis on encouraging education or training post-16 is not surprising, as there is clear evidence that those who fail to enter work, training or education at the age of 16 have a poorer future ahead of them than those who make different decisions. Together with the government's aim of raising the skills of the British workforce, and the target of increasing the number going into higher education, the message about the need for continued education is clear.

While education forms one important part of the picture, it is also important to consider young people's first steps towards adulthood and their ambitions for their future lives, including their views about work. Although there has been considerable research into work orientation in recent years, this has tended to focus upon the adult workforce rather than young people. Much of the literature in the last decade or so has discussed changes in commitment to work and the values that people attach to work (see for example, Russell, 1998).

In this chapter we explore these issues by examining a range of different topics which relate to this transitional period for young people. We begin by looking at young people's expectations about the future – in particular, about routes after post-16 education, and first steps towards independence such as leaving home. We go on to consider work orientation (that is, attitudes and commitment towards paid work),

¹ http://www.cls.ioe.ac.uk/Lsyp/mainlsyp.htm

perceptions of gender equality in the workplace, ambitions for the future, and finally, young people's perceptions of the factors needed to succeed in life.

For the topics discussed in this chapter, we do not have comparable measures for adult respondents from the British Social Attitudes survey. However, where possible, we will examine change over time among young people. As always, we also try to discern the factors associated with variations in young people's attitudes. Do, for instance, young people from households with higher educational qualifications value education more highly and intend to stay on for longer in education than those from households without such qualifications? Does the work status of adults in the household affect young people's views about work?

7.1 Future expectations

Before considering general attitudes towards work, we asked young people to think about their more immediate expectations as to their steps towards adult life and independence. We looked at three elements – leaving full-time education, getting a job, and leaving home for the first time – the literature notes that the latter is a key event in the transition towards independence.

When considering the ages at which young people leave full-time education, we have defined three stages: leaving at the end of compulsory schooling (age 16); staying on for just one or two more years (leaving at the age of 17 or 18); and continuing into higher education (remaining in education until 19 or older). When we asked young people who were still in full-time education at what age they thought they would finish, just one in ten thought they would leave at the age of 16. This is encouraging, as previous research has found an association between early exit from education and limited career prospects, as well as other restricted life chances (Croll and Moses, 2003). Around a quarter expected to stay on for a further year or two (24 per cent), and the majority expected to go on to higher education (61 per cent).

How do these expectations compare with actual behaviour? Croll and Moses in their analysis of the British Household Panel Study, found that young people's intentions are a strong predictor of later behaviour; they also found that just over 70 per cent of young people actually do stay in full-time education post age 16 (2003).

Table 7.1 shows that there has been a significant change in expectations over time, with the key change between 1998 and 2003: an increase of nine percentage points in the proportion who said they expected to stay in education until the age of 19 or over. There has also been a significant decrease in the proportion who expect to leave at 16, down from 14 per cent in 1994 to ten per cent in 2003. These findings quite possibly reflect the government's highly visible target of increasing the number of young people who stay in education or training post-16, and in particular, the proportion who go into higher education. Judging from our findings, there has certainly been an increase in those who expect to stay on in education past age 18 – above the actual government target of 50 per cent.

Table 7.1 Expectation of when will finish full-time continuous education

	1994	1998	2003
16	14	11	10
17 or 18	27	27	24
19 or over	50	52	61
Don't know	8	8	3
Base	482	397	554

Base: all 12-19 year olds excluding those 16-19 year olds not in full-time education

There was a difference between the expectations of boys and girls, with boys being more likely than girls to say they would leave education early (15 and 7 per cent respectively thought they would leave at 16). This corresponds with other findings about intentions to stay in education (Croll and Moses, 2003). This also reflects reality, as more girls (73 per cent) than boys (64 per cent) continue in post-16 education (Home Office, 2000).

There is a well-documented link between the routes young people take at age 16 and their parents' education and occupation status (Payne, 2002). Our findings clearly confirm this. We found that young people living in a household where the adult respondent had no qualifications were far less likely to think they would stay on in education to age 19 or over than those where the respondent had a higher education level qualification (52 per cent² compared to 70 per cent). Household income was also strongly related to young people's expectations, with over three-quarters (76 per cent) of those in the highest income quartile saying they would stay on in education until 19 or over, compared to under a half (47 per cent) of those in the lowest income quartile.

We then asked the reasons why young people thought they would leave home, and the age at which they expected to do so (Table 7.2 below). The most popular answer, chosen by 38 per cent, was that they would leave to go to university or college. It is interesting that this figure is notably lower than the proportion who said they thought they would carry on into higher education (61 per cent in Table 7.1 above) – though of course this doesn't necessarily require leaving home.

Nearly a third of young people mentioned leaving home in order to be independent. Much smaller proportions mentioned employment or a relationship as reasons for leaving home: just one in seven thought they would leave home in order to find or start work, and just over one in ten said they would leave to move in with a partner (11 per cent).

There have been slight changes over time in young people's anticipated reasons for leaving home. There has been an increase in the proportion who say they will leave to go to university or college from 33 per cent in 1998 to 38 per cent in 2003. This ties in with our earlier finding that there has been an increase in the proportion of young

² This should be treated with caution, as the base for this sub-group is less than 100 [n=83].

people expecting to go into higher education. In addition, there has been a significant increase in the proportion saying they would leave home to start or to find work – from eight to 15 per cent in five years.

Table 7.2 Reason anticipated for leaving home

1998	2003
%	%
33	38
35	32
8	15
14	11
5	5
463	649
	% 33 35 8 14 5

Note: multi-coded variable therefore percentages total more than 100

Base: All 12-19 year olds living with parent(s)

Which factors are related to reasons for moving out of the parental home? We found that girls were much more likely than boys to say they would leave in order to go to university or college (43 per cent compared to 33 per cent). This gender difference is apparent even when other factors (such as the age at which the person expected to leave education, household income, age, mother's work status and whether the young person is in paid work) were taken into account.

The educational status of the adult respondent in the household also had an impact: half of those living with a respondent with a higher education qualification said they would leave home to go to university, compared to just under a quarter (24 per cent) of those in a household where the respondent had no qualifications. This remained an important predictor even when household income and a range of other factors were taken into account.

Boys were markedly more likely than girls to say they would move out of the parental home in order to start or find work. Twenty-two per cent of boys gave this answer, compared to just nine per cent of girls. Although we might expect geographical mobility to be associated with the young person's current location – for example, those living in rural areas might be more likely to feel they have to move to find work –there were no significant differences between those living in a rural location and those in urban locations.

Perhaps surprisingly, apart from moving out "to be independent", the reasons given did not vary by the age of the respondent. Here, older respondents (38 per cent) were more likely to say they would leave home in order to be independent than younger ones (29 per cent). Finally, moving in with a partner or spouse was associated with household income: respondents living in households in the lowest income quartile were much more likely to say this than those in the highest income quartile (17 per cent compared to 3 per cent).

In terms of the age at which young people expected to leave home (Table 7.3) we found that nearly half of young people expected to move out aged 18 or 19; the mean age was 19, and the modal age was 18. One third thought they would be older than this before leaving home (20 per cent at age 20-21, and 12 per cent age 22 or over). Just one in ten young people expected to leave home at the relatively young age of 16 or 17. When we compare responses from 1998 and 2003 there are no particular patterns or changes.

Table 7.3 Age when expect to move out of parent's home

	1998	2003
Age	%	0/0
16-17	8	10
18-19	48	47
20-21	21	20
22-23	8	5
24-25	6	6
26+	1	1
Don't know	9	11
Mean	19.5	19.4
Mode	18	18
Base	454	649

Base: All 12-19 year olds living with parent(s)

Girls were more likely than boys to say they would leave home aged 18 or 19. Just over half (51 per cent) thought this, compared to 43 per cent of boys. This no doubt reflects the fact that a higher proportion of girls intended to leave home to go to university or college than boys. We also found an association with household income and the educational status of the adult respondent. Those in more socio-economically advantaged homes were more likely to anticipate moving out at 18 or 19 than those in less advantaged homes. For example, 55 per cent of those in the highest income quartile thought they would leave home at 18 or 19, compared with 39 per cent of those in the lowest quartile. Again, this is likely to reflect the different reasons young people have for moving away from home.

It seems then that young people's expectations are constrained by circumstances, though the questions we asked do not allow us to pick up on specific 'push' (or negative) factors contributing to these responses. When we looked at the reasons for leaving by the age at which young people expected to leave home, we found a clear association between leaving at 18 or 19 and moving out to go to university – nearly six out of ten (58 per cent) of those who said they would leave at this age mentioned university as a reason for leaving, compared to just under two in ten (19 per cent) of those who expect to leave age 20 or 21. However, the bases of each age group are small, so comparisons with other age bands are not possible.

We also asked young people whether they had any concerns about getting a job after leaving education. More than six in ten were not worried at all (62 per cent), with a further two in ten having just "an occasional doubt" (Table 7.4). Just four per cent were particularly worried about getting a job.

How should we interpret these findings? On the one hand, they may simply reflect the fact that many young people will not have given this issue much thought, and are therefore not likely to be too worried about it. Alternatively, however, it might simply be that young people are responding to the objective realities of the modern labour market. After all, it is certainly the case that the first years of the 21st Century have been marked by levels of unemployment far lower than those in the 1990s – 5.2 per cent in the Spring of 2002 compared to 9.8 per cent in the same period in 1994 (Labour Market Trends, July 2003).

The latter explanation is supported by the fact that young people's concern about finding work has decreased markedly over time. In 1994, for instance, under three in ten (28 per cent) said they were not at all worried about the prospect of finding a job; in 2003 more than double this proportion said they were not worried (62 per cent).

Table 7.4 Worries about getting a job after education

	1994	1998	2003
Big worry	13	7	4
A bit of a worry	38	19	12
An occasional doubt	18	20	20
No worry	28	48	62
Base	479	391	551

Base: all 12-19 year olds excluding those 16-19 year olds not in full-time education

There were no significant differences in concern about getting a job among different age groups. Sex was associated, with boys being more likely than girls to say they were *not* worried about getting a job (68 per cent and 58 per cent respectively).

Household income was not a relevant factor, but the work status of the adult respondent and partner was significant – just one per cent of those living in a household where both the adult respondent and partner were working said finding work was "a big worry" for them, compared to 11 per cent of those living in a household where the adult respondent (and partner) did not work. It seems that those who live with adults who do not work are more concerned than others about finding work for themselves.

7.2 Work orientation

Much has been written in the last decade or so about commitment to work and the values that people attach to work (see for example, Russell, 1998). Interest in these issues has been located within broader changes in the labour market, and notably, in the high unemployment of the last decades of the 20th Century. Writing about young people in 2003 seems far-removed from this context, partly as labour market

conditions are now dramatically different, with Britain currently experiencing high levels of employment. In addition, asking young people about their orientation to work is not straightforward, as many have not yet had experience of paid employment. However, by asking such questions we aim to tap into their future expectations about work and life generally, and their responses are likely to reflect attitudes towards employment held by parents or others around them.

We begin by focusing on two different aspects of work orientation: the value of paid work (and specifically whether a job is valued in itself, or only for its extrinsic value of earning money); and the relative importance of paid work compared with other things in life. First, we asked respondents how much they agreed or disagreed with the statement "A job is just a way to earn money – nothing more". More than seven out of ten young people (72 per cent) disagreed with this purely financial commitment to work. However a significant minority, over one in seven (16 per cent), agreed with the statement, and therefore appear to value paid work solely in financial terms (Table 7.5 below).

There has been a marked change since we first asked this question in 1998, with young people now being *less* likely to view a job in purely financial terms than they were five years ago (in 1998, 55 per cent disagreed with the statement, compared with 72 per cent in 2003). While we only have two observations over time (and therefore should be wary of considering this a trend), it is worth reflecting that this change does mirror a debate in the literature about changing values in society, and how these affect views about employment. For example, it has been argued that we are moving from a focus on materialist values towards post-materialist values. When it comes to jobs, this implies a shift from maximising income towards interesting and meaningful work (Inglehart, in Russell 1998).

We also wanted to know how young people viewed work *relative* to other things in life. Agreement with the statement "People should work hard even if it interferes with the rest of their lives", with its implication that hard work can have a negative impact on people's lives, can be taken to suggest a strong work ethic. We obtained a fairly balanced response to this question, with around a third agreeing (32 per cent), and just more than this disagreeing (38 per cent). Responses have not changed significantly over time on this measure.

Finally we found little support for the idea that work is the most central aspect of people's lives. Three quarters (74 per cent) agreed that "there are far more important things in life than paid work", up from two thirds in 1998.

In summary, therefore, most young people feel there are far more important things than paid work (and more do so now than did five years ago), but they also reject the notion that a job is just a way to earn money (again, with an increase since 1998). Overall, this might be taken to suggest a move away from a focus upon economic activity *per se*, and an increased interest in seeking fulfilment or happiness – either through interesting employment, or in things outside paid work. Both support the post-materialist arguments mentioned earlier, which indicate an increasing focus on interesting and meaningful work, and on non-work activities (Russell, 1998).

Table 7.5 Attitudes to work

	1998	2003
% agree		
A job is just a way to earn money - nothing more	25	16
People should work hard even if it interferes with		
the rest of their lives	31	32
There are far more important things in life than		
paid work	66	74
Base	471 ³	663

³ Smallest base

The extent to which young people stressed the financial purpose of work varied according to a number of factors, notably sex, household income, and educational level of the adult British Social Attitudes respondent (age and whether the young person had a job were not significantly related). In particular, girls were more likely than boys to disagree with this purely financial view of work (77 per cent compared to 67 per cent). This ties in with previous research which has found that boys are more likely than girls to value earnings when they consider employment (Morris et al., 1999).

Young people in homes where the adult respondent had no qualifications were more likely to stress the financial value of work than those in homes where the adult respondent had a higher education qualification (20 per cent and 9 per cent respectively). Similarly, those living in lower income households were more likely to stress the financial value of work than those in more affluent homes. As Table 7.6 below shows, those living in households in the lowest income quartile were around three times more likely than those in the highest quartile to agree with the statement and to rate a job in terms of money alone. After taking account of age, sex, and the educational level of the adult respondent, household income remained a strong predictor of attitudes to this statement.

Table 7.6 "A job is just a way to earn money – nothing more" by household income

	Household income quartile			
	Below £15,000	£15,000 - £28,999	£29,000 - £49,999	£50,000 plus
	%	%	%	%
Agree	23	14	11	8
Neither agree/disagree	14	13	9	8
Disagree	63	73	79	84
Base	159	142	162	129

When it comes to the belief that people should work hard even if it interferes with other aspects of their lives, the factors which affected responses were quite different. This time, the young person's age, and the work status of the adult respondent (and partner) were relevant factors (while sex, household income and the educational qualification of the adult respondent were not). Most notably, older young people (aged 16-19) were *more* likely to disagree with the statement than those aged 12-15 (50 per cent compared to 32 per cent). This possibly reflects the fact that the older group may be more likely to be working themselves, or that they are closer to starting a life of paid work. This explanation is lent support by the fact that young people of any age (12-19) who were doing some paid work were more likely than those who were not doing any paid work to disagree with the view that people should work hard even if it interferes with the rest of their life (45 per cent compared to 35 per cent).

The work status of adults in the household is also linked to differences of view. As shown in Table 7.7, those living in households where the adult respondent (and partner) *did not* work were the most likely to agree that people should work hard even if it interferes with other aspects of their lives. This appears to be in line with past research among adults which has found that those who are unemployed are no less committed to work than others (e.g. Russell, 1998).

Table 7.7 "People should work hard even if it interferes with the rest of their lives" (12-19 year olds) by adult work status

	Work status of adult respondent (and partner)			
	Couple, both working	Lone parent, working	Couple, one working	No-one working (couple/lone parent)
	%	%	%	%
Agree	28	28	36	41
Neither agree/disagree	30	28	29	30
Disagree	42	44	34	30
Base	296	119	133	115

7.3 Gender inequality at work

Chapter 5 discussed young people's views about gender roles within the family and the extent to which women (particularly mothers) should work. Here we consider young people's attitudes towards two aspects of gender equality at work – levels of pay, and men and women's relative chances of getting "top jobs".

Our findings suggest that while around a half of young people think that there is equality at work (49 per cent for levels of pay, and 50 per cent in relation to top jobs), at least a third think that these things are worse or much worse for women (37 per cent for levels of pay, and 34 per cent for top jobs).

More encouragingly, perhaps, positive perceptions of gender equality at work have increased over the last five years. This is most marked when the chances of women getting top jobs are considered: there has been an increase of ten percentage points in the proportion who feel there is no difference between women and men (50 per cent compared to 40 per cent in 1998), and a significant reduction in the proportion saying that women's chances of getting top jobs are worse or much worse (34 per cent in 2003 compared to 44 per cent in 1998).

Table 7.8 Women compared to men with same education and jobs

	Levels of pay		Chances of ge	etting top jobs
	1998 2003		1998	2003
	%	0/0	%	%
Much better for women	1	1	1	1
Better for women	4	2	10	8
No difference	43	49	40	50
Worse for women	40	37	41	33
Much worse for women	2	1	3	1
Can't choose	10	11	6	7
Base	474	663	474	663

Perhaps the most interesting finding is that the sex of the young person is *not* related to views about gender equality at work, with boys and girls having very similar perceptions of the issue. Younger respondents were more optimistic than older ones about women's chances of getting top jobs – they were more likely than older respondents to say there was no difference (54 per cent compared to 43 per cent), and were less likely to say that chances were worse for women (27 per cent compared to 44 per cent). There were no age related differences in perceptions of salary levels.

Household income and the educational status of the adult respondent in the household were both correlated with young people's views on these matters – those from better off or more highly educated households were more likely to perceive the situation as being worse for women, while those from poorer or unqualified households tended to think things were better. Thus 44 per cent of those living in households in the highest income quartile thought pay for women was worse than for men, compared to 31 per cent of those living in households in the lowest income quartile. Similarly, those living with an adult respondent who had no educational qualifications were more than four times more likely to think that women had better chances than men of getting top jobs than those living with a respondent with a higher education qualification (20 per cent and 4 per cent respectively).

7.4 Ambitions in life

What matters most to young people when it comes to thinking about their future life? To assess this, we asked young people to choose one of the aspects shown in Table 7.9 as their *main* ambition in life. Just one was selected by a substantial proportion of young people; half said "being happy" was their main ambition. Having a family was the next most popular main ambition, followed by having a

good job and being successful at work (13, 10 and 10 per cent respectively). All others were mentioned by fewer than one in ten.

We also allowed young people to pick a second ambition; the results of combining these choices with their main choice are also shown in Table 7.9. Once this is done, happiness remains the most popular choice, with 64 per cent mentioning this as one of their two ambitions. Having a family remains the second most common response, with a third saying this was one of their ambitions. Having good health now appears to be important – a quarter of young people gave this answer. The same proportion mentioned having a good job, and one in five said they wanted to be successful at work.

This question was also asked of young people in 1994, allowing us to examine the extent to which ambitions have changed over time. There are some significant differences, perhaps the most interesting being the increase in the proportion who said that being happy was their main ambition, and a halving in the proportion who say their ambition is to be well off. In 1994, eight per cent said the latter was their main ambition in life (18 per cent selected it as their first or second choice), but in 2003 only three per cent selected it as their main ambition (and 9 per cent as their first or second choice). These findings again support the view that young people might be moving away from seeing work and economic activity as being central to their lives, and placing more emphasis on seeking fulfilment and general happiness.

Table 7.9 Ambition in life

	Main ambition		Any m	ention*	
	1994	2003	1994	2003	
	0/0	%	%	%	
To be happy	44	50	59	64	
To have a family	9	13	27	33	
Have good job	12	10	22	25	
Successful at work	9	10	20	20	
Have good health	6	7	24	25	
Travel and see the world	8	5	17	13	
To be well off	8	3	18	9	
To have own home	1	2	7	8	
Something else	1	1	3	2	
Base	580	663	580	663	

^{*&#}x27;Any mention' includes up to two responses and therefore percentages total more than 100

Boys and girls had fairly similar responses to these questions, although girls were more likely to choose being happy as their main ambition (54 per cent compared to 45 per cent). Contrary to what might be expected, there was no significant difference in the proportions of boys and girls who chose "to have a family" or "to have own home". Age was a significant factor, with 60 per cent of 16-19 year olds saying their main ambition was to be happy, compared to just 44 per cent of 12-15 year olds.

Those in the younger group were nearly twice as likely as older ones to say that having a family was their main ambition in life (15 per cent compared to 8 per cent).

There were marked differences in the proportions saying "to be happy" and "to have a good job" when household income is taken into consideration. Sixty-three per cent of those living in the highest income quartile said their main ambition was to be happy, compared to just 43 per cent of those in the lowest income quartile. Conversely, a larger proportion of those in the lowest income quartile than in the highest quartile said that having a good job was their main ambition (13 and 3 per cent respectively). Adult educational level was also associated with the proportions aiming to "be happy"; 58 per cent of those in a household where the respondent had a higher education qualification said this was their main ambition, compared to 44 per cent of those where the respondent had no qualifications. Together, these findings support the view that a focus on post-materialist values (such as personal fulfilment) is more likely to be found among the wealthy and higher educated (Russell, 1998).

7.5 Predictors of doing well in life

Many writers have commented on the apparent gap between young people's ambitions and the reality of the experiences they will have in adulthood (for example, Morrow and Richards, 1998). This suggests that their ambitions during youth are not particularly realistic or subject to the constraints of everyday life. So we turn now to consider the factors that young people see as being important in shaping a person's future. To assess this, we asked young people to say whether a range of factors were important in "doing well in life". Three of the factors can be seen as 'pre-given' or outside a person's control: a wealthy background, race or ethnicity, and sex. We also included two factors which could be seen as being more within the control of the young person – hard work and a good education (though the latter may of course, be affected by factors such as parental educational achievement and family background).

Of the five factors considered, two were seen as essential or very important to doing well in life by substantial proportions. Both are the most related to a person's own actions; getting a good education and hard work. Two factors were not seen as very important to doing well in life: a person's race and being a man or a woman. The influence of coming from a wealthy family was less straightforward; while a majority thought this was not important (60 per cent), nearly four in ten saw it as important to some degree (39 per cent). Overall, these findings would suggest that young people tend to see success in Britain as being based on merit and achievement rather than being structured along the lines of class, sex or ethnicity.

How have attitudes changed since this question was first asked in 1994? Table 7.10 shows that responses relating to three of the factors have shifted only slightly, or not at all. Views about the importance of coming from a wealthy family have become just a little more extreme – there has been an increase in those saying "not at all important" (from 13 per cent in 1994 to 17 per cent in 2003). Opinions about the importance of "hard work" have also changed slightly, with a significant increase in those feeling that hard work is "very important" - this has risen from 51 to 57 per

cent over nine years. Getting a good education is the only factor to have seen no significant change over time.

Two factors have seen striking changes in opinions since 1994. The first relates to the perceived importance of race as a factor in a person doing well in life, with a marked increase in the proportion who think that this is not at all important in whether a person does well in life (up from 33 to 52 per cent). This corresponds with the findings elsewhere in this report (Chapter 4), which showed marked reductions in perceptions of racial prejudice over the same period. During this period, of course, British society has continued to become more ethnically diverse.

The second prominent change has been in views about the importance of a person's sex in their ability to do well in life, with the proportion saying this was "not at all important" increasing from 42 per cent in 1994 to 53 per cent in 2003. As with changes in attitudes about race, this change has occurred alongside societal changes leading towards greater equality for women – though much of this change had already happened before 1994.

Overall then, it seems that young people today believe that success in British society is less determined by biological characteristics such as sex and race than their counterparts did in 1994.

Table 7.10 Importance of factors in doing well in life

	Wealthy family		Good education		Hard work		A person's race		Being a man or woman	
	94	03	94	03	94	03	94	03	94	03
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Essential	2	3	25	23	21	20	2	2	1	2
Very important	11	12	54	54	51	57	9	9	5	7
Fairly important	29	24	19	21	25	21	15	9	12	10
Not very important	44	43	1	2	2	2	39	27	36	27
Not at all important	13	17	*	1	*	*	33	52	42	53
Base	580	663	580	663	580	663	580	663	580	663

Girls were more likely than boys to think that race and sex were not at all important (56 per cent compared to 48 per cent for race; 58 per cent compared to 47 per cent for sex). Age was also a factor, with younger respondents being around three times more likely than older ones to think that race was "very important" in doing well in life (13 per cent compared to four per cent).

There were also socio-economic differences in young people's views on these issues, with those from less affluent backgrounds tending to be more convinced than those from more affluent backgrounds that certain ascribed factors were important in determining whether someone does well in life. Perhaps most notably, household income affected views on whether coming from a wealthy family is an important factor in doing well. Those who were *not* wealthy (in the lowest income quartile)

were more likely to see a wealthy family background as essential than those in the highest income quartile (5 per cent compared to none). Household income was also associated with views on race and sex; larger proportions from the highest income quartile thought these factors were "not at all important" than those in the lowest income quartile (59 per cent compared to 45 per cent for race; 59 per cent compared to 44 per cent for sex).

Interestingly, the educational status of the adult respondent was *not* associated with views on the importance of getting a good education. However, as with household income, this factor was relevant for views about the importance of coming from a wealthy family, race and sex. Those in households with a respondent who had a higher education qualification were far less likely than those from a household where the adult respondent had no qualification to think that a wealthy family background was very important (7 and 20 per cent respectively). Similarly, six in ten of those in households where the respondent had a higher education qualification said race was "not at all important", compared to four in ten from households where the respondent had no qualification – and a similar pattern is seen for the importance of sex.

This association between measures of socio-economic advantage (such as household income and adult educational qualifications) and the view that sex is relatively unimportant as a determinant of doing well is curious given the earlier association we found between these factors and perceptions of gender equality at work. Earlier we saw that people from households with higher incomes and higher educational qualifications were *more* likely to think that women's positions at work were worse than men's, and yet here we see the same groups are more likely to say that sex is not important to doing well in life. It is likely that this apparent inconsistency is due to the fact that we are comparing two different issues – employment prospects and a more generic concept of "doing well in life".

7.6 Conclusions

Overall, these findings paint an encouraging picture. We found young people were planning to stay in education for longer than was the case in 1994, with a decrease in the proportion planning to leave at the end of compulsory schooling. We also found an increase in the proportion planning to leave home to go to university or college. Both point clearly towards an increasing proportion of young people continuing in education.

Young people appear interested in, and committed to, work but appreciate the importance of balancing work with other things – their main ambition in life, after all, is to be happy. Their expectations about the future suggest increased numbers will stay on in education, and few young people worry about their ability to get a job when they leave (although this, of course, could change under different labour market conditions).

Young people are now less likely to view a job in purely financial terms than they were five years ago, and three-quarters agree that work is not the most important thing in life. While the perception is increasingly that gender equality exists at work,

a third still think that women's chances of promotion to top jobs are worse than those of men.

The main ambition expressed by young people was to be happy in life, with smaller proportions focusing on employment. A third mentioned having a family, and good health and a good job were important to a quarter of young people.

We also asked whether certain factors were important to doing well in life and found there was a clear difference between the perceived importance of 'given' characteristics such as sex and race (not seen as important), and those which the young person has control over, such as hard work and a good education (which were). Overall then, it is apparent that young people view Britain as closer to a meritocracy than a society run in the favour of dominant groups.

Age and sex were related to many of the measures we considered here, although (perhaps surprisingly) sex did not appear to affect views about women's equality at work. There was also a correlation between young people's attitudes to work and the working status of the adult respondents in the household. Overall, however, it was socio-economic factors (such as household income and the educational qualification of the adult respondent) that proved the most consistently relevant.

8 TECHNICAL APPENDIX

As in 1994 and 1998, the 2003 Young People's Social Attitudes (YPSA) questionnaire was fielded in parallel with the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey of that year.

8.1 The sample

The BSA sample is drawn from the Postcode Address File as a stratified random sample of addresses covering England, Wales and Scotland south of the Great Glen. At multi-household addresses, one household is randomly selected for interview. If this household contains several people aged 18+, one is randomly selected for interview. These procedures are carried out using a Kish grid and computergenerated random numbers.

All young people aged 12 to 19 living in the same household as a BSA respondent were eligible for interview on the YPSA survey, except any 18 or 19 year old who had already been interviewed as a BSA respondent.

The YPSA data can thus be linked to the BSA responses given by an adult within the household – normally a parent of the young person. A selection of BSA variables have been included on the YPSA datafile.

8.2 Weighting

Since only one household is approached at each address, people at multi-household addresses have a lower chance of selection than people at single household addresses. The weighting corrects for this. All young people at an address were eligible for inclusion in the survey, meaning that no further selection weights are necessary when analysing the data.

8.3 Fieldwork

The YPSA questionnaire was implemented in computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) using Blaise software. The interviewers were drawn from NatCen's panel of trained interviewers and were briefed in person on the YPSA survey at the same time as the BSA survey. During the interview with the BSA respondent, the interviewer established the number of eligible young people living in the household. At the end of the BSA interview, they asked permission to approach these young people. Out of a sample of 4,432 BSA respondents, 997 eligible young persons were identified. The final response achieved is shown below:

	No.	%
In scope	997	100
Interview achieved	663	66
Interview not achieved	334	34
Refused	240	24
Non-contact	39	4
Other	55	6

Some 95 per cent of the interviews were carried out in June to September 2003, with the remainder in October and November. The median interview length was 32 minutes.

8.4 Analysis

The majority of the analysis used in this report is bi-variate, and thus explores the relationship between two particular variables – for instance, a young person's sex and their attitudes towards politics. However, at times we also make use of logistic regression analysis, a form of multivariate analysis that aims to summarise the relationship between a 'dependent' variable (for example, attitudes towards politics) and one or more 'independent' variables (for example, age, sex, household income, household education). This analysis allows us to estimate a respondent's score on the dependent variable from knowledge of their scores on a range of independent variables. Most importantly, it allows us to assess the relative importance of each independent variable while taking a range of other variables into account.

Further details of the models used in this report, and their results, can be obtained from the authors.

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Online resources

Centre for Longitudinal Studies website: http://www.cls.ioe.ac.uk/Lsyp/mainlsyp.htm

APPENDIX A: ANNOTATED QUESTIONNAIRE

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10 INTRODUCTION

Q22	[YPRSex]
	N=663
용	YP sex from hh grid
45.8	Male
54.2	Female
Q23	[YPRAge]
	YP age from hh grid
%	Range: 0 97
	Median: 15 years
17.3	12
15.7	13
14.3	14
15.7	15
11.6	16
11.7	17
8.0	18
5.7	19

11 HOUSEHOLD GRID

ASK ALL Q30 [YPParent] % DV - summary of household composition from grid 97.9 Lives with (step)parents 2.1 Does not live with (step)parents

12 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

0.01	ASK ALL	
Q91- Q95	CARD Y1 First some questions about going out. Which, if a this card have you done in the last 6 months? CODE ALL THAT APPLY	
% 5.0 86.4 42.8 28.2 26.1 27.7	INTERVIEWER: THIS INCLUDES ALL ACTIVITIES AT SCHO- Multicoded (Maximum of 5 codes) (None of these) Been to the cinema Gone to watch some sport Been to see a play/ dance show/ musical Been to a gig or concert Visited an art gallery, museum or exhibition	[YPAc1Non] [YPAc1Cin] [YPAc1WSp] [YPAc1The] [YPAc1Gig] [YPAc1Mus]
Q96- Q100	CARD Y2 And in the last 6 months have you done any of the CODE ALL THAT APPLY INTERVIEWER: THIS INCLUDES ALL ACTIVITIES AT SCHOOL ACTIV	-
% 27.4 34.8 41.9 15.5 3.3	Multicoded (Maximum of 5 codes) (None of these) Been in a dance, drama or music group Played sport as part of a sports club Done some voluntary or charity work Taken part in an event organised by a political o	[YPAc2Non] [YPAc2Dra] [YPAc2Spo] [YPAc2Vol] r protest group [YPAc2Pol]
19.6	Been a member of a youth club or religious group	
% 34.6 46.4 13.9 4.7 0.5	<pre>[ypnrcinm] CARD Y3 Thinking about your nearest cinema, how easy or d to get there from here by walking or using buses, tube? Very easy Fairly easy Fairly difficult Very difficult (Don't know)</pre>	
% 47.4 36.1 11.3 3.3 1.8	<pre>[ypnrspt] CARD Y3 AGAIN And thinking about your nearest sports/ leisure c difficult would it be to get there from here by w buses, trains, trams or the tube? Very easy Fairly easy Fairly difficult Very difficult (Don't know)</pre>	

0102	ASK ALL WHO LIVE WITH PARENT OR STEP-PARENT(S)
Q103-	N=649
Q107	Thinking about when you first move out of your parent's home. Why do you think you will leave home then? DO NOT PROMPT CODE ALL THAT APPLY
	IF RESPONDENT HAS EVER MOVED OUT OF THEIR PARENTAL HOME BEFORE, ASK ABOUT THEIR FUTURE EXPECTATIONS
% 38.3	Multicoded (Maximum of 5 codes) To go to university or college [YPMvEduc]
11.1	To move in with partner or spouse [YPMvPart]
14.9	To start work or find a (new) job [YPMvJob]
32.3 5.4	To be independent [YPMvIndp] For another reason (WRITE IN) [YPMvOthr]
Q115	[ypmovwhn]
	How old do you think you will be when you first move out of your parent's home?
	INTERVIEWER: ENTER AGE, OR CODE 'DON'T KNOW' IF RESPONDENT HAS EVER MOVED OUT OF THEIR PARENTAL HOME BEFORE, ASK
	ABOUT THEIR FUTURE EXPECTATIONS Range: 12 96
%	Median: 19 years
3.1 6.5	16 17
31.1	18
16.2	19
14.6 5.7	20 21
3.5	22
1.7 2.3	23 24
5.0	25 or over
10.5	(Don't know)
Q138	ASK ALL AGED 16 OR ABOVE [ypEcact] (percentages refer to highest answer on the list) N=246 CARD Y4
	Which of these descriptions applied to what you were doing last week, that is the seven days ending last Sunday? PROBE: Which others? CODE ALL THAT APPLY
% 55.7	Multicoded (Maximum of 10 codes) In full-time education (not paid for by employer, including on
1.6	vacation) On government training/employment programme
25.6	In paid work (or away temporarily) for at least 10 hours in week
1.6 3.3	Waiting to take up paid work already accepted Unemployed and registered at a JobCentre or JobCentre Plus
5.3	Unemployed, not registered, but actively looking for a job (of at
2.8	least 10 hrs a week) Unemployed, wanting a job (of at least 10 hrs per week) but not
	actively looking for a job
1.2	Permanently sick or disabled Looking after the home
2.8	(Doing something else) (WRITE IN)

13 GENDER DIFFERENCES

Q139	ASK ALL [ypwwrelc] N=663 CARD Y5 Please choose an answer from this card to say how much you agree or
% 22.6 55.1 8.3 11.9 0.2 2.0	disagree with each of these statements. A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her child as a mother who does not work Agree strongly Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Disagree strongly (Don't know)
% 3.0 22.5 20.6 44.4 8.0 1.5	<pre>[ypwwsuff] CARD Y5 AGAIN (Please choose an answer from this card to say how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements) All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job Agree strongly Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Disagree strongly (Don't know)</pre>
% 8.6 41.4 28.0 19.3 1.2 1.5	[ypfemjob] CARD Y5 AGAIN (Please choose an answer from this card to say how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements) Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person Agree strongly Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Disagree strongly (Don't know)
% 3.8 12.7 10.2 40.4 32.4 0.6	<pre>[ypsexrle] CARD Y5 AGAIN (Please choose an answer from this card to say how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements) A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family Agree strongly Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Disagree strongly (Don't know)</pre>

```
Q143
         [ypmrvw10]
         CARD Y5 AGAIN
         Now some questions about marriage and family. Still looking at this
         card, please choose an answer to show how much you agree or disagree
         with these statements.
         One parent can bring up a child as well as two parents
15.4
         Agree strongly
55.1
         Agree
11.4
         Neither agree nor disagree
15.8
         Disagree
 1.5
         Disagree strongly
 0.8
         (Don't know)
Q144
         [ypmrvw11]
         CARD Y5 AGAIN
         (Still looking at this card, please choose an answer to show how much
         you agree or disagree with these statements ...)
         It is all right for a couple to live together without intending to get
응
         married
18.2
         Agree strongly
66.6
         Agree
 7.4
         Neither agree nor disagree
 6.5
         Disagree
 1.1
         Disagree strongly
         (Don't know)
 0.3
Q145
         [ypmrvw12]
         CARD Y5 AGAIN
         (Still looking at this card, please choose an answer to show how much
         you agree or disagree with these statements ... )
         It's a good idea for a couple who intend to get married to live
응
         together first
17.5
         Agree strongly
55.6
         Agree
15.4
         Neither agree nor disagree
 9.0
         Disagree
 1.1
         Disagree strongly
 1.5
         (Don't know)
Q146
         [ypchvw7]
         CARD Y5 AGAIN
         (Still looking at this card, please choose an answer to show how much
         you agree or disagree with these statements ...)
         When there are children in the family, parents should stay together
         even if they don't get along
2.0
         Agree strongly
15.5
         Agree
16.1
         Neither agree nor disagree
53.5
         Disagree
12.2
        Disagree strongly
 0.8
         (Don't know)
```

Q147	[ypwompay] CARD Y6
	In general, would you say that levels of pay for women are better or
용 	worse than they are for men with the same education and jobs?
0.5	Much better for women
2.3	Better for women
48.9	No difference
36.6	Worse for women
0.5	Much worse for women
11.3	(Don't know)
Q148	[ypwomprm]
	CARD Y6 AGAIN
	And what about the chances of women getting top jobs? Are they better
	or worse than the chances of men with the same education and
%	experience?
1.1	Much better for women
8.4	Better for women
49.7	No difference
33.3	
	Worse for women
1.1	Worse for women Much worse for women
1.1 6.5	

14 PROBLEMS AT SCHOOL/ VIEWS ABOUT EDUCATION AND WORK

```
ASK ALL
Q149
         [ypboytry]
         Now some questions about boys and girls at school. In general, do you
         think that ... READ OUT ...
1.1
         ... boys work harder in lessons than girls,
57.5
         girls work harder in lessons than boys,
40.5
         or, is there no real difference between boys and girls in how hard
         they work?
0.9
         (Don't know)
Q150
        [ypboycre]
        And do you think that ... READ OUT ...
1.8
         ... boys care more about doing well at school than girls,
52.3
         girls care more about doing well at school than boys,
45.5
        or, is there no real difference between boys and girls in how much
         they care about doing well?
0.5
        (Don't know)
0151
        [ypboydo]
        And in the end do you think that ... READ OUT ...
3.5
         ... boys do better at school than girls,
39.2
         girls do better at school than boys,
56.9
         or, do boys and girls do about the same at school?
0.5
         (Don't know)
Q152
         [ypgetbul]
         Thinking of your (current school / current school or sixth form
         college / most recent school or sixth form college). Would you say
         that students (get / got) bullied by other students ... READ OUT ...
20.6
         ... a lot,
59.2
         a little,
20.2
         or, not at all
0153
         [yphapbul]
         And what do you think should happen to someone who keeps on bullying
         other students at school?
         Should they be ... READ OUT ...
32.5
        ... expelled from their school,
26.5
         suspended from their school for some time,
38.7
        or, should they be dealt with in some other way but stay at their
         school?
 1.8
         Other (WRITE IN)
 0.5
        (Don't know)
         ASK ALL
Q156
         [ypthrt1]
         Still thinking of your (current school / current school or sixth form
         college / most recent school or sixth form college). Would you say
         that teachers (get / got) threatened by students ... READ OUT ...
9.0
        ... a lot,
38.4
        a little,
52.1
        or, not at all?
0.5
        (Don't know)
```

```
Q157
         [ypthrt2]
         And what do you think should happen to someone who keeps on
         threatening a teacher at school?
         Should they be ... READ OUT ...
58.6
         ... expelled from their school,
20.8
         suspended from their school for some time,
19.0
         or, should they be dealt with in some other way but stay at their
         school?
1.4
         Other (WRITE IN)
 0.3
         (Don't know)
         ASK ALL
Q160
         [ypsayte]
         CARD Y7
         How much say should parents have in what is taught in schools?
         Please choose an answer from this card.
7.5
         All of the say
35.8
        Quite a bit of the say
43.5
        Some of the say
11.0
        Not very much of the say
1.5
        No say at all
0.6
        (Don't know)
Q161
        [ypsaydi]
         CARD Y7 AGAIN
         And how much say should parents have in the kinds of punishment that
         are allowed in schools?
         Please choose an answer from this card.
9.0
        All of the say
37.4
        Quite a bit of the say
38.8
        Some of the say
11.6
       Not very much of the say
       No say at all
3.0
0.2
        (Don't know)
Q162
        [ypchsay1]
         CARD Y7 AGAIN
         How much say should children have in what is taught in schools?
        Please choose an answer from this card.
6.8
        All of the say
28.8
        Quite a bit of the say
        Some of the say
38.1
22.0
        Not very much of the say
4.1
        No say at all
0.3
        (Don't know)
0163
        [ypchsay2]
         CARD Y7 AGAIN
         And how much say should children have in the kinds of punishment that
         are used in schools?
        Please choose an answer from this card.
        All of the say
4.8
        Quite a bit of the say
15.5
34.0
        Some of the say
30.9
        Not very much of the say
14.3
        No say at all
      (Don't know)
0.5
```

Q164	[ypsselec]
% 31.2	CARD Y8 Which of the following statements comes closest to your views about what kind of secondary school children should go to? Children should go to a different kind of secondary school, according
66.9	to how well they do at primary school All children should go to the same kind of secondary school, no matter how well or badly they do at primary school
2.0	(Don't know)
Q165	[ypsecsc1] CARD Y9
%	Please tell me, from this card, how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements about secondary schooling Formal exams are the best way of judging the ability of pupils
6.0 37.7 14.5 33.0 8.6 0.3	Agree strongly Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Disagree strongly (Don't know)
Q166	[ypsecsc2] CARD Y9 AGAIN
% 8.1 36.1 19.3 33.4 2.0 1.1	(Please tell me, from this card, how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements about secondary schooling) On the whole, pupils are too young when they have to decide which subjects to specialise in Agree strongly Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Disagree strongly (Don't know)
Q167	[ypwkearn] CARD Y9 AGAIN
% 0.9 14.6 11.7 60.5 11.9 0.3	Please say from this card how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. A job is just a way of earning money - nothing more Agree strongly Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Disagree strongly (Don't know)
Q168 % 1.8 29.8 29.1 35.2	[ypwkhard] CARD Y9 AGAIN (Please say how much you agree or disagree that) People should work hard, even if it interferes with the rest of their lives Agree strongly Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree
3.2 0.9	Disagree strongly (Don't know)

Q169	<pre>[ypwkunim] CARD Y9 AGAIN (Please say how much you agree or disagree that)</pre>
%	There are far more important things in life than paid work
14.9	Agree strongly
58.9	Agree
14.3	Neither agree nor disagree
10.7	Disagree
0.9	Disagree strongly
0.3	(Don't know)

15 POLITICS AND DECISION-MAKING

```
ASK ALL
Q170
         [ypsuppar]
         Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of any one
         political party?
8.0
         Yes
89.6
         No
2.3
         (Don't know)
0.2
         (Not answered)
         IF 'no' or 'don't know' AT [ypsuppar]
0171
         [ypclspar]
         Do you think of yourself as a little closer to one political party
         than to the others?
12.5
         Yes
77.6
        No
1.8
         (Don't know)
0.2
         (Not answered)
         IF 'yes' AT [ypsuppar] OR 'yes', 'no' OR 'don't know' AT [ypclspar]
0172
         [ypptyid1]
         If 'yes' at [ypsuppar] or at [ypclspar]: Which one?
         If 'don't know' or 'no' at [ypclspar]: If there were a general
         election tomorrow, which party would you hope would win?
         CODE ONE ONLY
8.6
         Conservative
20.9
         Labour
 5.9
         Liberal Democrats
1.2
         Scottish Nationalist
0.3
        Plaid Cymru
1.4
         Green Party
         Other party (WRITE IN)
0.5
0.5
         Other answer (WRITE IN)
28.9
         None
1.8
         Refused to say
30.1
         (Don't know)
         IF PARTY GIVEN AT [ypptyid1]
         [ypidstng]
0177
         Would you call yourself very strong (Conservative / Labour / Liberal
         Democrat / Scottish Nationalist / Plaid Cymru / Green Party), fairly
         strong, or not very strong?
1.1
         Very strong
8.0
         Fairly strong
29.2
         Not very strong
0.3
         (Don't know)
32.1
         (Not answered (including people who said 'don't know' or refusal at
         [ypptyid1]))
```

```
ASK ALL
Q178
         [yppoltic]
                                                                          N = 663
         How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in
         politics ... READ OUT ...
 1.2
         ... a great deal,
 7.2
         quite a lot,
22.7
         some,
32.4
         not very much,
36.3
         or, none at all?
 0.2
         (Don't know)
Q179
         [ypqui]
         Here is a quick quiz. For each thing I say, tell me if it is true or
         false.
         If you don't know, just say so.
Q180
         [ypqui6]
         Great Britain is a member of the European Union (T)
79.8
         True
5.0
         False
14.9
         Don't know
0.3
         (Not answered)
Q181
         [ypqui5]
         The longest time allowed between general elections is four years (F)
54.4
         True
16.3
         False
        Don't know
28.5
0.9
         (Not answered)
Q182
         [ypqui8]
         Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom (T)
71.1
         True
20.6
         False
8.0
        Don't know
0.3
         (Not answered)
Q183
         [ypqui9]
         Women are not allowed to sit in the House of Lords (F)
12.5
         True
60.5
        False
26.2
        Don't know
0.8
         (Not answered)
         [ypquiz2]
         How many correct?
4.2
14.5
         1
36.4
         2
39.2
         3
5.7
Q184
         [ypvotdty]
         CARD Y10
         Which of the statements on this card comes closest to your view about
         general elections?
8.7
         It's not really worth voting
59.2
         People should vote only if they care who wins
30.7
         It is everyone's duty to vote
 1.4
         (Don't know)
```

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Q185
         [yppolsam]
         CARD Y11
         And how much you do you agree or disagree with each of these
         statements.
         There's no point to politics - in the end everything goes on just the
         same
 2.9
         Agree strongly
26.7
         Agree
22.0
         Neither agree nor disagree
39.8
         Disagree
 7.2
         Disagree strongly
 1.5
         (Don't know)
Q186
         [yppardif]
         CARD Y11 AGAIN
         (And how much you do you agree or disagree that...)
         There isn't any real difference between the main political parties in
         Britain
2.0
         Agree strongly
29.1
         Agree
27.6
         Neither agree nor disagree
29.4
         Disagree
 2.4
        Disagree strongly
 9.7
         (Don't know)
Q187
         [ypwstvt]
         CARD Y11 AGAIN
         (And how much you do you agree or disagree that...)
         Voting in elections is a waste of time
3.5
         Agree strongly
14.3
         Agree
18.7
         Neither agree nor disagree
53.8
         Disagree
8.3
        Disagree strongly
1.5
         (Don't know)
Q188
        [ypsoctst]
         Generally speaking would you say that ... READ OUT ...
23.9
         ... most people can be trusted,
71.2
         or, that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
4.8
         (Don't know)
Q189
         [ypneikey]
         CARD Y12
         Suppose you lost your keys, or were locked out of your home. Is there
         a neighbour you could go and wait with for a few hours? Please choose
         an answer from this card.
64.2
         Definitely
24.5
        Probably
 8.1
        Probably not
 2.9
        Definitely not
 0.3
        (Don't know)
```

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Q190
         [ypvegsay]
         CARD Y13
         Now some questions about decision making.
         Suppose a young person aged 15 wants to stop eating meat and become a
         vegetarian. How much say should their parents have in whether they do
         this? Please take your answer from this card
 3.6
         All of the say
13.1
         Quite a bit of the say
32.4
         Some of the say
33.0
         Not very much of the say
17.8
         No say at all
 0.2
         (Don't know)
Q191
         [ypsaySp1]
         CARD Y13 AGAIN
         Now suppose a council want to close a sports centre because it is not
         making enough money. How much say should young people living in the
         local area have in whether or not the centre is shut down? Please take
응
         your answer from this card
13.0
         All of the say
63.1
        Quite a bit of the say
20.9
         Some of the say
 2.0
         Not very much of the say
 0.8
         No say at all
 0.3
         (Don't know)
Q192
         [ypSaySp2]
         CARD Y13 AGAIN
         And how much say should older people have in this decision?
8.1
         All of the say
49.4
         Quite a bit of the say
35.7
         Some of the say
 5.6
         Not very much of the say
 0.8
         No say at all
 0.5
         (Don't know)
Q193
         [ypSayId1]
         CARD Y13 AGAIN
         Now suppose the government was thinking about asking young people to
         carry identity cards at all times. How much say should young people
         have in whether this happens? Please take your answer from this card
18.7
         All of the say
         Quite a bit of the say
46.1
27.3
         Some of the say
 5.9
        Not very much of the say
 1.8
        No say at all
0.3
         (Don't know)
0194
         [ypSayId2]
         CARD Y13 AGAIN
         And how much say should older people have in this decision?
9.2
         All of the say
40.4
         Quite a bit of the say
35.8
         Some of the say
10.7
        Not very much of the say
 3.3
        No say at all
 0.6
        (Don't know)
```

ASK ALL UNDER 16 OR IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION Q195-N=554Q201 CARD Y14 Suppose a decision had been made by the head and other teachers at your school (or college) that you thought was really unfair. Which, if any, of the things on this card do you think you would do? PROBE Which others? CODE ALL THAT APPLY Multicoded (Maximum of 7 codes) 49.9 Contact my headteacher/ other teachers at my school (or college) [YPScWTea] 55.8 Ask my parents to write to the school (or college) [YPScWPar] 37.9 Raise the issue with the students council [YPScWStC] 18.0 Organise/ take part in a protest with other students [YPScWPro] 24.1 Start or sign a petition [YPScWPet] 4.3 Contact my MP or MSP [YPScWMP] 7.2 Contact radio, TV or a newspaper [YPScWMed] 3.6 None of these [YPScWNon] 0202-0208 CARD Y14 AGAIN And have you ever done any of these things to protest about a decision made by the head and other teachers at your school (or college) that you thought was really unfair? PROBE Which others? CODE ALL THAT APPLY Multicoded (Maximum of 7 codes) 14.6 Contact my headteacher/ other teachers at my school (or college) [YPScDTea] Ask my parents to write to the school (or college) Raise the issue with the students council Organise/ take part in a protest with other students 13.2 [YPScDPar] 11.5 [YPScDStC] 5.6 [YPScDPro] 11.7 Start or sign a petition Contact my MP or MSP [YPScDPet] 0.2 [YPScDMP] Contact radio, TV or a newspaper 0.2 [YPScDMed] 57.5 None of these [YPScDNon] ASK ALL Q209-N = 663CARD Y15 Q216 Now suppose a decision was being made in your local area that you thought was really unfair. Which, if any, of the things on this card do you think you would do? INTERVIEWER: THIS IS OUTSIDE SCHOOL (/COLLEGE) PROBE Which others? CODE ALL THAT APPLY Multicoded (Maximum of 8 codes) 47.0 Write a letter of complaint myself [YPLAWLet] Ask my parents to write a letter of complaint [YPLAWPa Contact my headteacher/ other teachers at my school (or college) 32.8 [YPLAWPar] 8.7 [YPLAWTea] Start or sign a petition Contact my MP or MSP 29.2 [YPLAWPet] 12.2 [YPLAWMP] Contact radio, TV or a newspaper 12.2 [YPLAWMed] 10.5 Contact a government department [YPLAWGov] 12.5 Go on a protest or demonstration 12.9 None of these [YPLAWDPro] [YPLAWNon]

Q217- Q224	CARD Y15 AGAIN And have you ever done any of these things to protest a being made in your local area that you thought was real INTERVIEWER: THIS IS OUTSIDE SCHOOL (/ COLLEGE) PROBE Which others? CODE ALL THAT APPLY	
용	Multicoded (Maximum of 8 codes)	
3.3	Write a letter of complaint myself	[YPLADLet]
2.6	Ask my parents to write a letter of complaint	[YPLADPar]
1.2	Contact my headteacher/ other teachers at my school (or	r college)
		[YPLADTea]
7.8	Start or sign a petition	[YPLADPet]
1.2	Contact my MP or MSP	[YPLADMP]
0.8	Contact radio, TV or a newspaper	[YPLADMed]
1.1	Contact a government department	[YPLADGov]
3.3	Go on a protest or demonstration	[YPLADDPro]
83.4	None of these	[YPLADNon]

16 PREJUDICE AND MORALITY

Q225 % 5.1 62.8 30.0 2.1	[ypracegy] Suppose two people - one white, one black - each appear in court, charged with a crime they did not commit. What do you think their chances are of being found guilty? READ OUT the white person is more likely to be found guilty, they have the same chance, or, the black person is more likely to be found guilty? (Don't know)
% 2.7 40.4 55.4 1.5	<pre>[yprichgy] Now suppose another two people from different backgrounds - one rich, one poor - each appear in court, charged with a crime they did not commit. What do you think their chances are of being found guilty? READ OUT the rich person is more likely to be found guilty, they have the same chance, or, the poor person is more likely to be found guilty? (Don't know)</pre>
% 38.6 48.5 11.0 2.0	[ypprejas] Now some questions about racial prejudice in Britain. Firstly, thinking of Asians - that is, people whose families were originally from India, Pakistan or Bangladesh - who now live in Britain. Do you think there is a lot of prejudice against them in Britain nowadays, a little or hardly any? A lot A little Hardly any (Don't know)
% 20.3 54.4 23.2 2.1	<pre>[ypprejbl] And black people - that is, people whose families were originally from the West Indies or Africa - who now live in Britain. Do you think there is a lot of prejudice against them in Britain nowadays, a little or hardly any? A lot A little Hardly any (Don't know)</pre>
Q229 % 22.5 36.4 36.7 0.2 4.2	<pre>[ypprejft] Do you think there will be more, less or about the same amount of racial prejudice in Britain in 5 years time compared with now? More in 5 years Less About the same Other answer (WRITE IN) (Don't know)</pre>

Q232 % 0.8 16.6 81.9 0.2 0.6	ASK ALL [ypsrprej] How would you describe yourself READ OUT as very prejudiced against people of other races, a little prejudiced, or, not prejudiced at all? Other answer (WRITE IN) (Don't know)
<pre>Q235 % 37.8 49.1 11.0 1.4 0.5 0.2</pre>	ASK ALL [SRHealth] How is your health in general for someone of your age? Would you say that it is READ OUT very good, fairly good, fair, bad, or, very bad? (Don't know)
\$ 5.3 5.9 14.6 15.7 54.1 1.7 2.6 0.3	[yppms] CARD Y16 Now some questions about sexual relationships. Firstly, if a man and a woman have sexual relations before marriage, what would your general opinion be? Please choose an answer from this card. Always wrong Mostly wrong Sometimes wrong Rarely wrong Not wrong at all (Depends) (Don't know) (Not answered)
% 34.3 29.1 20.3 6.9 5.3 13.6 1.4 0.3	<pre>[ypyngsex] CARD Y16 AGAIN What if it was a boy and a girl who were both still under 16? Please choose an answer from the card to show what your general opinion of this would be. Always wrong Mostly wrong Sometimes wrong Rarely wrong Not wrong at all (Depends) (Don't know) (Not answered)</pre>
% 10.8 30.4 38.4 14.0 6.3	[ypchngkp] CARD Y17 A man gives a £5 note for goods he is buying in a big store. By mistake, he is given change for a £10 note. He notices but keeps the change. Please say which of the things on the card comes closest to what you think of this situation? Nothing wrong A bit wrong Wrong Seriously wrong Very seriously wrong

```
Q239
         [ypchngdo]
         And might you do this if the situation came up?
45.8
51.3
         No
 2.9
         (Don't know)
Q240
         [ypshchkp]
         CARD Y17 AGAIN
         A man gives a £5 note for goods he is buying in a corner shop. By
         mistake, he is given change for a £10 note. He notices but keeps the
         change. Please say which of the things on the card comes closest to
         what you think of this situation?
7.1
         Nothing wrong
23.8
         A bit wrong
39.8
         Wrong
19.4
         Seriously wrong
 9.6
         Very seriously wrong
 0.3
         (Don't know)
0241
         [ypshchdo]
         And might you do this if the situation came up?
32.4
         Yes
66.0
         No
1.7
         (Don't know)
Q242
         [ypahd1]
         CARD Y18
         And now some questions about doing well in life. First, how important
         is ... READ OUT ...
         ... coming from a wealthy family?
2.6
         Essential
12.2
         Very important
24.0
         Fairly important
43.1
         Not very important
17.3
         Not at all important
0.9
         (Don't know)
Q243
         [ypahd3]
         CARD Y18 AGAIN
         (And how important is ... READ OUT ...)
         ... having a good education yourself?
22.6
         Essential
53.8
         Very important
20.6
         Fairly important
 2.3
         Not very important
 0.8
         Not at all important
         [ypahd6]
0244
         CARD Y18 AGAIN
         (And how important is ... READ OUT ...)
         ... hard work?
19.7
         Essential
56.5
         Very important
21.1
         Fairly important
 2.3
         Not very important
 0.2
         Not at all important
 0.3
         (Don't know)
```

```
Q245
         [ypahd9]
          CARD Y18 AGAIN
          (And how important is ... READ OUT ...)
          ... a person's race?
1.5
          Essential
          Very important
9.3
          Fairly important
8.6
26.7
          Not very important
          Not at all important
52.4
 1.5
          (Don't know)
Q246
          [ypahd12]
          CARD Y18 AGAIN
          (And how important is ... READ OUT ...)
%
1.5
          ... being a man or a woman?
          Essential
 7.2
          Very important
9.5 Fairly important
27.3 Not very important
53.3 Not at all important
1.2 (Don't know)
```

17 FULFILMENT

	ASK ALL
Q247	[ypambit1]
	CARD Y19
	Which, if any, of the things on this card would you say is your main
%	ambition in life? Please read through the whole list before deciding
50.0	To be happy
2.6	To be well off
7.1	To have good health
9.8	To have a good job
9.5	To be successful at work
2.0	To have my own home
12.5	±
	To have a family
4.7	To travel and see the world
1.2	Something else (WRITE IN)
0.6	(None of these/ No (other) ambition)
0.2	(Don't know)
	IF NOT 'None of these/ No (other) ambition' at [ypambit1]
Q250	[ypambit2]
~	CARD Y19 AGAIN
90	And if you had to choose another ambition, which would it be?
13.6	To be happy
6.8	To be well off
17.9	To have good health
15.2	To have a good job
10.2	To be successful at work
6.3	To have my own home
20.3	To have a family
7.8	To travel and see the world
0.8	Something else (WRITE IN)
0.2	(None of these/ No (other) ambition)
0.2	(Don't know)
0.8	(Not answered)
	ASK ALL
Q253	[ypmoney] N=663
	Thinking about the money you have to spend on everyday things, would
용	you say this is READ OUT
17.5	more than enough,
58.4	enough,
23.1	or, not enough?
1.1	(Don't know)

18 FRIENDS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS

Q254	ASK ALL [ypfrndno] How many close friends do you have? INTERVIEWER WRITE IN NUMBER Median: 5
Q255	[ypbstfrd] Some people have a person that they think of as their best friend, while other people do not. What about you, do you have a best friend?
% 68.7 31.3	INTERVIEWER: If 'several' code 'yes' Yes No
Q256	<pre>IF 'yes' AT [ypbstfrd] [ypfrdsee] CARD Y20</pre>
% 1.1 34.2 24.2 5.4	How often do you see your best friend? If you have more than one, please tell us about the friend you see most often. He/ she lives with me Every day Several times a week Once a week
2.6 1.1 0.2	At least once a month Several times a year/ less often Never or hardly ever
% 27.9 25.7 8.0 1.7 0.6 4.8	[ypcntct] CARD Y20 AGAIN And how often do you have any other contact with this friend, either by telephone, e-mail, letter or text message? Every day Several times a week Once a week At least once a month Several times a year/ less often Never or hardly ever
Q258	ASK ALL [ypdepr1] CARD Y21
00	Suppose you just felt a bit down or depressed, and you wanted to talk about it. Who would you turn to first for help? INTERVIEWER: CODE FIRST CHOICE
36.3	Mother
6.0 2.0	Father Other adult relative (aged 18 plus)
0.8	Other adult relative (aged to plus) Other adult
6.6	Brother or sister
0.6	Other relative (aged under 18)
6.5	Boyfriend/ Girlfriend/ Partner
27.3	Best friend
10.1	Other friend
0.2	Someone else (WRITE IN)
3.2	No-one
0.6	(Don't know)

ASK ALL WHO WOULD TURN TO SOMEONE IF DEPRESSED Q261 N=638[ypdepr2] CARD Y21 AGAIN And who would you turn to second? INTERVIEWER: CODE SECOND CHOICE 28.2 Mother 21.8 Father 3.6 Other adult relative (aged 18 plus) 1.5 Other adult 8.1 Brother or sister 0.9 Other relative (aged under 18) Boyfriend/ Girlfriend/ Partner 6.0 14.6 Best friend 10.4 Other friend 0.5 Someone else (WRITE IN) 0.6 No-one 0.6 (Not answered)

19 VIEWS ON HOUSEHOLD TASKS

Q264	ASK ALL [yphelp1] CARD Y22
% 14.0 29.4 34.6 6.6 9.3 5.0 1.1	In general, how often, if at all, do you think a person aged 15 should help their parents with the following tasks READ OUT making the evening meal? Every day or nearly every day 2-5 days a week Once a week Once a month Only on special occasions like birthdays Never (Don't know)
Q265 % 7.8 15.7 18.7 13.6 10.7 31.0 0.5 2.1	ASK ALL LIVING WITH PARENT(S) OR STEP-PARENT(S) [yphelp1a] CARD Y22 AGAIN And how often do you help your parents make the evening meal? Every day or nearly every day 2-5 days a week Once a week Once a month Only on special occasions like birthdays Never (Don't know) (Don't live with (step)parents)
% 27.6 34.5 24.5 7.2 2.4 3.2 0.6	ASK ALL [yphelp2] CARD Y22 AGAIN How often, if at all, do you think a person aged 15 should help their parents with the following tasks READ OUT tidying up around the house? Every day or nearly every day 2-5 days a week Once a week Once a month Only on special occasions like birthdays Never (Don't know)
Q267 % 19.6 26.4 25.6 12.3 3.8 9.8 0.5 2.1	ASK ALL LIVING WITH PARENT(S) OR STEP-PARENT(S) [yphelp2a] CARD Y22 AGAIN And how often do you help your parents tidy up around the house? Every day or nearly every day 2-5 days a week Once a week Once a month Only on special occasions like birthdays Never (Don't know) (Don't live with (step)parents)

	ASK ALL
Q268	[ypkidsgo] N=663
	CARD Y23
	Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. Again, please choose an answer from this card. Once children have left home they should no longer expect help from
용	their parents
1.1	Agree strongly
7.7	Agree
8.4	Neither agree nor disagree
62.5	Disagree
19.9	Disagree strongly
0.5	(Don't know)
Q269	[ypfriend]
	CARD Y23 AGAIN
	(Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these
%	statements. Again, please choose an answer from this card). I'd rather spend time with my friends than my family
1.8	Agree strongly
20.9	Agree
31.3	Neither agree nor disagree
39.8	Disagree
5.7 0.5	Disagree strongly
0.5	(Don't know)
Q270	[ypkidfre]
	CARD Y23 AGAIN
	(Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements. Again, please choose an answer from this card).
%	Parents nowadays don't give their children enough freedom
4.8	Agree strongly
20.9	Agree
23.5	Neither agree nor disagree
46.2	Disagree
4.1	Disagree strongly
0.5	(Don't know)
Q271	[ypparrig]
	CARD Y23 AGAIN
	(Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these
%	statements. Again, please choose an answer from this card).
6.9	Parents generally know what is best for their children Agree strongly
51.6	Agree
22.5	Neither agree nor disagree
16.0	Disagree
2.6	Disagree strongly
0.3	(Don't know)

20 CLASSIFICATION

	ASK ALL
Q272	[yppaper]
	Now some questions about yourself. Firstly, do you normally read any
%	daily morning newspaper at least 3 times a week?
38.1	Yes
61.9	No
	IF 'YES' AT [yppaper]
Q273	[YpWhPap]
	Which one do you normally read?
8	IF MORE THAN ONE: Which one do you read most frequently?
1.5	Express (Daily Express / (Scottish) Daily Express)
6.6	Mail (Daily Mail / (Scottish) Daily Mail)
5.0	Mirror (Daily Mirror / Daily Mirror/ Scottish Mirror)
1.8	Daily Star
13.4	The Sun
2.9 1.7	Daily Record
0.3	Daily Telegraph Financial Times
0.5	The Guardian
0.6	The Independent
1.4	The Times
_	Morning Star
1.8	Other Irish/Northern Irish/Scottish regional or local daily morning
	paper (WRITE IN)
0.6	Other (WRITE IN)
0.2	MORE THAN ONE PAPER READ WITH EQUAL FREQUENCY
	ASK ALL
Q278	[yprelig] N=663
	Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?
0	IF YES: Which?
% 64.9	CODE ONE ONLY - DO NOT PROMPT BUT PROBE FOR DENOMINATION
11.3	No religion Christian - no denomination
6.6	Roman Catholic
6.2	Church of England/Anglican
0.5	Baptist
0.3	Methodist
1.2	Presbyterian/Church of Scotland
_	Free Presbyterian
_	Brethren
0.2	United Reform Church (URC)/Congregational
0.6	Other Protestant (WRITE IN)
_	Other Christian (WRITE IN)
1.1	Hindu
1.2	Jewish
4.5	Islam/Muslim
0.6	Sikh
0.2	Buddhist
0.5	Other non-Christian (WRITE IN)
0.2	Refusal (Dan/+ lines)
0.2	(Don't know)

IF RELIGION GIVEN AT [yprelig] Q285 [ypchatnd] Apart from such special occasions as weddings, funerals and baptisms, how often nowadays do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion? PROBE AS NECESSARY. 9.9 Once a week or more 2.4 Less often but at least once in two weeks 3.5 Less often but at least once a month 4.4 Less often but at least twice a year 1.7 Less often but at least once a year 1.8 Less often than once a year 10.7 Never or practically never 0.6 Varies too much to say ASK ALL Q286-N = 6630293 CARD Y24 Please say which, if any, of the words on this card describes the way you think of yourself. Please choose as many or as few as apply. PROBE: Any other? Multicoded (Maximum of 8 codes) 64.0 British [YPNatGB] 60.1 English [YPNatEng] 13.6 European [YPNatEur] 3.2 Irish [YPNatIr] 0.2 Northern Irish [YPNatNI] 10.6 Scottish [YPNatSct] 0.2 Ulster [YPNatUls] Welsh 6.6 [YPNatWel] 3.2 Other answer (WRITE IN) [YPNatOth] 2.0 (None of these) [YPNatNon] 1.5 EDIT ONLY: OTHER - ASIAN MENTIONED [YPNatAsn] EDIT ONLY: OTHER - AFRICAN /CARIBBEAN MENTIONED 0.9 [YPNatAfr] IF MORE THAN ONE CHOSEN AT [ypnat] Q304 [ypbnat] CARD Y24 AGAIN And if you had to choose, which one **best** describes the way you think of yourself? CODE ONE ONLY DERIVED VARIABLE COMBINING BEST NATIONALITY FOR ALL RESPONDENTS [ypbstnat] 36.9 British 41.7 English 1.7 European 0.3 Irish Northern Irish _ 8.9 Scottish 0.2 Ulster 4.4 Welsh 2.0 Other answer (WRITE IN) 2.1 (None of these) 0.9 EDIT ONLY: OTHER - ASIAN MENTIONED EDIT ONLY: OTHER - AFRICAN / CARIBBEAN MENTIONED 0.6 0.3 (Don't know)

0.2

(Not answered)

	ASK ALL
Q307	[YPRace2]
	To which of these groups do you consider you belong?
용	CODE ONE ONLY
0.9	BLACK: of African origin
0.8	BLACK: of Caribbean origin
0.3	BLACK: of other origin (WRITE IN)
1.4	ASIAN: of Indian origin
3.0	ASIAN: of Pakistani origin
-	ASIAN: of Bangladeshi origin
-	ASIAN: of Chinese origin
0.9	ASIAN: of other origin (WRITE IN)
88.0	WHITE: of any European origin
1.5	WHITE: of other origin (WRITE IN)
2.7 0.6	MIXED ORIGIN (WRITE IN) OTHER (WRITE IN)
0.0	OTHER (WRITE IN)
	ASK ALL IN PAID WORK FOR AT LEAST 10 HOURS IN A WEEK OR WAITING TO
0210	TAKE UP PAID WORK ALREADY ACCEPTED
Q318	[ypemplye] N=67
% 97.0	In your main job (are you / will you be) READ OUT an employee,
1.5	or, self-employed?
1.5	(Don't know)
Q319	[ypjbhrs]
	And how many hours (do you / will you) normally work in your main job
양	IF RESPONDENT CANNOT ANSWER ASK ABOUT LAST WEEK
17.9	10-15 hours
9.0 4.5	16-23 hours
4.5 67.2	24-29 hours 30 or more hours
1.5	(Don't know)
0000	ASK ALL IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION OR AGED 12, 13, 14 OR 15 YEARS
Q320	[ypptjob] N=554
%	Do you do a paid job of any sort at the moment - apart from anything you may do for your parents and get paid for?
26.8	Yes
72.6	No
0.5	(Not answered)
0201	IF 'yes' AT [ypptjob]
Q321	[ypptjbfq]
% 25.0	And do you do this work READ OUT
0.9	at least once a week, at least once a month,
0.9	or, less often?
0.5	(Not answered)
	ACK ALL IN BUILD BING BRUGABLON OR ACED 12 12 14 OR 15 VEARS
Q322	ASK ALL IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION OR AGED 12, 13, 14 OR 15 YEARS [ypschl]
2022	N=554
%	What is the main place you go to for your full-time education?
82.3	School
7.2	Sixth form college
6.5	College of Further Education
0.5	College of Higher Education/ Tertiary College
2.3	University
0.5	Other (WRITE IN)

0.5	(Not answered)	
Q325 % 8.4 91.6	ASK ALL [ypprved] Have you ever attended a fee-paying, private primary or school in the United Kingdom? NOTE: 'PRIVATE' INCLUDES INDEPENDENT/ PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BUT NURSERY SCHOOLS, VOLUNTARY-AIDED SCHOOLS AND 'OPTED OUT' MAINTAINED SCHOOLS Yes No	T EXCLUDES
Q326 % 12.8 87.2	<pre>[ypsnged] And have you ever attended a (girls / boys) only primary school? Yes No</pre>	or secondary
Q327 % 35.5 14.5 0.6	IF IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION OR AGED 14 OR 15 YEARS [ypstacad] CARD Y26 Are you studying for any of the qualifications on this call IF WAITING TO HEAR RESULTS: CODE 'NO' Yes No (Not answered)	ard?
Q328- Q339 % 21.5 2.9 1.5 4.7 5.4 0.3 0.3 2.1 2.1 1.4 0.2	CARD Y26 AGAIN Which ones? PROBE: Which others? PROBE FOR CORRECT LEVEL CODE ALL THAT APPLY Multicoded (Maximum of 12 codes) GCSE Short Course GCSE Scottish SCE Standard Grade GCE AS level GCE A2 level/ S level Scottish SCE Higher/ Higher Still Grade Certificate of Sixth Year Studies/ Advanced Higher Grade GNVQ - Foundation GNVQ - Intermediate Vocational A level (AVCE)/ GNVQ Advanced SCOTVEC/ SQA National Certificate modules Overseas School Leaving Exam/ Certificate	[YPSQGCSE] [YPSQShCo] [YPSQScSG] [YPSQAS] [YPSQA2S] [YPSQHigh] [YPSQ6thY] [YPSQGNVF] [YPSQGNVI] [YPSQSNVI] [YPSQNAtC] [YPSQOVer]
Q340 % 8.4 41.6 0.6	IF IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION OR AGED 14 OR 15 YEARS [ypstvoc] CARD Y27 And are you studying for any of the qualifications on the IF WAITING TO HEAR RESULTS, CODE 'NO' Yes No (Not answered)	is card?

	<pre>IF 'yes' AT [ypstvoc]</pre>	
Q341-		
Q365	CARD Y27 AGAIN	
	Which ones? PROBE: Which others?	
	PROBE FOR CORRECT LEVEL. CODE ALL THAT APPLY	
90	Multicoded (Maximum of 25 codes)	
0.9	Foundation/ Advanced Modern Apprenticeship	[YPSQMAp]
0.2	Other recognised trade apprenticeship	[YPSQTAp]
0.3	OCR (RSA) Vocational Certificate	[YPSQOCRV]
0.2	OCR (RSA) (First) Diploma	[YPSQOCR1]
_	OCR (RSA) Adv. Diploma	[YPSQOCRA]
_	OCR (RSA) Higher Diploma	[YPSQOCRH]
_	Other clerical/ commercial qualification	[YPSQCler]
0.2	City & Guilds Certificate - Level I/ Part I	[YPSQCGL1]
_	City & Guilds Certif - Craft/ Intermed./Level 2/Part II	[YPSQCGL2]
_	City & Guilds Certif - Adv. Craft/Level 3/Part III	[YPSQCGL3]
_	City & Guilds Certif - Full technol./Level 4/Part IV	[YPSQCGL4]
0.5	Edexcel/ BTEC First Certificate	[YPSQFiCe]
0.3	Edexcel/ BTEC First/ General Diploma	[YPSQFiDi]
0.5	Edexcel/ BTEC General/ Ordinary National Certificate/ Da	iploma
		[YPSQONC]
0.9	Edexcel/ BTEC Higher National Certificate (HNC) or Diple	oma (HND)
		[YPSQHNC]
1.2	NVQ Level 1	[YPSQNVQ1]
0.5	NVQ Level 2	[YPSQNVQ2]
0.2	NVQ Level 3	[YPSQNVQ3]
-	NVQ Level 4	[YPSQNVQ4]
0.2	NVQ Level 5	[YPSQNVQ5]
0.3	Teacher training qualification	[YPSQTeac]
-	Nursing qualification	[YPSQNurs]
0.2	Other technical or business qualification/certificate	[YPSQTech]
1.7	University degree or diploma	[YPSQDegr]
0.8	Other recognised academic or vocational qualification (WRITE IN)
		[YPSQOth]
	ASK ALL IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION OR AGED 12, 13, 14 OR 15	
Q393	[ypschend]	N=554
0	How old do you think you will be when you finish your for	ull-time
8	continuous education?	
10.4	16	
24.3	17 or 18	
61.4	19 or over	
3.2	(Don't know)	
0.5	(Not answered)	
0204	[]	
Q394	[ypschwor]	-ll
0	And do you ever worry that you won't be able to get a jo	ob when you
^ર	finish your education?	
36.2	Yes	
62.3	No (Pon/+ know)	
0.9	(Don't know)	
0.5	(Not answered)	
	IF 'YES' AT [ypschwor]	
Q395	[ypbigwor]	
8	Is this READ OUT	
3.8	a big worry,	
12.4	a bit of a worry,	
20.0	or, just an occasional doubt?	

Q396 % 57.8 17.4 21.1 0.9 2.8	ASK ALL NOT IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION [ypschlp]
Q399 % 50.5 39.4 7.3 2.8	ASK ALL NOT IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION [yptea] How old were you when you left continuous full-time education? 15 or 16 17 or 18 19 (Don't know)
Q400 % 31.2 16.5 22.0 28.4 1.8	<pre>[ypedret] And how likely is it that you will go back into full-time education within the next two years? Is it READ OUT very likely, fairly likely, not very likely, or, not likely at all? (Don't know)</pre>
Q401 % 70.7 19.9 9.3	ASK ALL AGED 16, 17, 18 OR 19 [ypedqual] CARD Y28 Have you passed any of the examinations on this card, or are you waiting to hear about the results of any of those examinations? Yes - passed Yes - waiting to hear results No
% 34.1 65.4 8.1 3.7 20.3 12.2	CARD Y28 AGAIN Which ones? PROBE: Which others? PROBE FOR CORRECT LEVEL CODE ALL THAT APPLY Multicoded (Maximum of 13 codes) GCSE (grades D-G) / Short Course GCSE or Scottish SCE Standard Grade (4-7) GCSE (grades A*-C) or Scottish SCE Standard Grade (1-3) GCSE (grade not known) Scottish SCE Standard Grade (1-3) GCE AS level GCE A2 level / A level / S level
6.1 0.8 4.5 8.1 2.4 0.4	Scottish SCE Higher/ Higher Still Grade [YPEQHigh] Certificate of Sixth Year Studies/ Advanced Higher Grade [YPEQ6thY] GNVQ - Foundation [YPEQGNVF] GNVQ - Intermediate [YPEQGBVI] Vocational A level (AVCE)/ GNVQ Advanced [YPEQVocA] SCOTVEC/ SQA National Certificate modules [YPEQNatC] Overseas School Leaving Exam/ Certificate [YPEQOver]

ASK ALL AGED 16, 17, 18 OR 19 Q415 [yppqual] N=246CARD Y29 Have you passed any of the examinations on this card, or are you waiting to hear about the results of any of those examinations? 13.8 Yes - passed 3.3 Yes - waiting to hear results 82.9 IF 'YES - PASSED' OR 'YES - WAITING TO HEAR RESULTS' AT [yppqual] Q416-Q440 CARD Y29 AGAIN Which ones? PROBE: Which others? PROBE FOR CORRECT LEVEL. CODE ALL THAT APPLY Multicoded (Maximum of 25 codes) 2.8 Foundation/ Advanced Modern Apprenticeship [YPEQMAp] Other recognised trade apprenticeship [YPEQTAp] 0.8 OCR (RSA) Vocational Certificate [YPEQOCRV1 0.8 OCR (RSA) (First) Diploma [YPEOOCR1] 0.4 OCR (RSA) Adv. Diploma [YPEQOCRA] OCR (RSA) Higher Diploma [YPEQOCRH] 0.8 Other clerical/ commercial qualification [YPEQCler] City & Guilds Certificate - Level I/ Part I 2.8 [YPEQCGL1] City & Guilds Certif - Craft/ Intermed./Level 2/Part II [YPEQCGL2] 0.8 City & Guilds Certif - Adv. Craft/Level 3/Part III 0.4 [YPEQCGL3] City & Guilds Certif - Full technol./Level 4/Part IV [YPEQCGL4] 1.6 Edexcel/ BTEC First Certificate [YPEQFiCe] 0.8 Edexcel/ BTEC First/ General Diploma [YPEQFiDi] 1.2 Edexcel/ BTEC General/ Ordinary National Certificate/ Diploma [YPEQONC] 0.4 Edexcel/ BTEC Higher National Certificate (HNC) or Diploma (HND) [YPEQHNC] 2.4 NVQ Level 1 [YPEQNVQ1] NVQ Level 2 3.3 [YPEQNVQ2] NVQ Level 3 1.2 [YPEQNVQ3] NVQ Level 4 [YPEQNVQ4] NVQ Level 5 [YPEQNVQ5] 0.4 Teacher training qualification Nursing qualification Other technical or business qualification/certificate [YPEQTech] University degree or diploma [YPEQDegr] Other recognised academic or vocational qualification (WRITE IN) [YPEQOth] ASK ALL 0468 [YPWWWUse] Do you yourself ever use the Internet or World Wide Web for any reason (other than your work/ other than your school work/ other than your school or college work)? 83.7 Yes 16.3 Nο IF 'YES' AT [YPWWWUse] Q469 [YPWWWHWk] How many hours a week on average do you spend using the Internet or World Wide Web (other than for your school work/ work/ school or college work)? INTERVIEWER: ROUND UP TO NEAREST HOUR Range: 0 ... 997 Median: 2 hours

ASK ALL

Q470 %	[ypalint] RECORD WHETHER ANYONE ELSE PRESENT DURING INTERVIEW	N=663
38.9	Yes, throughout	
21.5	Yes, sometimes	
39.6	No	

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