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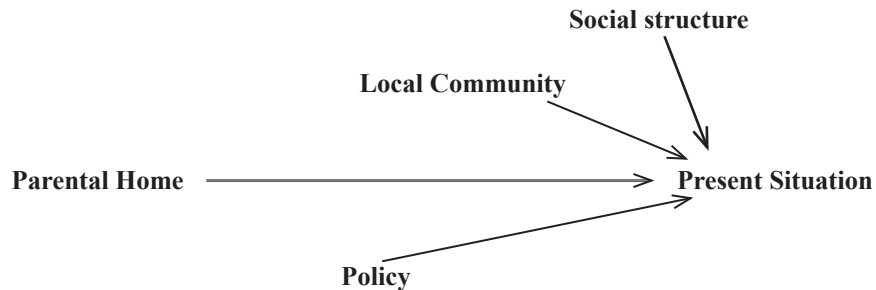
THE CLASS POSITION OF YOUNG ADULTS IN TOWNS OF 'OLD' AND 'NEW' EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we shall explore the class position of young adults, aged 25–29, in eight European towns (Rovigo/IT, Loughborough/UK, Giessen/DE, Pori/FI, Parnu/EE, Jonava/LT, Pernik/BG and Tomaszów Mazowiecki/PL). The paper is based on the empirical data gathered by the PROFIT-project (www.profit.uni.lodz.pl).

The aim of the PROFIT-project was to analyse the transmission of intergenerational inequalities in Europe. An interesting new perspective on poverty and inequality deals with intergenerational inequalities. Comparative research project PROFIT (Policy Responses Overcoming Factors in the Intergenerational Transmission of Inequalities) funded by European Commission focuses on these issues.

Our starting point is the assumption that family background, local communities and social structure generate processes of inequality. As a result of their intermediation, mechanisms emerge that contribute to transfer poverty, low education and unemployment from one generation to another. The project tries to find policy programmes by which European societies can help the most vulnerable groups of youth as effectively as possible to improve their social mobility. Meanwhile, these programmes should encourage social mobility in Europe. We can illustrate the basic starting point of the project with the following figure:



The article is divided in two parts. In the first part we shall present theoretical discussion on current sociological class analysis. In the second part we shall present our empirical findings.

CLASS THEORY

Class analysis based on relevant class theory is needed for the analysis of the conditions of youth in Europe. It is the main axe in the study of equality. The others are the education, gender and residence, etc. All of them are relevant social divisions in nowadays society. This can be said also in other ways. All of these social factors have influence on social position and on the possibilities of action related to the position.

Social class is based on production relations. The task is to define and measure the position of the person in production relations. The theoretical understanding of the class theory needed and the question how to operationalize and measure the class position are both still in mixed condition [see for example Blom-Kivinen 1989, Blom et al. 1992, Savage 2000, Blom-Melin 2004 and Klassenperspektiver 2005]. Special difficulties arise while post-socialist countries are a subject of analysis because of existence of different income sources, partially legal partially illegal [Blom 2002]. Though the discourse on social classes is somehow dominated by the Wrightian and Goldthorpean camps the publications mentioned above provide evidence that many different efforts in other European countries has been done in the field covering dimensions of analysis and social groups neglected in cross-sectional studies. One of these groups are young people living in European countries. They are believed to benefit mostly from the equal opportunity and be upwardly mobile. However empirical evidence concerning young adults is scarce and PROFIT project tries to narrow this gap.

Bourdieu's concepts are applied as theoretical foundation of our analysis. Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* and different kinds of capital (resources one can use) helps us to understand special importance of capitals and their relations. The writings of Pierre Bourdieu are concerned with inequality in different ways in his studies published in different phases of his life. From his early anthropological studies to *Distinction* [1986] and to *The Weight of World* [1999] is a long distance to go. However the topic has been one of his main interest during his life. In this article the main question is the significance of Bourdieu's theory of fields and capitals for the understanding and study of social inequality. This does not mean to deny the value of his critics of neo-liberalist capitalism in his later works.

At first sight it seems that the concept of *habitus* is the most appropriate for the analysis of inequalities. But then we notice that it leads to conceptual set of capitals. Soon we see that without the theory of fields the analysis of capitals lacks its basis. So we must look at the connections between those basic concepts to understand the merits of Bourdieu.

Habitus is a tricky concept. Shortly it can be defined as the totality of internalised structures forming the dispositions for action and orientation. *Habitus* has the objective historical basis. The class *habitus* have their basis in home backgrounds in life experiences during early years, education and work life. *Habitus* is selective towards the world. It makes our perceptions, valuations and finally our choices socially determined. *Habitus* associates the gone objective history and present subjective attitudes. It gives the schemata for understanding the present and to forming the practises. In this way *habitus* is the mediating link between structures and subjective practices.

Class habitus are the class-based systems of dispositions. Behind them there are different living conditions, which are based on differences of capitals. Bourdieu differentiates economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Economic capital is the set of different economic resources like property, incomes and official positions. The concept is resembling Marx concept of capital as self-increasing value but because of Bourdieu's systematic of many capitals it cannot be the same concept of capital as in Marx theory of capitalism.

The cultural capital has different modes of existence. It can have embodied forms like knowledge, skills, or tastes. It has objective forms, for example works of art, books or paintings, and institutional forms like academic qualifications. It was the cultural capital together with the economic capital, which were the main object of the famous study of *Distinction* [Bourdieu 1984].

Social capital can be defined as the sum of those actual and potential resources, which the individual or some wider unit has because of the firm network of

more or less institutionalised social relation. In short, social capital describes the resources, which are based on social relations.

During past 10 years the social capital has got great interest in many research areas and in national and international research programs [cf. Halpern 2005]. One of the most important figures of those trying to develop the concept has been Robert Putnam. He presents three basic elements of the concept. 1) voluntary associations and other networks, which maintain themselves because of 2) the trust and 3) because of the normative rules and reciprocal expectations [Putnam 1993: 167-176].

The different types of capital have important relations with each other. The economic capital is in many ways the basis of other capitals. Still the relations are multidirectional. Cultural and social capital can be transformed to economic capital and the latter can be transformed to each of the both mentioned. A good example of this is the value of educational resources in the labour markets.

The special kind of capital, symbolic capital, has its special importance for understanding the power in Bourdieu's theory. The symbolic capital belongs to the use of power and to achievement of social hegemony. The power structures are reproduced through symbolic capital. The crucial issue is the 'naturalisation' of matters. The power supported by symbolic capital is not questioned. It is hidden.

Because of the non-material nature of symbolic capital all the other forms of capital can work as symbolic capital if the actors recognise them in relevant way. It means that though their habitus and experiences they have the suitable categories of perception and valuation for this.

In the following we discuss shortly the relevance of Bourdieu's thought from the point of view of understanding and study of social inequalities. Some things are self-evident. The concepts of *habitus* and the concepts of economic, cultural and social capital can be used in the analysis of inequalities. It is also argued here that also the symbolic power and trust have their special relevance in the research area.

Some counter-arguments for the use of Bourdieu's concepts must be rejected. Two most typical of them are the difficulties in the measurement of different capitals and the unclear nature of the concept of habitus. Different forms of capitals have been measured in the studies well enough. And also the class and group differences as well as the relations between the capitals and their accumulation is shown [Blom 2001]. There is also a large body of studies about the different forms of capital. Good example is the Halpern's [2005] comparative analysis of the studies concerning the social capital and Putnam's hypothesis of decreasing

social capital. The results show the wide differences according the regions and nations in the development of social capital. Still there is the need for further comparative studies.

The analysis of capitals can give important further understanding how different types of resources (capitals) produce multi-dimensionally structured inequalities. It widens also the picture of habitus of different classes and groups if the data about life histories is added to the analysis. It is sure that the analysis of capitals does not compensate the class analysis but the joint use of both theoretical approaches can give clearly extra knowledge about social inequalities.

Symbolic capital and the analysis of field struggles, give different kind of knowledge than the analysis of capitals, even they are linked together. The studies in symbolic capital give in its part the answer to question how the inequalities, social exclusion and poverty are reproduced, and how legitimation can succeed. The analysis of different classification and other struggles in different fields gives a lot of further knowledge about power structure and action in society, and can add in its parts the understanding of production and reproduction of inequalities.

CLASS STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

One stage of the PROFIT-project was to gather survey data from towns located in each country participating in the project. Surveys were conducted in eight middle sized towns. In each city the aim was to gather 250 interviews, which were based on random sampling. However all of the project teams could not obtain proper samples in every country. For example in the United Kingdom the researchers had to door to door sampling in a certain parts of the city. On the other hand the Finnish project team approached a representative sample from the Population register centre via internet. In spite of these difficulties the national project gathered the data in the spring 2006. The total number of respondents in our analysis is 1680.

For our analysis we have divided our data into two groups. We talk about 'Old' and 'New' Europe. Into the Old Europe we count Italy, United Kingdom, Germany and Finland. The New Europe is represented by Estonia, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Poland. Our assumption is that we can find significant differences between towns in old EU countries and in new EU countries but at the same time there are a lot of similarities in intergenerational mobility patterns between old capitalist towns and former socialist towns.

As we could notice in the first part of our paper, there are several sociological theories on social classes in contemporary capitalism. In the following analysis

we have used a simple modification of the Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP) class scheme (see e.g. Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992). This does not mean that we fully accept the theory [see Blom et al. 1992]. We have come to this solution because of practical reasons. First of all we have a limited number of questions in the questionnaire and for a proper class analysis there is simply too few variables. Secondly we have coded the occupation of the respondent and her/his parents with ISCO (3 digit level). This means that it was possible to construct a simple version of the EGP class typology. Our solution is as follows:

EGP I-II = Service Class
EGP III = Middle Class
EGP IVa-c = Self Employed
EGP VI + VIIa-b = Working Class
Not employed (students, unemployed, at home)

The class nature of the former socialist countries was different from that of the capitalist countries [see e.g. Melin 2002]. Though there were no divisions based on ownership of means of production in the state socialism, there were clear class divisions. Sociologists have presented several theories on social classes in socialism. The range is broad from the orthodox Stalinist theory of friendly classes (e.g. Rutkewitch) to the theory of the *nomenklatura* (Djilas) and new theories of socialist exploitation (Wright) [see e.g. Kivinen 2002]. Our conclusion is in spite of all the divisions the post socialist societies were more equal than the capitalist countries. In many respects the economic and social position of different classes were more homogenous than in capitalism. As a consequence poverty, as we understand it today, was more or less abolished. We have also to keep in mind that there were differences between the socialist countries and big regional differences in a given country as well.

Countries and, in consequence, towns that have participated in the PROFIT-project differ a lot. Socialist background is not the only dividing line. There are big countries and small countries. There are Nordic countries and Mediterranean countries. There are catholic countries and protestant countries. There are ethnically homogenous countries and countries with large ethnic minorities. The political history differs a lot from country to country and so does the welfare state regime as well.

Our sample represents a special age group: young adults. The respondents are aged 25–29. In principle they should have completed all their studies and should be employed either as wage workers or self-employed. However in some cases they are still conducting their studies.

TABLE 1. Class structure of young adults in eight European towns (%)

		Towns in Old Europe (Pori/FI, Rovigo/ IT, Giessen/DE, Loughborough/UK)			Towns in New Europe (Pernik/BG, Parnu/EE, Tomaszów/PL, Jonava/LT)		
		Female	Male	Total N	Female	Male	Total N
Respondent's EGP class	Service Class	19,5%	22,6%	21,0% 171	24,8%	24,3%	24,6% 189
	Middle Class	22,6%	10,4%	16,7% 136	22,6%	11,3%	17,3% 133
	Self- employed	1,7%	3,6%	2,6% 21	2,9%	3,6%	3,3% 25
	Working Class	6,4%	20,4%	13,1% 107	19,2%	42,3%	30,0% 231
	Not employed	49,9%	43,0%	46,6% 379	30,5%	18,5%	24,8% 191
Total N	100% 421	100% 393	100% 814	100% 407	100% 362	100% 769	

There are some remarkable differences between young adults living in towns of Old and New Europe. First of all the number of not employed are much bigger in Old Europe, almost half of all respondents are not employed. In New Europe only one quarter. Secondly working class is much bigger in the New Europe. Especially the number of young men in the working class is surprisingly big. When we look at the working class in general it is more typical for women than for men. Thirdly service class is bigger among young adults in the new European towns. Gender makes a difference. Women are more often out of active employment than men, the difference is bigger in New Europe than in Old Europe. Contrary to the general picture, young men are more often working class than young women. There is similar pattern in Old and in New Europe. Only a small portion of young adults is self employed, and there are more self employed in New Europe than in Old Europe. About one quarter of all respondents belong to the service class. Service class is somewhat bigger in New Europe. There is no major gender difference in the service class.

The results for each participant town are presented in appendix table 1. Since our data is not representative, we shall not go into detailed country by country comparisons. However the results indicate that there are real differences. The differences go cross Europe. For example, it seems that the working class is biggest in Pernik/BG and the service class is biggest in Parnu/EE, both of them

are part of the new Europe. General picture of the class divisions in towns of old and new Europe is as follows:

Class group	Big	Small
Service class and middle class	Parnu/EE, Jonava/LT, Pori/FI	Pernik/BG, Rovigo/ IT, Giessen/DE
Working class	Pernik/BG, Jonava/LT, Tomaszów/PL	Loughborough/UK, Giessen/DE, Pori/FI
Not employed	Giessen/DE, Pori/FI, Loughborough/UK	Parnu/EE, /Jonava/LT, Pernik/BG

To analyse social mobility is to analyse social change. Sociologists have studied class mobility from many different perspectives. Mobility can be seen as an indicator of changes in the division of labour. Some researchers say that social mobility is a vital resource of economic growth. Mobility can also mean prospects for upward careers. Anthony Heath [1981: 13] has summarized the most important questions as follows: Mobility research asks firstly what kind of social mobility is needed for stable social order? Secondly, what kind of mobility is needed for effective modern economies? According to him key concepts in the studies of social mobility are 'order' and 'effectivity'.

Social mobility analyses have usually concentrated on two issues: intergenerational mobility and career mobility. Intergenerational mobility is interested whether the social position of the respondent is different than her/his father's and mother's. Career mobility is interested in the changes of occupational and class positions during respondents life. Marxist sociologists have often criticized main stream mobility analysis because in most cases there is an inbuilt assumption of constant upward mobility. Recent analysis concerning Finland [Melin 2005] show that during past 15 years social mobility has in general decreased. In the new situation it is also typical that what we see is more often downward mobility than upward mobility. In the circumstances of neo-liberal economic policy, information society and increasing globalization social mobility has stagnated and there are much less opportunities for upward mobility than there were during the years of labour intensive economic growth.

Patterns of social mobility in the socialist countries had some special characteristics [Chernish 2002]. Equality and chances for upward mobility came to be one of the most prominent ideals of state socialism. Social mobility was an ideological and political issue. Collapse of state socialism changed this view dramatically. For a short period mobility was mainly downward mobility, except for new entrepreneurs who were the forerunners of the market economy. Today the situation may be different.

In the following (Table 2. and Table 3.) we shall look at intergenerational mobility in towns of old and new Europe. Due to limited space we discuss only the changes between the father and the respondent. In the appendix tables you can find the figures for mothers and the whole data. We look at the mobility from the respondents' perspective, this mean that the tables show the origin of the respondent. We have no space to look at the other aspect of intergenerational mobility – the destinations.

It is difficult to make any systematic analysis about social mobility on the basis of our survey data. First of all our sample is small (N = 1680), secondly the data is representing medium sized cities and finally some of the samples are biased. In spite of these restrictions we may practice sociological imagination and make some speculations. The first notion is that intergenerational mobility patterns are more stable in the Old Europe than in the New Europe. Secondly working class origin is much more common in the New Europe than in the Old one. At the same time middle class origin is more common in the Old Europe.

In the towns of Old Europe the stability is strongest among those who belong to the working class and to the service class. Almost half the respondents classified as working and service class followed father's social class. There are more mobility among those who belong to the middle class or to self-employed. Only in less than 10% of cases respondent who is not in paid work comes from the family where the father was not working.

TABLE 2. Social Mobility: father's and respondent's class status in the towns of Old Europe (%)

		Father's EGP					Total N
		Service Class	Middle Class	Self-employed	Working Class	Not employed	
Respondent's EGP	Service Class	41,7%	14,1%	5,8%	32,7%	5,8%	100,0% 156
	Middle Class	28,3%	15,8%	11,7%	37,5%	6,7%	100,0% 120
	Self-employed	33,3%	19,0%	23,8%	19,0%	4,8%	100,0% 21
	Working class	17,0%	10,6%	17,0%	48,9%	6,4%	100,0% 94
	Not employed	35,1%	11,2%	9,0%	37,6%	7,1%	100,0% 322
Total N		33,0%	12,8%	10,2%	37,4%	6,6%	100,0% 713
		235	91	73	267	47	

Missing N 170

In the new European towns mobility has been much bigger than in Old Europe. There are less stability in the class positions. The working class is an exception. Clear majority of the young people belonging to the working class is coming from working class origin. Actually working class is the most typical origin of all class groups. Our results show that there have happened a real structural change in former socialist countries as perceived from intergenerational perspective.

TABLE 3. Social Mobility: father's and respondent's class status in the towns of New Europe (%)

		Father's EGP					Total N
		Service Class	Middle Class	Self -employed	Working Class	Not employed	
Respon- dent's EGP	Service Class	32,7%	,7%	2,0%	58,5%	6,1%	100,0% 147
	Middle Class	29,7%	3,6%	4,5%	58,6%	3,6%	100,0% 111
	Self -employed	23,8%		4,8%	71,4%		100,0% 21
	Working class	15,6%	1,6%	2,2%	79,6%	1,1%	100,0% 186
	Not employed	23,2%	4,5%	4,5%	63,2%	4,5%	100,0% 155
Total N		24,4% 151	2,4% 15	3,2% 20	66,5% 412	3,5% 22	100,0% 620

Missing N 1707

Unemployment has been a difficult social problem in many European countries during past 15 years. On the other hand there are countries where unemployment has not been any issue [cf. Therborn 1996]. In former socialist countries there was no unemployment. On the contrary most of the countries experienced shortage of labour force. The reintroduction of capitalist social relations recreated also unemployment. However there have been big differences between the countries. For example in Estonia unemployment has never been any major problem, while in Poland, Lithuania and Bulgaria it is much more difficult.

Our respondents were about ten years old when the social transformation begun at early 90's. The early years were shock therapy (particularly in Poland), which meant rapid growth of unemployment. There were deep economic crisis in Old Europe as well in early 90's. For example in Finland the unemployment sky rocketed from full employment to 24% unemployment in three years. So in many ways the situation in the parental families was quite parallel in this respect.

TABLE 4. Unemployment in the parental family in studied towns of Old and New Europe (%)

		Father has been out of work for at least 3 months during his career		
		Towns in Old Europe	Towns in New Europe	Total
Respondent's EGP	Service class	14,9%	16,9%	16,0%
	Middle class	19,7%	15,0%	17,4%
	Self-employed	19,0%	20,0%	19,6%
	Working class	20,2%	17,2%	18,2%
	State-dependent	18,9%	18,2%	18,7%
	Total	18,4%	17,1%	17,8%
	N	153=100%	132=100%	285 = 100%

Old Europe: FI, DE, IT, UK

New Europe: BG, EE, LT, PL

TABLE 5. Respondent's Unemployment in the towns of Old and New Europe (%)

Towns in	Amount of respondents unemployed (%)
Old Europe	16,2
New Europe	9,2
Total	12,9

Tables 4. and 5. show the distribution of unemployment in the towns of Old and New Europe. In general what comes to the parental home the unemployment rates were very similar in New Europe (17.1%) compared with the Old one (18.4%). The frequency of particular classes of respondents among those coming from families with long-term unemployed fathers is surprisingly similar. It concerns towns in both parts of Europe. In the towns of Old Europe respondents belonging to working class are most frequent among those coming from families with long-term unemployed fathers while in the towns of New Europe there are those belonging to self-employed class.

Youth unemployment has been a severe social problem in the Western Europe for many years. It has been at much higher level than the average unemployment figures. Today unemployment is declining through out the European continent. This is due to good economic situation and demographic changes. Economic growth has been more rapid in New Europe than in Old Europe. This can be seen in unemployment figure. There are clearly less unemployment among the respondents in New Europe than in Old Europe. Of course there are many factors, which we have to take into account in the comparisons. For example

unemployment benefits are usually better in Old Europe, in many cases unemployment benefits are nominal in former socialist countries. The same goes for other social benefits as well.

Finally we shall explore the subjective evaluation of current social position. In the questionnaire we asked the respondents to locate their parental home and their current household into a scale ranging from 1 to 10. The scale describes their own society.

TABLE 6. Subjective Social Status of Respondent's Parental Family
(scale: 1-10)

Towns in	Parental home	Present home
Old Europe	6,33	6,08
New Europe	5,53	5,77
Total	5,95	5,93

Old Europe: FI, DE, IT, UK

New Europe: BG, EE, LT, PL

There is a different pattern between Old and New Europe. The respondents in Old Europe evaluate that the position of their parental family was some what higher than their current position. The situation in New Europe is quite the opposite. Young adults see that they are in a better position than their parents (see article by Magdalena Rek in this volume to get some explanations for that).

In general respondents in Old Europe give higher estimates than the respondents in New Europe. The difference is bigger concerning the position of the parental family than the current situation. The result can be explained with economic prospects. It seems that the economic prospects for the New Europe are better than the Old Europe. Economic growth is more rapid there and it seems that there are also better chances for upward economic mobility.

CONCLUSIONS

Social class has different relevance areas in the analysis of the conditions of youth in Europe. Most important of them are 1) the inheritance of poverty or economic, social and cultural capital (in the sense of Bourdieu), 2) the analysis of the trajectories of different groups of the youth., and 3) the analysis of the possibilities of action related to social position. In this paper the first question is the target. Still the other two are also highly relevant.)

Trajectories are a kind of prediction. What was tried to know is to know what is the position of some group of people for example ten years later. From the point of class position it can be predicted that the position on average is relatively same as now ten years later. Taking account that there are lot of structural changes and political reforms going on all the time we can guess that trajectory predictions using only class position are not sufficient. There are two main types to correct trajectories of the position: 1) add the indicators of other social divisions and Bourdieu-kind of capital resource to the predictors, and 2) add the subjective factors about the wills and hopes of the youth to the pattern of predictors [see the article by Wielisława Warzywoda-Kruszyńska and Magdalena Rek in this volume to get knowledge about trajectories of respondents originated in low status families as told by themselves].

The class is not dead. A position in the production relations shapes people's conditions of every-day life in many ways. This goes for young adults as well. One's place in the power and authority relations of working life affect one's views about oneself, others and the whole society. Class analysis still has its place in the social sciences. Ownership relations and positions related to wage labour have a relevant significance in the formation of people's life conditions. Although new divisions have formed alongside the class, it is still important. Therefore the class analysis should not be buried. Class analysis is an important portrayer of social divisions but beside it other analyses of societal processes that produce inequality must be brought alongside it. These include for example the gender system, questions about generations, and regional differences. The modern society is constantly differentiating more and the significance of sociological research on societal divisions seems to increase in the beginning of the new millennium.

In this paper we have discussed the class position of young adults in the middle-size European towns and its relation to father's class position. Our analysis shows that there are significant differences between different European countries. What is common for all towns is that large numbers of young adults are out of labour force: some are studying some are unemployed, all in all the share of not employed is big. Working class is the biggest class group in consolidated sample but the share of working class varies a lot. The proportion of working class respondents is approximately two times smaller in towns of Old Europe than in New Europe. At the same time not employed constitute a group two times bigger in the former as compared to the latter. On the other hand there are also many young adults who belong to the service and middle classes.

Our analysis suggests that transmission of class position is not a myth. It concerns first of all working class. Every second young worker living in studied

towns in Old Europe and eighty per cent of those living in new Europe originated with working class families. People coming from workers families are strongly overrepresented among young members of working class.

Despite this fact most of the respondents in New Europe think that their current social position is better as compared with the parental home, while the situation is the opposite one in old Europe. However, one has to keep in mind that differentiation is big in both Old and New Europe.

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Appendix tables

TABLE 1. Respondent's class position (%)

	Town							
	Pernik BG	Pori FI	Parnu EE	Giessen DE	Rovigo IT	Jonava LT	Tomaszów PL	Lboro UK
Service Class	12,4	26,7	38,0	16,6	15,5	31,3	21,6	19,5
Middle Class	16,8	11,6	14,7	7,1	23,1	11,2	20,8	24,1
Self-employed	2,8	2,7	1,2	0,8	4,0	4,5	4,0	1,5
Working Class	42,0	11,2	22,7	9,5	18,7	26,9	21,6	7,5
Not employed	26,0	43,8	13,5	54,4	35,1	18,7	32,0	44,4
Missing	0,0	3,9	9,8	11,6	3,6	7,5	0,0	3,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 2. Social Mobility: respondent's and father's class status (%)

		Dad's EGP					Total N
		Service Class	Middle Class	Self-employed	Working Class	Not employed	
Respondent's EGP	Service Class	37,3%	7,6%	4,0%	45,2%	5,9%	100,0% 303
	Middle Class	29,0%	10,0%	8,2%	47,6%	5,2%	100,0% 231
	Self-employed	28,6%	9,5%	14,3%	45,2%	2,4%	100,0% 42
	Working class	16,1%	4,6%	7,1%	69,3%	2,9%	100,0% 280
	State-dependent	31,2%	9,0%	7,5%	45,9%	6,3%	100,0% 477
Total N		29,0% 386	8,0% 106	7,0% 93	50,9% 679	5,2% 69	100,0% 1333

TABLE 3. Social mobility: mother's and respondent's class status (%)

		Mother's EGP					Total N
		Service Class	Middle Class	Self-employed	Working class	No paid work	
Respondent's	Service Class	35,8%	27,6%	4,8%	17,6%	14,2%	100,0% 330
	Middle Class	26,2%	27,3%	5,0%	23,5%	18,1%	100,0% 260
	Self-employed	28,9%	26,7%	15,6%	24,4%	4,4%	100,0% 45
	Working class	15,8%	26,0%	2,3%	41,8%	14,1%	100,0% 311
	State-dependent	22,7%	28,4%	3,2%	21,6%	24,2%	100,0% 538
Total N		24,9% 370	27,5% 408	4,0% 60	25,3% 376	18,2% 270	100,0% 1484

Missing N: 196

TABLE 4. Social mobility: mother's and respondent's class status in Old Europe (%)

		Mother's EGP					Total N
		Service Class	Middle Class	Self-employed	Working class	Not employed	
Respondent's EGP	Service Class	30,7%	28,2%	8,0%	11,7%	21,5%	100,0% 163
	Middle Class	22,1%	27,5%	6,1%	14,5%	29,8%	100,0% 131
	Self-employed	25,0%	20,0%	20,0%	25,0%	10,0%	100,0% 20
	Working class	15,8%	19,8%	5,0%	26,7%	32,7%	100,0% 101
	Not employed	22,1%	28,5%	3,6%	13,4%	32,4%	100,0% 358
Total N		23,2% 179	26,9% 208	5,6% 43	15,3% 118	29,1% 225	100,0% 773

Old Europe: FI, IT, UK, DE

Missing N: 110

TABLE 5. Social mobility: mother's and respondent's class status in New Europe (%)

		Mothers EGP					Total N
		Service Class	Middle Class	Self- employed	Working class	Not employed	
Respon- dent's EGP	Service Class	40,7%	26,9%	1,8%	23,4%	7,2%	100,0% 167
	Middle Class	30,2%	27,1%	3,9%	32,6%	6,2%	100,0% 129
	Self- employed	32,0%	32,0%	12,0%	24,0%		100,0% 25
	Working class	15,7%	29,0%	1,0%	49,0%	5,2%	100,0% 210
	Not employed	23,9%	28,3%	2,2%	37,8%	7,8%	100,0% 180
Total N		26,9% 191	28,1% 200	2,4% 17	36,3% 258	6,3% 45	100,0% 711

New Europe: EE, LT, BG, PL

Missing N: 86

TABLE 6. Home owners in the towns of Old and New Europe (% parental home)

		The dwelling of parental home was own or owned with a mortgage		
		Old Europe	New Europe	Total
Respondent's EGP	Service class	83,3%	71,4%	77,1%
	Middle class	72,3%	66,9%	69,6%
	Self-employed	90,5%	80,0%	84,8%
	Working class	61,5%	72,4%	68,9%
	Not employed	67,3%	63,0%	65,9%
	Total N	71,3% 593	69,1% 533	70,2% 1126

Old Europe: FI, DE, IT, UK

New Europe: BG, EE, LT, PL

Harri Melin, Raimo Blom

THE CLASS POSITION OF YOUNG ADULTS IN TOWNS
OF “OLD’ AND “NEW” EUROPE

(Summary)

The article seeks to present the extent of class membership inheritance among young adults inhabiting towns studied within the framework of the PROFIT project based on results of the “Young adults at risk” survey. Main theoretical background of the article is Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*. Class analysis is applied with the use of simplified form of EGP classification.

POZYCJA KLASOWA MŁODYCH DOROSŁYCH Z MIAST „STAREJ”
I „NOWEJ” EUROPY

(Streszczenie)

Artykuł jest próbą zaprezentowania zasięgu dziedziczenia przynależności klasowej przez młodych dorosłych, mieszkańców miast objętych badaniami w ramach projektu PROFIT w oparciu o wyniki badania kwestionariuszowego „Young adults at risk”. Podstawową inspiracją teoretyczną jest tu koncepcja habitusu Pierre’a Bourdieu, zaś analiza klasowa przeprowadzona jest przy wykorzystaniu uproszczonej wersji klasyfikacji EGP.