EPITeen24: Reproducing or going against social destiny?

## A longitudinal study of a cohort born in the 90 of the XX century in Portugal

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## Preliminary results

## at 13, 17 e 21 years old

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## 1. Where did these young people come from and where are they now?

1.1. The education level of the youngsters triples the education level of their parents

- Data shows that regarding education, respondents go against the social destiny of their parents (Figure 1). That is, although most parents only have until the compulsory education level (53.2\% of the mothers and $53.5 \%$ of the fathers), the proportion of this education level falls significantly for the respondents ( $8.5 \%$ ). This trend of increased education of the respondents is reflected on higher education. Only $22.6 \%$ of the mothers and 20.9\% of the fathers have an undergraduate degree compared to $36.9 \%$ of the respondents. The remaining $27.8 \%$ of the youngsters (in the higher education category) are enrolled in an undergraduate degree program.

Figure 1


## Concerning the parents:

- Although most parents of the youngsters have compulsory education (until the $9^{\text {th }}$ grade), the proportion of those who only have until the $4^{\text {th }}$ grade is still relevant ( $22.7 \%$ of the fathers and $21.7 \%$ of the mothers) (Figure 2).

Figure 2


Concerning the youngsters:

- Girls seem to be more educated than boys. This can be partly explained by the higher rate of male school retention (Figure 3). So, while boys continue to study, are completing their undergraduate degree or even their secondary or vocational degree, girls mostly follow master's degrees and specializations. Forty three percent of the girls and thirty percent of the boys have completed an undergraduate degree (15 or more years of schooling).

Figure 3

$\left(X^{2}=16,441, p<0,001\right)$

### 1.2. At age 21 , most continue to study

- Regarding their professional trajectory and situation, and given the age of the respondents, we were not able to assess their social destiny yet. As the respondents are only 21 years old, the vast majority is still studying. This has implications in terms of the professional categories found in this wave for two reasons. First, young people who are working at the age of 21 have less schooling. Second, professions that require greater specialization will tend to be less represented than in the case of the parents. The reverse happens in the professions that require low education.


## When we consider the parents:

- The vast majority is employed (78.9\% of fathers and 71.0\% of mothers).
- As to the reasons why $20.9 \%$ of the mothers and $9.6 \%$ of the parents are unemployed, we can observe some differences: $40.3 \%$ of the fathers are seeking employment and $38.6 \%$ are sick, retired or are still studying, while $47.2 \%$ of mothers are unemployed because they are caregivers or housewives.
- Given the prevailing low education levels, both fathers and mothers are concentrated in intermediate occupations ( $34.7 \%$ and $39.8 \%$ respectively) (Table 1) followed by "Professionals" ( $21.3 \%$ and $26.1 \%$ ). Then, the mothers concentrate on "Elementary Occupations" (20.8\%) and the fathers in "Craft and Related Trade Workers (16.3\%), and "Legislators, Senior Official, and Managers (12.9\%)

Table 1

|  | Mothers |  | Fathers |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | N | \% | N | \% |
| Armed Forces | . | . | 6 | 0,3 |
| Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers | 110 | 6,4 | 242 | 12,9 |
| Professionals | 445 | 26,1 | 401 | 21,3 |
| Technicians and Associate Professionals | 176 | 10,3 | 211 | 11,2 |
| Clerical Support Workers | 239 | 14 | 157 | 8,4 |
| Services and Sales Workers | 264 | 15,5 | 283 | 15,1 |
| Skilled Agricultural and Fishery Workers | 6 | 0,4 | 13 | 0,7 |
| Craft and Related Trade Workers | 81 | 4,7 | 306 | 16,3 |
| Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers | 9 | 0,5 | 114 | 6,1 |
| Elementary Occupations | 356 | 20,8 | 72 | 3,8 |
| Low scholar managers (until grade 9) | 21 | 1,2 | 69 | 3,7 |
| Undifferentiated managers (unschooled) | 1 | 0,1 | 5 | 0,3 |
| Total | 1708 | 100 | 1708 | 100 |

## Let's further consider the youngsters:

- Most are still studying: $65.7 \%$ of the boys and $64.6 \%$ of the girls. Sixteen percent are unemployed or looking for their first job and fifteen are full-time employees. Of these, most have until Secondary School (48.2\% of the unemployed and $56.6 \%$ of employees) (Figure 4).

Figure 4

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- Most of the respondents with parents with low level of schooling (until 9 years of schooling) are still studying, thus contradicting their social destiny (Table 2). While those who have higher educated origins are in larger number studying, hence reproducing their academic trajectories. It is also important to highlight that respondents who are working are mostly from low -educated families.

Table 2

| Situation towards work (at age 21) -\% | Mother's completed years of education |  |  |  | Father's completed years of education |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 0 to 4 years | $\begin{aligned} & 5 \text { to } 9 \\ & \text { years } \end{aligned}$ | 10 to 12 <br> years | More <br> than 12 y | 0 to 4 years | $\begin{aligned} & 5 \text { to } 9 \\ & \text { years } \end{aligned}$ | 10 to 12 <br> years | More <br> than $12 y$ |
| Full-time employed | 29,4 | 17,6 | 10,7 | 4,7 | 28,9 | 17,4 | 11,3 | 3,1 |
| Part-time employed | 8 | 8,3 | 5,6 | 1,4 | 7,9 | 8,6 | 4,7 | 1,5 |
| Unemployed / looking for 1st job | 26,9 | 21,1 | 8,8 | 6,1 | 27,2 | 18,1 | 9,7 | 5,9 |
| Student / at school / in training | 34,3 | 51,9 | 74,7 | 86,4 | 34,8 | 55,3 | 73,5 | 88,2 |
| Other situation | 1,4 | 1,2 | 0,2 | 1,4 | 1,3 | 0,7 | 0,7 | 1,3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

- Although girls tend to be more educated, they face greater difficulties in the labor market. For instance, while $16.7 \%$ of the boys are working full-time, only $13.7 \%$ of the girls are in similar situation. Eight percent of the girls work part-time compared to five percent of the boys. Within these who are working part-time, most say they would rather work full time. This inequality is not felt regarding unemployment ( $\mathrm{X}^{2}=16,378, p=$ 0,012 ).


## Within those who are working:

- The majority falls within the intermediate and services professions (69.9\% in total and $77.6 \%$ of the boys and $61.1 \%$ of the girls) (Table 3).

Table 3

| Profissão (CNP) |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  | N | $\%$ |
| Armed Forces | 10 | 1,8 |
| Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers | 3 | 0,5 |
| Professionals | 47 | 8,5 |
| Technicians and Associate Professionals | 78 | 14,1 |
| Clerical Support Workers | 234 | 42,4 |
| Services and Sales Workers | 2 | 0,4 |
| Skilled Agricultural and Fishery Workers | 43 | 7,8 |
| Craft and Related Trade Workers | 12 | 2,2 |
| Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers | 48 | 8,7 |
| Elementary Occupations | 1 | 0,2 |
| Low scholar managers (until grade 9) | 552 | 100 |
| Total |  |  |

- Though girls are mostly concentrated in the category "Services and Sales Workers" (53.6\% and $31.3 \%$ ), boys have a significant proportion in the "Technicians and Associate Professionals" (18, $0 \%)$. Another noticeable gender difference is that $13.6 \%$ of the boys fall into the category of "Craft and Related Trade Workers" and $10.7 \%$ of the girls in the "Elementary Occupations".
- All who are working at 21 left school on average around 18 or 19 years-old, with the exception of the "Legislators, Senior Official and Managers" and the "Professionals" who left on average with 19.7 and 20.8 years-old, respectively.
- The vast majority of young people aged 21 had never emigrated to work. The minority who has emigrated is slightly higher in those who completed up to the 12 th grade $(3.9 \%)$ compared to those who studied more than 12 full years (2.2\%). Most emigrated for the first time at age 21.
- When looking at the professional category of parents and respondents, as already highlighted, one realizes that the higher education of the youngsters not always reflects on an ascendant professional mobility. But at age 21 many respondents have not yet completed their undergraduate degree, which prevents them from having intellectual and scientific professions or leadership positions.
- Thus, the proportion of "Professionals" decreases ( $21.3 \%$ of fathers and $26.1 \%$ of mothers compared to $8.1 \%$ of boys and $8.6 \%$ girls). And the weight of the intermediate professions increases: $34.7 \%$ of fathers and $39.8 \%$ of mothers compared to $77.6 \%$ of the girls (prominently "Services and Sales Workers" - 53.6\%) and 61.1\% of boys (with greater balance between the several categories).
- The proportion in the "Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers" also decreases ( $12.9 \%$ of fathers and $6.4 \%$ of mothers compared with $1.1 \%$ of males and $0 \%$ of girls) and the proportion of "Plant, Machine Operators and Assemblers" goes from 22.4\% of fathers and $5.2 \%$ mothers to $17.3 \%$ of boys and $2.9 \%$ girls.
- The weight of "Elementary Occupations" also decreases in females, but increases in males. $20.8 \%$ of the mothers compared to $10.7 \%$ of the girls and $3.8 \%$ of the fathers compared to $8.1 \%$ of the boys.
- Is important to note that boys and girls seem to not be able to, at least for now, go against the social gender destiny. That is, a greater proportion of boys in the categories of laborers and operators and girls in unskilled jobs continue to occur. In addition, already at age 21, there is a greater weight of boys in senior management than girls.


### 1.3. At the age of 13 , most young people aspired to have a Professional career

- The majority of respondents reported that in the future they would like to be "Professionals" (72.3\% of the girls and 58.9\% of the boys) (Table 4). This category includes different professions like veterinary and actress (widely mentioned by girls), but also lawyer, psychologist, economist, teacher, mathematician, etc. However, more boys than girls responded "Technicians and Associate Professionals" (25.3\% and 14.4\%) explained, for example, by the weight of those who aspired to be high competition athletes, especially football players.

Table 4

|  | Girls | Boys |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Armed Forces | , $3 \%$ | , $2 \%$ |
| Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers | , $4 \%$ | $\mathbf{2 , 4 \%}$ |
| Professionals | $\mathbf{7 2 , 3} \%$ | $\mathbf{5 8 , 9 \%}$ |
| Technicians and Associate Professionals | $\mathbf{1 4 , 4 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 , 3 \%}$ |
| Clerical Support Workers | , $4 \%$ | , $\mathbf{1 \%}$ |
| Services and Sales Workers | $5,6 \%$ | $4,3 \%$ |
| Skilled Agricultural and Fishery Workers | $0,0 \%$ | , $\mathbf{1 \%}$ |
| Craft and Related Trade Workers | $0,0 \%$ | $3,5 \%$ |
| Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers | $0,0 \%$ | , $6 \%$ |
| Elementary Occupations | , $1 \%$ | $0,0 \%$ |
| References to more than one profession | $6,4 \%$ | $4,4 \%$ |
| Total | $100,0 \%$ | $100,0 \%$ |


2. The impact of origin in the educational and professional trajectory

- Overall, at $17,40.7 \%$ of the youngsters $(N=1003)$ had been retained at a school year, making $59.3 \%(N=1453)$ to have never been. Girls, however, showed a lower retention rate than boys (37.1\% and 44.4\% respectively) ( $X^{2}=13,464, p<0,001$ ).
- Generally the youngsters highlight missing class, not studying enough, behavior and poor grades as reasons for school failure (Figure 5).

Figure 5


- The higher the parents' educational level, the lower the percentage of young people who have failed. For the young people whose parents only completed up to the 3rd cycle of the Basic Education (Year 9) about 50 or $60 \%$ have flunked. As to those that have parents who completed Secondary or Higher Education, most (70\% and 90\%) never failed.
- Interestingly, even with low educational background (mother or father) there are still many young people who were never retained in school ( $42.4 \%$ and $44.7 \%$ depending on the parent). This can help explain why they achieve considerably higher levels of education than their parents (Figure $6)$.

Figure 6

(Mother: $X^{2}=413,3, p<0,001$; Father: $X^{2}=371,094, p<0,001$ )

- Those who are still studying at age 21 are the ones that least failed in school (18\%) (Table 5). Of those who are working, $57.3 \%$ were retained in school, and within the unemployed, $61.7 \%$.

Table 5

|  |  | Situation towards work (at age 21) |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Full-time employed | Part-time employed | Unemployed / looking for 1st job | Student/at school / in training | Other situation |
| School retention | No | 42,7 | 51,6 | 38,3 | 82,0 | 58,3 |
|  | Yes | 57,3 | 48,4 | 61,7 | 18,0 | 41,7 |
|  | Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

- Through the parents' occupational category, we also observe a wide contrast of school retention rates (Table 6). The young sons of "Professionals" are those that least show school failure, with a percentage of non-retention of approximately $90 \%$, also followed by the children of the "Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers", of around $80 \%$. In contrast, school failure is very high in the "Elementary Occupations" and the "Craft Workers" (around 60\%). Though it should be noted that the father's profession seems to have more effect on non-retention than the mother's. But among sons of low educated managers, the level of school retention is very low (26\%), which may indicate a considerable financial investment in their children's education.

Table 6

|  |  | School retention |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  | \%others | No | Yes |
|  | Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers | 77,8 | 22,2 |
|  | Professionals | 88,5 | 11,5 |
|  | Technicians and Associate Professionals | 78,4 | 21,6 |
|  | Clerical Support Workers | 70,6 | 29,4 |
|  | Services and Sales Workers | 55,5 | 44,5 |
|  | Skilled Agricultural and Fishery Workers | 16,7 | 83,3 |
|  | Craft and Related Trade Workers | 42 | 58 |
|  | Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers | 77,8 | 22,2 |
|  | Elementary Occupations | 36,8 | 63,2 |
|  | Low scholar managers (until grade 9) | 61,9 | 38,1 |
|  | Undifferentiated managers (unschooled) | 100 | 0,0 |
|  | Armed Forces | 83,3 | 16,7 |
|  | Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers | 80,4 | 19,6 |
|  | Professionals | 89,2 | 10,8 |
|  | Technicians and Associate Professionals | 76,3 | 23,7 |
|  | Clerical Support Workers | 70,7 | 29,3 |
|  | Services and Sales Workers | 60,2 | 39,8 |
|  | Skilled Agricultural and Fishery Workers | 53,8 | 46,2 |
|  | Craft and Related Trade Workers | 37,9 | 62,1 |
|  | Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers | 51,3 | 48,7 |
|  | Elementary Occupations | 37,5 | 62,5 |
|  | Low scholar managers (until grade 9) | 73,9 | 26,1 |
|  | Undifferentiated managers (unschooled) | 60,0 | 40,0 |
|  |  |  |  |

- Through parent's educational level, gender, school retention and reading time, four different profiles with associated features can be identified (Figure 7). These profiles are defined primarily by parents' education level. On the one hand, we have more educated mothers and fathers with secondary and higher education that are more correlated to children's school success, which is then more associated with the female gender. On the other, parents until Grade 9, are most associated with student school retention, and then the boys. Privileged associations are found between reading or homework time at the weekend; as parents' education increases, so does the time spent reading and studying.

Figure 7

3. Reading and studying lessens the effects of different social backgrounds

## Reading

- We also found that, at age 13 , as the parents' education increases, so does the percentage of book reading. However, more than half stated they read a book in the last three months, even in those who have inherited lower cultural capital (Mother: X2= 137,911, p<0,001; Father: X2=123,742, p<0,001) (Figure 8).
- On weekdays, regardless of parents' educational level, the 17 year olds spend almost 3 hours per day reading. This result suggests that the effect of low parental education may be balanced by reading or studying.

Figure 8.


- Among those who failed at school, those with more educated parents read in average another half hour than the others.
- Gender also seems to have a differentiating role. Girls tend to spend more time devoted to activities such as reading or doing homework and boys to computer games or playstation.


## TV

- The respondents at age 13 , whose parents are more educated (secondary or higher education), declared spending on average less time during the week (about $3 / 4$ of an hour) watching TV (a total of about 2 hours) (Mother: $F=20,093, p<0,001$; Father: $F=15,333, p<0,001$ ).
- As parents' education increases, the time young people spend watching TV at the weekend decreases, with an average difference of two hours (Mother: $F=25,292, p<0,001$; Father: $F=$ 24,220, $p<0,001$ ).
- At 17, young people who have already failed at school spend more time watching TV during the week.
- Young people who have parents with more years of schooling spend less time on this activity.

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## Computer games

- Regarding the time spent playing on the computer; the young people who, at age 17 , never failed at school spend on average less 15 to 20 minutes than those who already flunked at school, regardless of parents' education.
- Concerning participation in leisure activities, the majority of young people referred at age 17 never doing so (Figure 8). This figure is even more significant in those that both already retained at school and have parents with low education (65.9\%) (Table 7).

Table 7

|  | Parents with <br> low <br> education <br> and has <br> retained at <br> school | Parents with <br> low <br> education <br> and never <br> retained at <br> school | Parents with <br> high <br> education <br> and never <br> retained at <br> school | Parents with <br> high <br> education <br> and has <br> retained at <br> school |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Never | 65,9 | 55,1 | 50,1 | 57,6 |
| Less than once a week | 8 | 9,5 | 8,4 | 9 |
| Once a week | 11,7 | 16,5 | 19,9 | 14,4 |
| 2 to 3 times a week | 10 | 14,4 | 16,4 | 14 |
| 4 to 6 times a week | 1,9 | 1,8 | 2,4 | 2,9 |
| Everyday | 2,5 | 2,7 | 2,8 | 2,2 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

## Sports practice

- Regarding sports, at age 13, most respondents with parents with less education (up to the 9th grade) did not practice sports outside school (about 40\%). Yet, most respondents with parents with more education practiced sport ( $56 \%$ of those with parents with secondary education and $71.6 \%$ of those with parents with higher education) (Mother: $X^{2}=127,417, p<0,001$; Father: $\left.X^{2}=121,0965, p<0,001\right)$.
- At age 17 the young people with parents with higher education continued to practice more sport than those with parents with lower education, but this difference is not as large (around between $46 \%$ to 62\%).
- Considering the participation in extra-curricular sport activities, most never practice, being more prominent in the youngsters with less educated parents, and also in those that have been kept in a school year.


## Smoking

- Most respondents at age 13 claimed to have never smoked. Whereas those that have smoked, the largest proportion, almost a quarter, have parents with less education (Mother: $\mathrm{X}^{2}=6,513$, $p=0,09$; Father: $X^{2}=0,918, p=0,82$ ). However, from these, those who smoke occasionally and daily, as opposed to those that only tried smoking, are the ones with parents with higher education (Mother: $\mathrm{X}^{2}=6,268, p=0,51$; Father: $\mathrm{X}^{2}=6,418, p=0,38$ ).


## Alcoholic beverages

- The opposite occurs regarding alcohol consumption. There is a higher percentage of adolescents who have tried alcoholic drinks in those families whose parents have more years of education (around 60\% compared to the about $47 \%$ of those with parents with lower education) (Mother: $X^{2}=38,847, p<0,001$; Father: $\left.X^{2}=37,196, p<0,001\right)$.


## Risk behaviors

- Regarding risk behaviors, the children of very low educated parents (maximum up to grade 4 at school) referred at age 17 to be more involved in fights (39.1\%), a higher percentage has already been suspended from school (15.2\%), and also a higher percentage declared to have been arrested (8.5\%)*,
- A different setting is observed when we notice that a higher percentage of young people with parents with more education already committed a crime (around 7\%) compared to those with less educated parents (around 4\%). The father's schooling seems to have a stronger effect; the longer the father studied, the higher the percentage of crime incidence **.
* Involvement in physical fights - Mother: $\mathrm{X}^{2}=13,918, p=0,03$; Father: $\mathrm{X}^{2}=11,404, p=0,07$

School suspension - Mother: $X^{2}=49,633, p<0,001$; Father: $X^{2}=35,084, p<0,001$
Arrested - Mother: $X^{2}=15,749, p=0,001 ;$ Father: $X^{2}=12,349, p=0,006$


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Figure 9.


- Been involved 2 or more times in a physical fight in the last 12 months
- At least once in lifetime, got suspended from school
- At least once in lifetime, got arrested
- At least once in lifetime, commited a crime.
- When school failure is included, the effect of parent's schooling is neutralized: those who have been retained at school become more involved in physical fights or have been suspended from school without the parental background education making a difference (Figure 9).
- It is not the case for having committed a crime. School retention here has little effect, and parents' education more.
- Again, gender also seems to have influence (Figure 10). Boys reported risk behaviors in greater numbers than girls. Namely, getting suspended from school (12.8\% compared to $4.7 \%$ ), being arrested ( $8.2 \%$ and $2.7 \%$ respectively), attacking someone with the idea of seriously hurting ( $21.7 \%$ and $81 \%$ ), belonging to gangs ( $7.0 \%$ and $2.4 \%$ ) and committing a crime ( $9.6 \%$ and $2.1 \%$ ).

Figure 10.


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## Social Capital

- As parents' education increases, so does the socialization frequency of young people (about 50\% of young people with less educated parents socialize at least once a week, and around $60-70 \%$ of children of more educated parents do the same) (Table 8).

Table 8

|  |  | Mother's completed years of education |  |  |  | Father's completed years of education |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 0 to 4 years | $\begin{aligned} & 5 \text { to } 9 \\ & \text { years } \end{aligned}$ | 10 to 12 years | More than 12y | 0 to 4 years | $\begin{aligned} & 5 \text { to } 9 \\ & \text { years } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 10 to 12 years | More than 12 y |
| How often do you socialize with peers | Never | 5 | 3,3 | 0,9 | 0,7 | 5,2 | 2,1 | 1,7 | 0,6 |
|  | Less than once a month | 16,7 | 13,8 | 8,3 | 5,6 | 17,1 | 14,7 | 6,7 | 5,4 |
|  | One to three times a month | 31,9 | 33,1 | 29,2 | 25,9 | 35,9 | 31 | 28,1 | 26,6 |
|  | Once or more a week | 46,4 | 49,8 | 61,7 | 67,8 | 41,9 | 52,2 | 63,5 | 67,4 |
|  | Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

(Mother: $s=0,60, p=0,001$; Father: $s=0,031, p=0,15$ )

- Young people with less educated parents are also those that are least likely belong to leisure activity groups (53.7\%). Here, school retention has an effect, increasing the percentage of young people who never belonged to these groups. (Mother: $s=0,221, p<0,001$; Father: $s=0,20$, $p<0,001$ )
- Most young people stated never receiving economic support, this being more evident among those whose parents hold less education. Regarding emotional support, the mentioned frequency is higher for all. Those who claim to receive it are often young people with parents with higher education and those who have academic success. (Mother: $s=0,168, p<0,001$; Father: $s=0,147, p<0,001$ ).
- At age 21 we found that a higher percentage of students mentioned receiving more often emotional support from closed networks than those who are employed (54.9\% and 39.1\%, respectively). The unemployed and the employed are the ones who most state they participate less than the majority in social activities (16.4\% and 10\%, respectively). (Mother: $s=$ $0,130, p<0,001$; Mother: $s=0,130, p<0,001$; Father $s=0,115, p<0,001)$.


## Health

- At age 17 there is a higher incidence of depressive symptoms in girls (17.9\%) than in boys (6.9\%) $\left(X^{2}=57,684, p<0,001\right)$
- This is also noticed regarding school retention. Namely, the respondents who already had school failure also present a higher proportion of depressive symptoms.
- This incidence of depressive symptoms is also higher in young people with more educated parents.
- Depressive symptoms when related to school failure also reveal gender differences. Namely, most boys with depressive symptomatology already fluncked at least once (54.4\%), while the majority of girls with depressive symptoms were never retained at a school year (52.5\%).

