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PATTERNS OF INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY: THE LONG-TERM TRENDS

In this chapter, we systematically compare absolute and relative rates of intergenerational mobility for two selected years: 1972 and 1998. The early 1970s can justifiably be described as the end of ideology-driven state socialism. With the pragmatically oriented Edward Gierek coming to power in December 1970, both the Polish economy and society started being freely exposed to Western economic and cultural developments. The late 1990s, in turn, can best be described as the end of the post-state-socialist transition to Western-type capitalism. Have these two and a half decades of deep and traumatic sociopolitical developments been accompanied by pronounced changes in intergenerational social mobility patterns? If so, have changes in mobility patterns resulted in a greater inequality of social opportunities? Or, to the contrary, do we see less inequality in mobility patterns? These are the principal questions that motivate our research.

The main findings on social mobility patterns in Poland and the theoretical interpretation of these findings can be summarized as follows:

1. In the 1940s and the 1950s, socialist industrialization, sponsored by vigorous state social policies, induced substantial increases in upward mobility and led to very high absolute mobility rates. This high level of upward mobility

* In its conceptualization, the analysis presented in this chapter relies on my current work in the international project *National Patterns of Social Mobility 1970–95: Convergence or Divergence?* coordinated by Richard Breen of Oxford University.

did not extend to later periods in the case of males (Andorka and Zagorski 1980; Pohoski and Mach 1988; Domanski and Sawinski 1985; Mach 1990); however, female mobility continued to increase in the 1970s and the 1980s (Zagorski 1976; Pohoski and Mach 1988). Some results for the 1990s point to a decline in both male and female absolute mobility rates (Domanski 2000).

2. Much of the mobility found in Polish society thus far has been of a structural type. Andorka and Zagorski (1980) point to structural factors as the most important ones in explaining levels of mobility under state socialism. Referring to outflow from the group of manual workers into the category of managers and specialists they state:

[T]he highest social mobility from the working class to the group of managers took place at the time [in the 1950s] of the greatest tendency to inherit social status to be observed among the latter group. It would mean that shaping of the processes of social mobility from and to the group of managers and specialists was greatly influenced by the structural mobility connected with a growth of the demand for certain occupations. (Andorka and Zagorski 1980: 92–94)

In addition, structural changes in the occupational distributions of women have often been singled out as the most important source of female mobility and of its continuous increase over the long span of state-socialist development in Poland (Pohoski 1984; Zagorski 1978).

3. A number of studies document temporal stability of the relative mobility rates in Poland. Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993) have found, for example, among nine countries they analyzed, that the constant social fluidity model performs best in Poland in terms of accounting for variation in the mobility tables and the percentage of cases misclassified. Similar results have been reported by Haller and Mach (1984), Pohoski and Mach (1988), Pohoski (1984), and Domanski (1989, 2000).

4. Many studies show that the effects of social background on educational attainments have remained relatively stable over extended periods in Poland with a slight increase in inequality of educational opportunity taking place no earlier than the late 1990s (Ganzeboom and Nieuwbeerta 1999; Heyns and Bialecki 1993; Mach and Peschar 1990; Domanski 2000). Consequently, education as an individual-level asset has never been an important factor in changing mobility patterns in Poland.

Research Hypotheses

Based on the above review, it would be difficult to delineate factors that could have systematically influenced mobility in the period studied in this chapter. A

discussion of more general factors operating on a societal level may serve as a foundation for our expectations. Most of the discourse on intergenerational social mobility occurring late in the past century concentrates on economic growth, changes in occupational and industrial structures, educational expansion, increasing rates of women's participation in the labor force, and direct and indirect political interventions as factors possibly influencing both absolute and relative mobility rates (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1993). How were these factors operating in Poland in the period 1972–98?

It is important to note that the period 1972–98 was characterized by constant fluctuations in Polish economic growth with a miserable start-to-end balance. How this kind of economic change affects changes in occupational structure and intergenerational mobility is not clear. Related theories on the positive impact of economic growth involve long lasting periods of stabilized, even if moderate, growth. Is it possible that under conditions of radical social change and economic breakdowns, short periods of recovery-type growth can strongly influence mobility? We do not know. Changes observed in the occupational structures and in the employment shares of industries in the total Polish labor force can hardly be interpreted as indicating modernization trends and associated mobility patterns (Mach and Slomczynski 1995).

The period 1972–98 in Poland does not fit the idea of a general educational shift either. After decades of stagnation, university enrollment rates started to grow only recently, and there is an inequality of educational opportunities at this level that has not shown any reduction over more than thirty years – such conditions cannot be seen as capable of leading to positive mobility outcomes.

Changes in income inequality and wage differentials could have influenced mobility patterns – especially via very small manual/nonmanual labor wage differentials in the 1980s and growing inequality in the 1990s. It seems that the only effect we can be sure of was mobility (especially male mobility) from the working class into the category of professionals, which was rather unattractive mobility insofar as income gains and identity strength were concerned (Wesolowski and Mach 1986).

As far as mobility-oriented social policies are concerned, the record of subsequent Polish governments in the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s is bleak and unimpressive (Bialecki 1996). One illustration of the potential power of political action in influencing mobility patterns is given by Andorka and Zagorski (1980). They report that, by the early 1970s, among sons of managers and specialists who entered the labor market in 1945–49, 68 percent had become managers or specialists in Hungary and 53 percent in

Poland, while comparable percentages for those entering the labor force in these countries in the years 1950–54 were 25 percent and 45 percent, respectively. There is no doubt that, faced with very heavy war losses among the intelligentsia, the Polish communist government, which consolidated its rule no earlier than the late 1940s, was neither able nor willing to act as radically as the Hungarian communist government against the “old class” of intelligentsia. However, these kinds of political interventions were typical only for the early stages of the communist system.

Labor force participation indexes, expressing the number of persons in the labor force as a proportion of the population aged fifteen and older, have been declining in Poland for both men and women since the 1970s. For selected years, these indexes are as follows:

	Males	Females
1970	76.4	61.1
1980	73.7	58.4
1988	72.5	54.4
1995	57.8	45.4

In Poland, changing levels of labor force participation contrast with Western-type developments. In Western Europe, increases in labor force participation led to increases in mobility, especially in female mobility.

In sum, we expect to find only minor changes leading to upward mobility and increased equality of social opportunity. Instead, we expect that the trial-and-error, inconsistent, disruptive transformations of the 1990s have resulted in negative mobility outcomes – these being downward mobility and possibly inequality-enhancing changes in relative mobility rates.

Research Strategy

The confirmatory component of the analysis presented in this chapter builds on the expectation that both late developments in Polish state socialism and early developments in the transition to capitalism should have brought Polish mobility patterns closer to the West European core patterns as described in detail by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993). We start with absolute rates and distributions in order to get a basic sense of aggregated changes. Next, examining relative mobility, we test the constant fluidity, uniform difference, and diagonal-change models to find possible variation in odds ratios. Finally, we check whether the results of previous analyses can be meaningfully

supplemented with the results of fitting the core mobility models. These models specify several effects reflecting the desirability of destinations, barriers to entering them, and the advantages offered by origins. Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993) have proposed eight such effects arising out of the hierarchy of classes, propensity for inheritance, agricultural vs. nonagricultural divide, and negative and positive affinities relating to status and possession “closeness.” Following Erikson and Goldthorpe, we will examine the following effects:

1. Hierarchy effect 1 (HI1): movements crossing hierarchical divisions are less common than instances of no hierarchical mobility.
 2. Hierarchy effect 2 (HI2): there is a lower propensity for two-step hierarchical movements than for one-step mobility and no hierarchical mobility.
 3. Inheritance effect 1 (IN1): greater propensity for individuals to be found in their class of origin than in any other.
 4. Inheritance effect 2 (IN2): distinctively high propensity for immobility among professionals, owners, and farmers (over and above IN1).
 5. Inheritance effect 3 (IN3): over and above IN1 and IN2, the propensity for immobility in the class of farmers is still higher than in any other class.
 6. Sector effect (SE): lower propensity for intergenerational transitions between agricultural classes and nonagricultural classes.
 7. Affinity effect 1 (AFF1): negative affinity between professionals and agricultural laborers.
 8. Affinity effect 2 (AFF2): positive affinity among some pairs of classes (based on “closeness” in status or possession).
- An important question is whether there were substantively interpretable changes in these effects during the period 1972–98.

Data and Measurement

The 1972 data are from Zagorski (1976). In the current analysis, we use the data prepared by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993). The 1998 data are from the study reported on in this volume (see chapter 1). Both surveys provide high-quality data sets obtained with a strong emphasis on quality control. The response rate in 1972 was 90 percent (Zagorski 1976: 23), and in 1998, it was 78 percent.

Men and women aged twenty to sixty-four years are included in separate analyses. I employ the class schema used by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993),

recoding the original occupational titles.¹ The seven classes are as follows: (1) service class: higher-grade and lower-grade professionals, administrators, managers, higher-grade technicians, large proprietors (I + II); (2) routine nonmanual workers (III); (3) small proprietors outside agriculture (IVab); (4) farm owners (IVc); (5) skilled workers (V + VI); (6) nonskilled workers (VIIa); and (7) agricultural laborers (VIIb).

Economically inactive persons were not included in Zagorski's (1976) survey. In order to retain as many cases as possible in the 1998 data, which were collected at a time of high economic inactivity, the mobility tables for 1998 also contain unemployed persons, classified according to their last occupation (if they had at least one job in the period 1993–98). The resulting mobility tables comprise 30,000 men and 29,349 women in 1972, and 674 men and 581 women in 1998.

To obtain estimates of the models reported in this chapter, using LEM, the Ns for 1972 and 1998 were standardized to $N = 2,222$ for men and $N = 2,042$ for women. These numbers correspond to gender totals in the mobility tables produced for the 1988 wave of the POLPAN project. Very few zero-case cells in the LEM input data were replaced with a small positive value. Absolute rates and distributions, however, come from original mobility tables.

Results

In the class-origin distribution, the most dramatic change is a very pronounced decline in the representation of farm background – from greater than 50 percent to less than 30 percent (see Table 2.1). Although all other changes seem to be modest in comparison to this one, we should point out that between 1972 and 1998, the social classes of service class and manual workers (skilled and unskilled) expanded as categories of origin, compensating for the decline in the farm background. The class-origin distributions for men and women are similar, the only exception being the category of unskilled workers: in 1998, the proportion of women originating in this category is significantly greater than that of men.

¹ Two different detailed occupational classifications were used in 1972 and 1998 – both very detailed with several hundreds of occupational titles. In his 1972 study, Zagorski (1976) used the Central Statistical Office occupational classification. The 1998 study employed the *Social Classification of Occupations* that became a national standard for academically oriented surveys. Although both classifications are similarly detailed, in practice, the coding of occupational titles along a skilled vs. unskilled divide may not be exactly the same.

Table 2.1. Class Origins and Class Destinations for Men and Women, 1972 and 1998

	Social class						
	service class (I + II)	non-manuals (III)	proprietors (IVa + b)	farmers (IVc)	skilled workers (V + VI)	unskilled workers (VIIa)	farm laborers (VIIb)
Year	Percentage distribution						
A. Class origins							
1972							
Men	7	2	3	53	18	12	4
Women	9	3	3	56	16	11	3
1998							
Men	19	4	3	28	25	17	5
Women	19	3	4	26	24	21	3
B. Class destination							
1972							
Men	18	3	2	25	31	19	3
Women	19	15	2	40	7	15	1
1998							
Men	23	5	12	16	26	17	2
Women	41	16	6	14	9	13	1

Changes in the distribution of destinations are also revealing (see Table 2.1). In the case of men, there is a dramatic increase in the class of owners and a decrease in the class of farmers. The shares of both skilled and unskilled male segments of the working class in the occupational structure decreased only slightly over the years. Only a moderate increase in the share of males in the service class should also be mentioned. The increase in the share of routine nonmanual employees, although doubling in relation to 1972, had reached a level of about 5 percent in 1998. The female patterns are best described by pointing out two developments: (a) a very strong increase in the service class share, and (b) a slight increase in the share of the skilled working class. Thus, patterns in female employment give more structural room for upward mobility than is the case for male patterns.

Table 2.2 contains various absolute mobility rates. In this table, upward and downward mobility is defined using a three-level hierarchy: *service class* (I + II) at the top, *unskilled workers* (VIIa) and *farm laborers* (VIIb) at the bottom, and the rest in the middle. Moving from the lower to the higher levels defines upward mobility while moving in the opposite direction defines

downward mobility. Upward and downward mobility adds to vertical mobility. Vertical and nonvertical mobility adds to total mobility.

Table 2.2. Mobility Rates for Men and Women, 1972 and 1998

Year	Mobility rates				
	total	nonvertical	vertical	upward	downward
A. Men					
1972	59	16	43	35	8
1998	66	15	51	36	15
B. Women					
1972	53	15	38	30	8
1998	72	14	58	48	10

Between 1972 and 1998, there is no increase in male upward mobility while for females there is a pronounced increase in upward mobility. Downward mobility rates increase for both men and women, with the increase for men much more pronounced than that for women. This demonstrates profound differences in mobility between men and women, with the total amount of mobility increasing significantly for women but only slightly for men.

These patterns are documented in greater detail in outflow mobility tables (Tables 2.3 and 2.4). The outflow from the male working class into the service class declined from 22 percent to 18 percent, suggesting an increase in inequality of opportunity. The 1972–98 decrease in intergenerational outflow from the service class into the class of skilled workers may imply that at least one important mobility route for achieving greater equality became seriously blocked – for a long time, this type of high male outflow had been a specific feature of the state-socialist mobility pattern.

A decrease in male mobility between the service class and the working class occurred, despite a steady decrease in immobility for the two classes. For the most part, in both classes, this decline was absorbed by an increased outflow into self-employment. Interestingly enough, with the outflow from the category of farmers into the service class being constant over time, the hint at the hardening of the divide between the service and manual labor classes seems to apply only to the nonagricultural sphere.

In Table 2.4 we see that the outflow of the female working class into the service class shows a different pattern from that typical for the male population. Unlike in the case of males, working class outflow for females

between 1972 and 1998 had increased substantially (from 28 percent to 47 percent). The significant 1972–98 increase in the outflow of farmers’ daughters into the service class tells the same story of increasing

Table 2.3. Intergenerational Mobility of Men in 1972 and 1998: Outflow Percentages

Class origin	Class destination							N
	service class (I + II)	non-manuals (III)	pro-prietors (IVa+b)	farmers (IVc)	skilled workers (V+VI)	unskilled workers (VIIa)	farm laborers (VIIb)	
Service class								
1972	60.0	1.4	1.4	1.1	25.2	10.0	0.8	2,370
1998	51.6	4.8	16.7	0.8	15.9	9.5	0.8	126
(I + II)								
Nonmanuals								
1972	21.1	3.3	1.8	3.0	41.2	25.7	3.9	738
1998	36.0	12.0	16.0	12.0	16.0	8.0	0.0	25
(III)								
Proprietors								
1972	27.2	2.9	11.7	8.3	29.6	19.2	1.1	882
1998	20.0	10.0	30.0	5.0	30.0	5.0	0.0	20
(IVa + b)								
Farmers								
1972	10.8	2.5	1.5	42.5	21.3	18.2	3.3	17,059
1998	10.5	2.1	6.8	41.4	24.6	13.1	1.6	191
(IVc)								
Skilled workers								
1972	21.6	2.3	1.6	2.8	51.5	19.0	1.2	5,793
1998	18.1	3.6	12.7	9.0	33.1	21.7	1.8	166
V + VI								
Unskilled workers								
1972	19.0	2.6	1.6	3.9	44.3	26.6	2.0	3,843
1998	19.5	7.1	11.5	4.4	29.2	26.5	1.8	113
VIIa								
Farm laborers								
1972	9.4	4.3	1.2	14.8	29.1	25.2	15.9	1,315
1998	12.1	3.0	0.0	12.1	36.4	27.3	9.1	33
VIIb								

Table 2.4. Intergenerational Mobility of Women in 1972 and 1998: Outflow Percentages

Class origin	Class destination							N
	service class (I + II)	non-manuals (III)	pro-prietors (IVa+b)	farmers (IVc)	skilled workers (V+VI)	unskilled workers (VIIa)	farm laborers (VIIb)	
Service class								
1972	61.0	23.8	2.1	3.2	3.6	6.2	0.1	2,485
1998	62.7	14.5	10.0	3.6	2.7	6.4	0.0	110
(I + II)								
Nonmanuals								
1972	32.1	22.4	2.6	8.7	10.5	22.3	1.4	732
1998	55.0	15.0	10.0	5.0	10.0	5.0	0.0	20
(III)								
Proprietors								
1972	31.0	21.5	6.1	17.6	7.4	15.8	0.6	726
1998	47.6	33.0	9.5	4.8	0.0	4.8	0.0	21
(IVa+b)								
Farmers								
1972	8.8	8.6	1.8	63.3	5.4	10.7	1.3	16,483
1998	27.3	14.7	6.0	30.7	8.7	12.0	0.7	150
(IVc)								
Skilled workers								
1972	28.0	23.7	3.0	10.1	12.2	22.3	0.8	4,821
1998	46.5	19.0	3.5	7.7	11.3	12.0	0.0	142
V + VI								
Unskilled workers								
1972	24.3	22.1	2.4	10.9	12.2	26.9	1.2	3,189
1998	32.5	12.5	5.0	13.3	10.8	24.2	1.7	120
VIIa								
Farm laborers								
1972	9.1	14.0	2.1	36.1	7.9	23.9	6.9	913
1998	11.1	16.7	5.6	16.7	22.2	27.8	0.0	18
VIIb								

opportunities for women. Considering the 1972–98 stability of this outflow in the male population, one is tempted to conclude that, unlike in the case of offspring of the working class, opportunities for the children of farmers were improving, or at least not deteriorating, both under state socialism and as it

declined. It must be remembered, however, that the expansion of the service class among women made room for upward mobility. Thus, structural change seems to be the reason for most of the positive mobility outcomes for women.

Relative Rates

Let us examine the relative mobility rates, controlling for structural changes. Can constant fluidity models be accepted? Do the uniform-difference models improve the fit? Does the class-specific diagonal-change model perform better? What insights do the core-type topological models bring? We answer these questions in Tables 2.5–2.8.

Men in 1972–98. The constant fluidity model, postulating invariant odds ratios for all pairs of origins and destinations, accounts for 93.9 percent of the baseline (conditional independence) model; it misclassifies 4.9 percent cases. Although the fit of the constant fluidity model is not impressive, we have to remember that 1972 and 1998 represent two very distinct sociopolitical eras. Such distant historical periods can produce different across-the-board effects as well as influence particular odds ratios.

Table 2.5. Results of Fitting the Constant Social Fluidity, the Uniform Difference, the Class-specific Diagonal Change, and the Core Models, for Men, 1972–1998

Model specification	Statistics						
	G ²	DF	p	rG ²	Δ	BIC	β or α
Conditional independence	1,497.68	72	0.00	—	22.0	892.85	
Constant social fluidity (Cnsf)	90.65	36	0.00	93.9	4.9	-211.70	
Uniform difference	85.42	35	0.00	94.3	4.6	-208.60	0.861 [1998]
Cnsf except for changes in class immobilities	67.33	29	0.00	95.5	3.6	-176.28	
Cnsf except for changes in IVc, and V + VI immobilities	73.16	34	0.00	95.1	4.0	-212.45	IVc -0.442 V+VI -0.533 [1998]
Core	152.06	56	0.00	89.8	4.0	-318.37	

The uniform-difference model postulates that the across-the-board effect uniformly moves all odds ratios closer to 1. This model does not seem to offer

a good alternative to the model of constant fluidity. Even if a decrease in G_c is significant, the BIC criterion speaks against it.

The constant fluidity model, coupled with changes in just two immobility parameters for the classes of farm owners and skilled workers, seems to be preferable in terms of BIC criterion and the number of degrees of freedom consumed. This model implies no change in odds ratios except for those including stability in the two classes. Alpha parameters in the last column show that the two immobility parameters decreased over the period of 1972–98. For example, the odds ratios including the cell of stability of farmers in 1998 are only 0.643 (exp -0.442) of those for the year 1972.

Can we discover new insights from the core model postulating the eight effects described in the section on research strategy? In estimating this model, we retain Erikson's and Goldthorpe's (1993) specification for the 1972 Polish data. However, we change the specification for the 1998 data, in particular, by introducing different affinity effects. We reintroduce affinity between the service class (I + II) and nonmanuals (III) and drop affinities between the service class (I + II) and both skilled workers (V + VI) and unskilled workers (VIIa). Erikson's and Goldthorpe's rationale, supported by the 1972 data, was that the existence or nonexistence of effects reflected targeted state-socialist social policies. Our rationale, supported by the 1998 data, is that the changes they made in their specification of affinity effects are no longer needed. Between 1972 and 1998, Poland moved toward a common core model of European social mobility.

However, the last row of Table 2.5 shows that the core model fits poorly in terms of reducing the distance from conditional independence. Insofar as the model of constant fluidity with a decrease in the immobility parameters of farmers and skilled workers is preferable, the core model is interesting because of two additional effects: the hierarchy effect and the effect of the agriculture vs. nonagricultural divide. The relevant estimates are presented in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6. Parameter Estimates of the Core Model of Social Mobility, for Men, 1972–1998

Year	Parameters							
	HI1	HI2	IN1	IN2	IN3	SE	AFF1	AFF2
1972	0.032	-0.129	0.791	1.271	-0.494	-0.562	-0.455	0.504
1998	-0.106	-0.169	0.280	0.847	0.668	-0.303	-0.465	0.247

Note: The HI2 parameter is estimated incrementally to HI1. The total HI2 parameters are thus: -0.097 in 1972 and -0.275 in 1998. The IN2 parameter is estimated incrementally to IN1 and the IN3 parameter incrementally to IN2.

Hierarchy effects increase over time but remain insignificant. Because these effects are estimated incrementally, however, they should be carefully observed in future analyses. It is very likely that they will grow.

The agriculture vs. nonagriculture divide is on the decline. We are tempted to argue that this traditionally very significant mobility barrier will weaken in the near future.

Women 1972–98. As the results in Table 2.7 show, the constant social fluidity model, supplemented with changes in immobility parameters for the service class, farm owners, and unskilled workers, fits the data well and achieves statistical significance. This model captures more than 96 percent of the distance from conditional independence and misclassifies only 2.5 percent of cases. It reveals decreasing immobility among the service class and among farm owners, and increasing immobility among unskilled workers. A decrease of immobility in the service class can be considered a positive outcome. However, to interpret this result appropriately, we have to add a cautionary note: among women, only one-fifth of those in that class are higher level professionals, managers, and large proprietors. Thus, the decrease in immobility may pertain only to the lower level of the service class.

Table 2.7. Results of Fitting the Constant Social Fluidity, the Uniform Difference, the Class-Specific Diagonal Change, and the Core Models, for Women, 1972–1998

Model specification	Statistics						β or α
	G ²	DF	p	rG ²	Δ	BIC	
Conditional independence	1,199.19	72	0.00	—	22.5	600.28	
Constant social fluidity (Cnsf)	92.43	36	0.00	92.5	5.2	-206.51	
Uniform difference	68.70	35	0.00	94.3	4.0	-222.44	0.704 [1998]
Cnsf except for changes in all class immobilities	44.38	29	0.04	96.3	2.5	-196.85	
Cnsf except for changes in I + II, IVc, and VIIa immobilities	45.28	33	0.08	96.2	2.5	-229.22	I + II -0.498 IVc -1.146 VIIa 0.450 [1998]
Core	124.15	56	0.00	89.6	4.5	-341.68	

In estimating the core mobility model, we apply a specification of affinity effects that does not include Erikson's and Goldthorpe's (1993) "male" correction either in the 1972 data or in the 1998 data. It seems that by 1972 female mobility was already closer to the "European core" than male mobility was. Similarly to male mobility patterns, Table 2.8 suggests an increase in hierarchy effects and a decline in the strength of the agricultural vs. nonagricultural mobility barrier.

Table 2.8. Parameter Estimates of the Core Model of Social Mobility, for Women, 1972–1998

Year	Parameters							
	HI1	HI2	IN1	IN2	IN3	SE	AFF1	AFF2
1972	-0.084	-0.270	0.158	0.833	0.386	-0.692	-0.533	0.247
1998	-0.155	-0.497	0.300	-0.012	1.012	-0.144	-0.584	0.111

Note: The HI2 parameter is estimated incrementally to HI1. The total HI2 parameters are thus: -0.354 in 1972 and -0.652 in 1998. The IN2 parameter is estimated incrementally to IN1 and the IN3 parameter incrementally to IN2.

Conclusion

In 1972–98, the changes in absolute rates of mobility – both upward and downward – were more favorable to women than to men in the sense of equalizing opportunities. Different structural shifts in occupational distributions of men and women clearly account for most of this gender discrepancy. Overall, the total amount of mobility increased greatly for women and only slightly for men.

Given the earlier results and a critical review of factors that could bring about positive mobility outcomes, we did not expect many changes in relative mobility rates. Our findings largely conform to these expectations. We have found that the constant fluidity model – supplemented with declining immobility among male farmers and male skilled workers, and among females in the service and farmer classes, and increasing immobility of unskilled workers in the latter category – provides a good description of what happened in the period under study. It is worth noting that increasing immobility in the category of females in the unskilled working class is the only tendency found that is clearly negative.

Negative consequences may, however, lurk in the immediate future. Increasing hierarchy effects are the best example. Detailed analyses of these effects should become the aim of a new research program. For such a program to be executed effectively, the service class must be defined more narrowly than has been done in this chapter. Some tendencies toward increasing inheritance among those in the professional class have already been found by Domanski (2000).