

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/250173815>

Intergenerational Social Mobility in Romania: Changes in the Patterns of Flows and Relationships in the Postcommunist Era

Article in *International Journal of Sociology* · April 2006

DOI: 10.2753/IJS0020-7659360104

CITATIONS

5

READS

262

1 author:



[Irina Tomescu-Dubrow](#)

Polish Academy of Sciences

43 PUBLICATIONS 98 CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Polish Panel Survey, POLPAN 1988-2018 [View project](#)



Dynamics of Social Structure in Post-Communist Europe [View project](#)

IRINA TOMESCU-DUBROW

Intergenerational Social Mobility in Romania

Changes in the Patterns of Flows and Relationships in the Postcommunist Era

ABSTRACT: This article examines flows (movements between origin and destination positions in the social structure) and relationships (dependencies of the destination positions on positions of origin) in terms of two conceptualizations of individuals' locations in the social structure: social classe (SC) and socioeconomic index (SEI). Using Romanian data for 1970 (full-fledged communism), 1988 (late communism), and 2000 (early capitalism) demonstrates that: (1) social mobility increased from 1970 to 2000, mainly in the form of circulation mobility—while structural mobility actually decreased; (2) dependencies between SC of origin and SC of destination appeared to be much stronger in 1970 than in 2000; (3) in terms of the difference between respondents' SEI and that of their fathers, there is very little change between 1988 and 2000; (4) for the same period, 1988–2000, the relationship between respondents' SEI and that of their fathers strengthened considerably, even when controlling for respondents' education. Thus, the results for 1970–2000, expressed in terms of flows and relationships for SC, indicate the increasing openness of Romanian society, while the results for 1988–2000, expressed in terms of flows and relationships for SEI, indicate the opposite—less openness in the postcommunist era. An attempt to solve the problem of these seemingly contradictory results confirms that social class and socioeconomic status

Irina Tomescu-Dubrow is a Ph.D. candidate in sociology, Ohio State University, where all research for this article was conducted. Direct all correspondence to Irina Tomescu-Dubrow, Department of Sociology, Ohio State University, 300 Bricker Hall, 190 North Oval Mall, Columbus, OH 43210; e-mail: tomescu.1@sociology.osu.edu.

The author gratefully acknowledges Kazimierz M. Slomczynski for his helpful comments and suggestions.

pertain to two different dimensions of social inequality, demonstrating the usefulness of the complex approach that includes both these dimensions.

Rapid social change in Eastern Europe presents a unique opportunity to examine social mobility in a historical perspective. The two massive societal transformations that the region has undergone in the past fifty years—the introduction of communist political regimes, and their fall in 1989–90—allow researchers to compare distinct periods and their corresponding social structures to examine whether the socioeconomic and political environment has altered the social mobility patterns of flows and relationships. Given their potential to assess patterns of movement between social positions, expressed in terms of social classes and/or socioeconomic status, mobility studies are an important way to analyze the extent of equality of opportunities that societies experience. The general focus is on the level of *societal openness*, assessed on the bases of intergenerational and/or intragenerational mobility.

The purpose of this article is to examine the effects of political and economic transformations on intergenerational mobility in Romania. To determine whether there is a change in its patterns of flows and relationships following 1989, I rely on survey data for the communist and postcommunist periods. For the communist period I use both published results and retrospective information from survey data conducted in 2000. The same survey is used to characterize mobility in the postcommunist period. Since the survey was carried out more than ten years after the systemic change, the results should indicate the new socioeconomic structure, and not merely a “residual” communist structure, or remnants of it.

Following the general tradition of inequality studies, this article discusses mobility in two frameworks: in terms of both *flows* and *relationships* between social origins and destinations. These two terms apply to positions in the social structure. However, positions in the social structure have been conceptualized differently, as occupational groups within the social class mobility paradigm (Breen 2004; Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992; Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero 1982; Goldthorpe 1980; Goldthorpe and Hope 1974), and as socioeconomic statuses within the status attainment paradigm (Blau and Duncan 1967; Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996; Ganzeboom, de Graf, and Treiman 1992; Rijken 1999; Treiman 1976). It is beyond the scope of this article to argue in favor of one or the other of the two approaches. Rather, the following analysis aims to take advantage of the insights offered by both approaches. Hence I examine social position through social class categories as well as through the socioeconomic index.

Theoretical Background and Research Questions

From the standpoint of social stratification, intergenerational and intragenerational movements along the vertical dimension are of special importance. Their magnitude reflects the degree of societal openness or closure in a particular society. It

provides information on the extent to which a person's current social position (conceptualized as social class and/or socioeconomic status) depends on achievement, that is, characteristics acquired at some stage of the life cycle, rather than on ascription, characteristics over which individuals have no control. If social mobility is larger than social inheritance, one can speak of access to equal chances for advancement, independent of social background.

In defining social origins and destinations, the most common frameworks are social class typologies and socioeconomic indexes, all of which use occupations as their backbone but operationalize them in terms of nominal categories in the first case, and as a hierarchical continuum in the latter. These approaches have advantages and disadvantages, as discussed in the literature (Featherman and Hauser 1976; Goldthorpe and Hope 1974; Hauser and Warren 1997, for discussions on the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches; Treiman 1977). Early mobility research focuses on movements of people from one social category to another, where categories are conceptualized in terms of social classes or occupational groups. The work of Lipset and Bendix (1959) and Lipset and Zetterberg (1959) is classic in this sense. Their hypothesis that "the overall pattern of social mobility appears to be much the same in the industrial societies of various western countries" (Lipset and Zetterberg 1959: 13), although not confirmed by empirical studies, opened the door to intensive comparative analysis and to attempts to decompose observed mobility into structural components, produced by changes in the social structure, and circulation components involving exchanges.

The traditional research methodology of applying social classes to study intergenerational mobility can be discussed as flows between categories and also as relations between them. In the first case, one can rely on frequencies and their decomposition to find components of the observed mobility in terms of structural and circulation mobility (see Krauze and Slomczynski 1986). This leads to important insights: if the movements between father's and son's position has been mainly forced—that is, induced by changes in the social structure—then mobility is not so much a sign that the society has grown more equal (or less unequal), but rather that it has undergone significant economic restructuring (see Connor 1979).

Featherman, Jones, and Hauser formulated the hypothesis according to which "the genotypical pattern of mobility (circulation mobility) in industrial societies with market economy and a nuclear family system is basically the same" (1975: 340). In discussions of this hypothesis, an interpretation of the notion of circulation revealed confusion between mobility flows and interactions (correlations) in the mobility table (see explanation of this issue in Slomczynski and Krauze 1988). Flows refer to frequencies. However, some researchers believe that the referent of the pattern of circulation mobility is the odds ratio (Hauser and Grusky 1988) that is a characteristic of the relationship (Simkus 1995a). In a different framework, relationships in the mobility table are measured by comparing *relative chances* that correspond to Erikson, Goldhorpe, and Portocarero's (1982) notion of *social fluidity*. To assess relative chances of mobility, one can also rely on odds ratios.

Odds ratios and risk rates are crucial concepts in measuring relationships between social classes of origin and destination.

Social class is only one way of looking at the dynamics of social inequality. Studies of social mobility are also well rooted in the view that origins and destinations should be expressed as *socioeconomic status* rather than social class. This tradition is associated with the research on status attainment (see the work of Blau and Duncan 1967). The status attainment model seeks the mechanism through which ascription conditions a person's successive occupational status, to what extent this occurs, and how this status early in the life cycle affects further opportunities for subsequent change. Occupational status is represented as a hierarchical continuum, and it is operationalized through prestige scales or socioeconomic indexes (SEI) (see Blau and Duncan 1967; Ganzeboom, Graf, and Treiman 1992; Ganzeboom and Treiman 1996).

In status attainment research, one method that is used to assess the extent to which opportunities become more (un)equal over time is to examine the distributional characteristics of fathers' and sons' statuses. To determine how the stratification structure changes, one can analyze the shifts in mean values and standard deviations for the SEI of fathers and sons.

Moreover, it can be determined how social origin affects social destination in terms of status attainment. Least squares regression analysis and analysis of variance can be used to examine the effect of father's SEI on son's SEI in gross terms, as well as net of other variables. Of the latter, education has been found to be the most important determinant of one's mature social position: status attainment research often demonstrates that education largely mediates the association between origins and destination (Treiman and Yip 1989; see Breen and Jonsson 2005 for a review of findings in recent studies of inequality of opportunity). The importance of education also holds for socialist societies. Connor (1979) finds that in socialist countries changes in the economic and political structures facilitate the role of education in occupational transmission: "A greater bureaucratization operates in combination with the abolition of concentrations of private inheritable wealth to give education an even greater significance in the process of status attainment" (Connor 1979: 133). Then the is whether the effect of father's SEI occurs even when taking education into account.

The communist system in Eastern Europe developed in distinct phases, beginning with the consolidation of power around 1948, continued nationalization, industrialization, and educational reform. In the 1970s, the communist system reached its mature stage; the 1980s are identified with late communism. Taking advantage of the context offered by significant transformations in Eastern Europe in general, and in Romania in particular, for studying changes in intergenerational mobility patterns, and considering data availability, I study changes in mobility patterns in two timeframes: 1970–2000 and 1988–2000.

The following four research questions are posed:

1. If observed mobility is expressed in terms of its structural and circulation

components, what is the share of these components in the full-fledged communist and postcommunist periods? Is it true that structural mobility decreases in time while circulation mobility increases?

2. Is there any difference between the full-fledged and postcommunist periods in terms of relative chances of mobility? To what extent is the relationship between social origin and social destination stable?

3. How do distributional characteristics of social origin and destination change between 1988 and 2000? This question relies on the status attainment approach to inequality to determine whether there are significant differences in mean values and standard deviations for the SEI of fathers and respondents over time

4. Finally, what is the effect of social origin on destination if we consider socioeconomic status? How does the effect of father's social position on respondent's position in postcommunist Romania compare to the situation prior to 1989? Is this effect still significant if other determinants, particularly education, are accounted for?

Data and Methods

Data

Data for the analyses in this article come from two sources. The basic intergenerational mobility data for communist Romania comes from the 1979 book *Socialism, Politics and Equality*, by Walter Connor, who uses the findings reported by Honorina Cazacu (1974) in *Mobilitate Sociala* [Social Mobility]. Cazacu's data come from a 1970 study conducted by the Center for Sociological Research of the Romanian Academy of Social and Political Sciences. Because Cazacu's sample comprises married male family heads (including widowers and divorced), age twenty-five and older, living (a) in Bucharest, and (b) in the rural community of Calugareni, Connor combines the two groups and weights them according to the urban and rural proportions of the 1970 Romanian population (40.8 percent and 59.2 percent, respectively) to obtain a "quasi-national study" (Connor 1974: 128).

The "estimated" data presented in Connor's (1979: 122) table 4.5 "Intergenerational Mobility, Romania (1970)" form the basis of the analysis of intergenerational mobility patterns in socialist Romania. I rely on the information they provide to examine flows between social categories of origin and of destination, as well as to assess relative chances of mobility. I standardize Connor's data to 1,000 cases, and rename three of the four occupational categories that he uses according to current occupational titles. Specifically, I use the label "professionals" for the category of technical employees with higher education, other employees with higher education, free professions, businessmen, and traders. Connor's label of "routine nonmanual workers" for the category of technical and service employees with secondary education remains unchanged. "Manual workers" is a label for the category of unskilled and skilled workers, cooperative artisans, and private artisans,

and “farmers” for the category of farmhand, private farmers, and state farmers. This schema captures important intergroup divisions of communist societies (Simkus 1995b; Slomczynski and Shabad 1997).

Data for information on late communist and postcommunist Romania are taken from the study *Poverty, Ethnicity and Gender in Eastern Europe, 2000* (PEGEE) on living conditions in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia, and Slovakia (principal investigator Ivan Szelenyi). The purpose of that study was to examine the relationship between transformations following the breakdown of communism and the increased social inequality that resulted, among other things, in growing poverty. The questionnaires included extensive batteries of questions on the sociodemographic composition of households, economic situation, employment and unemployment history, and social mobility. The surveys were based on random samples of the general population in each country. For Romania, a sample of 1,054 households was selected using the “random walk” method. Individual respondents were selected from the household roster using a Kish table (see Kligman and Szelenyi 2002). Additionally, the Romanian data contains oversamples of the poor and of the Roma, but the latter are not included in the present study.

I examined the distribution of social stratification variables from the PEGEE study and compared it with the corresponding distribution from available census data. The national sample supplemented by the poor subsample better represents the population distribution than is the case without this adjustment. For example, the national sample underrepresents the proportion of farmers and office workers while it overrepresents the proportion of manual factory workers. For this reason, in this study I use combined data from the national sample and the subsample of poor.

To parallel Cazacu (1974) and Connor’s (1979) analyses, the sample is restricted to married men, age twenty-five and older. This restriction is eliminated when comparing the results for 1988 and 2000. However, to determine whether some results may be driven by the study having involved an overlapping population, critical parts of analysis are run on two distinct groups, consisting of respondents age twenty-one to thirty-two in 1988 and 2000, respectively.

Methods

The two major theoretical perspectives that inform this study differ with respect to how occupational information needs to be operationalized. Hence, position in the social structure is examined using a dual approach. On one hand, my research questions deal with flows and relationships between categories, that is, social class. On the other hand, they pose the problems in terms of interval variables, that is, socioeconomic status.

To create occupational categories indicating the social class of respondents and their fathers, I aggregate basic units of the International Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). I rely on the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) (see Ganzeboom, Graf, and Treiman 1992) as a continuous

Table 1

Studying Mobility Patterns for Categorical and Interval Variables

	Categorical variables (social classes [SC])	Interval variables (socioeconomic status < socioeconomic index [SEI])
Mobility patterns	Statistical tools	
Flows	Frequencies and their decomposition Critical test: $\sum s_{ij}$ for 1970 > $\sum s_{ij}$ for 2000, and $\sum c_{ij}$ for 1970 < $\sum c_{ij}$ for 2000 where s_{ij} and c_{ij} refer to structural and circulation mobility, respectively	Distributional characteristics Critical test: $\bar{Y} - \bar{U}$ for 1988 < $\bar{Y} - \bar{U}$ for 2000 where \bar{Y} and \bar{U} refer to the mean of SEI of respondents and their fathers' position
Relationships squares	Multinomial regression Critical test: R^2_{mn} for 1970 \neq R^2_{mn} for 2000 where m and n refer to sets of SC of respondents and their fathers and R^2 refers to Cox and Snell and Nagelkerke coefficients	Correlation and least regression Critical test: r_{yu} for 1970 \neq r_{yu} for 2000, and $\beta_{yu,control}$ for 1970 \neq $\beta_{yu,control}$ for 2000 where y and u refer to SEI of respondents and their fathers' position, and r and β refer to correlation and regression coefficient

variable for social status in communism and in the post-1989 structure.

Table 1 presents the statistical tools used to answer the research questions raised in this study. First, to compare levels of structural and exchange mobility as well as social stability for the communist and postcommunist periods, I decompose the frequency of observed mobility in frequencies of structural and circulation mobility for 1970 and for 2000, following the algorithm given by Krauze and Slomczynski (1986).

To assess relative chances of mobility between social categories, I rely on risk ratios, which compare whether the probability of a certain event is the same for two groups. Risk ratios can be subsumed in multinomial regression analysis, where the pseudo- R^2 measures the overall relationship between social categories.

Using interval variables, I examine changes in the distributional characteristics of social origin and destination after 1989 by comparing shifts in mean values and standard deviations for respondents and their fathers' socioeconomic status before and after the systemic transformations. In addition, I analyze the strength of the

origin–destination relationship in terms of correlations. Least squares regression is used to examine the effect of father’s social origin in gross terms and net of other variables, and to assess whether there are significant differences between these effects in postcommunist Romania as compared with the pre-1989 situation.

Findings

The results of this study are presented with respect to the four research questions stated above.

Frequencies of Observed Mobility and Their Decomposition

Following the instauration of the communist regime, Romania underwent profound structural changes, based on factors such as nationalization, industrialization, and educational reform. In the process of achieving the ideological goal of creating a new class structure centered on the working class, the government abolished private property, including in agriculture (see Urse 2003). Along with the shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy, this led to a reduced peasantry and a boom of the working class.

Rapid industrialization visibly affected the Romanian social structure: while in 1950 there were 1,222,900 registered workers, of which 640,400 worked in industry, in 1985, their total number had reached 6,084,400, with 3,171,700 workers in industry (Urse 2003: 7). The politics of the communist era also affected Romanian educational distribution by significantly increasing the population’s education level (see Cartana 2000), which led to an increased number of nonmanual workers.

These changes are reflected in Table 2, which shows differences in social origin and social destination between 1970 and 2000 for married men age twenty-five and older.

A comparison of the distributions of origin and destination for the two time periods reveals that the effects of structural transformations are more profound for 1970 than for 2000. In other words, the discrepancy between the distribution of fathers’ and sons’ class positions lessens over time, as indicated by the diminishing value of the index of dissimilarity: 0.353 for 1970, and 0.238 for 2000.

Nonetheless, as Krauze and Slomczynski (1986) demonstrate, the value of this index does not correspond to plausible mobility frequencies. Thus, in Table 3 and Table 4, the observed mobility for 1970 and 2000 is decomposed into its conceivable components of structural and circulation mobility. In the decomposition procedure, structurally induced movements out of the social class of farmers had priority. This seemed to correspond to changes in the real class structure.

The proportion of people who changed class category increased from 52.5 percent in 1970 to 62.6 percent in 2000. Among mobiles in 1970, 45.4 percent who changed their position were “forced” by structural transformations in society, while circulation mobility comprises only 7 percent. The situation differs for 2000: not

Table 2

Distribution of Married Men, Age Twenty-five and Older, According to Their Social Class and Social Origin, 1970 and 2000 (%)

Social class	Current position— respondent's social class		Social origin— father's social class	
	1970	2000	1970	2000
Professionals	13.3	14.0	3.3	7.0
Routine nonmanual workers	14.6	29.8	8.7	13.0
Manual workers	41.4	37.5	22.0	46.0
Farmers	30.7	18.7	66.0	34.0
Number of cases	1,117	315	1,117	315

only is the overall level of observed mobility higher, the relation between structural and circulation movements changed as well. Now, 32.2 percent of the flows between class categories are induced by structural transformation, while circulation mobility makes up 34.8 percent.

Further results indicate that for 1970 the most dramatic structural change involves farmers: less than half of those whose fathers worked in the farm sector also work in this sector (Table 3). Structural effects account for 35.5 percent of the outflows, and most movement flows into the manual workers category. Looking at the corresponding processes for 2000 (Table 4), we see that most movement flows from the category of manual workers into that of routine nonmanual, which is a logical consequence of industrial sector downsizing in postcommunist Romania.

Finally, focusing on circulation mobility, it is noteworthy that despite equal marginal distributions, the tables are not symmetrical. Upward mobility outnumbers downward mobility, and this situation holds for both 1970 and 2000. A total of 39 people succeeded in moving to a higher class position in 1970, as compared with 36 who moved downward. In 2000, 158 people were upwardly mobile, while 146 moved to a social position lower than that of their fathers.

Relationships Between Social Class Categories of Origin and Destination

To assess the relative chances of mobility in 2000 as compared with 1970, I use multinomial regressions. The results are presented in Table 5 and Table 6, which show changes in social inheritance over time. In 1970, social stability for all categories is significant and rather strong. For example, farmers' sons are almost five times more likely to inherit their fathers' position than to become nonmanual workers. And if they do move, they are about four and a half times more likely to

Table 3

Standardized Flows of Observed, Structural, and Circulation Mobility for Married Men, Age Twenty-five and Older, 1970

Social origin— father's social class	Current position—respondent's social class				Total
	professionals	routine nonmanual workers	manual workers	farmers	
A. Observed mobility					
Professionals	23	7	3	0	33
Routine nonmanual workers	46	27	14	0	87
Manual workers	30	52	126	12	220
Farmers	34	60	271	295	660
Total	133	146	414	307	1,000
B. Structural mobility					
Professionals	0	0	0	0	0
Routine nonmanual workers	36	0	0	0	36
Manual workers	30	35	0	0	65
Farmers	34	60	259	0	353
Total	100	95	259	0	454
C. Circulation mobility (stability)*					
Professionals	(23)	7	3	0	10
Routine nonmanual workers	10	(27)	14	0	24
Manual workers	0	17	(126)	12	29
Farmers	0	0	12	(295)	12
Total	10	24	29	12	75

*Total stability = 471.

become manual workers than routine nonmanual. By 2000, however, the situation looks quite different: the stability of social inheritance has decreased for all categories. Farmers' sons are now only twice as likely to become farmers than to become routine nonmanual workers, and for professionals, the likelihood of in-

Table 4

Standardized Flows of Observed, Structural, and Circulation Mobility for Married Men, Age Twenty-five and Older, 2000

Social origin— father's social class	Current position—respondent's social class ^a				Total
	professionals	routine nonmanual workers	manual workers	farmers	
A. Observed mobility					
Professionals	32	16	19	3	70
Routine nonmanual workers	29	54	41	6	130
Manual workers	57	171	171	61	460
Farmers	22	57	144	117	340
Total	140	298	375	187	1,000
B. Structural mobility					
Professionals	0	0	0	0	0
Routine nonmanual workers	7	0	0	0	7
Manual workers	41	121	0	0	162
Farmers	22	54	77	0	153
Total	70	175	77	0	322
C. Circulation mobility (stability)^b					
Professionals	(32)	16	19	3	38
Routine nonmanual workers	22	(54)	41	6	69
Manual workers	16	50	(171)	61	127
Farmers	0	3	67	(117)	70
Total	38	69	127	70	348

^aPosition in 2000 or last position since 1995.

^bTotal stability = 374.

heritance loses statistical significance altogether. In addition, the odds of moving from the category of farmers into that of manual workers also decrease over time. This makes sense in the postcommunist environment, where industrialization is no longer central to the political agenda.

Table 5

Multinomial Regression Coefficients (Standard Errors), and Odds Ratios for Social Class and Social Origin, 1970

Social origin— father's social class	Current position—respondent's social class			
	professionals	routine nonmanual workers*	manual workers	farmers
Professionals	1.190** (0.432) 3.286	— — —	-0.847 (0.690) 0.429	-2.639 (1.464) 0.071
Routine nonmanual workers	0.533* (0.242) 1.704	— — —	-0.657* (0.329) 0.519	-3.989** (1.427) 0.019
Manual workers	-0.550* (0.229) 0.577	— — —	0.885** (0.165) 2.423	-1.466** (0.320) 0.231
Farmers	-0.568** (0.215) 0.567	— — —	1.508** (0.143) 4.517	1.593** (0.142) 4.917

*Reference category.

$N = 1,117$; $-2 \log$ likelihood = 662.6; chi-square = 611.5 ($df = 12$); Cox and Snell $R^2 = 0.457$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.488$; intercept not included in the model.

The most important result of comparing the findings for the two time periods is the decrease in pseudo- R^2 values: Cox and Snell $R^2 = 0.457$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.488$ for 1970, and Cox and Snell $R^2 = 0.266$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.283$ for 2000. Overall, the relationship between father's social class and that of respondents became much weaker after the systemic transformations. The result does not depend on the social class of farmers—a category with significant stability, particularly in 1970. If the multinomial regression is carried out without this category, the pseudo- R^2 values are as follows: Cox and Snell $R^2 = 0.281$ and Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.316$ for 1970 and Cox and Snell $R^2 = 0.141$ and Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.158$ for 2000.

Distributional Characteristics of Respondents and Their Fathers' Socioeconomic Index

Up to this point, class categories have been used to express social origin and destination, but social class is only one way of looking at social inequality. Draw-

Table 6

Multinomial Regression Coefficients (Standard Errors), and Odds Ratios for Social Class and Social Origin, 2000

Social origin— father's social class	Current position—respondent's social class ^a			
	professionals	routine nonmanual workers ^b	manual workers	farmers
Professionals	0.693 (0.548) 2.000	— — —	0.182 (0.606) 1.200	-1.609 (1.095) 0.200
Routine nonmanual workers	-0.636 (0.412) 0.529	— — —	-0.268 (0.368) 0.765	-2.140** (0.748) 0.118
Manual workers	-1.099** (0.272) 0.333	— — —	0.000 (0.192) 1.000	-1.045** (0.267) 0.352
Farmers	-0.944* (0.445) 0.389	— — —	0.916** (0.279) 2.500	0.721* (0.287) 2.056

^aPosition in 2000 or last position since 1995.

^bReference category.

$N = 315$; $-2 \log \text{likelihood} = 143.3$; $\text{chi-square} = 97.3$ ($df = 12$); $\text{Cox and Snell } R^2 = 0.266$, $\text{Nagelkerke } R^2 = 0.283$; intercept not included in the model

ing on status attainment research, socioeconomic status is used to assess the extent to which opportunities have become more (un)equal over time. Moreover, in contrast to the previous sections, the following analyses compare mobility patterns in the late communist period, that is, in 1988, with patterns in 2000.

Since one issue of inquiry is how the Romanian stratification structure has changed since 1989, Table 7 presents mean values and standard deviations for fathers' and respondents' SEI, and respondents' education during and after communism.

Intergenerational advancement is somewhat higher in 2000: the difference between fathers' and respondents' SEI is 6.9 in 2000 versus 5.3 in 1988. This difference, however, is not very pronounced and not statistically significant. In addition, inequality, measured through the coefficient of variation (SD / MV), is fairly stable across time for both fathers' and respondents' distribution. Generally, in the postcommunist period people are, on average, better off than prior to the regime change, and this holds for both social position and education.

Table 7

Father's Socioeconomic Index (SEI), Respondent's Education and SEI: Correlations, Mean Values and Standard Deviations for 1988 and 2000

	Father's SEI	Respondent's education	Respondent's SEI
<i>1988^a</i>			
Father's SEI	1.000	0.350	0.265
Respondent's education	0.350	1.000	0.652
Respondent's SEI	0.265	0.652	1.000
Mean values	30.9	9.7	36.4
Standard deviations	12.7	3.5	14.8
<i>2000^b</i>			
Father's SEI	1.000	0.361	0.318
Respondent's education	0.361	1.000	0.687
Respondent's SEI	0.318	0.687	1.000
Mean values	32.4	11.0	39.3
Standard deviations	12.8	2.9	16.2

^a*N* = 685.

^b*N* = 392.

All correlations are significant at $p < 0.01$.

Relationships Between Socioeconomic Index for Respondents and Their Fathers

Table 7 also presents the correlation coefficients for father's SEI, respondent's education, and respondent's SEI in 1988 and 2000, respectively. In gross terms, the strength of the relationship between social origin and destination strengthened over time. In 1988 father's SEI explained 7 percent of the variance in respondent's SEI, while in 2000 it accounted for 10 percent of the variance. An increase over time is apparent in the relationship between respondents' education and their SEI, but not between father's SEI and respondent's education.

Table 8 shows the effects of father's SEI on respondent's SEI, controlling for respondent's education. Regressions are carried out for 1988 and 2000, in both cases adding a second model controlling for gender and age.

As expected, education has a strong positive impact on people's social position, and this relationship holds irrespective of the type of political system. Other variables, however, behave differently depending on the timeframe of analysis. Most notably, the effect of father's SEI, while not significant in 1988, becomes so in

Table 8

Regression of Respondent's Socioeconomic Index (SEI) on Father's SEI, Respondent's Education and Control Variables, 1988 and 2000

Independent variables	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
<i>1988^a</i>						
Father's SEI	0.049	0.036	0.043	0.043	0.034	0.037
Respondent's education	2.708***	0.132	0.637	3.154***	0.137	0.742
Gender	—			-1.656*	0.826	-0.055
Age	—			0.646**	0.205	0.546
Age squared	—			-0.004	0.003	-0.283
Constant	8.415	1.443		-13.018	4.174	
<i>2000^b</i>						
Father's SEI	0.101*	0.050	0.080	0.100*	0.046	0.094
Respondent's education	3.618***	0.216	0.658	3.763***	0.221	0.684
Gender	—			-2.024	1.202	-0.061
Age	—			-0.691*	0.319	-0.454
Age squared	—			0.011**	0.004	0.576
Constant	-3.947	2.423		5.252	6.420	

^a $N = 684$; Model 1: $F = 253.248$; adjusted $R^2 = 0.424$; Model 2: $F = 130.435$; adjusted $R^2 = 0.486$.

^b $N = 391$; Model 1: $F = 177.572$; adjusted $R^2 = 0.475$; Model 2: $F = 77.944$; adjusted $R^2 = 0.496$.
*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

2000. This is consistent with the finding that the correlation between social origin and social destination strengthens after the systemic change.

Contrary to expectations, results indicate that being male has a detrimental impact on respondent's position in the social structure. The models presented do not include the interaction term between gender and father's SEI, but its effect for 2000 is statistically significant at alpha level 0.05. This shows that, substantively, the pattern is different for men than for women: when run separately for the two groups, the predicted values appear as presented in Figure 1.

Let us next examine the way age relates to people's sociostructural position. In 1988, the relationship takes the form of an inverted U, but in 2000 this is no longer the case, and we observe an accelerated increase in respondent's SEI with age. The

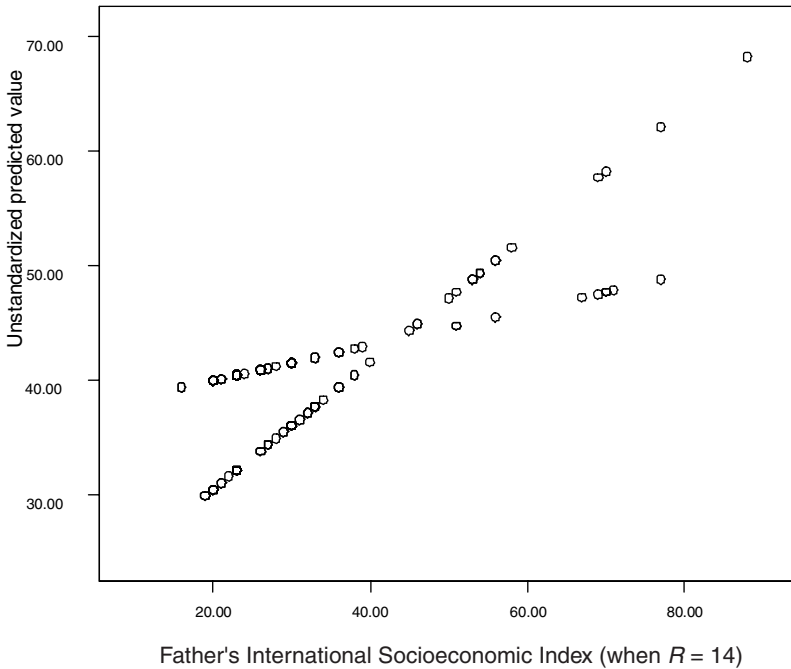


Figure 1. **Social Origin (Father's Socioeconomic Index [SEI]) and Predicted Value of SEI in 2000 for Women and Men**

economic uncertainty characteristic of the postcommunist environment, as well as a certain type of selectivity process are two possible explanations for this outcome. First, in a society such as Romania's, within which economic instability pairs up with insufficient retirement benefits, people will try to maintain their jobs past the "usual" retirement age; second, people with higher education and higher credentials, who are already better positioned in the occupational structure, will be more likely to maintain their positions, while people at the lower end of the occupational structure will be more likely to retire.

Taking the analysis further, I examine whether social status during communism is of any consequence for people's position in the post-1989 social structure. The two models displayed in Table 9 present the results for the linear regression of respondent's SEI in 2000 on father's SEI, respondent's SEI in 1988, and on respondent's education, respectively.

As expected, the effect of respondent's SEI in 1988 is positive and significant, even when controlling for education. Adding this latter variable into the equation, however, overrides the effect of social origin, as expressed through father's SEI.

Table 9

Regression of Respondent's Socioeconomic Index (SEI) in 2000 on Father's SEI, Respondent's SEI in 1988, and Respondent's Education

Independent variables	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Father's SEI	0.154**	0.053	0.120	0.069	0.051	0.054
Respondent's SEI 1988	0.773***	0.043	0.735	0.575***	0.053	0.547
Respondent's education	—	—	—	1.748***	0.294	0.309
Constant	4.640	2.240		-4.472	2.600	

$N = 253$; Model 1: $F = 181.570$; adjusted $R^2 = 0.588$. Model 2: $F = 149.447$; adjusted $R^2 = 0.638$.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

Critical Test of Seemingly Contradictory Results

The results for 1970–2000, expressed in terms of flows and relationships for social class, indicate increasing openness in Romanian society, while the results for 1988–2000, expressed in terms of flows and relationships for SEI, indicate the opposite—less openness in the postcommunist era. Since the comparison involves different time periods, 1970–2000 and 1988–2000, it is not clear to what extent the results depend on the changes that occurred between 1970 and 1988. To elucidate this issue, I pose two related questions: (1) Were the intergenerational mobility regimes during full-fledged communism (1970) and late communism (1988) substantially different? and (2) Would the results remain the same as those presented earlier in this article if for social class analysis we take the data for late communism (1988) instead of those for full-fledged communism (1970)?

A negative answer for the first question would imply a positive answer for the second question. Although I am inclined to assume considerable stability in the mobility patterns for 1970–88, I realize that the bases for such a claim are weak in the absence of appropriate data. A comparison of mobility tables for Cazacu's (1974) data for 1970 and the gross data from PEGEE for 1988 shows that after controlling for changes in the social structure, the mobility regime—expressed in terms of odds ratios—is basically the same. However, this comparison is loose since the PEGEE data do not allow us to define exactly the same population for 1988, as Cazacu actually did. In addition, the PEGEE data do not contain information on the jobs that older respondents had during earlier communism. Thus, answering the second question seems critical.

In general terms, the comparison of social class mobility for 1988–2000 gives the same results as those already presented for the 1970–2000 comparison. If we include all persons who worked in 1988, then the relationship between respondents' social class in that year and their fathers' social class is strong: Cox and Snell $R^2 = 0.446$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.476$. The values of these coefficients are much higher than the values of the same coefficients reported in Table 6 for mobility in 2000 (Cox and Snell $R^2 = 0.266$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.283$). However, such a comparison involves an overlapping population.

To perform a critical test of seemingly contradictory results I selected two nonoverlapping groups, namely, people ages twenty-one to thirty-two in 1988 and 2000, respectively. The results in Table 10, expressed in terms of relationships for social classes, indicate increasing openness of Romanian society for 1988–2000, while the results in Table 11, expressed in terms of relationships for socioeconomic index, indicate the opposite for the same period.

This is a very important result indicating that social class, defined here for the communist period, and socioeconomic status are distinguishable dimensions of social inequality; for a theoretical argument in this regard and in the context of postcommunist societies, see Slomczynski and Shabad (1997), Eyal, Szelenyi, and Townsley (1998), and Domanski (2000). In practice, social class does not explain about 25–35 percent of variance in SEI, leaving considerable room for divergent patterns of the relationships. It must be stressed, however, that in the analyses presented in this study, I utilized the social class schema developed originally by Cazacu (1974) for the communist period. Other social class schemas can produce different results. I return to this point at the end of the article.

Conclusions and Discussion

The aim of this article was to examine how intergenerational mobility changed due to the economic and political transformations in Romanian society after the demise of the communist regime. Following the main traditions used to study inequality, I focused on patterns of flows and relationships from the standpoint of both social class and socioeconomic status. This prompted specific research questions, for which the results are summarized below.

1. In postcommunist Romania, the *flows between categories of social origin and social destination* look significantly different in 2000 than they did in 1970. The level of observed mobility is higher than it was, and so is the share of its circulation component. While in 1970 only 7 percent of the observed movements were due to exchanges of people between social class categories, in 2000 circulation mobility represents 34.8 percent of the observed mobility. The one commonality for the two periods is that circulation mobility remains asymmetrical: upward movements outnumber downward ones. Overall, these changes indicate that since democratization Romanian society displays a higher degree of social openness.

At the same time, there are also differences in the pattern of structural mobility.

Table 10

Regression of Respondent's Social Class on Father's Social Class, for Respondents Age Twenty-one to Thirty-two in 1988 and 2000

Social origin / current social class	1988 ^a			2000 ^b		
	B	SE	Exp(B)	B	SE	Exp(B)
Professionals						
Professionals	0.288	0.764	1.333	-0.251	0.504	0.778
Manual workers	0.511	0.730	1.667	-14.355	0.000	0.000
Farmers	-1.099	1.155	0.333	-14.355	0.000	0.000
Routine nonmanual workers						
Professionals	-0.288	0.764	0.750	-0.452	0.483	0.636
Manual workers	1.658**	0.546	5.250	-0.452	0.483	0.636
Farmers	-1.386	1.118	0.250	-1.705*	0.769	0.182
Manual workers						
Professionals	-0.636	0.412	0.529	-2.197**	0.398	0.111
Manual workers	1.867**	0.261	6.471	-0.192	0.187	0.825
Farmers	-0.636	0.412	0.529	-2.757**	0.516	0.063
Farmers						
Professionals	-0.916	0.592	0.400	-2.251**	0.743	0.105
Manual workers	1.548**	0.348	4.700	-0.236	0.345	0.789
Farmers	-0.357	0.493	0.700	-0.999*	0.442	0.368

^a $N = 255$; $-2 \log$ likelihood = 301.7; chi-square = 263.1 ($df = 12$); Cox and Snell $R^2 = 0.644$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.686$.

^b $N = 212$; $-2 \log$ likelihood = 34.9; chi-square = 150.1 ($df = 12$); Cox and Snell $R^2 = 0.507$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.541$.

Its level in 2000 is 13 percent lower than in 1970, and the social categories that experience the strongest structural effects change over time. Under communism, most outflows were from the category of farmers and into that of manual workers. In 2000, "forced" mobility is highest for manual workers, who move primarily into the category of routine nonmanual workers. These changes are not surprising, as they are the logical consequence of the large-scale transformations after 1989. The introduction of free market economic principles meant privatization, and with it came the closure or downsizing of state-owned enterprises, most of which operated in industry. People had to find new jobs, and the expansion of the service sector offered this possibility.

Table 11

Regression of Respondent's Socioeconomic Index (SEI) on Father's SEI, Respondent's Education and Gender, for Respondents Age Twenty-one to Thirty-two in 1988 and 2000

Independent variables	1988a			2000b		
	B	SE	Beta	B	SE	Beta
Father's SEI	0.014	0.058	0.014	0.175*	0.088	0.049
Respondent's education	2.739***	0.307	0.508	3.244***	0.440	0.552
Gender	-2.068	1.360	-0.082	-5.506**	2.066	-0.179
Constant	6.785	3.453		0.438	4.947	

^a $N = 254$; $F = 31.192$; adjusted $R^2 = 0.263$.

^b $N = 134$; $F = 41.489$; adjusted $R^2 = 0.475$.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

2. In terms of *relationships between social class categories of origin and destination*, after the systemic change the relationship between class of origin and class of destination weakens. In 2000, the likelihood of social inheritance is much lower for all groups: for example, farmers' sons are now only twice as likely to become farmers than routine nonmanual workers (compared to 1970, when the odds were about five times higher), and for professionals the likelihood of inheritance loses statistical significance altogether. In addition, the odds of moving from the category of farmers into that of manual workers have also decreased over time, which makes sense in light of the postcommunist economic environment.

3. Changes in the patterns of flows and relationships in the postcommunist era in relation to late communism, that is the year 1988, were examined. With regard to *the distributional characteristics of fathers' and respondents' social status*, the results indicate that the difference between father's SEI and respondent's SEI is not much higher in 2000 than it was at the end of the communist era, and it is not statistically significant.

4. The effect of father's SEI on respondent's SEI, while not significant in 1988, becomes significant in postcommunist Romania. This remains the case even when other determinants, most notably education, are accounted for. While in late communism the relationship between age and respondent's SEI was of an inverted-U form, in 2000 we observe an accelerated increase in respondent's SEI with age. The economic uncertainty characteristic of the postcommunist environment, as well as a certain type of selectivity process may explain this outcome: first, in Romanian society, where economic instability pairs up with insufficient retire-

ment benefits, people will try to maintain their jobs past the “usual” retirement age; second, people with higher education and higher credentials, who are already better positioned in the occupational structure, will be more likely to maintain their positions, while people at the lower end of the occupational structure will be more likely to retire.

Besides education, which has a similar (positive) impact on people’s social position irrespective of the type of political system, the other variable that has comparable effects regardless of the timeframe of analysis is gender. Contrary to expectations, being male affects one’s social position negatively. Nonetheless, a significant interaction between father’s SEI and gender shows that substantively, the pattern is different for men than it is for women.

The results for 1970–2000, expressed in terms of flows and relationships for social classes, indicate increasing openness of the Romanian society while the results for 1988–2000, expressed in terms of flows and relationships for SEI, indicate the opposite—less openness in the postcommunist era. An important test revealed a similar result for nonoverlapping populations of those ages twenty-one to thirty-two in 1988 and in 2000, respectively. Thus, the seemingly contradictory results indicate that social class and socioeconomic status pertain to two different dimensions of social inequality, demonstrating the usefulness of the complex approach that includes both of these dimensions.

However, decreased relationship between origins and destinations in terms of social classes should not be interpreted as an argument for decreased salience of social class in the postcommunist era. It should be noted that the analyses presented here use the class schema suited for the communist rather than the postcommunist period. After 1989 new social classes emerged (employers and self-employed), some classes lost their political significance (manual workers), and other classes split (professionals into managers and experts). New studies of social mobility are needed that are based on nonsquared mobility tables. Such studies will have to break with the well-established tradition according to which social mobility occurs in a stable social structure.

References

- Blau, Peter M., and Dudley O. Duncan. 1967. *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: Free Press.
- Breen, Richard, and Jan O. Jonsson. 2005. “Inequality of Opportunity in Comparative Perspective: Recent Research on Educational Attainment and Social Mobility.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 31 (August): 223–43.
- Breen, Richard, ed. 2004. *Social Mobility in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cârțânî, Corneliu. 2000. “Mobilitatea Sociala în România. Aspecte Cantitative și Calitative la Nivel Național și în Profil Teritorial” [Social Mobility in Romania. Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects at the National and Territorial Level]. *Sociologie Românească*, no. 1 (2000): 105–24.
- Cazacu, Honorina. 1974. *Mobilitate Sociala* [Social Mobility]. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania.

- Connor, Walter D. 1979. *Socialism, Politics and Equality*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Domanski, Henryk. 2000. *On the Verge of Convergence: Social Stratification in Eastern Europe*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Erikson, Robert, and John H. Goldthorpe. 1992. *The Constant Flux: A Study in Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Erikson, Robert; John H. Goldthorpe; and Lucienne Portocarero. 1982. "Social Fluidity in Industrial Nations: England, France and Sweden." *British Journal of Sociology* 33, no. 1: 1–34.
- Eyal, Gil; Ivan Szelenyi; and Eleanor Townsley. 1998. *Making Capitalism Without Capitalists: The New Ruling Elites in Eastern Europe*. London: Verso.
- Featherman, David L., and Robert M. Hauser. 1976. "Prestige or Socioeconomic Scales in the Study of Occupational Achievement?" *Sociological Methods and Research* 4: 403–22.
- Featherman David L.; F. Lancaster Jones; and Robert M. Hauser. 1975. "Assumptions of Social Mobility Research in the U.S.: A Case of Occupational Status." *Social Science Research* 4: 329–60.
- Ganzeboom, Harry, and Donald J. Treiman. 1996. "Internationally Comparable Measures of Occupational Status for the 1988 International Standard Classification of Occupations." *Social Science Research* 25, no. 3: 201–39.
- Ganzeboom, Harry B.G.; Paul de Graaf; and Donald J. Treiman. 1992. "An International Scale of Occupational Status." *Social Science Research* 21: 1–56.
- Goldthorpe, John H. 1980. *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Goldthorpe, John H., and Keith Hope. 1974. *The Social Grading of Occupations: A New Approach and Scale*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hauser, Robert M., and David B. Grusky. 1988. "Cross-National Variation in Occupational Distributions, Relative Mobility Chances, and Intergenerational Shifts in Occupational Distributions." *American Sociological Review* 53, no. 5: 723–41.
- Hauser, Robert M., and John R. Warren. 1997. "Socioeconomic Indexes of Occupational Status: A Review, Update and Critique." In *Sociological Methodology*, ed. Adrian E. Raftery, 177–298. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Kligman, Gail, and Ivan Szelenyi, in collaboration with Christy Glass and Janette Kawachi. 2002. "Poverty and Social Structure in Transitional Societies." Paper prepared for the MaxPlanck-Institut für Bildungsforschung, Berlin. Available at www.yale.edu/ccr/ivan.doc (accessed November 3, 2005).
- Krauze, Tadeusz, and Kazimierz M. Slomczynski. 1986. "Matrix Representation of Structural and Circulation Mobility." *Sociological Methods and Research* 14, no. 3: 247–69.
- Lipset, Seymour M., and Reinhardt Bendix. 1959. *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lipset, Seymour M., and Hans L. Zetterberg. 1959. "Social Mobility in Industrial Societies." In *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, ed. S.M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, 11–75. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rijken, Susanne. 1999. "The Effect of Social Origin on Status Attainment in First Job." In *Educational Expansion and Status Attainment: A Cross-National and Over-Time Comparison*, ed. Rijken, 79–110. Utrecht: Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research.
- Simkus, Albert. 1995a. "Cross-National Comparisons of Social Mobility." *International Journal of Sociology* 25, no. 4 (Winter): 57–73.
- . 1995b. "Cross-National Differences in Social Distances Among Classes." *International Journal of Sociology* 25, no. 4 (Winter): 43–56.
- Slomczynski, Kazimierz M., and Tadeusz K. Krauze. 1988. "A Paradigmatic Crisis in the

- Multiplicative Modeling of Mobility Tables: The Problem of Circulation Mobility as an Anomaly." *American Sociological Review* 53, no. 5: 742–48.
- Slomczynski, Kazimierz M., and Goldie Shabad. 1997. "Systemic Transformation and the Salience of Class Structure in East Central Europe." *East European Politics and Societies* 11, no. 1: 155–89.
- Treiman, Donald J. 1976. "A Standard Occupational Prestige Scale for Use with Historical Data." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7: 283–304.
- . 1977. *Occupational Prestige in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Academic Press.
- Treiman, Donald J., and Kam-bor Yip. 1989. "Educational and Occupational Attainment in 21 Countries." In *Cross-National Research in Sociology*, ed. Melvin L. Kohn, 373–94. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Urse, Laureana. 2003. "Clase Sociale și Stiluri de Viață în România (I)" [Social Classes and Lifestyles in Romania]. In *Raport de Cercetare* [Study Report], Institutul de Cercetare a Calității Vieții (ICCV), 1–24. Available at www.iccv.ro/romana/studii/teme/2003/urse.doc (accessed November 20, 2005).

Copyright of International Journal of Sociology is the property of M.E. Sharpe Inc. and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.