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*TRENDS IN SOCIAL MOBILITY IN ROMANIA SINCE THE MIDDLE OF THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY. ECONOMICAL CHANGE AS AN EXPLICATIVE
FACTOR OF THE SOCIAL MOBILITY*

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Summary: One of the explanations of the social mobility's growth in industrial countries from Europe and North America since the mid-twenty century is the occupational change due to the modifications produced in the economic sectors. The pattern of upward social mobility can change because the parents of younger birth-cohorts (people born since the 1960's) have already benefited from upward social mobility so there is less scope for further upward mobility of their descendents. This paper aims to verify if the pattern of constant absolute social mobility applies to Romanian context, if some changes have occurred in the regime of social mobility in Romania since the middle of the twentieth century, and how much are these due to the dynamic from the occupational structure.

Keywords: social mobility, social stratification, social inequalities, social and economic change

TRENDS IN SOCIAL MOBILITY IN ROMANIA SINCE THE MIDDLE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. ECONOMICAL CHANGE AS AN EXPLICATIVE FACTOR OF THE SOCIAL MOBILITY

INTRODUCTION

Social mobility is the moving of the people – individuals or groups – through the social space, from one social class to another, from one social position to another. Some authors (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1993) define the concept of social mobility like the individual's movement across different positions of the labor's social division. Social mobility is a major mediating process between the social structure and the social action. The extent and nature of social mobility could influence the evaluation that people make about the social order, about its legitimacy.

In modern societies, some barriers (juridical, religious) for the social mobility has been removed, and other, like educational system, and professional qualification system, has been recently introduced or reinforced. Already from the first decades of the twentieth century, researchers (eg Sorokin, 1964) of the social mobility suggested that, as the time passes, the social strata become more and more closed for new inputs, and that the trend, on long term, is the reducing of social mobility. However, in the Occidentals industrialized societies there is a great rate of mobility (absolute mobility), due to the economic development.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There are two main traditional approaches of the social mobility. One of these, asserts the social process that occurs within the class structure and the other suppose that social mobility is a process occurring within some forms of social hierarchy. The first approach refers to the movement of individuals between different social positions defined in terms of the labor market relations. The researchers who adopt this framework stress on the structural shifts produced at the level of these relations. These changes do not implies necessary the social ascension or descend. This approach is useful for the study of the ties between social mobility and socio-economic development. The second approach refers to the movement of people between different social aggregates ordered from the point of view of the correspondent prestige, status, economic resources, and so on, that characterize the members of these social groupings. This later theoretical perspective fits for the study of the status attainment, individual success, or fail.

The paradigm of status attainment is useful for the macrosociological studies and comparative analysis, where the main objective is to characterize different societies like more or less *opened*. The present paper uses the social structure conceptual and theoretical context of analyses.

DATA, VARIABLES, AND METHODOLOGY

Methodologically, the researchers of the social mobility process can approach it by the quantitative paradigm, and study it with statistical techniques, from simple descriptive statistics to different kind of statistic modeling.

If the interest of the researcher is centered on the association *per se* between social origin and destination, on the pattern of this relation, on the measure in which the pattern and its variations in time and space reflect the endogenous and exogenous (structural) influences, then one indicate technique of analysis is the use of the social mobility tables. Therefore, the researcher can analyze both the actual fluxes of social mobility, and the propensity for social mobility between the social categories distinguished.

The social mobility tables represent a particular case of crosstabs. The absolute rates of mobility or immobility refer to the proportion of people from some categories that are mobile, respectively immobile, and make possible the analyses of the inflows and outflows. Structural changes of the economies (the grade of development of different economical sectors, the labor force demand) or of the societies (demographic structure) can generate the absolute mobility. Relative rates of social mobility express the social fluidity, the probability to pass from an origin to a destination category. Relative mobility shows the chances of people from different socio-cultural contexts to reach in different social position.

We used the data from the public SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) databases of the Public Opinion Barometers (BOP), a biannual research organized by the Foundation for an Open Society from Romania. I retained the data from the period 1998-2005. I found in these databases some explicitly defined variables reflecting the social position – occupation, level of education, incomes, social capital, and consumption. For the present study, I adopted the social classification based on the occupation of the

individuals. Thus, I retained the variables occupation of the respondent, and the father's occupation. Yet, I have encountered some methodological problems. Usually, the social mobility researches based on mobility tables compare the generation of fathers with the generation of sons in some reference moments of their life, but in the databases mentioned above it was indicated both for the fathers, and for their descendents only the occupation at the moment of the survey. Then, there is no certitude that I obtained a representative sample for the present real social structure thru the merging of the files corresponding to the biannual survey. Anyway, I putted together the cases from the sixteen databases, after some previous transformations of the variables, so that I similarly defined them. For the occupation variable, I started from the classification used in the Romanian Population and Household Census of 2002. This classification includes ten main occupational categories. The first main occupational group is that of legislators, Executive members, managers from public administration, and economic, social, and politic organizations. Specialists with intellectual and scientific occupations represent the second main occupational group. The third main occupational group is that of technicians, supervisors and assimilated ones. The employees constitute the fourth main occupational group. The fifth main occupational group includes operative labourers in services and commerce, and the assimilated. The farmers and qualified labourers from agriculture, forestry, and fishing constitute the sixth main occupational group. The artisans and skilled workers form the seventh main occupational group. The installation and machines operators, and machines, equipments and other products assemblers form the eighth main occupational group. The unskilled workers constitute the ninth occupational main group. The army is the tenth main occupational group. In order to simplify the analysis, I reduced the number of occupational categories by combining some main occupational groups. I combined the first and the second main occupational group thinking that both of these main occupational groups include non/manual activities and demand a high level of formal instruction. Therefore, I have obtained the first class of my classification: intellectual occupations, owners and managers of the economic, social, and politic organizations, officials, and public officials (class I). The third main occupational group became the second class of my classification: technicians, supervisors (class II). The fourth and the fifth main occupational group combined gave the third class

of my classification: employees and operative labourers in services and commerce (class III). This combination grounds on the similar level of formal instruction specific to the members of these two main occupational groups. The sixth main occupational group became the fourth class of my classification: farmers and qualified labourers from agriculture, forestry, and fishing (class IV). The seventh and the eighth main occupational group formed the fifth class of my classification: skilled workers (class V). The ninth main occupational group became the sixth class of my classification: unskilled workers (class VI). The tenth main occupational group became the seventh class of my classification: army. The last class, I have excluded from analysis because its corresponding number of cases was too small to make valid comparative inferences. Therefore, only six categories remained on the classification of occupations. By joining the cases from the sixteen samples, I obtained a database containing 30371 cases. I set the condition that the respondent's age is no less than twenty-four years and no bigger than sixty-four years. In addition, I retained only the cases for which the occupation of fathers and sons/daughters simultaneously figure in the database and that are different from army forces. Therefore, I reached at a 5995 individuals sub-sample. Since I did not selected this sub-sample strictly by chance, and was not representative for the entire population, I appealed to the construction of a weighting variable for the subject's age, with the purpose to correct the selection error. Thus, I transformed the variables from the last database in weighted variables. In this way, I obtained 262659 valid cases, which satisfy the previous conditions. As I took the cases from different databases correspondent to different years, the variable age cannot be included in statistical analysis just like that. I have considered that the birth year is better than the age to be included in comparative analysis. For passing over this problem, I've created, before merging the files from different years, an index file variable (for the month and the year when the survey was realised), so that I knew every moment for which year the respondent's age was that registered in the final database. As the birth year of respondents does not figure in every year database, I calculated the respondent's birth year extracting the respondent age registered in the initial databases from the year when the survey was carry on. Thus, for the interval of age between 24 years and 64 years correspond the period between 1935 and 1980, i.e. in the analysis I included only the respondents that were born in this period. I divided this period in three equal intervals: 1935-1949, 1950-1964, and 1965-

1979. Thus, I have created the cohort variable, with three values, which was included in further analysis.

For the crosstabulation between father's occupation and subject's occupation, by birth cohort, we can reject the null hypothesis of independence between origin and destination. Therefore, we can affirm that the subject occupation depends on father occupation in all three birth-cohorts.

[Table 1 and Table 2 around here]

TRENDS IN SOCIAL MOBILITY

Absolute mobility

At the first sight upon the mobility tables it is obvious that the occupational category of the farmers and qualified labourers from agriculture, forestry and fishing (class IV), and the occupational category of the unskilled workers (class VI) was in continuous decline since the middle of the twentieth century. In the same time, the number of those from the occupational category of intellectual occupations, owners and managers of the economic, social and politic organizations, officials, statesmen (class I), and the occupational category of the employees and operative labourers in services and commerce (class III) has constantly increased. These changes in the occupational structure of the population were determined by the decline of the agriculture sector, by the development of industrial sector, and, consequently, by the development of the tertiary sector of economy (that modified the labour force offer and demand). In addition, the increased access to education, and the demographic phenomena (differential fertility of different class) could influence these shifts in the social structure. However, there are some differences in the pattern of the mobility between the cohort of those born in 1965-1979 and the previous cohorts (1935-1949, and 1950-1964). It means that the new political-economic context after 1989 has determined new shifts in the social structure. Comparative with the previous cohorts, in the 1965-1979 birth cohort the number of technicians, foremen and assimilated (class II), artisans and skilled workers, installation and machines operators, machines, equipments and other products assemblers (class V) has decreased. The differences between the marginal frequencies from the table 1 suggest the hypothesis of a constant social flux, but not a unidirectional one. Absolute rates of mobility show, for each cohort, the proportion of those who are changing the social class: 61.6%, for the birth cohort 1935 - 1949,

68.6%, for the birth cohort 1950 – 1964, and 60.44%, for the birth cohort 1965 – 1979. It seems that the extent of mobility has increased since the middle of the twentieth century until the end of 1980's years, and then it became to decrease. This change in the regime of the social mobility can correlate with the economical development produced by the industrialisation of the country after the 1950's years, and by the growing of the services sector, that generated the growth of some occupational categories and the correspondent decrease of the others. Since the 1990's years, the number of those who are socially mobile has decreased again. One argument for this situation can be the fact that the number of different social and occupational positions do not increase permanently, but it stops at a given level, so that the new entrants in the labour market have to search their place only between the existent social positions. In other words, the parents of younger birth-cohorts (people born since the 1960's) have already benefited from upward social mobility so there is less scope for their own further upward mobility.

Outflow relative mobility rates

I calculated the odds ratios to analyze whether the chances of individuals who belong to a given occupational category to pass thru different occupational categories are equal or not.

[Table 3 around here]

The odds ratio corresponding to the maintaining in class I of those originated in class I increased between the end of 1950's years and the end of 1980's years, grace to the enlargement of the class I boundaries and to the demographic changes. Since the end of the 1980's years, the probability of keeping the social position has decreased to a lower level than that from the end of 1950's years. Since the middle of the twentieth century, the class I was constantly the main destination of those born in class I. Since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's years the probability of passing from class I thru class V has increased, then the level of this probability kept relatively constant. Since the end of the 1950's years till the beginning of the 1970's years, and then, since the end of the 1980's years, those whose fathers was in class I, who did not succeeded in staying in class I have oriented themselves mostly thru the class III. Comparative with these periods of time, since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years, those originated in class I, who did

not reached the class I, have oriented themselves mostly thru the class V. The probability that those whose origin was in class I to get in class IV was low and in continuous decrease, since the middle of the twentieth century. Since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years, comparative with the previous period, the probability of those originated in class I to reach in class II increased, and then, since the end of the 1980's years, this probability decreased very much. The chances that those originated in class I reach in class III decreased since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years comparative with the previous period. Then, since the end of the 1980's years, they increased to a level that was superior to that from the period since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years. This occurred because since the end of the 1980's years, the occupational category of employees and of the operative labourers in commerce and services has considerably enlarged. The probability that those originated in class I get in class VI was permanently low since the middle of the twentieth century.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, those from class I had better chances to stay in their own class than to get in other classes. Then, those from class I had better chances to get in the class III or in class V than in other classes.

Those whose fathers were from class II have oriented themselves predominantly thru the class I, since the middle of the twentieth century. The probability of passing from the class II thru the class I was constantly higher than the probabilities of passing thru other classes. The class I is a favourite destination class for those originated in class II. The probability of social reproduction of the class II was in continuous decrease since the middle of the twentieth century. Those originated in class II had a higher level of social mobility than those originated in class I. Apart from the class I, another destination for those originated in the class II was the class III. The probability of getting in class III from the class II constantly increased since the middle of the twentieth century. Since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years, the probability of passing from the class II thru the class V was higher than the probability of passing from the class II thru the class III. Contrary, since the middle of the 1970's years the chances of getting in class III was higher than that of getting in the class V. The probability of passing from the class II thru the class IV was constantly low and it permanently decreased since the middle of the twentieth century until the end of the 1980's years. The probability of passing from

the class II thru the class V has little decreased since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years comparative with the previous period. Then it has increased to a level a little higher than that from the period since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years. The probability of passing from the class II thru the class VI was low and it increased a little since the middle of the twentieth century.

Those originated in the class II had better chances to get in the class I, the class III or the class V than to stay in their own class or to get in the class VI or in the class IV.

Comparative with the probabilities of passing from the class III thru other classes, the chance of passing thru the class I was the highest since the middle of the twentieth century. The probability of passing from the class III thru the class I increased a little since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years comparative with the previous period, and then, since the end of the 1980's years, it reached to the initial level. The class I is a favourite destination class for those originated in the class III. The probability of the social reproduction of the class III has constantly increased since the middle of the twentieth century and it tends to equalise the probability of passing from the class III thru the class I. The probability of passing from the class III thru the class II was in continuous decrease since the middle of the twentieth century, reaching to be lower than the probability of passing from the class III thru the class VI since the end of the 1980's years. The probability of those originated in the class III to get in the class V has constantly increased since the middle of the twentieth century. Since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years, comparative with the previous period, the probability to get in the class IV decreased. Then, it has surprisingly increased again since the end of the 1980's years near to the level from the period since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years. The probability of passing from the class III thru the class VI has followed the same tendency like the probability of passing from the class III thru the class IV, but the increase since the end of the 1980's years was lowest than in the previous case. It seems that since the end of the 1980's years those originated in the class III succeed harder than before in getting in the class I or in the class II, so they orient themselves rather thru their own class or thru the class V.

The probability of those originated in the class IV to get in the class I was relatively low since the middle of the twentieth century. Since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years,

the probability of passing from the class IV thru the class I has increased a little comparative with the previous period. However, since the end of the 1980's years, it decreased again to a lower level than in the period since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years. The probability to get in the class II from the class IV had the same tendency like the probability to get in the class I from the class IV. Those originated in the class IV had relatively constant chances to get in the class III, since the middle of the twentieth century. The tendency of this last probability was to increase slowly, but, since the middle of the twentieth century, the chances of those originated in the class IV to get in the class III was lower than the chances of staying in their own class or than the chance of getting in the class V. The probability that those originated in the class IV to stay in their own class has decreased since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years, comparative with the previous period. Then, it has increased again since the end of the 1980's years to a lower level than that of the probability of passing from the class IV thru the class V. Since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years comparative with the previous period, the probability to get in the class V from the class IV has increased, becoming the highest comparative to the probabilities of passing from the class IV thru the others classes. Then, since the end of the 1980's years, it has decreased a little, comparative to the previous period. Since the end of the 1980's years, the chances of those originated in the class IV to get in the class V are the best comparative to the chances of passing from the class IV thru others classes. The chances of those originated in the class IV to get in the class VI was in slowly continuous increase since the middle of the twentieth century, but was always lower than the chances of passing from the class IV thru the class V or of staying in their own class. Those originated in the class IV had better chances to get in the class V, or to stay in the class IV, or to get in the class III than those to get in the class I, or to get in the class II, or in the class VI, since the middle of the twentieth century.

The probability of passing from the class V thru the class I constantly decreased since the middle of the twentieth century, but it was always higher than the probability of passing from the class V thru the class II, or thru the class IV, or thru the class VI. The probability that those originated in the class V to get in the class II has constantly decreased, more than the probability of passing from the class V thru the class I. The chance of those originated in the class V to get in the class III increased since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's

years, then, it remained relatively constant. For those from the birth cohort 1935 – 1949, the chances to get in the class I were better than the chances to get in the class III. For the further cohorts, the chances of getting in the class III from the class V became better than the chances of passing thru the class I from the class V. The probability to pass from the class V thru the class IV was low since the middle of the twentieth century comparative to the probabilities of passing from the class V thru the class I, or thru the class III. The tendency, for the probability of passing from the class V thru the class IV, was similar to the probability of passing from the class III thru the class IV. It decreased since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's years, then, it increased again. However, it did not reach the same level from the period since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years. The probability of the social reproduction of the class V has constantly grown since the middle of the twentieth century. Comparative to the probability of passing from the class V thru others classes, the probability of staying in the class V was always higher than the probabilities of passing from the class V thru other classes. The level of social heredity is high in the case of the class V, but it is not so high like the level of social heredity of the class I. Anyway, since the middle of the 1970's years, the level of social reproduction of the class V is higher than that of the class IV. The probability that those originated in class V pass thru the class VI has increased constantly and slowly since the middle of the twentieth century.

Those originated in the class V had, since the middle of the twentieth century, the chances of staying in the same class better than the chances of getting in other classes.

The probability that those coming from the class VI get in the class I was relatively low since the middle of the twentieth century. Comparative to the period since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years, since the middle of the 1970's years until the end of the 1980's years, the probability of passing from the class VI thru the class I has slowly increased. Then, since the end of the 1980's years, it has decreased to an inferior level than that from the initial period. The probability to pass from the class VI thru the class II was in continuous decrease since the middle of the twentieth century and was always lower than the probabilities of passing from the class VI thru the other classes. The probability that those originated in the class VI get in the class III has slightly increased since the middle of the twentieth century. The probability of passing from the class

VI thru the class IV has decreased since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's years, and then it remained relatively constant. The probability of passing from the class VI thru the class V has increased since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's years. Since the middle of the 1970's years the chances of those originated in the class VI to get in the class V was better than the chances to get in the other classes. Since the end of the 1980's years the probability to pass from the class VI thru the class V has decreased, but was still higher than in the period since the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years. The probability of those originated in the class VI to stay in the same class has decreased between the middle of the 1970's years and the end of the 1980's years, comparative to the period since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's year. Then, since the end of the 1980's years, it increased again, reaching a superior level than that from the period since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years. The chances to pass from the class VI thru the class V or thru the class III, and respectively the chances of those originated in the class VI to stay in their own class was better than the chances to get in the other classes from the class VI, since the middle of the twentieth century.

Inflow relative mobility rates

I calculated the odds ratios of getting in a given occupational category from other categories.

[Table 4 around here]

The better chances to get in the class I was those of the people originated in the class V. Since the middle of the twentieth century, their chances to get in the class I has constantly increased comparative to the chances of those originated in other classes. The chances of those originated in the class I to accede in their own class was always worse than the chances of those originated in the class V to accede in the class I. The level of social heredity of the class I has decreased since the middle of the 1970's until the end of the 1980's years comparative to the previous period, and then it has increased again, reaching a superior level than that from the initial period. The chances of those originated in the class II to accede in the class I has constantly increased since the middle of the twentieth century. Since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's years, the worst chances to accede in the class I was those of the people originated in the class II. Contrary, since the end of

the 1980's years, the worst chances to get in the class I was those of the people originated in the class VI and in the class IV. The chances of those originated in the class III to accede in the class I have increased since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's years. Then, their chances have decreased to an inferior level than the initial one. The chances of those originated in the class IV to accede in the class I have constantly decreased since the middle of the twentieth century. The chances to accede in the class I of those originated in the class VI has constantly decreased since the middle of the twentieth century (probably because they had less from the economic and cultural capital and they invested less in their education). Since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's years, those originated in the class VI and those originated in the class I had relatively equal chances to accede in the class I. Since the end of the 1980's years, contrary, those originated in the class VI had the worst chances, comparative to the members of the other classes, to get in the class I.

The best chances to accede in the class II was those of the people originated in the class V, since the middle of the twentieth century. Their chances to get in the class II has constantly increased in this period. The probability that the members of the class I accede in the class II has slightly increased since the middle of the twentieth century, but remained lower than the chances of those originated in the other classes to be recruited by the class II. The probability that those originated in the class II to get in their own class has increased a little since the middle of the twentieth century. Therefore, it remained to a low level, like in the case of those originated in the class I. Those originated in the class I and in the class II had relatively equal chances to accede in the class II. Since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years, the chances of those originated in the class III to accede in the class II were relatively high, comparative to the chances of those originated in the class I and in the class II. Since the middle of the 1970's years, contrary, the chances of those originated in the class I, in the class II and in the class III to accede in the class II became relatively equal. The chances of those originated in the class IV to accede in the class II was sensibly better than the chances of those originated in the class I, in the class II or in the class III, since the middle of the twentieth century. Since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years, the chances of those originated in the class VI to accede in the class II were relatively equal to the chances of those originated in the class V. Since the middle of the

1970's years, contrary, the inequalities of chance between those originated in the class V and those originated in the class VI to accede in the class II has accentuated more and more. Different from those originated in the class V, the chances of those originated in the class VI to accede in the class II have constantly decreased since the middle of the twentieth century. They reached to a relatively equal level to that of the probability of those originated in the class I, or in the class II, or in the class III to accede in the class II.

The best chances to accede in the class III was those of the people originated in the class V, since the middle of the twentieth century. Their chances were in continuous increase since the middle of the twentieth century. Since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years, the chances of those originated in the class IV to accede in the class III were relatively equal to the chances of the people originated in the class V. The chances of those originated in the class IV to accede in the class III have constantly decreased since the middle of the twentieth century, apart from those originated in the class V. Therefore, they remained higher than the chances of those originated in the class I, in the class II, in the class III, or in the class VI. Since the middle of the 1970's years, the worst chances to accede in the class III were those of the people originated in the class I. Since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years, only those originated in the class II had worse chances than those originated in the class I to accede in the class III. The probability that those originated in the class II to accede in the class III has constantly increased since the middle of the twentieth century. It became, since the end of the 1980's years, relatively equal to the probability of those originated in the class III to accede in their own class. The chances of those originated in the class III to accede in their own class has remained relatively constant since the middle of the twentieth century. The probability that those originated in the class VI to accede in the class III has constantly decreased since the middle of the twentieth century, still remaining higher than the probability to accede in the class III of those originated in the class I, in the class II, and in the class III.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the best chances to accede in the class IV was that of those originated in the class IV. Their chances have decreased constantly and slowly since the middle of the twentieth century. The probability that those originated in the class I, in the class II, or in the class III to accede in the class IV was very low, since the middle of the twentieth century. The probability that those originated in the class V

accede in the class IV has slightly increased since the middle of the twentieth century, remaining sensibly lower than the probability that those originated in the class IV get in their own class. The chances of those originated in the class VI to accede in the class IV were higher than the chances of those originated in the class I, in the class II, in the class III, or in the class V, since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's years. Since the end of the 1980's years, the chances of those originated in the class VI to accede in the class IV became lower than the chances of those originated in the class V. The class IV was an unwanted destination by the members of the other classes (and mostly by those originated in the class I, in the class II, and in the class III).

Since the end of the 1950's years until the beginning of the 1970's years, the chances to accede in the class V were relatively equal for those originated in the class IV, in the class V, and in the class VI. Since the middle of the 1970's years, the chances to accede in the class V have kept relatively equal only for those originated in the class IV and in the class VI. Since the middle of the twentieth century, the chances of those originated in the class V to get in their own class have constantly increased. However, the chances to accede in the class V have constantly increased for those originated in the class I, in the class II, and in the class III, these chances remained to a low level, since the middle of the twentieth century. The probability that those originated in the class IV or in the class VI to accede in the class V has constantly decreased since the middle of the twentieth century.

Since the end of the 1950's years until the end of the 1980's years the best chances to get in the class VI were those of the people originated in the class VI. Since the end of the 1980's years, those originated in the class V had a little higher chance to accede in the class VI than those originated in the class VI. The chances of those originated in the class VI to get in their own class have constantly decreased since the middle of the twentieth century. Contrary, the probability that those originated in the class V to accede in the class VI has constantly increased since the middle of the twentieth century. The probability that those originated in the class I, in the class II, or in the class III to get in the class VI was constantly low, compare to the probability that those originated in the other classes accede in the class VI.

CONCLUSIONS

Data from the Public Opinion Barometers (BOP)

organized by the Foundation for an Open Society from Romania show that, correspondingly to the different stages of economic development, there was a decline of social fluxes oriented thru the occupational categories from agriculture sector. In addition, there was an increase of mobility from agricultural occupations to the industrial occupations, an increased flux of mobility between the occupational categories from agriculture and the occupational categories from industry and services. These trends in the social mobility relate with the massive development of the industrial sector, since the middle of the twentieth century until the end of the 1980's years, with the decline of the agricultural sector since the middle of the twentieth century, and with the development of the tertiary sector, since the middle of the twentieth century. These trends are similar to those from other European nations (see Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1993).

The Romanian sample shows that the pattern of the absolute mobility has changed since the end of the 1980's years comparative to the period since the middle of the twentieth century until the end of the 1980's years. The proportion of those who were mobile in the total of the population became less than in the previous period.

Since the middle of the twentieth century until the end of the 1980's years, the ample development of the industrial sector determined the spectacular development of the occupational categories of supervisors and technicians, respectively the numerical increase of the occupational category of the skilled workers. In this period, the category of intellectual occupations has numerically grown. In addition, the proportion of the (low level) employees and of the operative labourers in services and commerce has grown in the total of the population. Contrary, the proportion of the population occupied in the agricultural sector and the proportion of the unskilled workers have dramatically decreased since the middle of the twentieth century. This evolution of the borders of the occupational categories mentioned above demonstrates the increase of the general instruction and professional qualification level of the Romanian population since the middle of the

twentieth century.

Since the end of the 1980's years, we assist to the massive decline of the industrial sector, respectively to the evident development of the tertiary sector. The accentuated numerical increase of the (low level) employees and of the operative labourers in services and commerce, and the ample numerical decline of the occupational category of the supervisors and technicians, and the numerical decrease of the skilled workers, respectively of the farmers and qualified labourers from agriculture, forestry, and fishing illustrate this evolution.

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Annexes

Table 1: father's occupation * subject's occupation * birth cohort Crosstabulation

Count			subject's occupation						Total
birth cohort			class I	class II	class III	class IV	class V	class VI	
1935 - 1949	father's occupation	class I	2055	162	510	176	115		3018
		class II	657	176	397	108	435		1773
		class III	1984	912	1271	357	851	289	5664
		class IV	1807	1319	2956	12647	7721	1617	28067
		class V	3265	2057	2801	1354	7697	801	17975
		class VI	2095	2031	2495	4328	8128	8405	27482
	Total		11863	6657	10430	18970	24947	11112	83979
1950 - 1964	father's occupation	class I	2915	341	309	84	403		4052
		class II	1990	380	1008		907	85	4370
		class III	3716	463	1928	183	1848	186	8324
		class IV	2478	1919	4456	5992	12380	2773	29998
		class V	6356	3117	8060	1474	19278	2679	40964
		class VI	3124	1510	3327	2286	12736	6208	29191
	Total		20579	7730	19088	10019	47552	11931	116899
1965 - 1979	father's occupation	class I	2643	134	893	29	399	88	4186
		class II	1614	128	1251	35	1137	243	4408
		class III	1474	121	1316	203	1010	140	4264
		class IV	556	220	1642	2990	3632	1200	10240
		class V	3625	822	5604	1413	14214	3427	29105
		class VI	548	119	1618	821	3324	3148	9578
	Total		10460	1544	12324	5491	23716	8246	61781

Table 2: Chi-Square Tests

birth cohort		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
1935 - 1949	Pearson Chi-Square	34625.632 ^a	25	.000
	Likelihood Ratio	31034.312	25	.000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	9943.853	1	.000
	N of Valid Cases	83979		
1950 - 1964	Pearson Chi-Square	30640.911 ^b	25	.000
	Likelihood Ratio	26938.354	25	.000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	12342.307	1	.000
	N of Valid Cases	116899		
1965 - 1979	Pearson Chi-Square	21519.611 ^c	25	.000
	Likelihood Ratio	18212.072	25	.000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	10126.998	1	.000
	N of Valid Cases	61781		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 140.55.

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 267.94.

c. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 104.61.

Table 3: The odds ratios to pass from a given occupational category to others

D \ O	Birth cohort 1935 – 1949						Birth cohort 1950 – 1964						Birth cohort 1965 – 1979					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	0.7	0.05	0.17	0.06	0.04	0	0.72	0.08	0.08	0.02	0.1	0	0.63	0.03	0.2	0.007	0.09	0.0002
II	0.4	0.1	0.22	0.061	0.24	0	0.45	0.08	0.23	0	0.21	0.02	0.37	0.03	0.3	0.008	0.26	0.05
III	0.35	0.16	0.22	0.06	0.15	0.05	0.45	0.05	0.2	0.02	0.2	0.02	0.35	0.03	0.3	0.05	0.2	0.03
IV	0.06	0.05	0.1	0.45	0.28	0.06	0.08	0.06	0.15	0.2	0.4	0.09	0.05	0.02	0.16	0.3	0.35	0.12
V	0.2	0.1	0.15	0.07	0.43	0.04	0.15	0.07	0.2	0.04	0.47	0.06	0.12	0.03	0.2	0.05	0.48	0.12
VI	0.08	0.07	0.1	0.16	0.3	0.31	0.1	0.05	0.1	0.08	0.44	0.2	0.06	0.01	0.17	0.09	0.35	0.33

Table 4: The odds ratios to accede in a given occupational category from others

D \ O	Birth cohort 1935 – 1949						Birth cohort 1950 – 1964						Birth cohort 1965 – 1979					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	0.17	0.02	0.05	0.01	0.005	0	0.14	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0	0.25	0.09	0.07	0.005	0.02	0.01
II	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.006	0.02	0	0.1	0.05	0.05	0	0.02	0.007	0.154	0.08	0.1	0.006	0.05	0.03
III	0.17	0.14	0.12	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.2	0.06	0.1	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.14	0.08	0.1	0.04	0.04	0.02
IV	0.15	0.2	0.28	0.66	0.3	0.14	0.12	0.25	0.23	0.6	0.26	0.23	0.05	0.14	0.13	0.54	0.15	0.14
V	0.27	0.3	0.27	0.07	0.3	0.07	0.3	0.4	0.42	0.15	0.4	0.22	0.35	0.53	0.45	0.26	0.6	0.41
VI	0.18	0.3	0.24	0.23	0.33	0.76	0.15	0.2	0.17	0.23	0.27	0.52	0.05	0.08	0.13	0.15	0.14	0.38