SOCIAL STATISTICS – DEMOGRAPHY

CHANGES IN SOCIAL MOBILITY BETWEEN 1973 AND 1992*

RUDOLF ANDORKA

The new survey carried out in the autumn of 1992 on social mobility offers opportunity not only for analyzing the present state of mobility processes in Hungary and, by comparing it with the previous surveys, for the demonstration of the changes but also for the examination of some fundamental issues of the international special literature on mobility and for the control of its hypotheses/assumptions by empirical data. These issues and hypotheses are as follows:

– what are the effects of the slowdown of the structural changes in the society of the 1980s and the alteration of their direction in the recent years on mobility processes?

– what are the effects of the revolutionary[1] changes in the political system on mobility?

– is the so-called "F-J-H-hypothesis" – formulated by *D. L. Featherman – E. L. Jones* and *K. M. Hauser* almost twenty years ago – correct according to which the inflow and outflow mobility rates observed in different countries and periods are differing from each other, although, the inequalities of mobility chances are practically the same in every highly-developed country[2] in every period, consequently the mobility processes might be different at a "genotypical level" but they are entirely the same at the "geotypical level"?[3]

– or is it the hypothesis, formulated by *D. J. Treiman* and *H. B.Ganzeboom,* which rather corresponds to the facts, according to which the advanced societies are more open than the less advanced ones, thus at the higher levels of the economic development the inequalities in mobility chances are decreasing?

Formerly I have also tried to utilize the exceptional possibility offered by the series of the Hungarian data collections on mobility (nowhere in the world were there so many mobility surveys carried out), for the analysis of the temporal changes in mobility and by this the macro-social conditions influencing mobility, so I compared the mobility of 1983

[1] The changes in the spring of 1992 culminating in the multiparty-system general elections and in the formation of the coalition-government may well be called a revolution if one accepts the definition of the revolution according to which revolution is the quick and very radical changing of the social and political structures and institutions.

[2] *Featherman*, *D. L., Jones, F. L.* and *Hauser, K. M.* added by way of precaution that their hypothesis, i. e. the same inequality of mobility chances is valid in the societies based on market economy and nuclear family system but later on they interpreted it so that it relates to all societies being economically highly-developed or at least medium-developed, including the European socialist societies as well.

[3] *Erikson, R.* and *Goldthorpe, H.* have seen the "F-J-H-hypothesis" to be proved by their inter-country comparison covering 12 countries, though, at the beginning of the survey, they wanted to deny it. More than one and a half decade before Feathermans*, Lipset, S. M* and *Bendix, R.* also formulated a similar hypothesis, however, not on the basis of the mobility chances but simply on the basis of the outflow mobility rates.

with that of 1973 and 1962 to 1964 as well as the mobility of 1973 with that of 1962 to 1964 and with the mobility conditions having taken shape on the basis of the population censuses of 1949 and 1930. For the analysis of the temporal changes another possibility was offered by comparing the mobilities observed at the same age of the generations succeeding each other.

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

In this study I compare the social mobility between the generations of the years of 1973, 1983 and 1992,[4] so I disregard the surveys of 1962 to 1964 and the data of the former population censuses. The methodological reason of this decision is the fact that at the processing of the data of the three recent mobility surveys, identical social categories (strata) were observed, so the comparison is, in the strict sense of the word, fully allowable. The same, however, does not hold true of the surveys of 1962 to 1964 and still less of the data publications of the population censuses.

In the mobility tables compared I deal with the following seven social strata[5]:

1. managers and intellectuals: persons who hold a leading post (except for shop-foremen and other similar lower leaders) and who pursue a profession requiring a higher grade of education and who are in the possession of such education;

2. office-clerks: all the other intellectual employees;

3. artisans and retail dealers: self-employed artisans (craftsmen), merchants and others of non-agricultural profession (except for self-employed intellectuals who are included in the intellectuals);

4. skilled workers: non-agricultural manual workers whose staff-group is "skilled worker";

5. semi-skilled workers: non-agricultural manual workers whose staff-group is "semi-skilled worker";

6. unskilled workers: non-agricultural manual workers whose staff-group is "unskilled worker";

7. agricultural workers: persons whose profession is of agricultural-manual character disregarding their occupational status (employee, member of cooperative or self-employed and unpaid family worker) and their staff-group (skilled worker, semi-skilled worker or unskilled worker).

This seven-stratum social structure model may naturally be disputable. *Antal Örkény* is of the opinion that the comparison of the eastern and western (European) stratified models is false, this is why a model other than that used for the observation of the North American and West European mobility should have been used for the examination of the Hungarian mobility processes. He also criticized the fact that "the inner stratification of the intellectuals and the various elite groups had totally got lost". *István Harcsa*, too, criticized that the managers had not been separated from the intellectuals on the one hand and the fact, on the other hand, that the large strata as e.g. the stratum of the skilled workers had not been broken down to sub-strata and to various professional groups.

It is obvious that a more precise and delicate picture can be obtained on the Hungarian society if several social strata are distinguished and it is even more obvious that on the basis of theoretical considerations the leaders (managers) possessing power,

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[4] Because of the limited volume of this study, here I only set out the tables originating from the survey of 1992 (see Tables 1 and 2). Other tables used here can be found in the author`s works entitled: Log-linear Analysis of Social Mobility (A társadalmi mobilitás loglineáris elemzése), 1962–1983 (*Statistical Review*. 1988. No. 2. l5l–l73. p.); Changes in Social Mobility in Hungary (A társadalmi mobilitás változásai Magyarországon) Gondolat. Budapest. 1982. 327. p. and Changes in Social Mobility in Hungary, 1962–1983. *Sociological Review*. 1991. No. 2. 5–29. p.

[5] From every table compared, I have omitted the persons observed who themselves or whose fathers belong to the categories "other" or "unknown".

in other words the "powerful elite" should be separated from the intellectuals having no power. The increase of the number of the distinguished social strata is, however, delimited by the case number of those observed. Each cell of a 30 x 30 mobility table includes an average of a little over 10 cases even if the case number is 10,000, consequently many cells will inevitably be empty and this makes the deducible conclusions very questionable. It is, however, very difficult to separate the powerful elite and the intellectuals in the practice of the empirical surveys even if it is theoretically justified, among others because of the fact that the number of the members of the powerful elite was not over 10,000 from which only 50 persons were included in the sample in case of a 0.5 per cent sampling. From such a little case number, however, one must not draw all-embracing conclusions. In this way the data based on the sample taken from the whole population are not suitable for the examination of the mobility of the powerful elite.

As to the issue of the fact that the structures of the capitalist and socialist societies have differed from each other so much that they cannot be analyzed by the same concepts and stratum categories, it can only be stated that the related special literature could fill a library and there is not in the least any mutual agreement in this issue. However, the fact that in the international comparisons of social mobility the same social categories were used for the analysis of the mobility of the capitalist and the socialist societies, makes the conclusion justified according to which it is allowable to observe the temporal changes of mobility in Hungary,[6] at least in the first approach, on the basis of these seven strata.

At the former analysis of the temporal changes in social mobility in Hungary, according to my experience the mobility of the young adult earners (between 25 to 29 years) shows much greater changes than that in the total of the earners. This is why, besides the tables relating to the total of the earners, I analyze the data of the earners between 25 to 29 years separately this time as well. But at the conclusion drawn, the fact forewarns that in these surveys the effective case number is about 1,000.

In addition to the comparison of the so-called global mobility rates i. e. the inflow and outflow mobility rates, similarly to my former study, I have also utilized the method of the log-linear analysis. From the international special literature the conclusion can be drawn that this mathematical statistical method, with some improvements, has been the distinguished or at least one of the distinguished methods of the temporal and international comparisons of social mobility since the mid-1970s. It is suitable principally for the examination of the changes in the chances or inequality of chances of the relative mobility. This is usually denominated in the special literature by the pair of concepts "openness–closeness". (The essence of the log-linear method has been described in one of my former works so I do not repeat it at this place.)

For the analysis of the inequality of chances I am going to use the association and dissociation indices widely applied in the 1950s. These indices have been defined mathematically in one of my former volumes.

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[6] *Erikson, R.* and *Goldthorpe, H.* have used a model very similar to the Hungarian one in the comparison of mobility in which beside the West-European countries two socialist countries (Hungary and Poland) took part. The used classification is: *1.* top and middle-ranking managers and intellectuals (brain-workers); *2.* routine intellectuals; *3.* artisans and merchants; *4.* individual peasants; *5.* skilled-workers; *6.* workers without qualification (semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers); *7.* agricultural workers.

Table 1

Intergeneration social mobility of male and female earners

The father at the age of 14-18 of the person enumerated	The earner in 1992								N (person)
	Manager and intellectual	Office clerk	Artisan	Skilled worker	Semi-skilled worker	Unskilled worker	Agricultural worker	Total	
Males (Index: all males interviewed = 100.0)									
Manager and intellectual	41.2	19.8	7.2	19.7	6.7	2.2	2.7	100.0	415
Office clerk	25.6	24.0	5.6	32.6	6.3	2.6	3.3	100.0	583
Artisan and retail trader	13.7	13.7	10.8	36.6	14.1	5.4	5.7	100.0	612
Skilled worker	9.6	13.2	7.3	50.8	10.7	4.6	3.8	100.0	1735
Semi-skilled worker	6.3	10.0	4.8	45.2	20.1	6.0	7.6	100.0	1656
Unskilled worker	4.6	8.5	6.3	40.9	17.2	13.9	8.5	100.0	611
Agricultural worker	4.1	6.8	3.4	31.6	19.2	9.3	25.6	100.0	4121
Total	*9.0*	*10.6*	*5.3*	*37.7*	*16.1*	*7.3*	*14.0*	*100.0*	*9733*
Males (Index: males of identical social status = 100.0)									
Manager and intellectual	19.6	7.9	5.8	2.2	1.8	1.5	0.8	4.3	
Office clerk	17.0	13.5	6.4	5.2	2.3	2.1	1.4	6.0	
Artisan and retail trader	9.6	8.1	12.8	6.1	5.5	4.7	2.6	6.3	
Skilled worker	19.1	22.2	24.6	24.0	11.9	11.2	4.8	17.8	
Semi-skilled worker	12.0	16.0	15.5	20.3	21.2	14.1	9.3	17.0	
Unskilled worker	3.2	5.0	7.6	6.8	6.7	12.0	3.8	6.3	
Agricultural worker	19.5	27.3	27.3	35.4	50.6	54.4	77.3	42.3	
Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	
Females (Index: all females interviewed = 100.0)									
Manager and intellectual	40.6	39.2	2.7	7.8	5.2	3.3	1.2	100.0	485
Office clerk	19.0	46.8	4.7	12.6	10.8	4.6	1.5	100.0	657
Artisan and retail trader	6.8	31.1	6.8	13.4	20.5	14.7	6.8	100.0	614
Skilled worker	8.3	36.0	3.8	22.3	19.2	8.6	1.8	100.0	1985
Semi-skilled worker	5.1	25.6	3.1	14.2	28.3	16.6	7.1	100.0	1759
Unskilled worker	4.0	21.7	3.6	15.5	28.1	20.0	7.1	100.0	605
Agricultural worker	3.0	14.6	2.7	9.7	27.2	19.1	23.7	100.0	4139
Total	*7.5*	*25.3*	*3.4*	*13.6*	*23.4*	*14.7*	*12.1*	*100.0*	*10244*
Females (Index: females of identical social status = 100.0)									
Manager and intellectual	25.8	7.3	3.7	2.7	1.0	1.1	0.5	4.7	
Office clerk	16.3	11.9	8.9	6.0	3.0	2.0	0.8	6.4	
Artisan and retail trader	5.4	7.4	12.0	5.9	5.3	6.0	3.4	6.0	
Skilled worker	21.6	27.6	21.4	31.7	15.9	11.3	2.9	19.4	
Semi-skilled worker	11.8	11.7	16.0	18.0	20.7	19.3	10.0	17.2	
Unskilled worker	3.1	5.1	6.3	6.8	7.1	8.0	3.4	5.9	
Agricultural worker	16.0	23.3	31.7	28.1	47.0	52.3	79.0	40.4	
Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	

Table 2

Intergeneration social mobility of all male and female earners aged 25-29 years

The father at the age of 14-18 of the person enumerated	The earner aged 25-29 years in 1992								N (person)
	Manager and intellectual	Office clerk	Artisan	Skilled worker	Semi skilled worker	Unskilled worker	Agricultural worker	Total	
Males (Index: males between 25-29 years interviewed = 100.0)									
Manager and intellectual	44.4	15.9	7.9	25.4	4.8	1.6	–	100.0	63
Office clerk	17.6	20.3	10.8	37.8	6.7	4.1	2.7	100.0	14
Artisan and retail trader	–	3.0	27.3	36.4	27.3	6.0	–	100.0	33
Skilled worker	7.0	11.2	10.2	54.0	8.8	5.6	3.2	100.0	215
Semi-skilled worker	2.8	7.0	4.9	54.5	19.6	6.3	4.9	100.0	143
Unskilled worker	1.7	3.4	5.1	42.3	20.3	13.6	13.6	100.0	59
Agricultural worker	4.8	5.5	8.2	45.9	12.3	6.2	17.1	100.0	146
Total	*9.3*	*9.5*	*46.7*	*12.8*	*6.0*	*6.7*	*6.7*	*100.0*	*733*
Males (Index: males of identical social status = 100.0)									
Manager and intellectual	41.1	14.3	7.6	4.7	3.2	2.3	–	8.6	
Office clerk	19.1	21.4	12.1	8.2	5.3	6.8	4.1	10.1	
Artisan and retail trader	–	1.4	13.6	3.5	9.6	4.5	–	4.5	
Skilled worker	22.1	34.3	33.4	33.9	20.2	27.3	14.3	29.3	
Semi-skilled worker	5.9	14.3	10.6	22.8	29.8	20.5	14.3	19.5	
Unskilled worker	1.5	2.9	4.5	7.3	12.8	18.2	16.3	8.1	
Agricultural worker	10.3	11.4	18.2	19.6	19.1	20.4	51.0	19.9	
Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	
Females (Index: females between 25-29 years interviewed = 100.0)									
Manager and intellectual	50.0	26.6	5.0	11.7	6.7	–	–	100.0	60
Office clerk	27.0	41.8	4.1	17.6	5.4	4.1	–	100.0	74
Artisan and retail trader	–	45.0	15.0	20.0	15.0	5.0	–	100.0	20
Skilled worker	11.8	35.3	2.7	25.9	16.1	5.5	2.7	100.0	255
Semi-skilled worker	4.6	25.4	3.1	26.1	29.2	8.5	3.1	100.0	130
Unskilled worker	9.0	20.4	3.0	28.3	22.4	13.4	3.0	100.0	67
Agricultural worker	5.7	24.0	1.9	20.9	31.0	8.9	7.6	100.0	158
Total	*13.2*	*30.2*	*3.4*	*23.0*	*20.1*	*6.8*	*3.3*	*100.0*	*764*
Females (Index: females of identical social status = 100.0)									
Manager and intellectual	29.7	6.9	12.0	4.0	2.6	–	–	7.9	
Office clerk	19.8	13.4	12.0	7.4	2.6	5.8	–	9.7	
Artisan and retail trader	–	3.9	2.3	1.9	1.9	1.9	–	2.6	
Skilled worker	29.7	39.0	28.0	37.5	26.6	26.9	28.4	33.4	
Semi-skilled worker	6.0	14.3	16.0	19.3	24.7	21.1	16.0	17.0	
Unskilled worker	6.0	6.1	8.0	10.8	9.8	17.3	8.0	8.7	
Agricultural worker	8.8	16.4	12.0	18.7	31.8	26.9	48.0	20.7	
Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	

The association and dissociation indices have often been criticized, principally because the maximal value of the index depends on the percentage of the social category in question (in other words in smaller social strata the maximum of the association index is higher). This is why the association index cannot be used for the comparison of the closeness degrees of the individual strata. In my opinion, however, it is suitable to indicate if the closeness of a given social stratum changed as regards time and, together with the dissociation indices, if it can be used for examining if the distance between the individual strata has changed as regards mobility, respectively.

CHANGES IN GLOBAL MOBILITY INDICES

According to the 7 x 7 social mobility tables underlying this study, the proportion of all mobile males and females hardly changed among the interviewed between 1983 and 1992. The same is true in respect of the earners between 25-29 years. While the total mobility of all earners increased to a considerable extent between 1973 and 1983 there was no change in it between 1983 and 1992. Among the young earners, however, there was hardly any increase already between 1973 and 1983. Consequently, the increase observed among all earners in 1983 as compared to 1973 was a result of the fact that in 1973 the older generations of that time were still more immobile. The larger mobility got across so that the mobility was larger in the younger generations and through the demographic processes they gradually replaced the more immobile aged people (see Table 3). Considering the slowdown of the structural changes in the 1980s on the one hand and the change of regime in 1990 on the other, the constancy in the proportion of the mobiles might seem to be strange.

Table 3

Total mobility, minimally necessary structural and other mobility between 1973 and 1992

Year	Total		Minimally necessary structural		Other	
	mobility (per cent) of					
	males	females	males	females	males	females
	All earners					
1973	64	63	29	31	35	32
1983	72	74	33	37	39	37
1992	72	75	30	37	42	37
	Earners between 25-29 years					
1973	65	75	25	34	40	41
1983	69	76	26	29	43	47
1992	69	75	23	30	46	45

The constancy, however, disappears immediately if the formation of the minimally necessary structural mobility (or structural mobility, for short) and the other mobility (or to be not quite precise: the circular or place interchanging mobility) are observed within total mobility. Namely, the structural mobility of males has declined while their circular

mobility increased. It deserves attention that the structural mobility of both male and female persons between 25-29 years is smaller and their circular mobility greater than those of all earners. The background of the decrease in structural mobility is the gradual slowdown of the structural change in the society[7] (see Table 4 and the figure). The differences between the seven-stratum social structures calculated on the basis of the data collected in the last five population censuses are as follows: between 1949 and 1960 the percentage is 21.0, between 1960 and 1970 16.6, between 1970 and 1980 12.4, between 1980 and 1990 8.4.[8]

Table 4

Composition of active earners by social stratum according to population census data of 1949-1990

Social Stratum	In the year of				
	1949	1960	1970	1980	1990
Manager and intellectual	1.8	3.0	5.1	7.8	11.0
Office clerk	8.0	13.7	20.7	22.5	22.4
Artisan and retail trader	8.1	2.4	1.6	1.5	4.2
Skilled worker	11.2	15.5	19.5	23.2	25.7
Semi-skilled worker	5.2	13.1	16.6	20.8	18.0
Unskilled worker	12.1	14.0	13.0	7.7	6.6
Agricultural worker	53.6	38.3	23.5	16.5	12.7
Total	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Active earners (1000 persons)	4085	4760	4989	5069	4527
Of which females (per cent)	29.2	35.5	41.2	43.4	44.5

From January, 1990 to December, 1992 (till the date of the survey) the structural change has accelerated in two respects: *1*. the number of the individual artisans and retail dealers has considerably increased (it probably reaches 7 per cent); *2*. the decrease in the number of those belonging to the agricultural stratum (active earners) has been accelerated.

At the intervals of all the four population censuses the proportion of managers and intellectuals, office clerks and skilled workers has been increasing but that of the agricultural stratum has been decreasing. As contrasted to this the ratio of the strata of the semi-skilled workers and the unskilled workers has initially increased but that of the unskilled workers since 1960 and that of the semi-skilled workers since 1980 has decreased. The proportion of the artisan and retail dealer stratum, however, had decreased till 1980 then it increased rather quickly. The structural and circular mobility phenomena at global level exert very different effects on the level of the individuals.

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[7] Naturally, the change in the social structure stated during the population censuses and the intergeneration structural mobility do not simply correspond to each other. The intergeneration mobility data do not compare the social statuses in two calendar years but the social statuses of the earners interviewed in one calendar year and those of their fathers which used to be characteristic in the childhood of those interviewed. The matter is further complicated by the fact that in the wage earner population as a whole, several sons or daughters of a father may live, other fathers may not have children. Still, the structural changes in the society in the interval of the years of population censuses illustrate the quickness and direction of the structural change influencing the intergeneration mobility.

[8] Subtracting the percentages from each other, the sum of the percentage changes with positive (or negative) signs will be the index of the structures indicated here.

Structural mobility means in modern societies that, influenced by it, all the persons becoming mobile move in the main direction and it means in most cases the improvement of their social status. In the case of circular mobility only a half of the participants moves in the main direction, the remaining half of them shifts in the opposite one. So for the half of those who change place under the effect of circular mobility this means the worsening of their social status.

This is why the decrease of structural mobility and the increase of circular mobility among the males[9] must have had essential social–psychological effects, decreasing contentment and by this, decreasing the legitimacy of the economic–social–political system which might have contributed to the decay of the socialist system.[10]

CHANGES IN THE INEQUALITY OF CHANCES

As it expresses the volume of place interchanging mobility, circular mobility has formerly been considered by the researchers as an index number of equality and inequality of mobility chances, respectively.

Later on it has been clarified that circular mobility (to be more precise the other mobility which remains after the subtraction of the minimally necessary structural mobility from the total mobility) does not by far exactly measure the inequality of chances i.e. the openness of the society. According to the conception dominating at present in the technical literature, for the measuring of the openness of a society the log-linear analysis can be used. Namely, the interactions measure the degree of the inequality of mobility chances in relation to each other. If in two tables the totals of the interactions are equal, the two tables express an inequality of chances of identical degree. If the totals of the interactions have been modified, the inequality of chances have changed. Let us see what the log-linear analysis of the mobility tables shows.

The results of the log-linear analysis[11] of the four series of tables carried out separately and summarized in Table 5 show that

1. the inequality of chances has changed in case of all male earners, namely from 1973 to 1983 it changed, from 1983 to 1992 it was unchanged;

2. in case of all female earners the inequality of chances did not change from 1973 to 1992;[12]

3. in case of both the male and female earners between 25-29 years the inequality of chances has considerably changed, namely both between 1973–1983 and between 1983–1992.

Hereinafter I will set forth how the inequality of chances changed between 1983-1992 according to the log-linear analysis. I have examined the change between 1973 and 1983 in my former study. (*Statistical Review*. 1988. No. 2. pp. 151–173.).

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[9] It is more difficult to state the social–psychological effects of structural and circular mobility in case of females because the daughters together with their brothers are very likely to compare their own social status reached not only with that of their father but also with that of their mother, therefore reaching an identical social status does not necessarily mean that they, similarly to their brothers, consider it as a "rise" or a "come-down".

[10] *Adamski, W.* already saw one of the causes of the political crisis in Poland in 1980-1981 in the fact that the opportunities of mobility with an upward trend of the second-generation male workers (especially in the Baltic towns) had narrowed down.

[11] At 1 per thousand level, in case of a degree of freedom (df)=72 an X^2 likelihood rate exceeding 100, in case of a df=36, an X^2 likelihood rate exceeding 67 means that our hypothesis has been contravened that is it is "not true" according to the text of Table 5.

[12] As in case of all female earners the hypothesis proved to be true that in 1973, 1983 and 1992 the inequality of chances was identical, we did not continue the examination of the fact if there was a change from 1973 to 1983 and from 1983 to 1993. This is why I did not indicate the lines representing these hypotheses.

Table 5

Results of the log-linear analysis

Population observed	Model	Degree of freedom (df)	Likelihood ratio X^2	Conclusion at one per thousand likelihood level
All males	The interactions are identical in 1973, 1983 and 1992	72	155	not true
	The interactions changed from 1973 to 1983, they did not change from 1983 to 1992	36	63	true
	The interactions did not change from 1973 to 1983, they changed from 1983 to 1992	36	90	not true
All females	The interactions are identical in 1973, 1983 and 1992	72	100	true
Males between 25-29 years	The interactions are identical in 1973, 1983 and 1992	72	781	not true
	The interactions changed from 1973 to 1983, they did not change from 1983 to 1992	36	325	not true
	The interactions changed from 1973 to 1992	36	476	not true
Females between 25-29 years	The interactions are identical in 1973, 1983 and 1992	72	757	not true
	The interactions changed from 1973 to 1983, they did not change from 1983 to 1992	36	411	not true
	The interactions did not change from 1973 to 1983, they changed from 1983 to 1992	36	360	not true

The simplest way of the global examination of the inequality of chances is to compare the effective total mobility rates of the mobility tables and the hypothetical mobility rate which is calculated by the programme of the log-linear analysis assuming that in the observed years all interactions were identical, to be more precise, that in all given years they were identical with the average interaction of the three years. The results show that among all males and among the males between 25-29 years the proportion of the mobile ones was effectively slightly higher (72 or rather 69 per cent) than it would have been if the inequality of chances had remained unchanged (71 or rather 68 per cent); among females between 25-29 years the effective mobility was to some extent smaller than the mobility to be expected in case of unchanged inequality of chances (75, respectively 76 per cent); among all females, however, the two mobility rates are identical (75%). The conclusion can be drawn that the inequality of chances has globally changed to a small extent, but among males some shift can be observed towards the chances becoming more equal. Thus, between 1983 and 1992 the Hungarian society became to some extent more open.

The formation of inequality of chances can be examined individually with the help of standardized residuals determined for the individual cells of the mobility tables.

Accordingly, the standardized residual expresses how much the difference is between the effectively observed case number and the case number which would come to being in case of unchanged inequality of chances (or using the terms of the log-linear analysis: in case of unchanged interaction).[13]

In case of all male earners the value of the standardized residual is significant in one cell only, in none of them in case of all female earners, therefore I do not set out these tables here. It is strange that the only cell which shows a significant standardized residual (-2.1) in case of males, is just relating to the artisan sons of artisan fathers. With moderate evaluation this could be considered so that the sons of the artisans and retail dealers have not got into the suddenly increased stratum of the individual enterpreneurs as favourably as they did into the stratum of the much less artisans and retail dealers in the 1970s and 1980s. In other words: it is not the traditional petty burgeoisie which is reborn, not their descendants become again individual enter-preneurs, but rather a new stratum of enterpreneurs is taking shape which does not have such traditions.

Table 6

Intergeneration social mobility of males and females between 25-29 years
(standardized residuals between case numbers calculated by hypothesis of interactions effectively observed and assumed to be unchanged from 1973 to 1992)

The father at the age of 14-18 of the person enumerated	The earner between 25-29 years in 1992						
	Manager and intellectual	Office clerk	Artisan and retail dealer	Skilled worker	Semi-skilled worker	Unskilled worker	Agricultural worker
Males							
Manager and intellectual	-0.2	0.1	-0.3	1.9	-0.4	-0.6	-4.1
Office clerk	2.4	-0.9	1.1	-1.7	1.4	0.6	-1.2
Artisan and retail dealer	-3.6	-1.6	-1.0	-0.2	4.9	-0.0	-2.7
Skilled worker	-1.4	0.7	1.7	-0.3	-2.0	2.1	0.0
Semi-skilled worker	-1.1	1.4	-1.5	0.3	-0.6	0.5	0.5
Unskilled worker	-2.0	-2.7	-1.9	-0.4	1.0	-0.8	6.1
Agricultural worker	3.1	1.2	0.4	0.7	-1.1	-1.8	-1.7
Females							
Manager and intellectual	1.5	-1.7	-1.3	-0.3	3.6	-2.7	-1.6
Office clerk	1.4	0.2	1.9	-0.3	-4.4	3.2	-2.2
Artisan and retail dealer	-3.7	4.9	-0.7	-1.0	-0.5	-2.3	-1.2
Skilled worker	-0.1	-1.3	0.9	-0.6	-0.2	2.0	4.9
Semi-skilled worker	-5.1	0.1	-0.7	-1.6	4.3	1.1	0.0
Unskilled worker	5.1	-0.7	0.0	1.3	-2.8	0.2	-0.6
Agricultural worker	0.7	1.6	0.1	2.4	-0.5	-2.4	-1.8

In case of the male earners between 25-29 years and the female earners between 25-29 years much more significant standardized residuals can even be observed (see Table

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[13] The standardized residual is the quotient of the difference between the observed and the assumed case number, and the square root of the assumed case number. If the value of the standardized residual in 1992 is larger than 1.96 or smaller than -1.96 then it can be assumed that the effective interaction parameter or the mobility directed to the given cell is to all probability larger and smaller, respectively than it would be in case if the interaction or the inequality of chances were identical with that of 1983 and 1973.

6). This is naturally in close connection with the fact that at the analysis of these tables we have got a much larger X^2 likelihood ratio in case of the model assuming unchanged interaction, than at the analysis of the results of all male and female earners shown in Table 5.

On the basis of the significant standardized residuals the following conclusions can be drawn:

– among the sons of manager and intellectual fathers there are less agricultural workers, among their daughters there are more semi-skilled workers and less unskilled workers;

– among the sons of office clerk fathers there are more managers and intellectuals, among their daughters there are more unskilled workers and less semi-skilled workers and agricultural workers;

– among the sons of artisan fathers there are more semi-skilled workers and less managers and intellectuals as well as agricultural workers, among their daughters there are more office clerks and less managers and intellectuals as well as unskilled workers;

– among the sons of skilled worker fathers there are less semi-skilled workers and more unskilled workers, among their daughters there are more unskilled workers and agricultural workers;

– among the sons of semi-skilled worker fathers there is no significant deviation, among their daughters there are more semi-skilled workers and less managers and intellectuals;

– among the sons of unskilled worker fathers there are more agricultural workers and less managers and intellectuals and office clerks, among their daughters there are more managers and intellectuals and less semi-skilled workers;

– among the sons of agricultural worker fathers there are more agricultural workers, among their daughters there are more skilled workers and less unskilled workers than there would be in case of unchanged interaction, i.e. unchanged inequality of chances.

Should the readers arrive at the conclusion that on the basis of the above statements there are no definite samples in the change of inequality of chances I hasten to reassure them that it is not their fault: there is no consequent changing tendency in it, indeed.

We can reason out some more on the basis of the values of the standardized residuals seen in the main diagonal line. Though in case of males none of them is significant but all of them are negative so the immobile were some less in every stratum of origin than they would be if the inequality of chances had not changed at all. This confirms the above very moderate conclusion that the mobility of the males between 25-29 years shifted to a small extent towards the larger inequality of chances. Such change cannot be observed in case of the females between 25-29 years because from the standardized residuals seen in the main diagonal line only three are negative but four are positive, of which one is significant.

CHANGES IN MOBILITY RATES
OF PROMINENT SOCIAL STRATA

The mobility conditions of the manager and intellectual stratum situated on the top of social hierarchy are in the centre of interest of not only the sociologists but also the public opinion. Who climbs the top of the social ladder and who shins down it? How much advantage do those have who were born on the top as compared to those who come from below? What do the inequalities of chances depend on and how can they be influenced and moderated? These questions have drawn the attention of the sociologists since the beginning of mobility researches. They are, however, especially timely in

contemporary Hungary because they are raised in a way asking if the inequalities of chances are different in the initial "classic" period and the later "soft" period of socialism, after the transition to market economy and democracy as well as if the change of regime which can be called revolutionary but at the same time, peaceful, has had any influence on the mobility proceeding on the top of the society.

The data shown here are not suitable for the examination of the "exchange of the elite". I refer, however, to the fact that *Iván Szelényi* and his co-authors have analyzed the exchange of the elite and their staying in position, respectively on the basis of special samples, and they have arrived at the conclusion that in Hungary a rather considerable exchange took place between the second half of the 1980s and 1993, namely the exchange was of the largest degree in the political elite, it was of a lower degree in the business (economic) elite and it was the most unchanged in the cultural elite.

The outflow mobility rates of the manager and intellectual stratum being much wider than the stratum of the elite, show that fewer and fewer males and more and more females of this stratum have become managers or intellectuals (see Table 7). The reason for it is that among all males, and especially among the males between 25-29 years the proportion of managers and intellectuals did not increase but it decreased owing to the fact that in the 80s the higher grade schooling rate of males between 20–24 did not increase. At the same time, the proportion of managers and intellectuals among the fathers steadily increased. This is why more and more young males of manager and intellectual origin "competed" for the manager and intellectual positions the number of which was decreasing to some extent. Among the females, however, the proportion of those being in manager and intellectual positions grew quickly till 1983 and it has not even decreased since then, so the proportion of the sexes in this stratum, especially that of the young has shifted towards the direction of the females. To sum up, it can be stated that among the earners there are yet some more male managers and intellectuals than females, but among the female earners between 25-29 years there are more managers and intellectuals than among the male earners of the same age. The people, the parents probably assess the formation of mobility rather on the basis of the effective chances of the boys than on that of the girls therefore in the intellectual families the little worsening of the males' chances for becoming intellectuals has presumably created a feeling as if the career possibilities had narrowed down which might soon lead to the formation of discontentment.

Table 7

Managers and intellectuals at the time of the survey
among the earner sons of manager and intellectual fathers
(per cent)

Year	Total		Between 25-29 years	
	male	female	male	female
1973	46	28	52	31
1983	46	37	45	48
1992	41	41	44	50

The worsening of the chances of males of manager and intellectual origin does not go, however, with the improvement of the mobility chances of the persons originating from other strata, on the contrary: only the chances of the males originating from the office clerk stratum have improved to a little extent, the chances of the sons of other strata seem to be decreasing.[14] The worsening of the chances in some categories is larger, in other categories smaller than that observed by the persons of manager and intellectual origin.

The association and dissociation indices of the flow into the manager and intellectual stratum indicated in Table 8 do not either show consequent changes. Taking as starting point the quotient[15] of the association index of the manager and intellectual stratum and the dissociation index of the individual origination strata, for the analysis of the formation of the differences in chances between 1983-1992 we can observe changes of quite differing directions by the individual strata in case of both all the male and female earners and the male and female earners between 25-29 years.

The quotient of the association and dissociation indices indicates how many times greater chances the persons of intellectual origin have for the inflow to the intellectual stratum than those originating from the other stratum. Thus it measures so to say the inequality of chances in relation of these two strata.

On the basis of all these facts we can draw the conclusion that the chances for the inflow to the manager and intellectual stratum have neither become more equal nor more unequal.

Table 8

Association and dissociation coefficients of the inflow to the manager and intellectual stratum

The father at the age of 14-18 years of the person enumerated	Manager and intellectual in the years of											
	1972	1983	1992	1973	1983	1992	1972	1983	1992	1972	1983	1992
	all males			all females			males between 25-29 years			females between 25-29 years		
Manager and intellectual	7.2	4.4	4.6	7.3	4.8	5.4	5.4	4.6	4.1	3.4	3.6	3.8
Office clerk	2.9	2.3	2.8	3.0	2.5	2.5	1.4	2.2	1.9	2.3	1.4	2.0
Artisan and retail dealer	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.2	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.3	-	0.6	0.9	-
Skilled worker	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.8	1.2	0.7	0.9
Semi-skilled worker	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.9	0.3
Unskilled worker	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.7
Agricultural worker	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4

Has nothing been changed then in the mobility conditions of the manager and intellectual stratum? It would be a mistake to arrive to this conclusion on the basis of the

[14] The change of chances shows a different picture in case of the total members of some origination strata and their members between 25–29 years.

[15] Association index (shown by the example of the association index of the manager and intellectual stratum) is: the percentage of the persons being in manager and intellectual position (status) of the sons of manager and intellectual fathers in proportion to the percentage of the persons being in manager and intellectual position (status) of the sons of all fathers. Dissociation index is accordingly (shown by the example of the dissociation index of the persons belonging to the manager and intellectual stratum of the sons of skilled-worker fathers): the percentage of the persons being in manager and intellectual position of the sons of skilled-worker fathers in proportion to the percentage of the persons being in manager and intellectual position of the sons of all fathers.

outflow mobility rates or the association and dissociation coefficients. Namely, the inflow mobility rates show that among the male managers and intellectuals, especially among those between 25-29 years, the proportion of those, originating from the manual worker strata has started to decrease.

The data of Table 9 show that among the young male managers and intellectuals those originating from the manual stratum are considerably less. This, so to say, indicates the future tendency as well. Among all females the proportion of those originating from the manual stratum has yet increased to a little extent, but among those between 25-29 years it has rather decreased to some extent. In the long run, owing to these changes the composition by origin of the manager and intellectual stratum gradually changes, among them the proportion of those originating from the intellectual stratum and within this, from the manager and intellectual stratum, will be more and more considerable. This can also be interpreted so that as regards practical experience, way of thinking, views concerning the problems of the Hungarian society, the distance between the manager and intellectual stratum and that of the workers and peasants will probably be more and more growing.

Table 9

Proportion of persons originating
from the manual stratum among managers and intellectuals
(per cent)

Year	Total		Between 25-29 years	
	male	female	male	female
1973	60	55	45	52
1983	64	56	46	51
1992	63	58	39	51

All these can lead to the fact that the manager and intellectual stratum and the manual strata are even consciously more and more separating from each other, their conflicts may intensify as well.[16] On the other hand this tendency also means that the manager and intellectual stratum in Hungary become more and more similar to those of the Western European societies in respect of their composition.

The change in the inflow mobility rates of the artisans and retail dealers shown in Table 10 definitely indicates the decreasing tendency of the proportion of the persons originating from the artisan and retail dealer stratum (though a little growth can be observed among the young males). Even if obviously there is a tendency that more individual artisans are there among the sons and daughters of the artisans and retail dealers than among the sons and daughters of other strata, we can draw the conclusion that the today's artisan stratum is not composed of the descendants of the former petty bourgeoisie, the majority of this stratum is originating from the descendants of other strata.

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[16] *Connor, W.* brought up the possibility of the fact already 15 years ago that in the then existing socialist societies the growth of the proportion of the multi-generation intellectuals within the stratum of intellectuals as well as the growth of the multi-generation workers within the entirety of workers could lead to the separation of both of these strata and to the becoming of their relations conflict-burdened.

Table 10

Proportion of persons originating from the artisan
and retail dealer strata among artisans and retail dealers
(per cent)

Year	Total		Between 25-29 years	
	male	female	male	female
1973	31	20	22	20
1983	19	13	11	18
1992	13	12	14	22

Within the skilled-worker stratum the persons of worker origin are in majority and their predominance /prevalence among the persons between 25-29 years is larger than that among all the skilled-workers and the proportion of the persons of worker origin is growing among the male skilled-workers between 25-29 years. All these lead us to believe that among the skilled-workers there will be more and more multi-generation workers (see Table 11).

This is caused by several structural tendencies:

1. within the whole population the proportion of the persons of peasant origin is decreasing therefore even in case of the inflow of the sons of peasants in an unchanged proportion (which is not valid in case of males between 25-29 years of peasant origin), the proportion of the persons of agricultural background is inevitably decreasing in every stratum, so it is among the skilled-workers, too (see Table 12);

2. the tendency, having already been mentioned that among the young males the proportion of intellectuals has not increased, has reduced the chances of the sons of all origination strata for becoming managers and intellectuals, thus, according to the data of Table 13, less persons of the skilled-workers' sons, too, have become managers and intellectuals, consequently even more of them have chosen the presumably "second best" career possibility and remained skilled-workers.[17]

Table 11

Proportion of persons originating from the worker strata
among the artisans and retail dealers
(per cent)

Year	Total		Between 25-29 years	
	male	female	male	female
1973	49	49	56	59
1983	52	60	61	70
1992	51	57	64	68

These tendencies, similarly to the intellectuals, lead to the fact that the workers, including the skilled workers who constitute the decisive part of them, will gradually separate partly from the managers and intellectuals, partly from the peasants. This might

[17] At present(and perhaps in the near future) a career alternative becoming more and more advantageous for the sons of skilled-workers can be to become an individual artisan. In 1992 a considerably larger number of the sons and daughters of skilled-workers, especially of the young ones, became individual artisans than in 1983. If this tendency becomes stable or stronger, it might have a considerable influence not only on the objective situation but also on the way of thinking of the skilled-workers.

have far-reaching effects on the inter-stratum relations. At the same time we shall become more similar to the Western European societies in this respect as well.

Table 12

Proportion of persons originating
from the agricultural stratum among skilled-workers
(per cent)

Year	Total		Between 25-29 years	
	male	female	male	female
1973	35	30	29	21
1983	33	24	22	13
1992	35	28	20	19

Table 13

Managers and intellectuals at the time of enumeration
among the earner sons of skilled workers
(per cent)

Year	Total		Between 25-29 years	
	male	female	male	female
1973	7	5	9	11
1983	12	10	9	9
1992	10	8	7	12

In the recent years the agricultural stratum, in other words the peasantry has been affected by a lot of very strong effects whose consequences could hardly be forecast on theoretical basis.

The agriculture as a national economic branch has got into an even graver crisis than the other economic branches. The re-privatization and in connection with it the privatization of the land has been started very slowly and it has taken place almost in an uncontrollable way. The number of persons employed in agriculture and forestry has decreased particularly quickly. (In 1992 the number of the employed was already less than two thirds of that in 1988.) As a result of this the unemployment has extremely increased on the one hand and a lot of the active agricultural earners whose age composition was all the same rather old, were, on the other hand, put on the retired list (many of them with exemption by age). However, as the latter are indicated as earners in the mobility tables of 1992, the direct effect of the unemployment and pensioning cannot be seen from the tables analyzed here. On the other hand, the unemployment appearing in other economic branches has especially seriously stricken the daily and weekly commuters employed, some of them could try to find an agricultural job at their parish residence or in the vicinity.

It is strange that the effect of this latter tendency can be observed in the mobility rates of the agricultural stratum: especially among the young the proportion of the persons of peasant origin has decreased and that of those of worker origin has increased (see Table

14). Therefore we can draw the moderate conclusion that a traditional peasantry can less and less be found in Hungary.

Table 14

Proportion of persons originating from the agricultural stratum
among agricultural manual workers
(per cent)

Year	Total		Between 25-29 years	
	male	female	male	female
1973	81	83	68	68
1983	81	79	64	39
1992	77	79	51	48

Formerly it was stated by many people that at the same time the traditional peasant mentality/attitude, i.e. the very strongly work-oriented way of life, the strong family clannishness, the mutual help used to be very strong and wide-spread in the Hungarian society.

It would be difficult to decide how the transformation of the traditional and rather closed peasantry will influence this "peasant" mentality/attitude being characteristic for the strata of the Hungarian society being much wider than peasantry (but being of peasant origin back to one or two generations). At the same time, in spite of the slowdown of the nation-wide structural changes, the outflow from the agricultural strata of the persons of peasant origin did not decrease, it has rather increased particularly among the males between 25-29 years (see Table 15). This again points to the fact that the separation of the peasantry from the other strata has decreased.

Table 15

Proportion of persons belonging to other strata
at the time of survey among the earner sons of agricultural fathers
(per cent)

Year	Total		Between 25-29 years	
	male	female	male	female
1973	57	47	64	69
1983	75	74	72	93
1992	74	76	83	92

On the basis of the results of the analyses I would be cautious to speak the final word about the changes of the intergeneration mobility in Hungary between 1983 and 1992, all the more because mobility can also be examined by using social categories and methods differing from those used here. As to the cognition of the real situation in Hungary and the development of sociology it would be very advantageous if, on the basis of the excellent surveys of the HCSO, several other researchers analyzed the mobility processes of Hungary and if we compared and discussed their statements.

Nevertheless, I try to summarize some moderate conclusions, mainly in order to encourage the scientific debate.

The above-said have important methodological morals. Though there is no doubt that the log-linear analysis is a very refined and reliable method for the analysis of mobility, it is not right, after all, to neglect beside it the traditional table analysis, particularly that of the inflow mobility rates which, for whatever reason, have been from the beginning been pushed into the background to some extent beside the analysis of the outflow rates and the more complicated mathematical statistical methods. It has been shown that at the analysis of the mobility data of 1992 the greatest (and in my opinion in their effects very important) changes have been stated just on the basis of the inflow rates.

Let me add that *István Kemény* pointed out already on the basis of the analysis of the mobility data of the 1960s that while the outflow mobility rates generally used in international comparisons by *S.M. Lipset* and other western authors differ only to a little extent in Hungary from those observed in the western countries, there are very large differences concerning the inflow mobility rates. It is also to be noted that for the examination of the starting issue of the great international survey by Erikson and Goldthorpe i.e. for the examination of the class formation,[18] according to their opinion, practically the inflow mobility rates are to be used because it depends on them how much a social category can be considered homogeneous in respect of origin.

About the changes of the recent years in Hungary we can say on the basis of the mobility data that, though the change of regime was no doubt a revolutionary one and certain structural changes (e.g. privatization) were very quick, the processes taking place as deep as social mobility, did not change, as a matter of fact, dramatically. Moreover, in the background of the changes observed in 1992 practically the speed-up of the new tendencies emerging already in the decade of the 1980s was to be observed, so the tendencies which appeared were not entirely new. Let me add that the by far not such peaceful changes after 1945 were also characterized by this: the analysis of the mobility survey of 1962-1964 led to the surprising conclusion that mobility showed many constancy and a lot of its concerns hardly differed from the mobility of the western countries. One can even presume that the new features of the picture of mobility shown in the early 1960s were in fact the results of the strengthening of the tendencies having started since the late 1930s.

I do not wish to depreciate the significance of the slow changes which can be observed in the field of social mobility. The slow but continuous growth of the importance of the multi-generation intellectuals and multi-generation workers will in many respects change the operation of the Hungarian society. Let me add that these changes point to the direction that the Hungarian society will more and more be similar to the advanced Western European democratic societies which are based on market economy.

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[18] Erikson and Goldthorpe have started from the fact that the lasting or only temporary junction with a social status /position (in other words with a class position) and the samples of the mobility between these positions, have an influence on the formation of the identity of the individual, on his recognition of his interests as well as on the fact what cultural, economic, social and political boundaries come to being and become stronger in the society. These, however, determine the operation of the social and political system, and among others, the conflicts within it.

In connection with the great problems of the international special literature on mobility I would formulate the following moderate conclusions:

1. the structural factors, their faster or slower changes seem to have a very strong influence on mobility processes;

2. the revolutionary changes in the economic and political system exert less influence on mobility than expected;

3. the inequality of chances has only changed to a little extent, thus the "F-J-H-hypothesis" almost entirely seems to be justified;

4. it cannot be excluded that simultaneously with the economic and social development the openness of the society still increases to some extent, in the long run, since the 1930s, the Hungarian society as well has gradually become more open in respect of mobility and on the basis of certain indications, the conclusion can be drawn that the openness has increased to some extent even since 1983.