

AVE ROOTS

Occupational and income mobility
during post-socialist transformation
of 1991–2004 in Estonia



You are worthy, our Lord and God,
to receive glory and honor and power,
for you created all things,
and by your will they were created
and have their being.

(Revelation 4: 11)

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of 1991–2004 in Estonia



Institute of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Tartu, Estonia

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This dissertation is based on original publications which will be referred to in the dissertation by their respective Roman numbers.

- I Titma, M., Roots, A. (2006). Intragenerational Mobility in Successor States of the USSR. *European Societies* 8(4): 493–526.
- II Titma, M., Tuma, N. B., Roots, A. (2007). Adolescent agency and adult economic success in a transitional society. *International Journal of Psychology* 42(2): 102–109.
- III Titma, M., Roots, A., Soidla, I. (2010). Gender Differences in Intragenerational Mobility: The Case of Estonia. *European Sociological Review* 26(3): 337–350.

Related studies:

- Roots, A. (2008). “Nõukogude aja lõpus oma töökarjääri alustanud põlvkonna sotsiaalne mobiilsus siirdeperioodil.” Pp. 45–58 in *Valik artikleid kahest põlvkonnast*. Tartu: Ida-Euroopa Sotsiaaluuringute Keskus.
- Roots, A. (2008). “Kas siire Eestis on lõppenud?” Lk. 17–31 in *Vaateid teelahk-melt*, edited by A. Rämmer. Tartu: Tartu University Press.
- Roots, A. (2011). “Enesetäiendamise viisi ja kõrgema ametipositsiooni seos meeste ja naiste puhul.” *Ariadne lõng* XI(1):48–57.
- Roots, A. (2011). “Ameti sõltuvus täiendkoolitusest ja isikuomadustest eesti meestel ja naistel.” Pp. 26–32 in *Sooline ebavõrdsus tööelus: arengud Eestis ja rahvusvaheline võrdlus*, edited by O. Toomet, M. Ainsaar. Tartu: University of Tartu. Retrieved (http://www.sh.ut.ee/orb.aw/class=file/action=preview/id=1001899/Innove+Raport+I_kogumik.pdf 08.10.2013).
- Roots, A. (2011). “Enesetäiendamise roll juhi ja tippspetsialisti positsioonil olevale meeste ja naiste jaoks.” Pp. 40–49 in *Sooline ebavõrdsus tööelus: arengud Eestis ja rahvusvaheline võrdlus*, edited by K. Talves. Tartu: University of Tartu. Retrieved (http://www.sh.ut.ee/sites/default/files/sh_files/Sooline%20ebav%C3%B5rdsus%20t%C3%B6el%C3%B6lus_kogumik2.pdf 08.10.2013).
- Roots, A. (2012). “Enesetäiendamise viisi ja kõrgema ametipositsiooni seos meeste ja naiste puhul.” Pp. 56–70 in *Sooline ebavõrdsus tööelus: arengud Eestis ja rahvusvaheline võrdlus*, edited by M. Ainsaar and K. Talves. Tartu: University of Tartu. Retrieved (http://www.sh.ut.ee/sites/default/files/sh_files/Sooline%20ebav%C3%B5rdsus%20t%C3%B6el%C3%B6lus%20III%20kogumik.pdf 08.10.2013).

Author's contribution

The contribution of the author in the studies is described below:

- Study I: The author was fully responsible for the methods section and analysis. The author also contributed to the theory section and discussion.
- Study II: The author contributed to data collection, being responsible for the fieldwork in the 2004 wave of the Paths of a Generation study and responsible for the selection of statistical analysis.
- Study III: Among other waves of the Paths of a Generation Study, this paper used the data collected in 2004. The author was responsible for the fieldwork of this particular wave of data collection. The author took a lead in writing the theory section of the article, was fully responsible for the methods section and data analysis and participated in writing the discussion.

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INTRODUCTION

Post-socialist societies with rapid societal changes have sometimes been seen as natural experiments and are therefore subjects of interest for many social scientists. In Estonia the changes were so great because in addition to political and structural changes, the country also had to separate itself economically from Soviet Union – before 1991, trade with the Soviet Union amounted to 95% of total Estonian foreign trade (Berend 2009:51). The path which was chosen from planned economy to neo liberalism, quite opposite regimes in their features, added – volumes to the changes (Bohle and Greskovits 2007). One comprehensive and important sphere of the society where the changes have been great is the structure of the society and social inequalities. The level of inequality increased after the collapse of the Soviet system, but also the mechanisms which place people into their positions in the society have changed (Murakas 1999; Tuma, Titma, and Murakas 2002; Unt 2005). Estonia is therefore a good subject for studying different features of post-socialist transformation.

Social mobility is a process that links macro level processes to individual lives, so the changes that happened during the transformation in Central and Eastern Europe in labour allocation between sectors and branches become visible in the mobility trajectories in the lives of individuals (Gerber 2002). The current dissertation focuses on the occupational and income mobility that occurred during the post-socialist transformation in Estonia until 2004. The current dissertation uses the data of the longitudinal project “Paths of a Generation”, headed by Mikk Titma. This unique project was started in 1983 before the changes in Estonian and other Soviet societies began. It provides an opportunity to see how people’s goals before transformation, their actions during the transformation, and the social position of their parents impacted the positions (in terms of income and occupation) they attained during the post-socialist transformation.

The current dissertation compares two periods of post-socialist transformation: 1991–1997 and 1997–2004. It has been noted that the beginning of the transformation differed from the later period in terms of opportunity structures, the mechanisms which created inequality, organisation of society, etc. (Ennuste 2003; Lauristin and Vihalemm 2008; Sackmann, Weymann, and Wingers 2000; Trappe 2006). The first period was a time where the majority of the radical changes occurred and the society was still quite open in terms of opportunities (Sackmann et al. 2000). Several authors describe the beginning of the post-socialist transformation as a period of dramatic changes which influenced all levels of the society (Berend 1996, 2010; Brown 1999:1; Helemäe and Saar 2011:34) and as a result high levels of social mobility and the changes in the status attainment were very likely (Helemäe 2010:84). However, while studying social mobility during post-socialist transformation in Estonia Helemäe (2010) finds a surprising level of stability even during 1990–1994, and more during 2000–2004. During the second period studied, the society was less open and the processes of occupational reproduction were stronger than during the first period (Saar 2011). Szelenyi and Kostello (1996:1095) state that regardless of

the regime, the reproduction of social orders seems to be the rule and change rather the exception – the window of opportunity during the post-socialist transformation was rather narrow.

The aim of this doctoral dissertation is to explain occupational and income mobility and factors predicting attainment of certain occupational strata during two periods (1991–1997 and 1997–2004) of post-socialist transformation in Estonia. The word ‘transformation’ is used to signify the multi-dimensional, multi-path process with the start and end point dependant on the specific circumstances of the country, as used by Stark and Bruszt (2001). This is in contrast to the concept of “transition”, which marks change from one system to the other – from totalitarianism to democracy, from planned economy to market economy – and has for every country one common starting point and one common end point, described by Kowalik (1997) as the Anglo-American approach.

The dissertation is based on 3 articles:

1. Titma, M., Roots, A. (2006). Intragenerational Mobility in Successor States of the USSR. *European Societies* 8(4): 493–526.
2. Titma, M., Tuma, N. B., Roots, A. (2007). Adolescent agency and adult economic success in a transitional society. *International Journal of Psychology* 42(2): 102–109.
3. Titma, M., Roots, A., Soidla, I. (2010). Gender Differences in Intragenerational Mobility: The Case of Estonia. *European Sociological Review* 26 (3): 337–350.

The main research questions of the dissertation are:

- I How did occupational mobility patterns differ at the beginning of the post-socialist transformation (1991–1997) in comparison to the second stage of transformation (1997–2004) in Estonia? (Study 1 and Study 3).
- II How did parental social position and individual factors predict the attaining of certain social positions (occupation and income) in the two different periods of transformation? (Study 1, Study 2 and Study 3).

The main contribution of this dissertation is a systematic study of occupational and income mobility and occupation and income attainment over two periods of transformation in Estonia using a wide variety of explanatory variables (family background, education, work career, goals and actions). The first period of the transformation has been widely studied in many Eastern European countries on several topics, but much less studies have been conducted about the later stage of transformation.

The introductory section of the current dissertation offers an overview of the context of post-socialist transformation and the transformation in Estonia, theories of mobility and status attainment in the context of the changing society. The methodological section describes data, methods and variables used in the articles. The main findings are reported in the results section, presenting them study by study. The discussion section explains the general mobility patterns and factors (family background, education and human agency) predicting occupational and income attainment.

I. POST-SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

The following chapter gives an overview of post-socialist transformation, including one possible manner of periodising the post-socialist transformation in Estonia, and describes the periods.

I.1. Restructuring during post-socialist transformation

During the post-socialist transformation many spheres of the society changed simultaneously; political, economic and societal changes happened at the same time. According to Sztompka (1991:154) transformation took place at all levels of society: in the level of ideas, in the level of normative structure (for example entrepreneurship became legal, widespread and one of the most encouraged activities), change in social interaction (civil society arose and the societies consisted of multiple groups), the opportunity structures were redistributed (income and occupational structures changed). The beginning of the transformation included significant dramatic restructuring and has been described as fluid and unsettled situation (Berend 1996, 2010). The people in post-socialist societies went through more changes within a few years than people in Western societies during their whole lifetime (Brown 1999:1).

At the beginning of the transformation the labour allocation between economic branches in Soviet economies was considerably different from that in market economies (Gerber 2002:631; Täht and Saar 2006:302–303). In Soviet society working class had ideologically a very important place in the society and, therefore, the proportion of people employed in industry was great. According to Berend (2009:12), the greatest decline in coal, iron and steel industries and the shift towards the tertiary sector in Western societies happened during the oil crisis, which started in 1973. Therefore Berend (2009) concludes that because Soviet countries were isolated, these changes occurred twenty years later, when they became part of the global economic system.

At the beginning of the transformation employment in the industry and construction started to shrink and employment in agriculture declined dramatically (Berend 1997:20–21; Domański 1998:316; Geißler 1996:297; Gerber 2002:631; Gros and Steinherr 2004; Kornai 1996:115; Kratzer 1997; Ordnung 1997:179; Rasztar 1999:19; Sackmann et al. 2000; Steiner 1997:119; Titma and Tuma 2001; Wiener 1997). The decline in the agriculture lead agricultural officials and professionals to loose their positions; skilled workers in manufacturing lost their jobs because of restructuring of the economy and decline in manufacturing branches (Berend 1997). The influence of the market and the decline of the state sector (Soviet bureaucracy) decreased the proportion of the top classes (Berend 1997; Gerber and Hout 2004:688). High-tech industries (engineering, electronics, communication technology, pharmaceutical) suffered the most, because they could not compete with the technological level of the West, and low-tech

branches producing basic products and using much energy and raw materials suffered the least (Berend 1996:359).

Services, retail, foreign trade, privately paid services (tourism, catering, banking, insurance) expanded and new private firms emerged usually in those areas (Ordnung 1997:179). During the transformation the expansion of the banking sector, marketing and personal services occurred (Domański 1998:316, 1999:467). The proportion of unskilled jobs in production and services increased and the number of self-employed grew as well (Gerber and Hout 2004:688).

1.2. Post-socialist transformation in Estonia during 2 periods

Several authors have periodised the post-socialist transformation in Estonia. Haltiwanger and Vodopivec (2002:603) found that 1991–1993 was the time of dramatic economic decline, in 1994 the decline was small and between 1995 – 1998 it demonstrated already some signs of stabilisation. After the Russian crisis in 1998, the Estonian economy suffered recession in 1999 and the consequence of this recession was a new restructuring of the economy, after this year economic growth continued (Masso, Eamets, and Philips 2004b:17). Ennuste (2003) referred to the period 1987–1997 as the period of transformation and the period following 1998 as the period of accession to the European Union. Lauristin and Vihalemm (2008) and Lauristin (2011) used a different periodisation. They divided the Estonian transformation period into 5 sub-periods: 1988–1991 – political breakthrough and regaining independence; 1992–1995 – radical reforms; 1995–1999 – stabilization; 1999–2004 – integration into the European Union; 2005–2007 – economic prosperity and the end of the transformation. Eamets (2001:34) divided the transformation in Estonia since re-independence in 1991 and the launching of economic reforms in 1992 into a period of initial post reform years 1994–1998. Helemäe and Saar (2011:59) described the following periods: 1989–1994 – a period of economic recession related to early transformation; 1995–1997 – “recovery, economic boom and stabilisation”; 1998–2000 recession following the Russian crisis; 2001–2007 – “recovery, economic boom and stabilisation”. In a later chapter Helemäe (2011) calls the period 1998–2002 “mature transformation”. Saar, Täht, and Unt (2011:156) stressed that the 1998 Russian economic crisis triggered innovative developments in the Estonian labour market. Aslund (2007:53) described the pre 1998 period in Central and Eastern Europe (including the Baltics) as a time of extraordinary rent seeking (the enormous profits were earned due to the incomplete laws or because of state subsidies to some enterprises, the most extreme example being oligarchs in Russia), the Russian crisis in 1998 disciplined the rent seekers and “a quite different pattern of more normal development took over”.

Some of the periodisations described above start before 1991 when Estonia regained its independence. Ennuste (2003) points out that 1987–1991 was the period of relaxed dictatorial system. Lauristin and Vihalemm (2008) mention that

1988–1991 was the time of political breakthrough. Although these years were politically crucial and led to the independence, the structural changes that influenced occupational mobility and income started in 1991 (Eamets and Philips 2000; Tuma et al. 2002). The previous paragraph also shows that there are many different ways and foundations of categorisations, but many of the authors find that until 1997 there was the era of the greatest changes and preliminary stabilisation and after that there was a different era with dramatically less rent seeking, greater efficiency and the start of the integration into the European Union (Aslund 2007; Ennuste 2003; Helemäe and Saar 2011; Helemäe 2011; Masso et al. 2004b; Saar et al. 2011). For this reason, the current dissertation compares the periods 1991–1997 and 1997–2004. The year 2004 when Estonia accessed to the European Union can be seen as symbolic end of an era¹.

1.1.1. The beginning of transformation (1991–1997)

The main feature of the restructuring of the Estonian economy was the shift from the once-dominant energy-intensive heavy industrial sectors to a labour intensive light industry and the underdeveloped service sector (Vöörmann 2003). Also employment in agriculture, and fishery declined remarkably in Estonia (Masso et al. 2004b:23). More than before, people were employed in real estate, business, government, education and other personal services, finance, trade and power production (Eamets, Philips, and Annus 1999). Change in sectoral level occurred simultaneously with occupational mobility and people were moved out of manufacturing and construction and into trade, catering and services. Besides sectoral change, another very important process was the change from state enterprises to private business. In the socialist society big enterprises were preferred by the planners, but during the post soviet transformation the newly founded firms were normally small or medium sized and also, where possible, the state enterprises were privatised in parts; as a result of these processes the number of managers increased (Gerber 2002; Marer 1997; Szelenyi and Szelenyi 1995).

In Estonia the wage structure started to change in 1992, and the greatest changes in wage structure occurred between 1993 and 1994 (Eamets and Philips 2000). In the Soviet period the income inequality was very low (Helemäe, Saar, and Vöörmann 2000:95; Saar 2005:175). Income inequality started to rise from 1992 (Tuma et al. 2002:121). In 1991 the wages were much higher in the private sector, but by 1997 the difference declined because of the rise in the state sector (Murakas and Trapido 1999; Murakas 1999).

In 1992 incomes started to stratify according to educational level, by 1998 the incomes of people with higher education had seen the greatest increase (Saar 2005:178). Murakas (1999) describes the changes in the wage structure by occupation during 1991–1997. The incomes had risen mainly in the positions

¹ Kornai suggests that the accession to the European Union is the end of transformation (Kornai 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2008b).

which required higher or specialised secondary education, professionals had experienced the greatest rise in income. They were followed by top officials, legislators and semi-professionals. The salaries of unqualified workers had risen remarkably as well, but still remained the lowest. In 1997 income in Estonia was closely connected to occupation, in 1992 this was not the case (Tuma et al. 2002:137). During these years the real incomes of unskilled labourers and people working in agriculture have decreased the most and the real incomes of the professionals had increased the most (Tuma et al. 2002:137). The greatest winners in Estonia during the first period of transformation in terms of incomes were Estonian men with higher education living in Tallinn and who moved early to the private sector, the greatest losers were women of non-titular ethnic groups who were jobless or inactive at the end of 1990s (Unt 2005:257).

I.1.2. The latter period of transformation (1997–2004)

Despite the great contraction of the agriculture in the beginning of the transition, the value added by the agriculture sector and forestry was still twice as high as the EU average during this period (Olenko 2004:60). But also during the later period of transformation the greatest decline of jobs still occurred in agriculture (Masso, Eamets, and Philips 2004a:123). The Estonian economy was very concentrated on transportation and communication services, also twice as much as the EU average, but despite of the growth during the previous period, real estate, renting, business activities and health care were underdeveloped and comprised about half of the European average (Olenko 2004:60). There was great instability in the construction, trade and business services, where many jobs disappeared, but also many new occurred (Masso et al. 2004a:123). Employment declined in chemicals and heavy machinery, an increase occurred in the wood and apparel industry and in some segments of engineering (electrical machinery, transport equipment) (Reuterswèard 2003:19). Unlike the EU average, amongst Estonian industries there were more labour and raw material intensive industries (food, textiles, wood industry) and less capital and technology intensive industries (machinery, chemical industry) (Olenko 2004:65). Investment in the manufacturing, which had declined after the shock of the beginning of the transition, recovered in the late 1990s, but this sector was hit by the Russian crisis and suffered from a decrease in investment again in 1999 (Mickiewicz, Bishop, and Varblane 2004:78).

The restructuring was over by 2001, because the movement of workers between different employment statuses (employment, unemployment and inactivity) declined and the likelihood of continuing in the same employment status became relatively high, however, the instability in terms of the disappearance of existing jobs and occurrence of new jobs in the labour market was higher than in other European countries (Masso et al. 2004a:107, 134–135, 2004b:23, 31).

2. SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

2.1. Social mobility

According to Sorokin (1959:3–4) social mobility is the “phenomenon of the shifting of individuals within the social space” and social position is a point in the social structure defined by group membership. Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993:1) define social mobility as the “movement of individuals among positions defined by the structure of the division of labour” and believe that social mobility describes relationships between the structure of the division of labour and the main patterns of social action. For them social mobility is defined by the structure of the division of labour (relationships within labour markets and production units) or by the aggregate in rankings of members’ prestige, status, economic resource, etc. In the context of the current dissertation, occupational mobility is defined as “movement of individuals between social positions that are identified in terms of relationships within labour markets and production units” (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1993:29) and in the case of income mobility it is defined as the “movement of individuals as between social groupings or aggregates, that are ranked according to such criteria as their members’ prestige, status, economic resources etc” (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1993:29).

Intragenerational social mobility demonstrates changes during the work career of one individual and intergenerational mobility shows the change compared to the position of his/her parent(s). The studies of social mobility are closely connected to the studies of social change. Social mobility can be used as one of the indicators of social changes and might help to measure the extent of changes in a society. Social mobility reflects the changes in societal structure.

There are three different levels of social mobility: individual, group and society (or state). Individual level social mobility, both intergenerational and intragenerational, was first measured by Blau and Duncan (1967). Group level mobility chances in terms of open and closed groups were described by Weber (1985:23) and were measured by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993). Society level social mobility was described by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993). This dissertation concentrates on the individual level social mobility. Individual level social mobility also reflects the changes in wider society. As Gerber (2002) states, the political changes in society are reflected in individual lives through labour market. The labour market is exactly the place where both occupational and income mobility occur.

2.2. Social mobility in a changing society

Sorokin (1959:139–143) states that there is no historical trend in social mobility – mobility rates are in trendless fluctuations dependent upon the history and social structure. There are, however, periods with higher social mobility. For example, quick social changes will destroy old social structures and cause

massive social mobility between different strata. These are situations of rapid changes and uncertainty: upheavals and revolutions. Sorokin (1959:466) also states that higher mobility rates are the result of restructuring of the economy, technological change etc.

In Central and Eastern Europe the political and structural changes were very rapid and extensive in the end of 1980s and in the beginning of 1990s and this caused a lot of uncertainty after the old regime was broken down and the new rules were not yet quite in place. Studying the transformation period in Eastern and Central Europe, Domański (1997, 1998, 1999) found for example that in Poland intragenerational occupational mobility flows were higher during the transformation period than during the period before it. In intragenerational mobility during the first period of transformation people could easily move between white- and blue-collar strata, between top classes and other and between agricultural strata and others (Domański 1995). Many authors have found these patterns to be rare in stable societies (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1993; Grusky and Hauser 1994). The group of entrepreneurs was a totally new group in the countries of former Soviet Union. This group emerged at the beginning of 1990s and has widened since then (Sackmann 2000:55). Domański (1997, 1998:316) points out that many intellectuals, workers and agricultural workers took advantage of the new opening opportunities and became entrepreneurs, but many could not survive in the tight competition and the downward mobility from managerial and entrepreneurial groups was greater than from other groups.

Blossfeld and Mayer (1991:674) stated that the change in occupational structure occurred either through higher individual mobility (Kaufman and Spilerman 1982) or through generation change (Ryder 1965). Several authors believe that mainly intragenerational mobility contributed to the change of occupational structure in Eastern and Central Europe during rapid social changes in 1990s (Blossfeld and Mayer 1991:674; DiPrete and Nonnemaker 1997; Sackmann et al. 2000:56). For example, comparisons of East and West Germany shortly after the unification (1990–1994) showed that intragenerational mobility was higher in the “new” states of Germany compared to the “old” ones (Diewald and Solga 1997a:222, 1997b:194–196). Studies of several Central and Eastern European states (Poland, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Russia) also showed that there was no change in intergenerational mobility and all changes occurred through intragenerational mobility (Domański 1997). However, Gerber and Hout, studying Russia, have found that the intragenerational occupational mobility was connected to intergenerational mobility (Gerber and Hout 2004). More precisely, people who had been successful in their work career at the end of the Soviet period compared to their parents’ position started to lose ground during the transformation and fell back to the stratum to join their parents. Connection between generations in terms of social stratum grew stronger. Inheritance grew 26% compared to the pre-transformation period (Gerber and Hout 2004:693–694). Regression toward origins might be the result of influence of the parents from higher strata using their combination of social, human and cultural capital to grant better positions

for their children in the situation of a declining amount of desirable jobs (Gerber and Hout 2004:696).

Some authors have called the beginning of the transformation in Eastern-Europe as “window of opportunity”. The window of opportunity is described as “outstanding opportunities for social mobility” (Trappe 2006:121). Trappe (2006:121–122) divides the transformation in East Germany by social mobility rates and factors influencing occupational attainment into two periods: first period (1989–1992) was the period of high social mobility; during the second period (1992–1997) social mobility slowed and was influenced by institutions (occupational credentials, sector, industry, location within employment system) more than by individual competencies or initiative (Trappe 2006:121). If people did not take right actions at the right time during the “window of opportunity”, which was quite short in East Germany, then they experienced great loss in their work careers (Struck-Möbbeck et al. 1996).

2.3. Factors influencing the attainment of social position

This chapter describes some factors which influence occupational and income attainment.

2.3.1. Parental social position

Parental background is one of the factors that has interested the scholars of social stratification and mobility the most. How parental background influences the social position of the offspring has been the main research question from the very beginning of modern stratification research (Ganzeboom, Treiman, and Ultee 1991; Treiman and Ganzeboom 2000). Parents in privileged classes do all that is possible to grant high positions to their offspring (Gerber and Hout 2004:679; Goldthorpe 2007) and parent’s social position is connected to their offspring’s position (see for example Blau and Duncan 1967).

The role of parents is also advisory in making important decisions in life about educational and career choices as first found by Sewell, Haller, and Portes (1969). The role of parental encouragement was important also in Estonia (Titma and Tuma 2005:129). For example, maternal encouragement was a very important factor predicting continuing in post-secondary education, while a father’s level of education was a significant predictor of whether an individual received a university diploma. The impact of parental background diminishes over life course (Featherman 1971; Warren, Sheridan, and Hauser 2002) and is in a great extent mediated by respondents’ education (Blau and Duncan 1967: 170; Featherman 1971).

Individual educational attainment is closely related to the parental background. For example the reproduction of higher strata occurs mainly through education (Goldthorpe 2007). The process of educational attainment can be also

seen as a conscious position attainment and mobility process or at least preparation for it, where offspring aims to attain at least as high a position as their parents have (Goldthorpe 2007; Werfhorst and Andersen 2005:322).

At the end of the Soviet period, there was no strong connection between the occupational strata of respondents and their parents in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, but in Estonia and Latvia there was a clear reproduction of professionals and agricultural workers (Titma, Tuma, and Roosma 2003). Studying the period of transformation, several authors have discovered the regression toward origins in Estonia (Saar 2011; Titma and Tuma 2005), Russia (Gerber and Hout 2004) and Hungary (Bukodi and Goldthorpe 2010; Róbert and Bukodi 2004).

In social stratification research there has been a tendency to only use fathers' data (Ganzeboom et al. 1991; Gerber and Hout 2004). Some research suggests that the parent whose position is higher predicts the position of the offspring, because the family functions as one unit and the highest position of the parents influences the social position of the family the most (Warren et al. 2002). In post-socialist societies the mother's education was more influential than father's (although they are highly correlated) in predicting their children outcomes (Pals and Tuma 2004:35). Other studies on Estonia (Helemäe et al. 2000:198; Koucky, Bartušek, and Kovarovic 2010:42) found that the mother's social position (education and occupation) had a stronger impact on the offspring's social position than the father's social position. The education of the mother has also a stronger effect on the functional reading capacity of adults compared to the effect of the father in Estonia (Halapuu and Valk 2013:113–114).

2.3.2. Education

Higher education provides the holder with advantages on the labour market: more upward mobility, less downward mobility and less mobility to low income economic branches (Gerber 2002; Marger 1999; Mayer, Diewald, and Solga 1999; Steiner and Kraus 1996). Education influences the most the life chances of the less privileged groups (like women, ethnic minorities) (Hout 2012; Steiner and Kraus 1996).

The most important factor mediating intergenerational mobility is education (Goldthorpe 2005: 64). Goldthorpe (2007) explains that different social classes have the same goals (first avoid downward mobility and second obtain upward mobility), but they have different resources and strategies in realising them. When the upper white collar class is realising both of these goals through maximising education, blue-collar classes have different strategies for different goals. To gain equal position with their parents and avoiding downward mobility, they have to obtain vocational education, but to be upwardly mobile they have to obtain higher education, but this is costlier and connected to greater risks, especially in the situation where they have less resources than the offspring of white-collar classes.

Education is also connected to different roles in the labour market. It can show one's human capital, be a credential allowing access to certain positions or be a signal for employers (Bills 2003). The previous analyses have demonstrated that the impact of education on occupational career declines over the life course (Featherman 1971; Warren et al. 2002; Warren 2001), but the impact of education on income rises over time (Featherman 1971).

2.3.3. Human agency

In very general terms, human agency can be interpreted as people's beliefs and actions, which influence them, their environments and their life course (Gecas 2006:369). Human agency consists of processes "by which people select themselves into roles and situations" and therefore "they construct their own life course within given constraints" (Elder Jr and Giele 2009:10). Although there can be different kind of human agency (autonomous, mechanical and emergent interactive), in this dissertation only emergent interactive human agency is meant where "behaviour, cognitive and other personal factors, and environmental events all operate as interactive determinants of each other" (Bandura 1986:18).

In line with Bandura (1986) and Elder Jr and Giele (2009), Sztompka (1991, 2003) in his theory of Social Becoming has created a model which shows the intermingling of structures and agents.

Figure 1 below gives an overview of the relationships between structures and agents in a society Sztompka explains, that **structures** are inter-agential networks and **agents** (people or groups) are there the nodal points (2003: 213), where bunches of social relationships are anchored (1991: 47), possessing their own specific properties, regularities, some measure of autonomy, integrity and relative freedom to choose and decide (2003: 213–214). Agents have a certain range of possibilities, shaped by the earlier structures, from which to choose and their choices shape the structures in the future (Sztompka 1991:74). The **actions** which agents take are realised according to the **operations** of the structures; that means that these actions are allowed within of the framework of the operations and these actions and operations together form **praxis**, which represents the reality we see, the events that occur (Sztompka 2003). Accordingly, **agency** is formed by structures and agents and represents the potentiality of praxis to occur. Sztompka (1991:45) states that agency is equal to human agency, but it would be a serious oversimplification to ascribe human agency only to individual actors. Referring to Marx, Sztompka continues by saying that agency is neither located at the level of individuals nor at the level of the structures – it is on the mediating level, the same level, where praxis is. "Agency is a product of a specific configuration of actors (with their concrete endowments, capacities, drives, powers) put in specific structural circumstances (constraining or enabling)" (Sztompka 1991:45). The **potentialities** consist of tensions, contradictions, capacities, powers, etc, which may or may not become **actuality**,

meaning unfolded into operation (in the case of structures) or mobilised into action (in the case of agents) (Sztompka 1991:33, 2003:219).

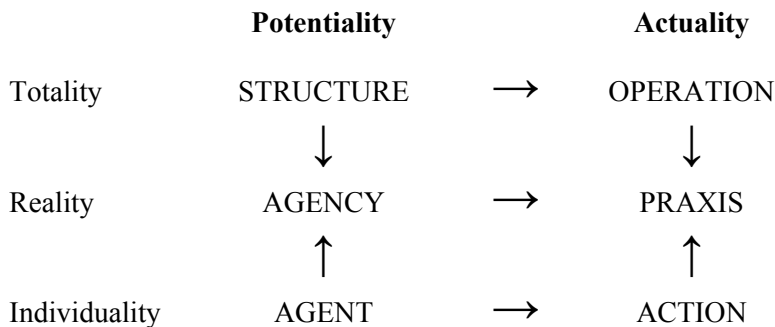


Figure 1. The process of Social Becoming (Sztompka 1991:97, 108, 2003:218).

More specifically, the concept of human agency has two central elements according to Bandura (1989:1175): people’s individual beliefs about their capabilities to control the events that influence their lives (this is called self-efficacy belief), and people’s ability to think about their future and set goals (Bandura 1989:1179). Goals are connected to action, which occurs when people predict future events with self-efficacy beliefs and with set goals connected to the future events, and this leads to action in the present (Bandura 1989). Those who have higher level of self efficacy beliefs and higher self esteem can profit of the uncertain situations more during the periods of great changes (Pals and Tuma 2004). Non-cognitive skills (for example socialisation skills) and personal traits (like motivation tenacity, trustworthiness, perseverance) are also important in predicting educational success, occupational choices and higher incomes (Cawley, Heckman, and Vytlačil 2001; Heckman and Rubinstein 2001; Heckman, Stixrud, and Urzua 2006; Sukamägi, Tamm, and Norden 1994).

Aspirations predict outcomes (Sewell et al. 1969; Mortimer 1996:18) not only in the beginning, but also mid-career (Spenner and Featherman 1978). Also in the countries in transformation (Estonia, Latvia, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Tadjikistan) the goal of being a leader and the wish to earn much money at the end of secondary school predicted owning a business 15 years later (Titma and Tuma 2005). In Estonia educational plans during secondary school also predict the educational level attained later (Sukamägi et al. 1994).

In addition, self-esteem, internal control orientation, self-efficacy and sense of competence also predicted successful goal attainment (Mortimer 1996:18). People who have stronger beliefs in their capabilities persevere longer when facing difficulties and put more effort in obtaining their goals (Bandura and Cervone 1983). Highly valuing one’s organisational skills in secondary school predicted one becoming an entrepreneur, an owner of a business or a manager

later in life (Pals and Tuma 2004; Titma and Soidla 2007) and having high self-esteem in one's manual skills predicted one becoming a skilled worker or an agricultural worker (Titma and Tuma 2005) in several post-socialist countries.

People who are oriented towards challenges and believe their actions to be effective earn considerably higher wages than others and this relationship strengthens over time (Dunifon and Duncan 1998). People who take action to realise their goals experience success as the following research shows. More economic activities in the beginning of the 1990s led to business ownership around 5 years later in the post-socialist countries (Titma and Soidla 2007; Titma and Tuma 2005). Having more jobs during 1990s and participating in more professional courses or obtaining a university degree in the 1990s predicted being a manager or entrepreneur in 2004 in Estonia (Titma and Soidla 2007).

2.4. Social mobility during different periods in Estonia

The following paragraphs give an overview of social mobility in the pre-transformation era and during the beginning and later period of transformation in Estonia.

2.4.1. Pre transformation period (Soviet period)

In general the inheritance between origin and destination strata in inter-generational mobility was very weak (Titma et al. 2003; Titma 2002). In terms of intergenerational mobility there was inheritance of professionals and agricultural workers in Estonia (Titma et al. 2003). In Soviet society the official ideology supported equality and until the mid-1960s the educational reforms followed this ideal and increased intergenerational mobility (Helemäe et al. 2000). In 1970s and 1980s the educational system clearly supported reproduction of the elites (Gerber and Hout 2004; Gerber 2000; Saar 2005:163). The trend of rise in the number of people with secondary education from the end of the 1960s and the lack of changes in university enrolment increased the impact of social origin on people's educational level, because people whose parents were in upper strata had a higher probability to access universities (Helemäe and Saar 2011:46).

In the socialist countries, not only the level of the education, but also the logic of educational system influenced career opportunities: the type of secondary school where one studied determined the opportunities for further education and work because of educational and school to work tracking (Saar 2005:179; Sackmann 2000:177–182; Titma et al. 2003). Saar (1997) found that there was a great social origin effect to admission to both a certain type of secondary school and to university. The graduates of general secondary schools, but also specialised secondary schools were much more likely to enter university compared to the graduates of vocational schools. Furthermore, the children of semi-professional and professional fathers were more likely to enter

general and specialised secondary schools, whereas the children of lower strata were more likely to go to vocational schools. Controlling for the secondary school type still the probability to enter the university was highest for the people whose fathers were managers or professionals and the lowest for the people whose fathers were industrial or agricultural workers.

There is another important aspect in the educational structure of socialist and also post socialist societies: in many of these countries there were more women with higher education than men (Titma and Tuma 2001; White 1997). One of the reasons for this might have been that men with lower levels of education had higher salaries than men with higher levels of education, whereas among women those with higher education had the highest salaries (although the income inequalities were quite low); thus, in terms of earning more, men did not need higher levels of education (Helemäe et al. 2000:102; Saar 2005:175). In Estonia the number of women with higher education has exceeded the number of men with higher education since the 1970s (Eesti Rahvastik Rahvaloenduse Andmetel 1995).

The labour turnover was quite high in many Central and Eastern European Countries, including Estonia (Cazes and Nesporova 2001:296). A great majority of it consisted of voluntary movement, because people sought higher salaries elsewhere and did not wait to be promoted within their current workplace (Helemäe and Saar 2011:43). This shows the importance of human agency (self-efficacy) also during socialist period. It was not a new phenomenon to only first occur during the transformation. Active job search under formally determined school to work tracking was also detected in East Germany (Kelle 2005:111).

2.4.2. The beginning of transformation 1991–1997

The magnitude of changes in Estonia was enormous (Helemäe and Saar 2011:34). In Estonia in the beginning of the 1990s there was a great urgency to disconnect from the Soviet past and this was one of the reasons why a very liberal and rapid transformation strategy was chosen (Aslund 2007). Helemäe (2010:84) also points out that due to the very liberal economy in Estonia, there was very little protection for the workforce and because of the suspicion connected to everything connected to the Soviet past, including work experience, the change in social structure and also in the mechanisms that lead to different strata in social structure, was expected to be great.

Between 1990–1994 around half of the people aged between 20 to 49 years changed their jobs; the group to change the least was semi-professionals (43%) and the greatest proportion of change was among managers (52%) (Helemäe 2010:86). In Estonia in the beginning of the transformation, the occupational mobility was the highest between 1992 and 1993 (Campos and Dabušinskas 2009:266). These authors also found that 30–50%² of people in Estonia changed

² Depending whether it was measured on 4-digit or 1-digit level ISCO88 classification.

their occupation between 1988 and 1995. During this period, the cohort under study in the current dissertation experienced more upward mobility (23%) than downward mobility (14%); men experienced more upward mobility (25%) than women (21%) and women experienced more downward mobility (15%) than men (13%) (Roots 2006:36, 2008b:27). The impact of parental social position on the educational level of their offspring had also risen, especially for men (Saar 2010:83). Education, which was a resource, gained from the soviet system, played a significant role in securing a high position in the labour market (Helemäe 2011). People one of whose parents was a manager were more likely to be managers in 1991 and people one of whose parents was a manager or a professional were more likely to be professionals (Roots 2008b:58). Figure 2 below shows that during that period there is access to managerial strata from many different strata (professionals, semi-professionals, routine non-manual workers, skilled workers). According to the same figure skilled workers have the greatest range of mobility of any group from the managers to unskilled workers.

The income mobility during 1992–1997 was high in Estonia. For example the correlation of individual incomes in 1992 and 1997 was only 0.33 (Tuma et al. 2002:129). According to Tuma et al. (2002:130), the income level in 1997 was more accurately predicted by the usual factors of stratification like occupation, education, settlement type, economic sector etc. compared to 1992.

During the first period 1992–1997, men, professionals, managers, people with high grade point average at secondary school and a higher educational level, those who had attended training courses, people who had changed jobs more frequently and had had additional jobs in 1992, living in the capital and who evaluated their organisational skills highly were likely to be in the group of people with a steady income in the top 20% (Murakas and Trapido 1999:126–127; Titma and Murakas 2004:56, 61). Least likely to be in this group were people in sales and service and graduates of vocational secondary school (Murakas, Trapido 1999: 126–127). Rising to the group of highest income quintile was predicted by residence in the capital, being a manager in 1992, being a man, having good health, attaining training courses, having had more jobs, had had plans to become an entrepreneur; it was less likely to join the above group for people with a lower grade point average at secondary school (Titma, Murakas 2004: 56–57, 61). The rise by at least one quintile is predicted by being occupied as a professional and the respondents employed in agriculture and education and medicine were least likely to be among the income rise group (Murakas, Trapido 1999: 125–126). Downward mobility to the 2 lowest quintiles was facilitated by employment in service and trade sectors and professionals in 1992; people with higher level of education, greater number of job shifts, participants of training courses and men had the lowest likelihood of downward mobility (Titma, Murakas 2004: 57, 61). Women, people with lower education, small number of training courses, the employees in agriculture, services and trade, state benefit receivers had a higher probability to be constantly among the lowest 40%, whereas managers, professionals and lower

white collar position holders, people with additional jobs and people living in capital cities are less likely to be in this group (Murakas, Trapido 1999: 123; Titma, Murakas 2004: 57, 61–62).

The first period of transformation is the period of new opportunity structures as well, as the opportunities for entrepreneurship to occur. In the current study the entrepreneurs are part of managerial stratum. Figure 2 below shows that 12% of the people who were managers in 1991 had moved to the stratum of professionals by 1997 and 11% had become routine non-manual workers, but there was also great inflow to this stratum from all other strata (excluding only unskilled workers). So this was a time of the formation of the managerial stratum.

2.4.3. The latter period of transformation 1997–2004

Between 2000 and 2004 80–90% of people had not changed their occupational stratum (Helemäe 2010:85). The most stable were professionals (90%) and managers (84%), the lowest being routine non-manual workers (69%) and unskilled workers (71%), although these strata had increased (Helemäe 2010: 85). The mobility of younger cohorts was still high, but the mobility of older cohorts was much lower compared to previous period (Helemäe 2010; Lillipuu 2013; Roots 2006, 2008b; Vajakas 2011). In the cohort under study upward mobility was even higher (27%) than during the previous period (23%) and downward mobility was also higher (18%) than during the previous period (14%); during this period women were more upwardly (28%) and downwardly (19%) mobile than men (upwardly 25%, downwardly 17%) (Roots 2006:36, 2008b:27). Those who had secured themselves a good position in the labour market during the first period of transformation were very likely to keep it during the next period (1998–2002) – 87–90% of professionals and managers in 1998 were in these positions also in 2002 (Helemäe 2011). The advantages of people in white-collar positions increased and the disadvantages of those in lower blue-collar positions increased (Helemäe 2011:102). Figure 2 below shows that managers had the safest position; they have no outflow over 10% and skilled workers had lost a lot of their opportunities for upward mobility compared to the first period. Roots (2008b:58) finds changes in gender differences comparing the periods of 1991–1997 and 1997–2004. Compared to the first period, the gender differences decreased among managers (men still had a significantly higher probability to be managers). There was no gender difference in being a skilled worker during the first period, but women were less likely than men to be skilled workers during the second period.

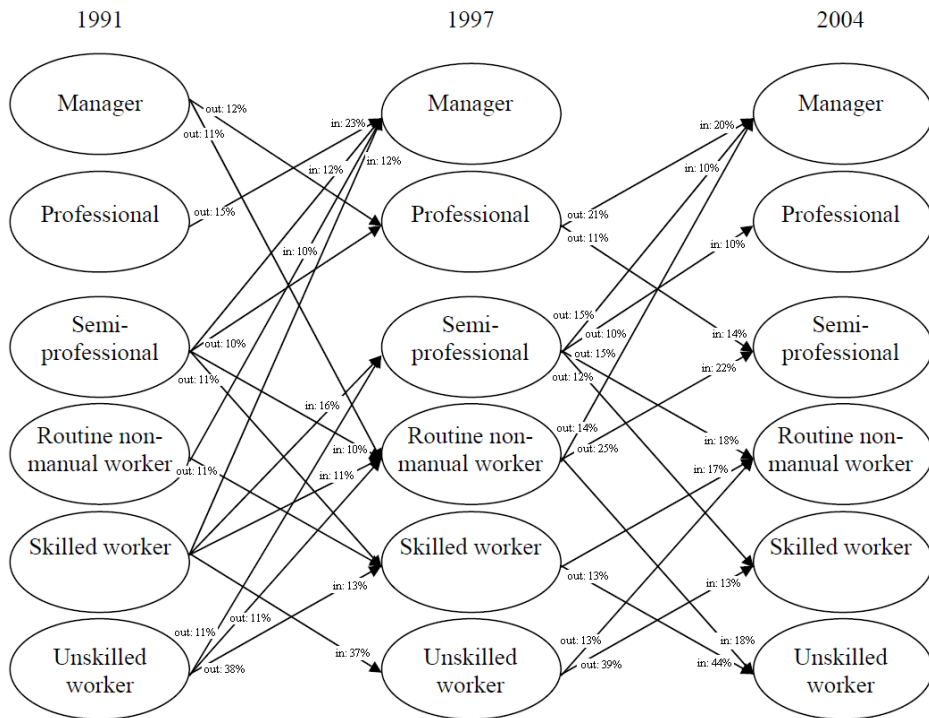


Figure 2. Inflow and outflow mobility (10% and more) during 1991–1997 and 1997–2004 of people who finished secondary school in 1983 in Estonia, “Paths of a Generation” data (see methodology section for information about the data), based on cross-tables. The respondents were 26 in 1991, 32 in 1997 and 39 in 2004 (based on Roots 2006:32–34, 2008b:23–25).

The first period was the period of great uncertainty, but also of the opening up of new opportunities (Aslund 2007; Domański 1995; Ennuste 2003; Szelenyi and Szelenyi 1995). Based on this situation the first hypothesis states:

Hypothesis 1: The first period after the collapse of the socialist system was a period of wider mobility opportunities for people from various social strata.

As stated above, there was more change and lack of clarity connected to it in the first period and therefore it was the time when human agency had a great role. People, who had higher self esteem, external locus of control and took actions to achieve their goals, were more likely to find themselves in higher positions in the social structure (occupational structure or income structure). Trappe (2006: 121) also states that in the beginning of the transformation social mobility was influenced more by individual competencies or initiative and during a later

period of transformation by institutions (occupational credentials, sector, industry, location within employment system).

Hypothesis 2: Human agency predicts attainment of higher positions in the social structure during the first period better than during the second period.

3. METHODOLOGY

As it was mentioned before, social mobility can be measured at the individual (Blau and Duncan 1967), group (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1993; Weber 1985) or society (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1993) level. The current dissertation has taken the approach of studying social mobility at the group (occupational group, income group) and individual level. Because the labour market is the mediator between macro and micro level changes and the changes in social structure are implemented through the process of social mobility (Gerber 2002), individual and group level mobility is a good measure of post-socialist societal changes. This dissertation approaches social stratum (class) in the Weberian sense (Weber 1985) showing someone's life-chances. Researchers in the Weberian tradition have shown that social stratum really influences one's chances for mobility and income, political preferences, etc. (Chan and Boliver 2011, 2012; Chan and Goldthorpe 2007).

3.1. Data and methods

The data for the current dissertation comes from Mikk Titma's longitudinal research project "Paths of a Generation" (Titma and Tuma 1995). The author of this dissertation coordinated the fieldwork for the last round of this study in 2004. The inspiration for the "Paths of a Generation" (PG) study came from Coleman's study "The High School and Beyond" (Coleman 1981), where Coleman studied American secondary school students. The "Paths of a Generation" study started in 15 regions of the former Soviet Union in 1983.

In Estonia the sample had a two-stage stratified, clustered design. The sample was stratified by the type of the secondary school (general, specialised, vocational) and locality (regional capital, large city, town, village) (Tuma et al. 2002:117). In Estonia 3398 students were surveyed shortly before graduation in 1983 at the age of 18. The PG study has had 5 waves in Estonia by now (1983, 1987, 1992, 1997 and 2004). In Estonia 2178 people were interviewed in 1987, 2128 in 1992, 2141 in 1997 and 1439 in 2004. All these time points were strategic historically or in specific life stages of the respondents. In 1987 they had just started their work career or were studying at the university. In 1992 it was shortly after Estonia regained its independence. The 1997 round of data collection occurred shortly before the Russian economic crisis and when the majority of the respondents had established their families. In 2004 Estonia became a member of the European Union. The first wave in 1983 was conducted in schools and it used the Paper Assisted Self Interview (PASI), during other waves the Paper Assisted Personal Interview (PAPI) and PASI methods were used together.

The original sample involved around a fourth of the people who graduated from secondary school in Estonia in 1982/83 (Kenkmann 1998:33; Roosma 2001). As during this time secondary education was compulsory, a great pro-

portion of this generation was represented in this study (around 4/5 of the whole generation) (Helemäe et al. 2000:49). The groups underrepresented are people without secondary education, ethnic minorities and distant learners in secondary schools (Titma 1999:10).

This cohort is perfect on the one hand for studying the impact of societal changes in individual lives, but also for studying the impact of goals and actions measured during secondary school and in the beginning of the transformation on the outcomes in later life. The cohort is special because they were socialised and attained their education in the Soviet system, but started their work career in a different system in the middle of great societal changes (Helemäe et al. 2000:44). Elder and Giele (2009: 12) call the “Paths of a Generation” study “one of the most dramatic illustrations of historical and spatial change”. Compared to other generations, the studied generation is considered to be the generation of the winners, mainly because they were at the right place at the right time, entering the labour market in the beginning of the transformation so they could use the new opening opportunities in the best possible way (Titma 1999). As was described earlier, there was a window of opportunity in the beginning of 1990s and this cohort had the most up to date education, was in the beginning of their careers, without stigmatising Soviet past and they had the most advantages during the window of opportunity.

Using the data of one generation can also bring some complications in differentiating the effect of different dimensions of time. There are three effects connected to time: period, age, and cohort effect. Period represents the historical time period, age represents biological time of an individual and cohort represents the context of other individuals with whom one goes through historical events at the same age (Riley 1987). Every person goes through a life cycle, where different ages mean different roles (Mayer and Tuma 1990). When historical change happens, it visits to the lives of individuals at different moments in their life cycle and therefore influences different cohorts in different ways (Mayer 2006:13; Riley 1987). When studying just one cohort, it is hard to differentiate between these effects.

In the current study mobility tables are used to describe the patterns of occupational mobility (Study 1 and Study 3). Multinomial logistic regression models were used to find the factors influencing mobility and the attainment of the social position (in case of occupation attainment in Studies 1 and 3 and income mobility in Study 2), because it allowed for the use of categorical variables as dependent variable. In the case of income attainment in Study 2 linear regression was used.

3.2. Measurement of occupational and income attainment

Study 1 and Study 3 analyse occupation attainment and study 2 income attainment.

Table 1. Occupational strata in Studies 1 and 3.

	Erikson-Goldthorpe (1992: 38–39) schema	Study 1	Study 3	
			Men	Women
White-collar	Ia	Managers	Managers	Managers
	Ib	Professionals	Professionals	Professionals
	II	Semi-professionals	Lower white-collar	Semi-professionals
	III	Routine non-manual workers		Routine non-manual workers
Blue-collar	V+VI	Skilled workers	Skilled workers (including skilled workers in agriculture)	Skilled workers (including skilled workers in agriculture)
	VIIa	Unskilled workers	Unskilled workers (including unskilled workers in agriculture)	Unskilled workers (including unskilled workers in agriculture)
	VIIb	Agricultural workers (peasants)		

In Study 1 and Study 3 the dependent variables are attained occupation, measured in the modified Erikson Goldthorpe (EG) schema (in Study 1 in 1997 and in Study 3 in 1997 and 2004) (see table 1). The EG schema was modified in the same way as in Titma et al (2003): managers (class Ia in EG full schema), professionals (class Ib in EG full scheme), semi-professionals (class II in full EG scheme), routine non-manual workers (class III in 7-class EG scheme), skilled workers (V+VI in 7-class EG scheme), unskilled workers (class VIIa in 7-class EG scheme) and in Study 1 additionally agricultural workers (class VIIb in EG 7-class scheme) (see Erikson, Goldthorpe 1993 [1992]: 38–39). The white-collar strata were more spread and blue-collar strata more condensed, because of the specific sample (as most of the respondents have secondary education they consist of more white-collar workers than the population in general). The first group in the EG schema is divided into managers and professionals. The reason for this was that managers and professionals had different amount of power and the recruitment of these strata was different in Soviet and Post-Soviet societies (Gerber and Hout 2004:6811; Titma et al. 2003: 285).

The stratum of small proprietors was not a separate category in the classification because of limited information for coding. In Study 3 the agricultural workers were divided between unskilled and skilled workers group according to their skill level. A separate category of agricultural workers was left out because of lack of respondents in this category. People who did not work at the time of the study were in the analysis by their last occupation, people who did not have any occupations in their work history were put into the separate category in Study 1 and left out from Study 3. In Study 3 men and women have different class categories, because there were only a few male routine non-manual workers in 1991 and 1997.

In Study 2 there were two dependent variables: income in 2004 and income mobility between 1997 and 2004. A 1 was added to the income (in order to calculate the logarithm for those who reported zero income) and natural logarithm taken to get the distribution of the variable closer to the normal distribution. In the models of income mobility the dependent variable consisted of 5 categories: 1) those whose incomes were among the lowest 40% throughout the whole period from 1997 to 2004; 2) those who were downwardly mobile during the period and ended up in the lowest 40% of incomes in 2004; 3) those who were upwardly mobile and reached the highest 20% of incomes in 2004; 4) those who were among the highest 20% of incomes throughout 1997–2004; 5) all others (being between the poorest 40% and the richest 20% and not mobile, moving from the poorest 40% to the middle group or from the highest 20% to the middle group) belonged to the reference category.

3.3. Independent variables

There were 5 groups of the most important independent variables: parental background, educational variables, human agency variables (goals, self-efficacy, self esteem and personal characteristics), socio-demographic background and structural variables. The overview of dependent and independent variables in the studies is in Table 2 below.

The variables of parental background showed the social position of the father and the mother. In Study 1 the father's education and occupation were used and in Study 3 the mother's occupation was used. In Study 1 the political capital also was measured by questioning which parent had been in a decision maker position.

Education has been one of the most important and most studied variables in stratification research (Blau and Duncan 1967; Ganzeboom et al. 1991; Goldthorpe 2007). In the current research education was important in different respects. First, as in the Western countries in Soviet society education was more and more important in forming the upper strata (Gerber and Hout 2004:679; Helemäe et al. 2000; Saar 2005). Educational tracking started quite early in the Soviet Union and was very strictly connected to the labour market (Helemäe et al. 2000; Titma and Tuma 2001; Täht and Saar 2006:304). There was great

educational tracking in the Soviet Union and its effect has been evident also after the end of Soviet era (Pals and Tuma 2004; Roots 2006). School grades are an indicator of diligence and intelligence and are also an indicator of the outcomes in the labour market too (Titma and Murakas 2004:60). In Studies 1, 2 and 3 there are educational variables of different kinds. The level of education is converted into years typically spent to attain this level of education, number of professional courses showed the ability to keep one's education up to date, grade point average showed the combination of intelligence and diligence and secondary school type showed the impact of the Soviet school system.

The importance of human agency in shaping people's lives was described above. Human agency variables in the studies were being a leader during secondary school (self report), evaluation of one's organisational skills during secondary school, whether respondents felt that earning money from work was important in secondary school, having social tasks in secondary school, and doing extra work and changing jobs. There is an overlap between educational and human agency variables. Attended professional courses are also actions of self-efficacy that are initiated by the goals and perceived control over one's environment

Table 2. Dependent and independent variables by study.

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3
Dependent variables	Occupation 1997–1999	Income 2004 Income mobility 1997–2004	Occupation 1997 Occupation 2004
Independent variables			
Occupation	1991		1991, 1997
Parental background	Father's occupation when Respondent (R) was in 8 th grade Father's education in years Parent is or has been in decision-making position		Mother's occupation when R was in 8 th grade
Education	Years of education	Years of education Grade point average in 8 th grade	Years of education Secondary school type

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3
Human Agency Self-esteem (1983) Goals (1983) Personal characteristics (1983) Self-efficacy		Self-evaluation of organisational skills Importance of earning money from future work Leader in secondary school (self-report) Extra work 1992– 1996	Regularity of social tasks at secondary school Number of professional courses 1991–1997 Number of jobs 1991–1997, 1997– 2004
Context variables	Economic sector 1991	Type of the place of residence 1991	Enterprise type 1991 Economic sector 1997 Type of the place of residence 1991, 1997
Socio- demographic variables	Gender Income in 1991	Gender Marital status	Gender Marital status

Marital status and income and gender were added as individual level socio-demographic controls. The representatives of the impact of the macro structures are the variables like economic sector, enterprise type and place of residence. As described earlier, economic sector should be a powerful predictor of social mobility, but unfortunately it is missing in Study 2 and is too aggregated in Study 3. Additional to that the categories are different in different periods. This limits considerably the making of the inferences and discussing the role of economic sector in transformation. Another limitation of the analysis is that the variables chosen better predict the attainment of higher occupational strata than lower. Roots (2006) shows for example that the experience of unemployment better predicts attainment to lower strata.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Study I: Intragenerational Mobility in Successor States of the USSR

After the collapse of communism post-socialist countries chose different paths of transformation and experienced also different outcomes. The aim of Study I (Titma and Roots 2006) was to analyse the impact of different paths of transformation on occupational mobility and occupation attainment in some countries of the former Soviet Union. Estonia, Latvia, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus were the countries studied. Longitudinal data of the Paths of Generation Project used in this study was collected in 1992–1994 and 1997–1999 (country-dependent). The paper analyses occupational mobility **during the first period of transformation** in countries with three different paths of post-socialist transformation.

The type of transformation in the first group of countries (Estonia, Latvia) can be described as ‘bottom up’ in its nature. In this type of transformation the access to use new entrepreneurial opportunities was opened to the majority of people and in principle everybody could profit from it (Titma and Soidla 2007). One sign of openness for the studied generation is that there is a greater share of managers and entrepreneurs in Estonia and Latvia compared to other regions (Titma and Tuma 2005:127). The second type of transformation is ‘top down’ and the countries representing this type are Russia and Ukraine. In these countries the opportunities to use the possibilities of the emerging market economy were open only to some people (Titma and Soidla 2007). Those lacking political and social capital did not have the chance to profit from the new situation. The third type of transformation was in Belarus where planned economy continued as an economic system and not many changes occurred (Titma and Tuma 2005:127).

The results show that during the studied period intragenerational occupational mobility was similarly high in the Baltics, Russia and Ukraine and much lower in Belarus, where the planned economy still prevailed. In Estonia and Latvia the occupational stratum of the respondents was predicted by the traditional factors used in the studies of mobility usually conducted in the US and Western Europe, like occupation in the beginning of transformation, respondents’ education, gender, father’s social position (occupation and education). In Russia and Ukraine, similar to Baltics, some typical factors predicting occupational stratum were important determinants of occupational mobility: gender, education and father’s occupation and education and individual occupation at the beginning of transformation. In Belarus only the occupation at the beginning of the transformation predicted occupation at the end of the studied period for some strata.

These differences can be explained with reference to the different socio-economic environments. In the Baltics, Russia and Ukraine the changes in the structures of the society were more remarkable and the occupational structure

was greatly influenced by this turbulence (Gerber 2002). Therefore in the Baltics and also in Russia and Ukraine people had more opportunities for occupational mobility, but were forced to be mobile as well. In Belarus the Soviet rigid system, including political system and planned economy, continued to function (Titma and Tuma 2005:127) and this is also reflected in the patterns of occupational mobility. The occupational structure in Belarus remained the same as it was before 1990s to a much greater extent than in Russia, Ukraine, Estonia and Latvia.

The results show that in the **Baltic** countries managers were likely to continue in their stratum and professionals were likely to have moved to the stratum of managers by the end of the period under study³. There was considerable stability in the stratum of professionals, lower white-collar strata, also among skilled and unskilled workers. The strata of professionals and skilled workers are usually filled with people with specific skills, which they obtain through specific education and therefore they also experienced great stability, because they are harder to replace than people without specific skills. The lower white-collar strata were probably stable because of the expansion of the service sector in conditions of the newly established market economy. Male rather than female skilled workers and agricultural workers were more likely to move to the stratum of unskilled workers. The first period was accompanied with a great contraction of industry and agriculture (Ordnung 1997:179). However, male agricultural workers were more likely than female to stay in their stratum.

Managers and professionals were more educated than members of other strata and also their fathers were more educated than the fathers of persons belonging to other strata. People who had higher incomes at the beginning of the period were less likely to change their stratum by the end of the period. This pattern probably shows that those who achieved better incomes were more content and did not want to move away and were also not forced to so, because they probably were very good in their positions, taking the income as an indicator of productivity. Therefore higher income at the beginning of the period means more stability.

Being in a blue-collar position (skilled worker, unskilled worker, agricultural worker) was predicted by economic sector (services, industry and construction, agriculture, the reference category was state sector) at the beginning of the period. For white-collars this was not the case. This means that blue-collar workers were concentrated in certain sectors, but white-collar workers were more scattered between different sectors. Great contraction of the agricultural sector in the Baltic countries caused also great outflow of people from agriculture to the service sector.

In **Russia and Ukraine** father's education is significant in predicting being a manager, but one's own education is not significant here. Only one's own

³ The reference category for the occupation as dependent variable was routine non-manual worker. The reference category for the occupation as independent variable were the ones who had no job in their work history.

education, not father's education predicts being a professional. These patterns show clearly different recruiting mechanisms for managers and professionals. Professionals obtained their positions through education, managers through networks and maybe even networks of parents as is also mentioned by Gerber and Hout (2004).

Professionals, semi-professionals, skilled workers and unskilled workers were likely to stay in these strata throughout the whole first period. Male, but not female, managers were likely to stay in their stratum. Routine non-manual workers were not likely to be upwardly mobile and also not likely to move to the stratum of skilled workers. Professionals and skilled workers in Russia and Ukraine had more stability in their occupational careers than professionals and skilled workers in Baltic countries during the studied period. All other strata had more stability in the Baltics. Especially great was the difference of the stability of managers (11 per cent points) in these regions. Managers in the Baltic countries had less outflow mobility from this stratum than the managers in Russia and Ukraine. This shows that while the strata well established in the past and with specific education had only small changes in Russia and Ukraine, the new experience of ownership was shakier and the new stratum of leadership experienced more turbulence than in the Baltics.

The data revealed the continuation of the Soviet structure in **Belarus** with great bureaucracy and focus on industry. In Belarus, the only traceable trend was the stability of lower white-collar strata and unskilled workers.

In summary, education and father's education and respondent's occupation influenced the respondents' occupational position in the Baltics in 1997. Occupational mobility and the factors predicting occupational positions seemed to be similar in the Baltics and in Russia and Ukraine in 1997, showing the highest stability among professionals and skilled workers. These regions experienced much more changes than Belarus. Belarus stood out with its lower social mobility and higher unpredictability of occupational strata using traditional predictors of attainment.

4.2. Study 2: Adolescent agency and adult economic success in a transitional society

The aim of Study 2 (Titma, Tuma, and Roots 2007) was to analyse the impact of education, individual goals, abilities, self-efficacy and actions on intra-generational income mobility from 1997–2004 and income attainment in 2004 in Estonia.

The study finds that individual abilities, goals and self-efficacy were significant predictors of income in 2004 and income mobility during 1997–2004. People who had a higher grade point average in 8th grade, superior organisational skills, considered themselves leaders in school at the end of secondary school, had learned longer years and did extra work in 1992–1996 had a higher probability of having higher incomes in 2004. The aim of having a job with a

high salary at the end of secondary school did not have an impact on the income in 2004. People with a higher grade point average in 8th grade, self perception of superior organisational skills, more years of education completed and considering earning money from work very important had a higher probability to be among the top 20% of earners in 1997 as well as in 2004 compared to being in the reference category⁴. People with a higher grade point average in 8th grade and superior organisational skills were likely to move to the top 20% of earners by 2004 compared to being in the reference category³. People with fewer years of completed education were likely to move to the bottom 40% of earners by 2004 compared to being in the reference category³. People with a lower grade point average in 8th grade, inferior organisational skills and fewer years of education were likely to be among 40% of lowest earners in 1997 as well as 2004 compared to the reference category³.

4.3. Study 3: Gender Differences in Intragenerational Mobility: The Case of Estonia.

The aim of Study 3 (Titma, Roots, and Soidla 2010) was to compare the occupational mobility in two periods of transformation: 1991–1997 and 1997–2004. A special emphasis was put on the analysis of gender differences.

Occupational mobility in the generation under study is high in both periods; during the first period men experienced more upward and less downward mobility compared to women, the latter being in general more mobile during the second period (upwardly and downwardly) (Roots 2006:36, 2008a:27). These differences between the periods might be the result of life course effect, because women very likely had restrictions in their work career because of small children during the first period, but they could concentrate more on their careers during the second. The respondents were 26 years old in 1991, 32 years old in 1997 and 39 years old in 2004.

4.3.1. First period of transformation 1991–1997

During this period 35% of the cohort under study experienced intragenerational occupational mobility (Roots 2006:36). On the one hand this was a very high proportion considering the short period (only 7 years), but on the other hand one must take into account the radical changes that happened in Estonia during this period. Adding the fact that these people were in the beginning of their careers and in the beginning of one's careers people are more mobile, it is a result to be expected. Unskilled workers (67% of the members left the stratum during the period) had the highest level and professionals (28% of the member left the stratum during the period) and skilled workers (30% of the members left the

⁴ Being between the poorest 40% and the richest 20% and not mobile, moving from the poorest 40% to the middle group or from the highest 20% to the middle group.

stratum during the period) had the lowest level of outflow mobility during this period (Roots 2006:32). The greatest inflow was to the managerial strata (61% of the people who were managers in 1997 had entered the stratum after 1991) and unskilled workers strata (54% of unskilled workers joined this group during the first period) (Roots 2006:34).

During the first period of transformation those people who were managers in 1991 were likely to be still in this stratum by 1997⁵. The more years studied the higher the likelihood of being a manager in 1997 was. Women whose mothers had been managers⁶ were likely to be managers themselves in 1997. Men with mothers from any white-collar stratum (managers, professionals, lower white-collar workers) were likely to be in the stratum of managers by 1997. This shows that the access to managerial strata was more opened to men from different strata; in the case of women there was only the pattern of reproduction. Women who had attended 2 or more professional courses during 1991–1997 were more likely to be managers in 1997 than those who took fewer professional courses. Men who had changed jobs more frequently during 1991–1997 were more likely to move into managerial positions. This shows the importance of searching for a better position in the labour market. However, a history of changing jobs only helped men attain managerial status. For women changing jobs always had a negative impact on their career in this study.

Education predicted also the probability of being a professional: the more years studied the higher the likelihood of belonging to the stratum of professionals in 1997. Those who were professionals in the beginning of the period were likely to continue in this stratum. Men who were managers in 1991 were likely to be professionals in 1997, but for women that was not the case. Professionals at the beginning of the period were not only likely to stay in their stratum, but were also likely to move to the managerial stratum by 1997. This means there was no great gap between these strata in terms of opportunities for mobility and it was easy for the professionals to be upwardly mobile to the stratum of managers.

During the first period female routine non-manual workers were more likely to stay in their stratum rather than move to any other stratum. Female professionals, who were downwardly mobile during this period, were most likely to find themselves in the stratum of routine non-manual workers. Routine non-manual workers, both men and women, were likely to continue in their stratum throughout the period. Professional status of mothers helped their offspring to continue in white-collar strata and not to slip into blue-collar strata. Women who had not attended any professional courses and had changed jobs more frequently were likely to be routine non-manual workers and not semi-professionals.

⁵ The reference category for dependent variable was routine non-manual for the women's model and lower white-collar (semi-professional + routine non-manual worker) for the men's. The reference category of the occupation as independent variable was semi-professional for the women's model and skilled worker for the men's.

⁶ The reference category for mother's occupation was worker.

People who were skilled workers in the beginning of the period were likely to stay in this stratum. Men who participated in two or more professional courses during the period had a lower probability to be in the group of skilled workers in 1997.

Male and female skilled workers had different mobility patterns. During the first period both men and women were most likely to continue in the stratum of skilled workers, but if they were mobile, men were likely to move to the stratum of unskilled workers and women to the stratum of routine non-manual workers. Those who were unskilled workers in the beginning of the period were likely to find themselves in unskilled stratum also at the end of the period in 1997. Women whose mothers were professionals and men whose mothers were agricultural workers had a lower probability of being in the group of unskilled workers in 1997. Men who did not participate in any professional courses during the period were more likely to be unskilled workers in 1997.

4.3.2. Second period of transformation 1997–2004

The total occupational mobility was even 8% higher than during the first period, although the most dramatic changes in society were over and there was an expectation of greater stability (Roots 2006:36, 2008a:27). The cohort under study passed 30 years of age and from the beginning of the 30s one's work career should stabilise (Blossfeld 1990), so in terms of the life course the results were also surprising. Outflow mobility was highest among unskilled workers (72%) , but the managers (24% outflow) had become the most stable (Roots 2006:33). In terms of inflow the greatest proportion (72%) of newcomers arrived also to the stratum of unskilled workers and the least inflow (26%) was observed in the professionals' stratum (Roots 2006:34).

People who were managers at the beginning of the period had a high probability of being managers also at the end of the period. This was equally true for men and as for women. The higher the number of the years of schooling the more likely the respondents were to be managers in 2004. The chance to belong to the group of managers was especially low for women who changed jobs more frequently between 1997 and 2004 and for men who did not have social tasks at secondary school⁷. During the period 1991 to 2004, more than half of the men who were professionals in 1991 had become managers by 2004. Young well-educated (as higher education was usually a prerequisite to becoming a professional) male professionals were especially successful in obtaining the leading positions in the society. The reason for the greater downward mobility and lesser upward mobility of women in the group of professionals might lie also in the life cycle: during that time the children of the women from the studied cohort were most probably small, which put them in a worse situation in the labour market compared to their male counterparts.

⁷ The reference category for social tasks was irregular tasks.

The higher the number of years of schooling the higher the likelihood to be a professional in 2004 was. Daughters of mothers who were professionals were very likely to be professionals by 2004. If women had changed jobs more frequently between 1997 and 2004, they were less likely to be professionals by 2004. Those women who had participated in 2 or more professional courses during the first period of transformation (1991–1997) were more likely to be professionals in 2004. Men who engaged in irregular social tasks during secondary school were more likely to be professionals by 2004.

During this period lower white-collar workers were likely to continue in their strata. Male managers, in the case of downward mobility, were more likely to find themselves in the lower white-collar strata rather than in the unskilled workers' stratum. Female skilled and unskilled workers were likely to be mobile to the routine non-manual strata. Women with vocational secondary education⁸ were likely to be routine non-manual workers in 2004. Daughters of lower white-collar mothers were likely to be routine non-manual workers. This intergenerational connection shows the trend of reproduction. If women had changed jobs more frequently between 1997 and 2004 they were likely routine non-manual workers and not managers or professionals in 2004. Those women who had not participated in professional courses between 1991 and 1997 were likely to be routine non-manual workers and not professionals by 2004. Men who had engaged in no social tasks at secondary school were more likely to be in lower white-collar strata and not in the higher white-collar strata by 2004.

People who were in the stratum of skilled workers in 1997 had a high probability to continue to be there also in 2004. The stratum of skilled workers is very stable throughout both periods of transformation studied. The same has also been found elsewhere (Helemäe 2011:98). Those men who finished vocational school were likely to be skilled workers rather than to be in lower white-collar strata. This pattern shows that educational and school to work tracking that took place in Soviet society still had an impact 20 years after great societal changes and here of course the specific education of skilled workers plays its role. Those men who had not participated in professional courses and those who had participated in two or more courses during the first period (1991–1997) were both likely to be skilled workers. This trend might show the great heterogeneity of the skilled workers' stratum: there were good specialists who had to update their knowledge, but also people who were in less demanding fields. During the second period men were most likely to stay in the stratum of skilled workers, but women were most likely to move to the stratum of routine non-manual workers. Male skilled workers who were mobile were likely to find themselves in the stratum of unskilled workers at the end of second period. The gender differences of the mobility patterns of the skilled workers were probably shaped by the gender roles as sales and service work (routine non-manual stratum) was considered more as female work and fits with

⁸ The reference category for secondary education are all other types (general secondary, specialized secondary)

the traits as communication skills and work with emotions, which are considered more to be female characteristics (Berger, Rosenholz, and Zelditch 1980; Gottfried 2006).

Daughters of mothers working in agriculture were likely to be unskilled workers by 2004 – the category of agricultural workers was missing from the occupational classification of daughters due to a very small number of cases and people working in agriculture were classified to skilled workers and unskilled workers categories. During the second period of transformation 1997–2004 both men and women were less likely to find themselves in an unskilled job if they had done regular social tasks at the secondary school. If men had not participated in professional courses between 1991 and 1997 they were more likely to be in an unskilled position in 2004.

Summarising the results of Study 3, it is interesting that the mother's social position has a great impact on their offspring's occupational attainment and the nature of this impact depends on the period of the transformation. During the first period the mother's position predicts being in a managerial position. For men the managers stratum was opened also for them whose mothers were from professional and lower white-collar strata, so there was not only the reproduction of inequalities, but men whose mothers were in other white-collar strata had also access to a managerial position. The second period shows the regression toward origins for both men and women.

Taking right actions in the beginning of the transformation provides advantages later in the work career. Participating in professional courses during the first period allows women to rise to higher strata and protects men from slipping into the stratum of unskilled worker. To men the actions of an agentic nature, which show their active role in leading their lives – like social tasks during secondary school and attempt to find a better job by changing jobs more frequently during the first period – seem to be the predictors of obtaining a place in a higher occupational strata.

5. DISCUSSION

The **first hypothesis** stated that “the first period after the collapse of the socialist system was a period of wider mobility opportunities for people from various social strata”.

One stratum that is connected to the processes of openness during the first period is the stratum of managers. It can be said that the first period was the formation time for the managers' stratum. During the second period this stratum was already more stable and receiving less inflow from other strata compared to the first period, which might mean that it was also more closed than before. It was expected that the stratum of managers, which includes also the emerging stratum of entrepreneurs, would expand at the beginning of the 1990s. The managerial stratum consisted mainly of men. In the current study one of the reasons for the lack of women in managerial strata might have been the result of the life course effect of women, who were on their 20s and more restricted at the beginning of the transformation with family obligations. In this cohort 60% of women had had their first child by the age of 24 (Kasearu 2008:19). During the second period the number of women in managerial strata increased to 40%.

During 1991–1997 mothers had a clear influence in predicting whether their offspring became managers. In the case of women there was clear reproduction mechanism: if mothers were managers their daughters had a higher likelihood to become managers by 1997. For men mother's influence was different during the first period. Men with white-collar mothers (managers, professionals, lower white-collar workers) were more likely to reach the stratum of managers. Therefore, during the first period, in the case of men the access to managerial strata was wider than only intergenerational reproduction. This effect of mothers however disappeared during the next period. During the second period, men whose mothers were professionals or belonged to the lower white-collar strata were more likely to stay in lower white-collar strata. This pattern might refer to the tendency that these men who failed in the stratum of managers were downwardly mobile and fell back to the same stratum where their mothers were. During the second period there are some other results that show the regression toward origins as well. This occurs in the case of lower white-collar mothers for both men and women – for women if their mothers were agricultural workers or professionals. There is evidence about a similar trends from other post-socialist countries as well (Bukodi and Goldthorpe 2010; Gerber and Hout 2004; Róbert and Bukodi 2004; Saar 2011).

The importance of mother's role in intergenerational mobility cannot be explained only by the fact that there has been more women with higher education than men since 1970s in Estonia (Eesti Rahvastik Rahvaloenduse andmetel 1995). Mothers have a special role in socialisation. In Soviet society, women's sphere besides paid work was also most of the homework, including raising children (Ashwin and Lytkina 2004). At the same time women were also active in the labour market, which also gave them access to job opportunities through their connections and allowed them to be “job agents”. In the labour

market in transformation, where the possibilities were scarce, women did not seek work only for themselves, but also for the members of their families (Ashwin and Yakubovich 2005). The importance of all white-collar mothers during the first period might be that white-collar mothers had better networks and through that helped their children to succeed. The position and the networks of lower white-collar mothers were probably different during the second period, compared to the first.

Although there is evidence about the impact of the fathers' social position only for the first period from Study 1, it is different from the influence of the mother during the first period. The father's education and occupation both are related to the reproduction of the professionals, the offspring of fathers with the highest education and who were professionals had a high probability to become professionals.

Figure 2 shows that although the mobility flows between skilled and unskilled workers were of similar amounts during both periods, the highest stratum a considerable proportion of skilled workers reached during the first period was the managerial stratum (12% of the people who were managers in 1997 had been skilled workers in 1991), but during the second period it was routine non-manual stratum. The mobility of skilled workers became similar to unskilled workers during the second period. This trend shows that there were more opportunities for upward mobility for the skilled workers during the first period compared to the second period. One possible interpretation is that the position of skilled workers worsened in Estonia and they lost the opportunities for mobility they had during the first period. But when looking at the regression models in Studies 1 and 3 net of human agency, educational and parental background variables this flow from skilled workers to managers is not statistically significant. The reason might be that actually other individual traits contributed to the occurrence of this pattern. The skilled workers which flew to the managerial stratum were very different from the ones who stayed and by the second period a majority of the people with the skills and traits suitable for being a manager had flowed out of the skilled workers' stratum and that is the reason why this pattern does not exist during the second period.

Summarising, the first hypothesis about more equal opportunities was supported only in the case of intergenerational mobility of men with white-collar mothers in Estonia. Helemäe (2010) also reached similar results in Estonia, namely that in spite of great structural changes there was a lot of stability in people's work careers and despite the great rhetoric of opening opportunities downward mobility actually exceeded upward mobility. She also points out that mobility rates differ by generation – the generation that began its working life at the beginning of the 1990s had more upward mobility than following generations. The generation studied in the current dissertation is exactly the generation that began its working life at the beginning of the transformation in Estonia and had more upward mobility than downward.

Previous research on the life course perspective has demonstrated that the influence of parents and education on a respondent's occupation weakens over

time (Warren et al. 2002). However, the research in the current thesis has shown that there is a stronger link between generation during the second period, when the respondents become more similar with their mothers in terms of occupational strata as has been explained above. There is also secondary school type which again predicts one's occupational stratum at the end of the second period in 2004, although it was not statistically significant in predicting occupational position during the first period.

The **second hypothesis** stated that, "Human agency predicts attainment of higher positions in the social structure during the first period better than during the second period".

Individual goals and actions that influence occupational careers and income can be seen as variables reflecting human agency. The research in the current dissertation has found that human agency is actually important during both periods, predicting occupational position as well as income and income mobility.

During the first period, 1991–1997, men who had changed jobs more than others were more likely to become managers by the end of the period. For men, changing jobs did not have any significant effect during the second period. Changing jobs had a negative effect on women's careers throughout the whole transformation. Women who had changed jobs more frequently were more likely to become routine non-manual workers by the end of the first period and did not have access to the higher strata (professional and managerial) during the second period. This result shows that the first period might have been a window of opportunity to seek a better position, but again this opportunity only worked for men. The first reason why the impact of changing jobs differed by gender might have been that men and women worked in different sectors. In the private sector, where there were more men working, changing jobs and seeking better opportunities might have been a normal thing to do and there was more instability compared to the state sector. In the state sector, where there were more women working than men, the general stability was higher and as the trend was to lessen Soviet bureaucracy, the opportunities might have been more scarce. Secondly, as has been already mentioned, a great part of the women were had dependant small children during the first period and therefore could not take full advantage of the opportunities of the first period. Third, as it will be discussed below, men and women had in general to use different strategies to end up in the same strata. For men the active use of labour market opportunities was the path to success while for women updating their knowledge was crucial.

Study 3 showed that women were more likely to profit from professional courses, while the occupational careers of men were not influenced much by professional courses. During the first period those women who had attended professional courses were more likely to be managers. Attendance of the professional courses during the first period still had an effect on women's careers during the second period. Study 3 showed that women who had been in professional courses during the previous period were more likely to be professionals during the second period. The missing effect of professional courses in the case of men becoming manager or professional might indicate the

different nature of self education which influences the careers of male and female managers and professionals: women profit mainly from courses and men more from self learning (Roots 2011, 2012). The greater usefulness of further education for women compared to men might be universal in Central and Eastern Europe transformation societies, but the underlying mechanism needs further study. Although formal education predicted being a manager or professional for both men and women during both periods, for women, but not for men, participating in professional courses was important in entering managerial and professional strata. Women who had participated in further education were also successful in the East-German labour market (Trappe 2006:121).

Gender differences can be explained with status characteristics theory. According to this approach some characteristics have status value. Gender is one of the characteristics that has status value and can also have an impact in situations that are not directly connected to gender (Correll and Ridgeway 2006). Men are considered to have higher status than women and therefore men will be expected to perform better and therefore they will be given more opportunities to perform (Berger et al. 1980; Ridgeway 1991, 1997). Education can in some situations work as a status characteristic as well (Correll and Ridgeway 2006). As Roots (2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2012) shows, formal courses gave women advantages in their careers. Formal courses might improve women's position, because they get certificates for it and can have them in their CVs and then can compensate their lower gender status with higher educational status. An alternative explanation is that as the gender segregation in Estonia is the greatest in the whole Europe (European Commission 2009), the gender differences might be caused by the fact that men and women work in different sectors and in these sectors different, sector specific actions lead to the upper strata. For example, in the education and health sector 85% of the workforce are women (Statistics Estonia 2012) and these are the sectors where education, qualifications and further education are crucial throughout one's whole career. In the case of men, belonging to higher strata depends more on their characteristics (like initiative, organisational skills, etc.). In the case of women it was more connected to education and especially updating one's education.

Making a reference to hypothesis 1, here we see that the first period was the "window of opportunity" for those who practiced certain actions (having odd jobs, for women updating their education) and these actions influenced the lives of the respondents even during the second period. Also, those who had had odd jobs in 1992 or 1997 were likely to have higher incomes in those years (Tuma et al. 2002:132). Odd jobs during the first period influenced not only the first period, but also the results of the second period. Study 2 reveals that having had odd jobs between 1992 and 1996 leads to a greater income even in 2004. This result also showed the cumulating effect of the actions of the first period and the peculiarity of the situation during the first period, the first period being the "window of opportunities".

The results also revealed several factors that influenced the life of some people during the second transition period. For example, engaging in social

tasks in secondary school predicts occupational position in 2004. Social tasks might reflect complex package of individual abilities, which later help one to be successful on the labour market. Study 3 demonstrated that having had social tasks in secondary school had no importance on women's careers, but for men irregular social tasks during secondary school had the most positive impact on occupational career during the second period of transformation. At the same time, regular tasks during secondary school even had a negative impact for men's occupational careers, as well as similar to impact of no social tasks. The reason might be that regular social tasks involved singing in a choir or playing in a sports team, which were quite common among the students, but the irregular tasks were trusted only to the more active and socially skilful students.

Organisational skills, which predict income and income mobility in Study 2, probably show quite similar personal traits as irregular social tasks. Those people who rated their organisational skills high in secondary school were very likely to have higher incomes in 2004 and be steadily among the highest 20% of income earners during both periods, mobile to the 20% of top incomes and not among those stably among the lowest 40% of earners during the second period. Also those who considered themselves leaders at school were likely to have high incomes in 2004. It was also discovered that those who believed that work should be evaluated according to earnings level had a higher income in 2004 and were steadily among the top 20% of earners during the second period.

In conclusion, actions during the first period influenced the lives of individuals even in the 2000s, but there were considerable gender differences: for women it was crucial to invest in their education and attend professional courses; for men it was important to be active in the labour market and seek new opportunities in the beginning of transformation.

Several researchers (Pals and Tuma 2004; Titma et al. 2010) have stated that human agency factors had crucial importance at the beginning of the post-socialist transformation when there was a lot of uncertainty in the society. However, the results of the current dissertation show that these factors are significant predictors of income and occupation also during the second period, and therefore the second hypothesis must be rejected. Human agency was also an important predictor of occupational position in Soviet society (Kelle 2005; Sukamägi et al. 1994). The conclusion is that human agency is an important predictor of outcomes in any society, just its concrete forms depends on the given opportunity structure.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this doctoral dissertation was to explain occupational and income mobility and factors predicting attainment of certain occupational strata during two periods (1991–1997 and 1997–2004) of post-socialist transformation in Estonia.

The results show that the two periods studied differ in three ways in that the first period offered more equal access to top positions and being a “window of opportunity” for certain actions that pay off later, while the second period showed unexpected links compared to the first period. First, there is at least one process where greater equality occurred during the first period, compared to the second. The sons of all white-collar mothers had a higher probability to become managers (compared to the sons of workers). The second period showed a much closer connection between the strata of mothers and that of their offspring – children of lower white-collar mothers were especially likely to become lower white-collar workers, but also daughters of professional mothers were likely to become professionals and the daughters of agricultural workers were more likely to become unskilled workers. Second, the first period was the time when certain actions taken paid off, predicting being in higher strata during the second period or having higher income. These actions were extra jobs and only for women keeping their skills and education up to date by participating in professional courses. Third, during the last period some links appeared that were missing during the first. For example, there was no connection between secondary school type and occupation during the first period, but this connection appeared again during the second period. As already mentioned above, the link between generations became tighter. If men had white-collar mothers (managers, professionals or lower white-collar workers) they were likely to be managers by 1997. The advantages of sons having white-collar mothers vanished during the second period of transformation. During the second period the positions of both men and women resembled their mothers’ position more than during the first period. Several other authors have found that people moved to the same positions where their parents were during the transformation (Bukodi and Goldthorpe 2010; Gerber and Hout 2004; Róbert and Bukodi 2004; Saar 2011). This dissertation has demonstrated that the mother’s occupation predicted the offspring’s position for a wide variety of strata, whereas the father’s education and the occupational position predicted mainly the reproduction of professionals: the higher the education of the father was and if he was a professional, the more likely the respondents were to also be professionals.

The managerial strata revealed the most remarkable changes of mobility during the compared periods in terms of occupational mobility. The entrepreneurial stratum was a new emerging stratum and it was a part of the managerial stratum. There was a great inflow to the stratum of managers, but much lower outflow from this stratum during the first period (1991–1997). Compared to other strata, managers enjoyed the lowest outflow during the second period (1997–2004). Professionals had the greatest access to managerial strata during

both periods (1991–2004). There were more people in managerial stratum in 2004 who had been professionals in 1991 (30%) than those people who had been managers in 1991 (23%). Managerial and professional strata seemed to be very closely connected and it was easy to move between them. Differently from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, education was a very important factor in predicting belonging to managerial strata in Estonia and this is probably one of the reasons why professionals and managers are so closely related.

An additional finding, which was among the topics addressed in the theoretical part, was the importance of gender in the impact of human agency and educational variables on occupational attainment. During the transformation there were great gender differences, especially in the impact of goals, actions and personal characteristics that led to the positions of managers and professionals. If men had had irregular social tasks in secondary school, they were likely to be managers or professionals by the end of the first period – during the second period it predicted only being managers. At the same time regular tasks and engaging in no social tasks during the secondary school had negative impact for men's occupational careers. The reason might be that regular social tasks like singing in a choir or playing in a sports team were quite common among the students, but the irregular tasks were trusted only to the more active and socially skilful students. Therefore, doing irregular social tasks might have reflected special personal traits like trustworthiness, organisational skills, good communication skills, good time management, etc. These skills were later important in the process of attaining the positions of managers and professionals.

Those men who changed jobs more frequently were more likely to become managers by the end of the first period. Changing jobs had a negative impact for women during both periods (predicting not being manager or a professional). Women who participated at least 2 professional courses during the first period profited from this also during the second period (they were more likely to be professionals). Personal characteristics and actions on the labour market predicted men's belonging to upper strata and updating one's professional education played this role for women.

One feature which describes Soviet society and is also evident during both periods of transformation (1991–1997 and 1997–2004) is the role of education. Education predicted being a manager and a professional before the transformation (Titma et al. 2003) and continued to play that role throughout both periods (1991–1997 and 1997–2004) of Post-Communist transformation. The other feature that was stable over time was the reproduction pattern of professionals. The offspring of professionals and parents with a high educational level were likely to be professionals at the end of Soviet period (Saar 2005; Titma et al. 2003) and also throughout the period 1991 to 2004.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Ametialane ja sissetulekumobiilsus Eestis postsotsialistliku siirde ajal 1991–2004

Endisi sotsialismibloki riike, kus on viimase 20 aasta jooksul toimunud väga kiired ühiskondlikud muutused, nähakse sageli kui loomulikku eksperimenti ja seetõttu on nende ühiskondade uurimine kõitnud paljude sotsiaalteadlaste huvi. Üks võimalus ühiskonnas toimunud muutuste uurimiseks on teha seda sotsiaalse mobiilsuse uurimise kaudu. Gerber (2002) toob välja, et sotsiaalne mobiilsus on protsess, mis ühendab makrotasandi protsessid indiviidide eludega, seega muutused, mis toimusid tööjõu ümberpaigutumisega ühiskonna tasandil, väljenduvad indiviidide eludes nende mobiilsustrajektooride kaudu.

Käesolev doktoritöö uuribki inimeste ametialast ja sissetulekute mobiilsust ning tegureid, mis mõjutavad teatud ühiskondlikele positsioonidele jõudmist siirdeühiskonnas.

Eesti on siirdeühiskonnas toimuvate muutuste uurimiseks väga sobiv riik, sest siin leidsid muutused aset äärmiselt kiiresti ja suures ulatuses. Eestis olid muutused 1990ndatel väga suured, kuna lisaks poliitilistele ja struktuurilistele muutustele eralduti Nõukogude Liidu kaubandus- ja rahasüsteemist. Muutusi kiirendas asjaolu, et mindi üle neoliberalismile (Bohle ja Greskovits 2007). Üsna kiiresti hakkas muutuma ka ühiskonna ametite ja sissetulekute struktuur ning samuti mehhanismid, mis paigutavad inimesi ühele või teisele positsioonile.

Käesoleva doktoritöö eesmärgid on 1) uurida, kuidas erinesid ametialase mobiilsuse mustrid Eestis postsotsialistliku siirde alguses (1991–1997) ja siirde hilisemal perioodil (1997–2004); 2) Uurida, kuidas mõjutasid Eestis kahel erineval siirdeperioodil teatud ühiskondlikule positsioonile (nii ameti kui sissetuleku osas) jõudmist vanemate sotsiaalne positsioon ja indiviidi endaga seotud tegurid kahel erineval siirdeperioodi etapil Eestis. Antud doktoritöös kasutati Mikk Titma juhitud longituudprojekti “Ühe põlvkonna elutee” andmeid. See uurimus algas 1983. aastal, kui uuritav põlvkond lõpetas keskkooli; neid küsitleti veel 1987., 1992., 1997. ja 2004. aastal.

Võrreldes perioode 1991–1997 ja 1997–2004 selgub, et need perioodid on erinevad nii mobiilsusmustrite, ema positsiooni mõju kui ka inimese enda tegevuse mõju poolest.

Üks oluline erinevus perioodide 1991–1997 ja 1997–2004 vahel on juhtide kihiga toimunud protsessid. Esimesel perioodil iseloomustab juhtide kihti suur sisenev mobiilsus. Väljuv mobiilsus oli oluliselt väiksem. Seega toimus selgelt selle kihis suurenemine. Teisel perioodil olid juhtide kihis puhul madalad nii sisenev kui ka väljuv mobiilsus. 2004. aastal juhtide kihis olnud inimestest oli 30% olnud 1991. aastal professionaalid; vaid 23% olid olnud juhid ka 1991. aastal. Juhtide ja professionaalide kihid olid teineteisele üsna lähedased, sest nende vahel toimus tihe omavaheline mobiilsus. Ilmselt oli see osaliselt tingitud

ka sellest, et Eestis olid nii juhid kui ka professionaalid kaks kõige haritumat kihti, neisse mõlemasse kuulumist prognoosib haridus väga tugevalt.

Mitmed teadlased toovad välja, et siirde algus on eriline periood, sel ajal on teistsugused võimalused võrreldes varasema või hilisema ajaga (Sackmann jt 2000, Struck-Möbbeck jt 1996). Sama kehtib ka Eesti puhul. Teatud sammud, mida inimesed elus ette võtsid (või tegemata jätsid) esimese perioodi jooksul, mõjutasid nende elu ka siirde hilisemal perioodil. Inimesed, kes kiiresti muutustega kohanesid ja olid edukad just siirde alguses, said sellest kasu ka siirde hilisemal perioodil. Näiteks neil, kes tegid 1990ndate alguses põhitöö kõrvalt lisatöid, oli 2004. aastal teistest kõrgem sissetulek. Naised, kes esimesel perioodil ennast erialaselt täiendasid, kogesid edu tööalases karjääris mõlema perioodi jooksul; samas kui enesetäiendamine teisel perioodil ei olnud ametialase positsiooniga statistiliselt oluliselt seotud.

Klassikaliselt on kasutatud mobiilsuse uurimisel isa sotsiaalset positsiooni laste positsiooni prognoosimisel. Antud uurimuses kasutati lisaks haridusele ja ametile ka ema ametit, kuna Eestis prognoosib ema sotsiaalne positsioon laste sotsiaalset positsiooni isa omast paremini. Ema ameti mõju sellele, millisesse ametigruppi respondent välja jõuab, sõltub perioodist ja esimesel perioodil ka respondendi soost. Esimesel perioodil on kõigil meestel, kellel on valgekraedest emad (juhid, professionaalid või madalamas kihis olevad valgekraed) suurem tõenäosus olla juht; samas kui naistel on sellel perioodil juhiks olemiseks suurem tõenäosus vaid siis, kui ka nende emad olid juhid. Teisel perioodil liiguvad nii mehed kui ka naised kihtidesse, kus olid ka nende emad. Vanematega sotsiaalse positsiooni poolest sarnaseks muutumise trendi post-sotsialistliku siirde ajal on leitud ka teistes Ida-Euroopa riikides (Bukodi ja Goldthorpe 2010; Gerber ja Haut 2004; Robert ja Bukodi 2004; Saar 2011).

Siirdeperioodi erinevatel etappidel ilmnesid soolised erinevused ka selle osas, milline mõju oli isikuomadustel ja teatud tegevustel sellele, millisesse ametigruppi välja jõuti. Kui meestel oli keskkooli ajal erakorralisi ühiskondlikke ülesandeid, siis nad olid tõenäoliselt juhid või professionaalid teise perioodi lõpuks. Samal ajal regulaarsete ühiskondlike ülesannetega seotud olemine on meeste jaoks sama negatiivse tähendusega kui ühiskondlike ülesannete üldse mitte tegemine. Põhjus võib olla selles, et regulaarsed ühiskondlikud ülesanded nagu kooris laulmine või spordimeeskonnas mängimine olid ilmselt õpilaste seas üsna levinud, kuid ebaregulaarsed ülesanded olid suuremad ja neid anti inimestele, kes olid usaldusväärsemad, parema organiseerimis- ja suhtlemisvõimega, head aja planeerijad jne. Samad omadused osutusid hiljem oluliseks professionaali ja juhi kohal olemisel. Naiste puhul aga ühiskondlikud ülesanded keskkooli ajal ametipositsiooni kommalgi perioodil ei prognoosinud.

Need mehed, kes vahetasid siirde esimesel perioodil enam töökohti, olid suure tõenäosusega esimese perioodi lõpus juhid. Teisel perioodil ei ole töökohtade arv meeste ametigrupi prognoosimisel oluline. Naiste jaoks on sage töökohtade vahetamine alati negatiivse mõjuga: esimesel perioodil prognoosib see lihtsa vaimse töö tegijate gruppi kuulumist ja teisel perioodil on palju töökohti vahetanud naistel väiksem tõenäosus olla juht või professionaal.

Erinevalt meestest oli naistel esimesel perioodil kasulik osaleda vähemalt kahel erialasel kursusel. See prognoosib juhi positsioonile jõudmist esimese perioodi lõpuks ja professionaali omale teise perioodi lõpuks. Seega meeste puhul olid tipukihtidesse jõudmisel olulised isikuomadused ja aktiivne tegutsemine esimesel perioodil; samas kui naiste puhul tõi selles osas edu just erialaste teadmiste täiendamine ja kaasajastamine siirdeperioodi alguses. Seega võiks öelda, et mehed ja naised pidid kasutama erinevaid strateegiaid, et jõuda välja sarnasusse kohta ühiskondlikus struktuuris: naiste puhul tõi edu haridusse panustamine, meeste puhul aktiivne tegutsemine tööturul.

Kahe perioodi võrdluse kokkuvõtteks võib öelda, et esimest perioodi ise-loomustasid paremad võimalused kõrgematele positsioonidele jõudmiseks ka madalamatest kihtidest pärit (ema ameti järgi) meeste jaoks. Samuti on esimene periood justkui erilise tõuke andja nende inimeste jaoks, kes oskavad teha õigel ajal õigeid asju. Näiteks need, kel oli lisatöökoht 1990ndate alguses, on teistest kõrgema sissetulekuga ka teise perioodi lõpus. Õige tegutsemine sõltus sageli inimese soost, meeste ja naiste puhul tagasid jõudmise kõrgematesse kihtidesse erinevad tegevused (meeste puhul näiteks parema töökooha otsimine ja naiste puhul enese erialane täiendamine).

Üsna muutumatuks on jäänud hariduse roll erinevatel perioodidel. Haridus mängis väga olulist rolli nõukogude ühiskonnas juhi ja professionaali positsioonil olemise prognoosijana (Gerber ja Hout 2004); see roll on jäänud haridusele terve siirdeperioodi jooksul. Teine protsess, mis on läbi aja olnud üsna püsiv, on tippspetsialistide taastootmine. Tippspetsialistide lastel ja neil, kelle vanemal on kõrgharidus, on suurem tõenäosus ka ise olla tippspetsialistid nii nõukogude ajal (Saar 2005; Titma jt 2003) kui ka kogu siirdeperioodi jooksul.

Tunnus, mille järjepidevus oli üllatav, oli inimsubjektsus. Mitmed autorid on arvanud, et inimsubjektsus mängib eriliselt olulist rolli just siirde alguses, kui ühiskonnas on palju ebakindlust (Pals ja Tuma 2004; Titma jt 2010). Uurimistulemused aga näitavad, et inimsubjektsus on oluline nii ametigrupi kui ka sissetuleku prognoosija ka siirde hilisemal perioodil (Titma jt 2010, 2007; Titma ja Soidla 2007). Kuna inimsubjektsus mängis olulist rolli ka nõukogude ühiskonnas (Kelle 2001; Sukamägi jt 1994), siis võib öelda, et see on oluline inimese sotsiaalse positsiooni prognoosija olenemata ühiskondlikust korraldusest. Erinevates ühiskondades esineb see lihtsalt erineval kujul.

PUBLICATIONS

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