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Arbeitsberichte aus dem Projekt

**Ostdeutsche Lebensverläufe im Transformationsprozeß**

**Convergence or Divergence?**

Structural Change and Occupational Mobility  
in East and West Germany after the Unification

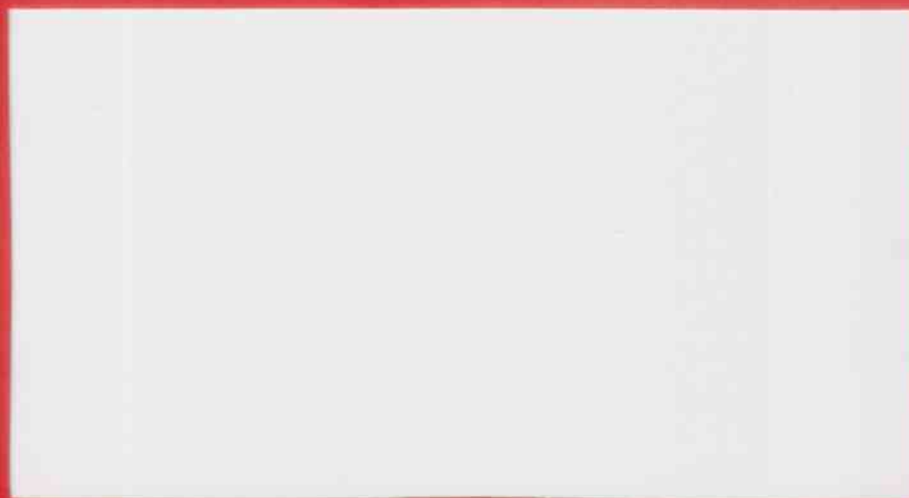
Martin Diewald and Heike Solga

Arbeitsbericht 2/1997



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Das Projekt "Ostdeutsche Lebensverläufe im Transformationsprozeß" ist Teil des Forschungsprogramms "Lebensverläufe und historischer Wandel" (Leiter Karl Ulrich Mayer). Die wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiter des Projekts sind: Martin Diewald, Anne Goedicke, Britta Matthes, Karl Ulrich Mayer, Heike Solga und Sylvia Zühke.

## **Convergence or Divergence?**

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**DAS FORSCHUNGSPROJEKT**  
**"OSTDEUTSCHE LEBENSVERLÄUFE IM TRANSFORMATIONSPROZESS"**

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**Inhaltliche Schwerpunkte:**

- die (vergleichende) Sozialstrukturanalyse individueller Lebensverläufe in Ost- und Westdeutschland
- die Analyse individueller Handlungsstrategien im Transformationsprozeß
- die Analyse der gesellschaftlichen Transformation in Ostdeutschland und ihre Auswirkungen auf individuelle Lebensverläufe

**Datenbasis**

**Grundgesamtheit:**

Die deutsche Wohnbevölkerung der Geburtsjahrgänge 1929-31, 1939-41, 1951-53, 1959-61 und 1971 in den Neuen Bundesländern im Oktober 1990

**Stichprobe:**

Personenstichprobe aus dem infas-Master-Sample, das im Oktober 1990 aus dem zentralen Einwohnermelderegister der ehemaligen DDR gezogen wurde

**Erhebungszeiträume:**

Pilotstudie: Februar/März 1991

Pretest: Mai/Juni 1991

Probeinterviews: August 1991

Haupterhebung: September 1991 - September 1992

Panelbefragung: März - Dezember 1996

Erstbefragung Kohorte 1971: März - Dezember 1996

Non-Response-Studie: ab Januar 1997

**Erhebungsmethode:**

Persönliche (mündliche) Interviews auf der Basis eines standardisierten Lebensverlaufsfragebogens; Aufzeichnungen der Interviews auf Tonband

Postalische schriftliche Befragung

CATI (computerunterstützte Telefoninterviews); CAPI (computerunterstützte persönliche Interviews)

**Realisierte Fälle:**

Pilotstudie: 34

Pretest: 71

Probeinterviews: 81

Haupterhebung: 2331

Schriftliche Zusatzerhebung: 1254

Panelbefragung: ca. 1700

Kohorte 1971: ca. 700

Non-Response: ca. 600

## I. Introductory Remarks<sup>1</sup>.

During the initial euphoria of the *Wende*, the "turn" in East German history that culminated in German reunification, expectations like the following were often expressed:

The reunification of Germany is a "live experiment in social grafting" (Giessen and Leggewie 1991: 8).

Or:

German unification is a unique opportunity to achieve a better understanding of the social form of the Federal Republic. It allows one to ask anew whether the FRG really represents an "individualized" society or is in fact a tightly knit "society of institutions" (Mayer 1991: 88).

Once this initial moment of euphoria had faded, social structural research fixed their sights relatively quickly on the thesis of a "compensatory modernization" in East Germany--and thereby on an almost exclusive focus on the East German half of German society as the sole object of research on the transformation, the West German half being brought in only as a necessary standard of comparison--but not as an object of investigation in its own right.

In accordance with this thesis of "compensatory modernization," the target model for the modern society seemed--as Andretta and Baethge (1995, part I: 8) rightly criticize--more or less automatically deducible as "the negation of the deficits of the old [GDR] system." Hence, it is not very surprising that the goal of this modernization process has never--compared to the transformation in other postcommunist societies--been the object of careful, let alone controversial, debates. Instead, it seemed self-evident that a brisk adjustment to the West German pattern should take place by means of a rapid and encompassing transfer of institutions from West to East. Even if a certain need for processes of institutional "reinvention" precluded the simple adoption of institutions, the expectation nevertheless persisted in effect that shape the new East German institutional system would take--or would be *given*--would essentially be that of a copy of the West German system. The labor market and occupational system represented no exception.

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<sup>1</sup> Paper is submitted to the 92nd Annual Meeting of the ASA, Toronto (Canada), August 9-13, 1997. We are indebted to Jeremy Straugh (University of Chicago) for translation. At present he is visiting scholar at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development and Education, Berlin.

This perspective could claim a certain plausibility for itself, if in fact the East German transformation indisputably amounted to a process of unification via "incorporation," thus taking place under the hegemony of West Germany rather than as a "movement of equals" (Hartmann 1991: 101).

However, the reductionism of this view conceals at least three other significant dimensions of the process, or else relegates them to the margins of debate:

- (1) That the legacy of the GDR as a point of departure for the transformation process (particularly in a positive respect in the form of "resources" which can be devalued);
- (2) That the circumstance that a system collapse, especially if it proceeds with the kind of rapidity evident in East Germany, may take place in part according to different rules than a gradual "endogenous" transformation; and
- (3) The unexamined possibility--or risk--that international pressure for change could become all the more intense and hence consequential in a relatively *open* situation, as when a change of systems is already imminent, than in a more *closed* situation, with a more or less rigidly constructed institutional order run according to power politics.

All three dimensions point to the possibility that in East Germany not only quantitatively "more," but also qualitatively *different*, mobility processes might be occurring, with the possible effect that the emerging structures differ in certain ways from those existing in the West. If this proves to be the case, however, the East German transformation cannot simply be written off as a quantitative drop in labor market fluctuation back to its "normal" rate. More likely, it would mean that a new mobility regime has taken shape, which could in turn have consequences for West Germany as well.

Viewed in this way, it seems worthwhile to ask what sort of mobility regime has formed in East Germany since 1989, especially if one supposes that institutional reconstruction (even under the institutional transfer thesis) necessarily takes place, not only by means of political interventions, but also and essentially through mechanisms of personnel selection and mobility (Mayer 1991: 90). In the present contribution, therefore, some initial suggestions and findings are presented concerning the questions: What mobility regime has materialized in East Germany? What relationship it bears to that in West Germany? And what consequences can be expected as a result for the structuring of occupational trajectories in Germany as a whole?

## II. Hypotheses.

These questions can be focused into three hypotheses, which for analytic purposes can be thought of as alternative--rather than complementary--scenarios, even though it can't be ruled out that hybrid forms are more likely to take shape in real situations.

### 1. The "Institutional Transfer" or "Assimilation" Hypothesis.

Under the institutional transfer hypothesis--one indisputably significant aspect of the transformation, to be sure--the process of "compensatory modernization" mentioned above results in the same mobility regime as in West Germany. According to this thesis, "the project of institutional transfer [would] further the West German interest in continuity," in Wiesenthal's formulation (1996: 282); these interests would consist in a "conservation of the institutional system" of the west (Mayer 1996: 330).

In this case, the path of transformation of the GDR mobility regime would be that prefigured in the "ready-made state" (Richard Rose), that is, the labor agreements or corporatistic orientation of the West German "conservative welfare state," in Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology. The observed mobility processes in East German would thus be nothing other than "assimilative mobility" (Bulmahn 1996: 25).

*"Time Window Thesis."* The assimilation thesis can be modified with respect to the temporal sequence of events by the concession of a "temporary peculiarity" in the East Germany mobility regime; this temporary difference, however, is understood as a necessary condition for the subsequent achievement of a unified regime. It is supposed that there was a short period of widespread exclusion and restratification immediately after the Wende, brought about by certain "persisting burdens of the GDR regime"; this phase entailed a considerable amount of occupational mobility which was brought new opportunities as well as new risks. This would be merely a brief period of "differential rates of progress" in East and West, continuing until the exact moment at which the imported regime "took hold," and followed by a *common* assimilation of East and West to structural changes which, however, would once again proceed in accordance with the familiar West German mechanisms (Zapf 1996: 318). After this brief period of "working off" the inherited burdens of the GDR, there would then follow a phase of increasing "normalization" or "stabilization" to the West German level, in which the ("assimilative") mobility caused by the transformation would no longer rule the day and no major streams of mobility would be expected (Zapf & Habich 1995: 141-2; cf. also the discussion in Andretta 1994: 30). Any necessary assimilation remaining would simply be a matter of short-term "economic self-adjustment". Under this hypothesis, the institutional "reinventions" mentioned above simply denote minor improvements and assimilations which would be unavoidable in any institutional transfer. However, recent discussions about modernization the-

ory has drawn attention to the fact that modernization patterns seldom repeat themselves one-to-one, if at all. Instead, the outcomes of modernization processes are seen as depending on the historical situation and starting conditions.

The following two hypotheses dealt with the possibility or probability (respectively) of differential modernization processes and associated prerequisites and experiences in the case of East Germany.

## 2. The "Dualization" Hypothesis.

In relatively stable societies, changes in occupational structure are usually expected to follow the familiar pattern of *intergenerational* change, a pattern which occurs primarily through occupational entry by a new cohort. For the requisite reconstruction of the East German economic structure, by contrast, a high degree of *intra*cohort mobility has been required--that is, a surrendering of the principle of "life long socialization" achieved by securing an entry level position in an occupation (Blossfeld 1989). Thus, in East Germany it must be assumed, rather, that changes in the economic structure lead almost necessarily to a certain amount of occupational reorientation (Sackmann & Wingers 1996: 22). Beyond these changes in the occupational structure, however, this structural transformation suggests the possibility that a new, more "flexible" mobility regime might establish itself at a more general level in East Germany. Moreover, such a mobility regime might deviate from the relatively rigid West German pattern with respect to job security as well. In the near future, a trend towards destandardization could take place in which a modified mobility regime is tried out and its functionality tested. Given that institutional certainties have already broken down en masse in East Germany, and given that the guarantee of stable work relations no longer stands in the way of demands for flexibilization as it does in West Germany, as many GDR life course investments have lost their value, it is conceivable that the increased individual mobility in the course of the transformation in East Germany and the experiences and strategies thus acquired will lead to a greater flexibility in--as well as deregulation of--work relations as well.<sup>2</sup> The consequence of these processes would, however, be a dualization or even splitting up of the East-West German mobility regime into an East and West German mobility regimes and thereby to a "doubling" (Berger 1993: 223) of the social structure of unified Germany.

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<sup>2</sup> Whether this might be accompanied by a possibly long-term East German "lead" in race for modernization--due, for example, to its implementation of a "flexibilization" doctrine which has until now only been preached in West Germany--is in our opinion still an open question.



### 3. Hypothesis of "Pan-German Flexibilization."

The dualization thesis already argued that it is insufficient to comprehend the East German transformation as a mere "assimilation to West German principles of market economy and their background conditions" (Fürstenberg 1995: 93). Rather, it is necessary, as Fürstenberg (1995: 94) has reminded us, to take into account three different types of causes of the drastic structural change in East Germany as well as their consequences : (1) at a national level, the process of unification; (2) at a transnational level, the accelerated European integration; and (3) at an international level, the battle for international competitiveness. Up till now, we considered only the national level.

Taking into account trans- and international developments, East Germany could end up, as with the "dualization thesis," as an "field experiment" to determine the requisite changes in the pan-German mobility regime, and thereby also that of West Germany. Moreover, one could question here whether the assumption of a static West German entity is in fact justifiable. Current developments make it clear that West Germany too is experiencing enormous pressure towards flexibilization due to international globalization tendencies, and that deviations from the accustomed corporatistic, relatively rigid model--quite evidently under continual fire in public discussions--are already visible. Here, the relaxation of occupational continuity and "normal work relations" (Mückenberger 1985), which was introduced relatively unfettered in East Germany, could further accelerate these existing tendencies. In this case, the East and West German mobility regimes would find themselves undergoing a common process of change.

These three hypotheses are not intended to serve as evaluations of the *efficiency* of German unification. Rather, they are intended to help prevent the assumption of an East German "assimilation to the West German mobility regime" from predefining what we hope to observe. With their assistance, we hope to determine whether, in Lepsius' formulation, that "which emerged in the former GDR [really] is identical with what emerged and is practiced in the FRG" (Lepsius 1991: 72), or to use R. Rose's phrase, whether "equal qualities" are really to be found hiding behind "equal quantities" (Rose 1991: 16). For this purpose, a simple comparison of East and West Germany to discover whether there has been a little or a lot of mobility seems unproductive. Rather, it seems preferable to look "behind the scenes" and take up pursuit of the qualitatively different character of the East German mobility regime as well as the qualitative changes in the West German mobility regime.

### III. Empirical Findings<sup>3</sup>.

The empirical analyses presented here do not depict the mobility regimes in East and West Germany as a whole. Nevertheless, it is possible, using a number of selected indicators, to obtain important clues for the evaluation of the hypotheses above.

The empirical database is the Socio-Economic Panel of the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW). The analyses are restricted to those persons who took part in all waves of the panel from 1990 to 1995 and who belong to the birth cohorts from 1939 to 1965, and thus were between 25 and 51 years old in 1990. This selection was made in order to simplify the comparison of East and West German figures, since one can thereby exclude (at least initially) the particularities of East German early retirement policies as well as possible differences in first occupational entries due to the transformation. In other words, neither first entries into work life nor early retirement processes are examined.

What support can be found for the "assimilation thesis" on the basis of these data? To start with, two well-known findings speak *against* the thesis of an East German "assimilation" towards West Germany: (a) The substantially higher unemployment rate in East Germany, which unfortunately will not reach the (in any case high) West German level, and (b) the continuing, substantially higher employment rate and markedly higher work proclivity of East German women (which one hopes will never reach the West German level!). Yet even here, there are some hidden indications of an East German assimilation. First, the risk of becoming unemployed is structured, as in West Germany, essentially along the lines of qualification level, sector, sex, age, and region (Diewald, *et al.* 1995). Second, the disadvantages for women on the labor market are increasing in East Germany, in conformity with the West German standard--a fact which is most clearly reflected in an unemployment rate for East German women that is twice that of East German men.

Apart from this, there are also indications of an "assimilation" and "stabilization" for those who are *still employed* (cf. Table 1).

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<sup>3</sup> For further empirical results see Appendix of this paper.

**Table 1:**  
**Indicators of "Assimilation" of the East German Employment Structure to the West German Standard**  
 (Figures given in percent; includes only the birth cohorts 1939 to 1965)

<i>Dissimilarity Index for Occupational Position*</i>		
	East/West 1990	27
	East/West 1995	15
	East 1990/1995	14
	West 1990/1995	7
<i>Percent Change in Occupational Field**</i>		
<i>1990 vs. 1993</i>		
	East	33
	West	17
<i>1993 vs. 1995</i>		
	East	15
	West	14

\* Difference in marginal distributions for "occupational position" 1990 und 1995.  
 ("Occupational position": supervisor; highly skilled white-collar; skilled white-collar; lower white-collar; skilled worker; un-/semi-skilled worker; self-employed; farmer)

\*\* Measured by the ISCO classification (construction of 17 occupational fields).

Source: Calculated by the authors based on the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), waves 1990 to 1995.

If one compares the distribution of employed persons in East and West Germany according to individual occupational groups, the results do indeed speak in favor of an assimilation of the East German to the West German social structure. The dissimilarity indices for East/West 1990 and East/West 1995 indicate that in 1990 at least 27% of East German employed persons would have to be "re-sorted" to achieve the "West German standard," whereas by 1995 only 15% would have to be re-sorted. The two regions, it would seem, have thus "approached" one another: Within a five-year period, the observed difference was evidently cut in half. In addition, it can be shown that this assimilation was actually accomplished essentially via changes in East Germany. That the dissimilarity index for East Germany in 1990 and 1995 was twice as high as that for West Germany during the same period (14% versus 7% respectively) indicates that a substantially greater amount of occupational "reorientation" took place in the former region than in the latter, resulting in a reduction in professional positions, as well as an increase in entrepreneurship in the former. Even today, the substantially higher proportion of skilled workers and lower proportion of unskilled and semiskilled workers among the East German unemployed illustrate clear differences between East and West in relation to occupational position.

A comparison of the *occupational stability* of employed persons likewise supports "assimilation." In line with the time window thesis, the frequency of switching occupational fields in the East was twice as high around 1992-3 as in the West; thereafter, however, the

West German level of occupational closure was approximated. Thus, whereas 17% of West Germans found themselves in a new occupational field between 1990 and 1993, as many as (or--as against expectations--"only") 33% of East Germans changed occupational field during that period. For the period 1993 to 1995, we find no such difference: In both East and West Germany 15% changed occupational field.

This settling out or assimilation is not only confirmed if one compares the amount of occupational *field* switching, but also if one looks at the amount of *occupation* switching, since 1990 (cf. Table 2). Whereas over one fourth of employed persons had to change occupations between 1990 and 1993, only 5% had to do so between 1993-94.

**Table 2:**  
**Occupational Mobility\* in East Germany between 1990 and 1994**  
(Figures given in percent)

	Change in Occupation	Same Occupation
<b>1990/91</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>67</b>
Men	37	63
Women	29	71
<b>1991/92</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>71</b>
Men	33	67
Women	24	76
<b>1992/93</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>75</b>
Men	30	70
Women	18	82
<b>1993/94</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>95</b>
Men	6	94
Women	3	97

\* Change in occupation measured by means of the 3-digit ISCO.  
Source: Calculated by authors based on the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), waves 1990 to 1994.

These figures suggest a mechanism which also underlies the "settling out" or assimilation of status mobility (shown in the appendix) in East Germany. The 5% figure for the comparison of 1993 to 1994 suggests that those who remained employed in spite of sectoral restructuring and privatization processes owed their "assimilation" to the continuity-generating effect of "occupationalism" or "extensive occupationalization" throughout the old East German, the West German, and--as it turns out--the post-GDR occupational systems (Diewald & Solga 1996a, 1996b).

One explanation for this is to be found in the provisions of the Unification Treaty, according to which the overwhelming majority of educational credentials acquired in the GDR were recognized as "equivalent" to those of West Germany. The "pan-German" principle of occupationalism was institutionally embedded in this measure and helped ensure that, even during the East German transformation process, employment chances were essentially determined according to existing educational certificates. Even the old GDR certificates seem to be regarded as evidence of the ability to carry out the requisite activities of an occupation. At the same time, this also means that access to these occupations is blocked anyone without the appropriate certificate.

That occupationalism and its concomitant "faith" in credentials became an extraordinarily strong allocation mechanism in the East German transformation process can also be shown in connection with the construction of the "upper service class" (i.e. managerial and professional positions) (cf. Solga 1996). If one looks only at the *East German* population, it appears as if the "new" service class is identical to the (somewhat reduced) "old" upper service class. That is, the new service class positions are occupied almost entirely by persons who carried out the same activities before 1989 (85% total; 82% for men, 91% for women).<sup>4</sup> Somewhat less than five percent of East Germans who did not belong to the upper service class in 1989 succeeded in rising into such positions. Apart from discrimination and political restrictions, this result has a thorough rational basis and is, moreover, not so surprising from a sociological perspective as it might seem at first. If one considers who it was among East Germans that possessed the certifications that allow one to work as a teacher, physician, judge, engineer, or physicist today, it turns out to be precisely those who had acquired these certifications in the GDR and had worked in the corresponding occupations.

Other evidence against the plausibility of the "imported West" model in its pure form includes, among other things, the supply problem and the considerably worse infrastructural conditions and lower income levels in East Germany.

Finally, if one looks at the fundamental status mobilities, measured as upward, downward, and lateral mobility processes, it appears that these patterns, too--allowing for an initial period of considerable disparities--support the thesis of an "assimilation" and "normalization" of the East German occupational system.

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<sup>4</sup> This empirical finding is based on analyses performed using the study "Life Courses and Historical Change in the GDR" of the Max Planck Institute for Education Research (Berlin).

**Table 3:**  
**Career Mobility\* in East and West Germany between 1990 and 1995**  
 (Figures in percent, includes only the birth cohorts 1939 to 1965)

		downward	lateral	upward
<b>1990/91</b>				
	West	10	79	11
	East	16	76	8
<b>1991/92</b>				
	West	8	83	10
	East	12	78	10
<b>1992/93</b>				
	West	10	80	10
	East	8	82	9
<b>1993/94</b>				
	West	7	83	10
	East	7	85	8
<b>1994/95</b>				
	West	9	82	9
	East	11	73	16

\* Measured by "occupational position" (supervisor; highly skilled white-collar; skilled white-collar; lower white-collar; skilled worker; un-/semi-skilled worker; self-employed; farmer.

Source: Calculated by authors using the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), waves 1990 to 1995.

For the years 1990 to 1992, one observes--even looking only at those who managed to stay employed--quite divergent status mobility processes, which are reflected especially in the substantially larger amount of downward mobility in East Germany. This shows once again that the essence of the transformation truly was not an enormous expansion of opportunity but rather an increase in risk! For the years 1993 and 1994, however, we find a pattern of relative similarity; that is, for East and West Germans who succeeded in remaining employed, the risks of downward mobility, the chances of upward mobility, and the possibility of status maintenance were, on the whole, the same. For 1995, we find in East Germany a clear increase in upward mobility. However, this fact, which as yet only affects a single panel wave, should not be a cause for either euphoria or resignation about the "assimilation thesis." Most of the time, such status gains simply reflect the "re-allocation" of the status losses incurred since 1990. In a sense, even this "deviation" from the West German pattern supports the importance of pan-German credentialism, since at least a portion of East Germans were successful in implementing their educational resources in their chosen occupation without loss of status.

All these findings support the central supposition of the assimilation hypothesis that--allowing for a short transitional phase--the West German mobility regime with its associated mechanisms and institutions has established itself in East Germany.

Nevertheless, in light of heated topics of public and political discussions (such as those over the possible damage to the bargaining autonomy or the announced massive reductions in public works jobs in East Germany) raises the suspicion that such similarities also mask grave differences. Indeed, there are indicators that reflect *differential stability vs. flexibility potentials* of employment relationships in East and West Germany.

**Table 4:**  
**Indicators of "Dualization" of the German Employment System**  
 (Figures given in percent; includes only the birth cohorts 1939 to 1965)

Indicator	East	West	Relationship East to West
<b>Labor Pool Certification Levels in the "Everyman" Segment, 1995</b> (Percentage of Persons with an Occupational Certification)			
un-/semi-skilled worker	95	60	<b>1.6</b>
lower white-collar	99	92	<b>1.1</b>
<b>Time-Restricted Employment Relationships 1995</b>			
<i>Time Restricted Contracts</i>			
all employed persons	9	4	<b>2</b>
all dependently employed persons	10	4	<b>2</b>
<i>Time Restriction by Sector*</i>			
civil service	13	6	<b>2</b>
non-civil service	7	4	<b>2</b>
<i>Time Restriction by Occupational Position*</i>			
supervisory personnel	4	3	<b>1</b>
professions	11	5	<b>2</b>
skilled white-collar	5	3	<b>2</b>
lower white-collar	11	6	<b>2</b>
skilled worker	5	2	<b>2</b>
un-/semi-skilled worker	27	6	<b>4</b>
<i>Time Restriction According to Last Job Held (if unemployed in 1995)</i>			
all employed persons	26	15	<b>2</b>
all dependently employed persons	27	16	<b>2</b>
<b>Subjective Perception of the Likelihood of Job Loss (1994)</b>			
certain or likely	20	7	<b>3</b>
definitely not	12	38	<b>0.3</b>
<b>Subjective Likelihood of Starting a New Career (1994)</b>			
certain or likely	9	5	<b>2</b>
definitely not	59	72	<b>0.8</b>

\* Only dependently employed persons.

Source: Calculated by authors based on Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), waves 1994 and 1995.

Based on these results, we would emphasize *three main differences* (cf. Table 4):

(1) Compared to West Germany, the East German everyman's (i.e. secondary) labor market is largely a market segment of "skilled" labor. Whereas nearly all of East Germans (95%) employed as unskilled or semiskilled workers were trained in an occupation, this was true of only 60% of such workers in West Germany--though it should be mentioned that just 4% in both East and West were employed in the occupation for which they were trained. This difference in the labor pool could also be due to a greater flexibility in the use of East German labor for such activities, on the assumption that trained persons possess not only directly job-relevant competencies, but also extra-functional resources, such as a greater amount of work discipline, a greater sense of responsibility, or even a steeper learning curve for changing work activities compared to persons who have not (yet) been in a position to complete a training certification.

It should be noted that this difference is not present for persons with simple white-collar employment. This sector is populated in both East and West by "credentialed" personnel, of whom (in contrast to the unskilled and semi-skilled workers) approximately half are working in their trained profession. This latter fact also reflects certain deformities of the extensive occupationalism of the German employment system: Educational certificates were and continue to be granted for quite simple white-collar occupations.

(2) When one compares the degree of *employment security* associated with employment relationships in East and West Germany, marked differences emerge once again. The proportion of persons with time-restricted employment contracts is more than twice as high in East Germany as in West Germany. While only 4% of the observed non-self-employed persons in West Germany had time-restricted contracts in 1995, fully 10% of such persons had them in East Germany then. This higher risk (from the employee's perspective) or higher flexibility (from the employer's perspective) is not restricted to particular niches in the East German employment system. It is true of civil service as well as other sectors and for all levels of the occupational hierarchy (e.g. for skilled labor as well as the professions).

(3) This difference in degree of flexibility or deregulation of employment relationships is also reflected in the *subjective perceptions of job security*. Thus, in 1994 20% of employed persons in East Germany felt it was likely to very likely that they would lose their job. That is three times as high as in West Germany, where only 7% felt it was likely and 38% even felt it was quite unlikely. Even the proportion of those who felt it was likely that they would have to change occupations is twice as high in East Germany (9%) as in West Germany (5%). One could perhaps object here that these subjective perceptions are distorted. However, analyses have shown they are, in fact, quite realistic (Diewald & Solga 1996b).



These differences provide initial indications that a flexibilization and perhaps even deregulation of employment relationships was occurring to a greater extent in East Germany than in West Germany during the period observed. Whether this justifies speaking of a "dualization" or divergence of mobility regimes in Germany, as the second hypothesis puts it, these analyses are insufficient to determine. Nonetheless, it seems dubious that the mobility processes in East Germany can be reduced to mere assimilation.

To sensitize future research with respect to this question, we would like to present by way of conclusion two additional findings. *First of all*, the quite divergent mobility processes in the East and West German populations since 1989 suggest that it is above all the East Germans who have had to learn to cope with highly unstable economic structures (cf. Table 5).

**Table 5:**  
**Mobility Experience in East and West: Continuity of Employment Participation between December 1989 and December 1994**  
 (Figures given in percent, includes only the birth cohorts 1939 to 1965)

<i>Pattern of Employment Participation</i>	<i>East</i>	<i>West</i>
Continuous Employment Participation	41	57
Discontinuous Employment Participation	41	15
<i>disc. due to unemployment</i>	53	32
<i>disc. due to other causes</i>	47	78
Terminated Employment Participation	17	11
First Entry or Re-Entry (since 12/89)	1	10
Not in Labor Market During the Entire Period	1	7

Source: Authors' calculations based on the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), waves 1990 to 1995.

If one compares in particular the pattern of employment participation between December 1989 and December 1994 in East and West, it turns out that almost two-thirds (57%) of the West German population were able to achieve continuous employment participation, while in East Germany only 41% were able to do so. By contrast, we find--apart from the unemployed/out of the labor market category (classified here as "terminated employment participation")--a substantially higher proportion of persons showing discontinuous employment participation in East Germany, with interruption through unemployment and reentry following unemployment playing a significant role. Whether individual or institutional factors were of greater importance cannot be determined from this characterization. Case studies (cf. Grünert 1994, ch. 3) have shown, however, that it proved possible, or even necessary, to use and thereby test new types of labor market policies in East Germany. To name just one example, active labor market policies in the form of job creation (ABM) measures played a significantly greater role in

East Germany, as did the increased use of project-oriented labor market policy measures, in contrast to the problem-group-oriented labor market policies in the old Federal lands.

*Second*, there are signs that even West German society has not been as stable in recent years as is often assumed.

**Table 6:**  
**Similarities and Differences in the Occupational Structure of East Germany and West Germany:**  
**Comparison of 1990 and 1995**  
 (Figures given in percent; includes only the birth cohorts 1939 to 1965)

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*Dissimilarity Index for the Structure of Occupational Fields\**

East/West 1990	9.5
East/West 1995	9.6
East 1990/1995	15.3
West 1990/1995	10.6

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\* Difference in the respective marginal distributions of the occupational fields (construction of 17 occupational fields based on the ISCO).

Source: Authors' calculations based on the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP), waves 1990 to 1995.

If one takes the change in occupational structure as a rough indicator of mobility and compares the distribution of employed persons in East and West based on individual occupational fields, two important features emerge (cf. Table 6): *First*, East and West Germany appear *not* to have moved closer together in this respect. In 1990, barely 10% of East Germans in other occupational fields would have to be "re-sorted" in order to achieve the West German distribution. Upon closer examination, however, it becomes clear that in 1995, other differences were responsible for this than in 1990. Whereas in 1990 the differential was caused above all by an East German "surplus" in the agricultural occupations and a poorer representation in service occupations, in 1995 the clearly higher proportion of construction and commercial occupations, as well as the smaller proportion of administrative occupations, were responsible. *Second*, moreover, it is evident that in East as well as West Germany, the proportion of service occupations among employed persons increased, but the increase was more pronounced in West Germany (up 9%, from 65% to 74%) than in East Germany (up 7%, from 62% to 69%). This already suggests that there has been a considerable degree of *intragenerational* occupation switching in West Germany in recent years--"intragenerational" because the figures presented refer to persons who were between 25 and 51 years old in 1990 and thus represented first entries into the labor market only in exceptional cases.

Moreover, if one examines the *intragenerational* changes in the occupational structure in 1990 and 1995 in West Germany, one sees that, measured against the "East German standard," nu-

merous occupational reorientations were necessary even West Germany. In East Germany, 15% of employed persons would have to be re-sorted into other occupations in order to retain the same distribution as in 1990. If one presumes that this is a *lot* of mobility--there was, after all, a "structural upheaval" there--then the 11% for West Germany can surely be considered more than a *little* intragenerational mobility. In this respect, reorientations were necessary in West Germany as well and to a comparable extent.

These findings give occasion to question the generally presupposed "stability" of West German society to a greater than has so far been the case and to call attention to the common pattern of change in the German mobility regime addressed by the thesis of "pan-German flexibilization."

#### IV. Conclusions.

The central conclusion of these analyses is that, while interpreting the East German transformation as merely assimilation to the West German state of affairs takes one a certain distance, it also falls short. There are definite particularities in East Germany that represent more than mere "deviation" from the West German model. They are the consequences of a *specific tension between deregulation, destabilization, and polarization of employment opportunities* which increasingly is leaving its mark on the West German labor market as well. To this extent, the East German processes discussed here make it clear that the transfer institutions has dramatically increased the political and economic pressure to solve certain problems of labor market policy which have been present, if latent, in West German society for some time. East Germany, with its extensive job creation (ABM) measures and extensive state-financed job training programs, thus exhibits certain features of a "social democratic welfare state" (with a lower degree of corporatism and a higher degree of "decommodification" of labor in the form of active labor market policy), in comparison to West Germany with its more corporatistically oriented "conservative welfare state" arrangement. At the same time, there are also tendencies in East Germany that are characteristic of "liberal welfare states," for example the increase in employment insecurity (cf. Esping-Andersen 1990).

Hence, it does not seem out of the question that the East German present may resemble the future condition of the pan-German labor market more closely than does the West German present, even if paradoxically it remains unclear what this "future" will be, that is, which path will be embarked upon or whether new "hybrid forms" of welfare state experience will emerge out of previously known forms.

If this perspective is to be pursued further in the future, comparative analyses--drawing on other West European, as well as on other transforming societies--would certainly be a meaningful, if not essential, research strategy. Such analyses provide the variability in welfare state arrangements and mobility regimes, as well as variations in the progression and outcomes of post-communist transformation processes, which would be necessary in order to contextualize and evaluate the observable changes in mobility processes in East Germany as well as West Germany.

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## Appendix: Annotated Tables

Tables presented at the ECSR-workshop, Berlin, August 26-27, 1996.

(Martin Diewald & Heike Solga)

***Part I: Employment participation patterns in East and West Germany between 1990 - 1995***  
(Figures 1, 1a and 1b; Tables 1 - 3)

Before one analyzes details of labor market changes it is always helpful to have some virtual idea of the mobility processes of the individuals participating in this market.

For this reason we have clustered the individuals' mobility processes into "**employment participation patterns**". The main dimensions of this typology are:

- "Starting point" in December 1989: employed versus not employed
- Employment status in December 1994: employed versus not employed
- *For those people who were employed in Dec. 1994:* Continuity and discontinuity (interruptions) of gainful employment between 1990 - 1994
- *For those people who were employed in Dec. 1994 but with interruption(s):* Kinds of interruptions
- *For those people who were not employed in December 1994:* Time when first interruption occurred.

These dimensions lead to the "employment participation patterns" which are listed in Figure 1 (Figure 1a: men; Figure 1b: women). What are interesting findings from this Figure?

1. First of all, we do find, of course, the well-known result that in East Germany there are *more people who have "stopped employment participation"*, i.e. they "became" and still were not employed in Dec. 1994 (17 % versus 11 %).

Moreover, we do see this is not due to different "*starting points*". In contrast, if one would only consider those who were employed in 1989 the difference would be even remarkably sharper.

In addition, we can see that the *timing of dropping out of the labor force* was different. About two-thirds of the East Germans with "stopped employment participation" already dropped out for the first (and mostly "last") time in the first two years (1990 and 1991) and only one-third did so in the three years of 1992, 1993, 1994. In West Germany, we do not find such a difference here; every year there are about one-fifth who dropped out for the first time. This gives a first hint that there are different forces driving the apparently

equal pattern of "stopped employment participation". What these forces are, is issued in the second part of the analyses.

2. Under the specific situation of East German transformation, it was particularly difficult to remain *continuously employed*. Whereas 57 % of the West Germans could realize a "continuous employment participation" - only 41 % of the East Germans could do so. This even holds true if one differentiates between men and women (men: 44 % East versus 70 % West; women: 38 % East versus 40 % West).
3. In comparing the shapes of "discontinuous employment participation", East-West differences are also visible.

First, one has to stress that "discontinuous employment participation" describes the employment participation of about two-fifths (41 %) of the East German employment population (born between 1939 and 1965), in West Germany it is only the pattern of 15 % of this population (including only people who were employed in 1989: 18 %).

But besides this quantitative difference, there are at least two remarkable *qualitative* differences. First, in East Germany there are more people with "discontinuous employment participation" due to unemployment episodes. The proportion of those is more than half (54 %) in East Germany, but only about 35 % in West Germany. Second, for those who have "discontinuous employment participation" due to interruptions other than unemployment in East Germany, the main reason is "short time work", an interruption which has almost no significance in West Germany (whole population: 13 % versus 2 %; only those with discontinuous participation due to other interruptions: 68 % versus 20 %). And, this also holds true for men and women.

*To summarize*, these differences signal that there is more than only "institutional transfer" to East Germany. The difference in the amount of "short-time work" shows that there are special institutions established in East Germany to manage problems of the transformation process (i.e., reduction of available working places). Moreover, the comparison shows -- although to a lower extent than in West Germany -- that still a remarkably high proportion of East Germans could realize "continuous employment participation". This could mean, that the transformation and its "life course" provided some mechanisms which allowed the East Germans to employ their accumulated "GDR"-resources.

In general, the different East and West distributions across these patterns indicate that the transformation had/has produced special labor market conditions which can not only be reduced to general problems caused by globalization.



Furthermore, it is an interesting question whether the people realizing *equal* employment participation patterns in East and West Germany *are the "same" or are different?* (see Table 1: Situation in 1990, Table 2: Situation in 1994/95, Table 3: Occupational mobility)

### ***1. "Continuous employment participation"***

Occupational position 1990: in West Germany all groups belong, proportionally to their population ratio, to this pattern, in East Germany "qualified white-collar employees" are over represented -- this is mainly due to the fact that in East Germany only the "public sector" provided an extremely high employment security ("Überleitungsregelung") and, hence, good chances to realize a continuous employment participation" (even without changing the firm) -- thus, it is not surprising that 53 % of the East Germans whose employment participation follows this pattern were in 1990 employed by the public sector (in West Germany: only 24 %) - - and 45 % in 1995.

People who were not employed in the public sector in 1990 had a much higher risk of having their employment participation shaped by the other "disadvantaged" patterns.

In addition (Table 3), East Germans who were employed in their certified occupation in 1989/90 had a greater chance of realizing continuous participation -- but as can be seen for the other patterns, employment in the certified occupation was only partially successful. Also for the other patterns we see that proportion of working in the certified occupation was more than or at least about 50 %.

In West Germany we see a quite similar situation, "employment in the certified occupation helps to increase employment security" -- but in contrast to the East we also see that the proportion of people who are/were employed in their certified occupation is/was in general lower here. This difference may be a first indicator that employment careers in East Germany were affected by essential structural change -- connected with the collapse of entire branches and therefore the complete disappearance of occupations.

This is also visible in the proportion of changes in occupation the East Germans and the West Germans with different employment participation patterns had between 1990 and 1995. In both parts people with continuous participation had to change their occupation much less than those with discontinuous participation. But in East Germany people of all categories had to change more -- even those who could realize continuous participation had to change twice as much as their West German "companions".

## 2. *"Discontinuous employment participation":*

In contrast to West Germany where the un- as well skilled blue-collar workers have an over proportional risk of interrupting employment by unemployment episodes, in East Germany this is a pattern where all status groups have an equal risk corresponding to their population ratio -- with one exception: skilled blue-collar workers had an under-risk of being more than once unemployed between 1990 and 1994, but have a higher risk of being affected by "short-time" work. But since they were employed in Dec. 1994, this simultaneously indicates that "short-time-work" was -- relatively seen -- a quite successful institution to bridge the uncertain situation of re-structuring the East German industrial sector.

## 3. *"Stopped employment participation":*

In both parts of Germany, qualified men and women have a lower risk of "stopped employment participation". Mostly unskilled blue- and -- in East Germany also -- white-collar workers are faced with this risk.

There are additionally two interesting differences:

- (1) the over-proportional number of East Germans with stopped participation--firstly after 1991 (48 %) indicates that the public sector is losing its capacities to provide outstanding employment security (state-saving policies).
- (2) The increasing proportion of West German unskilled blue-collar workers (from 34 % with this pattern but first interruption until 1991 and 44 % with first interruption after 1991) signals that also in West Germany unskilled labor force is increasingly edged out by skilled ones -- regardless of the requirements of the working places to be filled.

### *In sum:*

- (1) East Germans really had worse employment chances than the West Germans, that is, a lower proportion of them could realize "continuous employment participation" and vice versa a higher proportion was faced with disadvantageous employment chances. Even those who were employed in 1994 had experienced unemployment episodes to a higher extent.
- (2) Structural change affected employment careers of East Germans more intensively than those of the West Germans. The higher importance of the public sector and "short-time work", the higher "speed of stopped employment" (differentiation between first interrupted until 1991 and after 1991, which is only of importance in the East) as well as the lower efficacy of "employment in certified occupation" in East Germany signal that the

re-structuring process of the whole industry only affects East Germany -- it is, thus, a phenomenon of the East German transformation and not one of the globalization (which would affect East and West Germany).

- (3) On the other hand, we do find some common mechanisms in East and West Germany allocating people to different employment chances (expressed in the different employment participation patterns):
- "allocation due to occupational certificates" (i.e., the better employment chances of certified qualified people and the increasing unemployment risk of unskilled workers)
  - "discrimination due to gender" (i.e., the higher chances of men to realize continuous employment participation).

## ***Part II: Job Shifts and Shifts of Occupation***

### **1. Amount of Occupational Change in East and West (see Tables 4 and 5)**

As can be seen in Table 4, the distributions of various occupational fields in 1990 were more similar between East and West than one would expect assuming an East German modernization lag. Most pronounced were the higher share of primary occupations in the GDR and another composition of service jobs. There has been only a minor lag of overall tertiarization but another composition of tertiary occupations, with many jobs in the public sector but fewer jobs within private services.

Quite unexpected, however, are the dissimilarities compared between East and West and the changes between 1990 and 1995: They do not show one stable society and one society undergoing rapid change but two changing societies but one society with a higher pace of change.

As can be seen in Table 5, even the specific moves between the different occupational fields are quite similar except their amount. So the relatively stable occupations in East Germany, like the social services, are still unstable in absolute terms and compared to West Germany.

The only exceptions are the moves from agricultural jobs to service jobs and the comparably unstable situation of the production services in East Germany.

### **2. Job shifts between 1990 and 1995 (see Tables 6 to 12)**

In comparing changes from 1990 to 1995 in East and West Germany (see Table 6), about 1,6 times more East Germans than West Germans experienced occupational shifts.

Second, East Germans had a much higher risk of downward mobility without having greater chances of upward mobility on the other side. Nevertheless, the overall stability seems to be unexpectedly high.

The proportions of East Germans who experienced job shifts within firms as well as between firms were roughly two times higher than of West Germans.

When we look at the single years between 1990 and 1995 (see Tables 8, 9, 10, and 12), we can see that even during the last two years, job shifts in East Germany remained to be significantly higher than in the West. Moreover, there was also in West Germany an occupational change -- see Table 4 -- which in contrast to East Germany did not lead to higher rates on intra- and inter-firm shifts as well as higher rates of vertical mobility.

On the other hand, the pace of change obviously decreased in East Germany since about 1992/93. Only the rates of shifts between firms stayed around two times higher than in the West. More important, however, is the convergence of the rates of downward mobility due to its decrease in East Germany. And second, we see a recent divergence of upward mobility due to its increase in East Germany. Detailed analyses of these upward mobility reveal that this is often produced by "turned back" downward moves experienced in the years before. In general, this shows that the only moving part in this story was East Germany.

When we look at the periods of 1990-93 and 1993-95, we see a striking convergence in the link between job shifts, occupational shifts, and status mobility. During the first period, job shifts as well as occupational shifts in the East involved a higher risk of downward mobility compared to West Germany, where we do find this to be more often connected with upward than with downward mobility. This picture changed for the second period, because the risks of downward moves in the East decreased as well as the chances of upward moves rose.

As can be seen in Table 10, the most dark side of this process of stabilization was a rising mass unemployment which rapidly polarized between long-term insiders and outsiders on the labor market.

The considerable amount of continuity and stability we saw in the previous sections has a lot to do with the specific conditions of the public sector (see Table 11). It provided even high status stability and occupational stability -- compared to other parts of the labor market -- especially for those who were already employed in the public sector in 1990 in East Germany. "Newcomers", however, had to face a considerable risk of downward mobility to reach this "safe haven" (in sharp contrast to West Germany). And chances for upward mobility were remarkably lower within the public sector than in private business in East Germany. These are specific features of the East German transformation process and not of the German public

sector as a whole. One has to keep in mind two factors: (1) the re-structuring within the East German public sector, and (2) that almost one-third of all jobs are provided by specific "job creation measures" ("ABM").

***Part III: Factors influencing a Change of Occupational Field: Period of 1990 to 1993 versus period 1993 to 1995 (Tables 13 and 14)***

The impression that the pace as well as the underlying mechanisms of the described transformations have changed in our period of observation is confirmed by estimating multivariate logit regressions on changes of the occupational field (see Tables 13 and 14). Here, we have to stress that we look from the beginning only at those people who were employed at both respective time points and at ages from 25 to 50 in 1990. Therefore, the massive process of exclusion on the labor market are not considered in these analyses.

**Major Findings:**

- **Occupational Field:**

For the period of 1990-93, we find some "specialities" which are significant for the hypothesis of sectoral change in East Germany: The comparably low stability in the agricultural occupations, the production services, and "other productions" in East Germany as well as the low stability of the state services. Though service jobs were more stable than in production jobs in the East, their comparative stability in the West is even higher.

For the period of 1993-95, these differences changed a lot. We see clear "survivor" effects for East Germany, leading to now much more similar patterns in West and East (including the common high risk in the "other productions")

- **Fit between occupational certificates and job:**

Misfits did enforce occupational shifts both in the East and the West during the first period. During the second period, occupational certificates in both parts of Germany lose their power in providing outstanding occupational stability. The pressure to be more flexible on the labor market seems to increase in both parts.

- **Role of public sector:**

The assumption that the public sector played a major role in providing occupational stability in East Germany during the first years is confirmed. In addition, during the second period under observation, the public sector becomes a "refuge" of occupational stability compared to private business also in West Germany.

- **Occupational shifts and mobility:**

Between 1990 and 1993, changes of the occupational field in the East were more linked with disadvantageous mobility processes (downward mobility, experience of unemployment) than in the West. On the contrary, here occupational mobility was comparably more linked with upward mobility and moves into self-employment.

Between 1993 and 1995, this picture also changed for West Germany in so far as West Germans now face higher risks of occupational shifts combined with downward mobility, as well as lower chances of occupational shifts combined with upward mobility.

- **Occupational shifts and job shifts:**

Between 1990 and 1993, the occupational changes in West Germany occurred mainly as inter- and intra-firm job shifts, whereas in East Germany, these changes were also managed by processes of exclusion (unemployment) and, maybe, the re-definition of workplaces.

For the time since 1993, these resources seem to be exhausted. Since then, occupational change is more likely managed by job shifts within and between firms.

- **Gender and age:**

It might be surprising that we do not find strong effects of gender and age. We know from other analyses that both factors are determinants of inclusion and exclusion. The results suggest that those men and women, young and old (50 years), who could first of all remain in employment, are similarly faced by the opportunities of occupational change.

In the second period, the significantly lower risk/chance of occupational change for women in East Germany might be selection effect (specific occupations).

**Figure 1: Employment participation patterns between December 1989 and December 1994  
East-West-comparison\***

**East Germany: Men and Women (N = 1558)**

Employed in December 1989 (N = 1536)						Not employed in December 1989 (N = 22 / 2%)						
Continuous employment participation (N = 635) [41%]		Discontinuous employment participation (employed in 12/1994) (N = 639) [41%]			"Stopped" employment participation until 12/1994 (not employed in 12/1994) (N = 262) [17%]			"Re-employed" in 12/1994 (N = 15) [1%]	Not employed in 12/1994 (N = 7) [0.5%]			
Full-time (N = 551) [36%]	Full- or part-time (N = 84) [5%]	Once unemployed (N = 217) [14%]	More than once unemployed (N = 124) [8%]	Other interruptions (N = 298) [19%]	Firstly in 1990/91 (N = 174) [11%]		Firstly after 1991 (N = 88) [6%]			Partly employed between 1989 and 1994 (N = 3)	No re-entry until 12/1994 (N = 4)	
				Short-time work (N = 208) [13%]	No short-time work (N = 90) [6%]	firstly 1990 (N = 105) [7%]	firstly 1991 (N = 69) [4%]	firstly 1992 (N = 31) [2%]	firstly 1993 (N = 29) [2%]	firstly 1994 (N = 28) [2%]		

**West Germany: Men and Women (N = 3452)**

Employed in December 1989 (N = 2860)						Not employed in December 1989 (N = 592 / 17%)						
Continuous employment participation (N = 1950) [57%]		Discontinuous employment participation (employed in 12/1994) (N = 529) [15%]			"Stopped" employment participation until 12/1994 (not employed in 12/1994) (N = 381) [11%]			"Re-employed" in 12/1994 (N = 361) [10%]	Not employed in 12/1994 (N = 231) [7%]			
Full-time (N = 1641) [48%]	Full- or part-time (N = 309) [9%]	Once unemployed (N = 140) [4%]	More than once unemployed (N = 32) [1%]	Other interruptions (N = 357) [10%]	Firstly in 1990/91 (N = 158) [4.5%]		Firstly after 1991 (N = 223) [6.5%]			Partly employed between 1989 and 1994 (N = 134) [4%]	No re-entry until 12/1994 (N = 97) [3%]	
				Short-time work (N = 55) [2%]	No short-time work (N = 302) [8%]	firstly 1990 (N = 98) [3%]	firstly 1991 (N = 60) [1.5%]	firstly 1992 (N = 54) [2%]	firstly 1993 (N = 70) [1.5%]	firstly 1994 (N = 99) [3%]		

\* Men and women born between 1939 and 1965, and who are on the job market.

Source: Own calculations, Socio-economic Panel Germany, waves 1990 to 1995.

**Figure 1a: Employment participation patterns of men between December 1989 and December 1994  
East-West-comparison\***

**East Germany: Men (N = 772)**

Employed in December 1989 (N = 765)							Not employed in December 1989 (N = 7 / 1%)			
Continuous employment participation (N = 338) [44%]		Discontinuous employment participation (employed in 12/1994) (N = 347) [45%]			"Stopped" employment participation until 12/1994 (not employed in 12/1994) (N = 80) [10%]			"Re-employed" in 12/1994 (N = 5)	Not employed in 12/1994 (N = 2)	
Full-time (N = 334)	Full- or part-time (N = 4)	Once unemployed (N = 108) [14%]	More than once unemployed (N = 56) [7%]	Other interruptions (N = 183) [24%]	Firstly in 1990/91 (N = 56) [7%]		Firstly after 1991 (N = 24) [3%]			
				Short-time work (N = 146) [19%]	No short-time work (N = 37) [5%]	firstly 1990 (N = 33) [4%]	firstly 1991 (N = 23) [3%]	firstly 1992 (N = 7)	firstly 1993 (N = 7)	firstly 1994 (N = 10)

**West Germany: Men (N = 1875)**

Employed in December 1989 (N = 1701)							Not employed in December 1989 (N = 174 / 9%)			
Continuous employment participation (N = 1310) [70%]		Discontinuous employment participation (employed in 12/1994) (N = 262) [14%]			"Stopped" employment participation until 12/1994 (not employed in 12/1994) (N = 129) [7%]			"Re-employed" in 12/1994 (N = 105) [6%]	Not employed in 12/1994 (N = 69) [3%]	
Full-time (N = 1291)	Full- or part-time (N = 19)	Once unemployed (N = 70) [4%]	More than once unemployed (N = 20) [1%]	Other interruptions (N = 172) [9%]	Firstly in 1990/91 (N = 34) [2%]		Firstly after 1991 (N = 95) [5%]			
				Short-time work (N = 42) [2%]	No short-time work (N = 130) [7%]	firstly 1990 (N = 24) [1.5%]	firstly 1991 (N = 10)	firstly 1992 (N = 18) [1%]	firstly 1993 (N = 30) [2%]	firstly 1994 (N = 47) [2.5%]

\* Men born between 1939 and 1965, and who are on the job market.

Source: Own calculations, Socio-economic Panel Germany, waves 1990 to 1995.



**Figure 1b: Employment participation patterns of women between December 1989 and December 1994  
East-West-comparison\***

**East Germany: Women (N = 786)**

Employed in December 1989 (N = 771)							Not employed in December 1989 (N = 15 / 2%)			
Continuous employment participation (N = 297) [38%]		Discontinuous employment participation (employed in 12/1994) (N = 292) [37 %]			"Stopped" employment participation until 12/1994 (not employed in 12/1994) (N = 182) [23%]		"Re-employed" in 12/1994 (N = 10)	Not employed in 12/1994 (N = 5)		
Full-time (N = 217) [28%]	Full- or part-time (N = 80) [10%]	Once unemployed (N = 109) [14%]	More than once unemployed (N = 68) [9%]	Other interruptions (N = 115) [14%]	Firstly in 1990/91 (N = 118) [15%]	Firstly after 1991 (N = 64) [8%]				
				Short-time work (N = 53) [8%]	No short-time work (N = 62) [6%]	firstly 1990 (N = 72) [9%]	firstly 1991 (N = 46) [6%]	firstly 1992 (N = 24) [3%]	firstly 1993 (N = 22) [3%]	firstly 1994 (N = 18) [2%]

**West Germany: Women (N = 1577)**

Employed in December 1989 (N = 1159)							Not employed in December 1989 (N = 418 / 26%)			
Continuous employment participation (N = 640) [40%]		Discontinuous employment participation (employed in 12/1994) (N = 267) [17 %]			"Stopped" employment participation until 12/1994 (not employed in 12/1994) (N = 252) [16%]		"Re-employed" in 12/1994 (N = 256) [16 %]	Not employed in 12/1994 (N = 162) [10%]		
Full-time (N = 350) [22%]	Full- or part-time (N = 290) [18%]	Once unemployed (N = 70) [4%]	More than once unemployed (N = 12) [1%]	Other interruptions (N = 185) [12%]	Firstly in 1990/91 (N = 118) [8%]	Firstly after 1991 (N = 128) [8%]	Partly employed between 1989 and 1994 (N = 101) [6%]	No re-entry until 12/1994 (N = 61) [4%]		
				Short-time work (N = 13) [1%]	No short-time work (N = 172) [11%]	firstly 1990 (N = 74) [5%]	firstly 1991 (N = 50) [3%]	firstly 1992 (N = 36) [2%]	firstly 1993 (N = 40) [2.5%]	firstly 1994 (N = 52) [3.5%]

\* Women born between 1939 and 1965, and who are on the job market.

Source: Own calculations, Socio-economic Panel Germany, waves 1990 to 1995.

**Table 1: Situation 1990 – Occupational and social profiles of the "employment participation patterns" in East and West Germany between 1989 and 1994**  
(in percent)

Social and occupational characteristics	Country	Total population*	Continuous participation	Discontinuous participation			Stopped participation		Not employed in 1989	
				once unemployed	more than once unemployed	other interruptions	firstly before 1991	firstly after 1991	Re-employed in 12/1994	Still not employed in 1994
Country	East	N = 1558	41	14	8	19	11	5	1	1
	West	N = 3452	57	4	1	10	4.5	6.5	10	7
Proportion of women	East	50	47	50	55	39	68	73	67	71
	West	46	33	50	38	52	79	57	71	70
Gender Male	East	N = 772	44	14	7	24	7	3	1	-
	West	N = 1875	70	4	1	9	2	5	6	4
Female	East	N = 786	38	14	9	15	15	8	1	1
	West	N = 1577	41	4	1	12	8	8	16	10
<b>Occupational position in 1990</b>										
Managerial positions	East	4	5	2	4	1	2	4		
	West	2	2	3	-	2	1	2		
Professions	East	8	10	7	7	8	3	7		
	West	9	10	7	4	6	5	3		
Qualified white-collar employees	East	36	41	34	38	34	23	34		
	West	30	31	24	4	28	28	28		
Un-/semiskilled white-collar workers	East	8	7	8	9	3	15	19		
	West	8	7	8	11	12	12	6		
Skilled blue-collar workers	East	27	23	30	22	40	27	15		
	West	19	21	26	30	17	12	12		
Un-/semiskilled blue-collar workers	East	7	3	6	11	5	19	16		
	West	25	22	31	44	26	34	44		
Farmers	East	7	6	12	8	8	11	-		
	West	1	1	-	-	1	-	1		
Self-employed	East	3	5	1	1	1	-	5		
	West	6	6	1	7	8	8	4		
<b>Employment within the Public Sector (1990)</b>										
	East	35	53	23	26	18	25	48		
	West	24	24	9	-	19	13	16		
N	East	N = 1558	635	217	124	298	174	88	16	7
	West	N = 3452	1950	140	32	357	158	223	361	231

\* Men and women born between 1939 and 1965, and who are on the job market.

Legend: bold and kursiv = under-average; bold = over-average

Source: Own calculations, Socio-economic Panel Germany, waves 1990 to 1995.

**Table 2: Situation in 1995 -- Occupational and social profiles of the "employment participation patterns" in East and West Germany between 1989 and 1994**  
(in percent)

<i>Social and occupational characteristics</i>	Country	Total population*	<i>Continuous participation</i>	<i>Discontinuous participation</i>			<i>Stopped participation</i>		<i>Not employed in 1989</i>	
				once un-employed	more than once un-employed	other interruptions	firstly before 1991	firstly after 1991	Re-employed in 12/1994	Still not employed in 1994
<b>Occupational position in 1995</b>										
Managerial positions	<i>East</i>	4	5	2	4	3				
	<i>West</i>	4	5	3	3	3				2
Professions	<i>East</i>	13	16	9	9	12				14
	<i>West</i>	11	12	9	7	8				11
Qualified white-collar employees	<i>East</i>	25	28	23	21	21				36
	<i>West</i>	28	29	24	7	30				25
Un-/semiskilled white-collar workers	<i>East</i>	12	12	13	16	9				-
	<i>West</i>	9	8	8	3	9				13
Skilled blue-collar workers	<i>East</i>	27	24	26	17	37				21
	<i>West</i>	16	18	18	24	15				6
Un-/semiskilled blue-collar workers	<i>East</i>	15	6	20	24	13				14
	<i>West</i>	23	20	27	41	26				34
Farmers	<i>East</i>	-	-	-	-	-				-
	<i>West</i>	1	1	-	-	1				-
Self-employed	<i>East</i>	8	9	7	9	5				14
	<i>West</i>	8	7	11	14	8				9
<b>Employment within the Public Sector (1995)</b>										
	<i>East</i>	34	45	27	26	20				21
	<i>West</i>	25	26	19	11	21				26

\* Men and women born between 1939 and 1965, and who are on the job market.

Legend: bold and kursiv = under-age; bold = over-average

Source: Own calculations, Socio-economic Panel Germany, waves 1990 to 1995.

**Table 3: Occupational mobility of persons with different "employment participation patterns" in East and West Germany between 1989 and 1994**  
(in percent)

<i>Social and occupational characteristics</i>	Country	Total population*	<i>Continuous participation</i>	<i>Discontinuous participation</i>			<i>Stopped participation</i>		<i>Not employed in 1989</i>	
				once un-employed	more than once un-employed	other interruptions	firstly before 1991	firstly after 1991	Re-employed in 12/1994	Still not employed in 1994
<b>Employed in certified occupation 1990</b>										
	<i>East</i>	63	<b>71</b>	64	<b>53</b>	65	<b>48</b>	<b>43</b>		
	<i>West</i>	48	52	<b>43</b>	<b>29</b>	46	44	<b>34</b>		
<b>Employed in certified occupation in 1995</b>										
	<i>East</i>	58	<b>66</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>36</b>	60			<b>64</b>	
	<i>West</i>	53	56	<b>48</b>	<b>31</b>	53			<b>42</b>	
<b>Downward (status) mobility between 1990 and 1995</b>										
	<i>East</i>	20	16	<b>26</b>	<b>30</b>	19				
	<i>West</i>	9	8	<b>14</b>	8	8				
<b>Change in occupation between 1990 and 1995</b>										
	<i>East</i>	62	<b>53</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>79</b>	63				
	<i>West</i>	36	34	<b>58</b>	<b>82</b>	38				
<i>Odds Ratio East/West</i>		1.7	2.2	2.5	0.8	2.8				

\* Men and women born between 1939 and 1965, and who are on the job market.

Legend: bold and kursiv = under-average; bold = over-average

Source: Own calculations, Socio-economic Panel Germany, waves 1990 to 1995.

**Table 4: Intra-Cohort Change of Occupational Structure in West and East Germany  
between 1990 and 1995  
(in percent)**

Occupational Fields <sup>1</sup>	1990			1995		
	West	Ost	East to West	West	Ost	East to West
<i>Agriculture</i>	1,8	5,2	3,4	1,9	2,2	0,3
Mining	0,4	0,3	-0,1	0,2	0,2	0
Chemistry/Ceramics/Glass	2,7	1,7	-1	1,5	1	-0,5
Metal -working/Electricity	15,4	15	-0,4	11,9	10,7	-1,2
Textiles/Leather/Clothing	1,7	2	0,3	1,4	0,8	-0,6
Food	1,1	1,7	0,6	1,1	1,3	0,2
Construction/Woodworking	6,3	5,9	-0,4	5,4	8,3	2,9
Foreman	1,1	2,5	1,4	1,2	1,4	0,2
other Secondary Occupations	1,6	2,5	0,9	1,1	1,1	0
<i>Secondary Occupations together</i>	<i>30,3</i>	<i>31,7</i>	<i>1,4</i>	<i>23,8</i>	<i>24,8</i>	<i>1</i>
Production Services	6,7	7	0,3	8	6,9	-1,1
Distributive Services	18,7	18	-0,7	19,8	19,3	-0,5
Organization/Administration	15,7	13	-2,7	22,4	18,8	-3,6
State Services	3,1	2,1	-1	3,5	2,5	-1
Consumption Services	11	9,8	-1,2	8,3	12,5	4,2
Social Services	4,2	4	-0,2	5,4	5	-0,4
Science and Teaching	5,7	8,3	2,6	6,8	5,9	-0,9
<i>Tertiary Occupations together</i>	<i>65,2</i>	<i>62,2</i>	<i>-3</i>	<i>74,2</i>	<i>68,9</i>	<i>-5,2</i>
Other Occupations	2,7	1	-1,7	1,9	3,5	1,6

△	East/West 1990: 9,5
△	East/West 1995: 9,6
△	East 1990/95: 15,3
△	West 1990/95: 10,6

<sup>1</sup> Based in Isco-Codes. These are NOT economic branches!

**Table 5: Changes between Occupational Fields in West and East Germany, 1990/1995**  
(outflow percents)

<b>WEST</b>	<b>Occupational Fields 1995</b>												
<b>Occupational Fields 1990</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
(1) Agriculture/Mining	82			3			6	5			6		
(2) Chemistry/Ceramics/Glass		55	11			2	6	14			4		
(3) Metal -working/Electricity		1	75			2	2	9	2	1	2	1	
(4) Textiles/Leather/Clothing				68	4	4		18			4		
(5) Food					76		5	10			10		
(6) Construction/Woodworking	1		2	1		85		3	4		2		
(7) Production Services	1	1	2				73	6	14			2	2
(8) Distributive Services	2		2				1	72	9		4		1
(9) Organization/Administration		1	1				3	7	85	1	1	1	1
(10) State Services	2		3				2		12	74	2	3	3
(11) Consumption Services				1			1	6	6		76	3	1
(12) Social Services												97	2
(13) Science and Teaching			1				1	1	8		4	2	85
<i>Stability of Occupational Field: 78 Percent (1990/93: 83 Percent; 1993/95: 86 Percent)</i>													
<b>EAST</b>	<b>Occupational Fields 1995</b>												
<b>Occupational Fields 1990</b>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
(1) Agriculture/Mining	49		2		2	10		27	2		2		5
(2) Chemistry/Ceramics/Glass		63	6	6		6				14			6
(3) Metal -working/Electricity		2	59	1	8	5	4	10	3	1	6	1	1
(4) Textiles/Leather/Clothing			8	46				39	8				
(5) Food					67			22			11		
(6) Construction/Woodworking			2			87	2			3	3	2	
(7) Production Services	4		3		1		44	13	24		3	6	3
(8) Distributive Services	2		3		1	6		73	8		5		1
(9) Organization/Administration						1	2	13	72	1	8	2	1
(10) State Services	5		5		5		5	19		48	14		
(11) Consumption Services	1		3	1				15	8	1	63	3	2
(12) Social Services								3	3		8	79	5
(13) Science and Teaching			1					3	17	3	3	3	72
<i>Stability of Occupational Field: 64 Percent (1990/93: 67 Percent; 1993/95: 85 Percent)</i>													

Source: Own calculations, German Socio-economic Panel Study, waves 1990 and 1995

**Table 6: Occupational Continuity and Change in East and West  
Germany: 1990 and 1995  
(in percent)**

	<b>West</b>	<b>East</b>
<i>Change of Occupation (ISCO)</i>	38	62
<i>Occupational Mobility (of those employed in 1990 and 1995)</i>		
upward	18	17
lateral	69	62
downward	13	22
<i>Occupational Mobility and Employment status</i>		
unemployed 1990 and 1995	7	-
out of employment	6	4
unemployed	5	13
downward	6	16
lateral	58	54
upward	10	14
entry into employment	10	1
<i>Shifts within Firms</i>		
one	5	9
2 or more	1	1
<i>Shifts between Firms</i>		
one	11	24
2 or more	3	8
<i>New Owner of the Firm</i>	0	7
<i>Moves into Self-Employment</i>		
one	2	5
2 or more	0	1
	N = 3452	N = 1558

Source: Own calculations, German Socio-economic Panel Study, waves 1990 and 1995.

**Table 7: Occupational Continuity and Change in West and East Germany  
between 1990 and 1995  
(in percent)**

	West	East	East compared to West
<b>Change of Occupation (ISCO, all Employees)</b>			
1990-1993	32	58	1,8
1993-1995	23	35	1,5
<b>(in parentheses: frequencies of job shifts)</b>			
1990/91	47 (8)	61 (25)	1,3
1991/92	44 (6)	57 (21)	1,3
1992/93	51 (6)	58 (13)	1,1
1993/94	41 (6)	63 (11)	1,5
1994/95	48 (8)	54 (11)	1,1

Source: Own calculations, German Socio-economic Panel Study, waves 1990 to 1995



**Table 8: Different Kinds of Job Shifts between 1990 and 1995**  
(in percent)

	no Shift	Shifts within Firm	New Owner	Shifts between Firms	into Self- Employment	New Entry
<b>1990/91</b>						
West	85	2	-	5	1	8
East	75	5	5	12	3	-
<b>1991/92</b>						
West	89	2	-	4	1	5
East	74	3	3	10	2	9
<b>1992/93</b>						
West	89	2	-	4	1	5
East	85	3	1	8	1	2
<b>1993/94</b>						
West	90	1	0	4	1	4
East	81	1	1	10	1	6
<b>1994/95</b>						
West	89	2	0	5	1	4
East	81	2	0	10	2	5

Source: Own calculations, German Socio-economic Panel Study, waves 1990 to 1995

**Table 9: Occupational Mobility between 1990 and 1995**  
(in percent)

	downward	lateral	upward
<b>1990/91</b>			
West	10	79	11
East	16	76	8
<b>1991/92</b>			
West	8	83	10
East	12	78	10
<b>1992/93</b>			
West	10	80	10
East	8	82	9
<b>1993/94</b>			
West	7	83	10
East	7	85	8
<b>1994/95</b>			
West	9	82	9
East	11	73	16

Source: Own calculations. German Socio-economic Panel Study, waves 1990 to 1995

**Table 10: Occupational Mobility and Change of Employment Status between 1990 and 1995**  
(in percent)

<i>Directions of occupational mobility</i>							
	stayed unemployed/ out of employment	from employment to out of employment	from employment to unemployed	downward	lateral	upward	new entry into employment
<b>1990/91</b>							
West	10	3	1	6	67	7	6
East	-	1	7	14	70	7	-
<b>1991/92</b>							
West	11	3	2	5	70	7	4
East	4	1	6	10	67	8	6
<b>1992/93</b>							
West	10	3	2	6	68	7	4
East	9	1	7	6	68	7	2
<b>1993/94</b>							
West	11	2	3	7	66	7	4
East	11	1	6	3	69	5	6
<b>1994/95</b>							
West	12	3	2	6	66	7	4
East	11	1	5	8	57	12	7

Source: Own calculations, German Socio-economic Panel Study, waves 1990 to 1995

**Table 11: Service Jobs within Public Sector and Private Service Jobs:  
Continuity and Change between 1990 and 1995  
(in percent)**

	1990 - 1993				1993-1995			
	stayed in Public Sector	from Public to Private	from Private to Public	stayed in Private Business	stayed in Public Sector	from Public to Private	from Private to Public	stayed in Private Business
<i>Occupational Mobility</i>								
West								
downward	5	8	12	7	3	14	8	7
lateral	89	76	74	84	88	81	69	84
upward	6	16	14	9	8	5	22	9
East								
downward	11	24	31	16	8	11	<sup>2</sup>	10
lateral	80	64	62	72	79	68	-	79
upward	9	12	7	12	13	21	-	11
<i>Shifts within Firms</i>								
West	9	3	12	3	6	0	3	3
East	12	4	5	12	3	0	-	1
<i>Shifts between Firms</i>								
West	4	16	27	9	2	19	28	7
East	10+9 <sup>1</sup>	37+1 <sup>1</sup>	28+6 <sup>1</sup>	26+5 <sup>1</sup>	3	10+5 <sup>1</sup>	-	10
<i>Moves to Self-Employment</i>								
West	0	5	6	3	0	3	0	2
East	1	14	0	5	0	15	-	4
<i>Exits from Employment</i>								
West	2	8	6	6	1	3	8	4
East	3	10	14	9	1	15	-	3
N West	303	41	56	558	371	39	38	638
N East	198	69	43	160	213	29	13	251

<sup>1</sup> The second figure is the frequency of new ownerships

<sup>2</sup> No distribution due to too few numbers

**Table 12: Stability and Change of Occupational Field:  
Job Shifts and Occupational Mobility between 1990/93 and 1993/95**  
(in percent)

	<i>1990/93</i>		<i>1993/95</i>	
	Same Occupational Field	Change of Occupational Field	Same Occupational Field	Change of Occupational Field
<i>Status Mobility</i>				
West				
downward	7	8	5	14
lateral	83	67	87	70
upward	11	25	8	16
East				
downward	11	26	7	16
lateral	83	66	80	70
upward	6	9	12	15
<i>Shifts within Firm</i>				
West	4	6	3	3
East	8	11	2	5
<i>Shifts between Firms</i>				
West	9	20	6	19
East	20+7 <sup>1</sup>	31+4 <sup>1</sup>	9	27+1 <sup>1</sup>
<i>Moves to Self-Employment</i>				
West	2	5	1	4
East	3	7	1	11
<i>Exits from Employment</i>				
West	2	6	3	6
East	5	14	3	12

<sup>1</sup> The second figure is the frequency of new ownerships.

Source: Own Calculations, German Socio-economic Panel Study, waves 1990, 1993, and 1995

**Table 13: Change of Occupational Field from 1990 to 1993 in West and East Germany  
(Logistic Regressions, Odds Ratios; Sample: People having a job in 1990 and 1993)**

	West	East
<b>Occupational Field in 1990</b>		
Agriculture/Mining	1,18	2,07
Chemistry/Metal-working/Electricity	Reference	Reference
Construction/Woodworking	0,55	0,64
other productions	1,57	2,93
Production Services	0,65	2,61
Distributive Services	0,29	0,46
Organization/Administration	0,41	0,69
State Services	1,03	1,81
Consumption Services	0,41	0,59
Social Services	0,19	0,45
Science and Teaching	0,57	0,74
<b>Employed in Job which does not fit to acquired qualifications in 1990: no</b>		
	1,61	1,65
<b>Fit between level of acquired certificates and job held in 1990</b>		
job below level of certificates acquired	1,11	1,87
same level	Reference	Reference
job above level of certificates acquired	0,79	1,76
<b>Employed within Public Sector in 1990</b>		
no	1,28	1,41
<b>Occupational Mobility from 1990 to 1993</b>		
downward	2,49	2,97
lateral	Reference	Reference
upward	4,32	2,64
<b>Shift(s) within Firm between 1990 and 1993:</b>		
yes	2,35	1,57
<b>Shift(s) between Firm between 1990 and 1993:</b>		
yes	3,15	1,34
<b>Experience(s) of Unemployment between 1990 and 1993: yes</b>		
	2,22	2,99
<b>Move(s) into Self-Employment between 1990 and 1993: yes</b>		
	8,09	2,34
<b>Gender: Female</b>		
	1,06	0,73
<b>Age</b>		
	1,01	0,99
n	1479	895
Chi <sup>2</sup> (df)	158,7 (22)	177,8 (29)
sign.	0,000	0,000

Source: Own Calculations, German Socio-economic Panel Study, waves 1990 and 1993.

**Table 14: Change of Occupational Field from 1993 to 1995 in West and East Germany  
(Logistic Regressions, Odds Ratios; Sample: People having a job in 1993 and 1995)**

	West	East
<b>Occupational Field in 1993</b>		
Agriculture/Mining	0,99	1,97
Chemistry/Metal-working/Electricity	Reference	Reference
Construction/Woodworking other productions	0,49	0,38
Production Services	3,09	2,53
Distributive Services	0,89	0,55
Organization/Administration	0,68	0,72
State Services	0,46	0,99
Consumption Services	1,32	0,76
Social Services	0,57	0,99
Science and Teaching	0,45	0,17
	0,29	1,33
<b>Employed in Job which fits to acquired qualifications in 1993 : no</b>		
	1,33	1,13
<b>Fit between level of acquired certificates and job held in 1993</b>		
job below level of certificates acquired same level	0,77	1,41
	Reference	Reference
job above level of certificates acquired	0,82	1,11
<b>Employed within Public Sector in 1993</b>		
no	1,64	1,41
<b>Occupational Mobility from 1993 to 1995</b>		
downward	3,94	2,59
lateral	Reference	Reference
upward	2,25	1,18
<b>Shift(s) within Firm between 1993 and 1995:</b>		
yes	1,81	4,27
<b>Shift(s) between Firm between 1993 and 1995:</b>		
yes	3,99	4,52
<b>Experience(s) of Unemployment between 1993 and 1995: yes</b>		
	1,42	3,23
<b>Move(s) into Self-Employment between 1993 and 1995 : yes</b>		
	5,55	16,29
<b>Gender: Female</b>		
	1,02	0,46
<b>Age</b>		
	1,01	1,01
n	1540	798
Chi2 (df)	136,7 (22)	124,1 (22)
sign.	0,000	0,000

Source: Own Calculations, German Socio-economic Panel Study, waves 1993 and 1995.

## **Bisherige Veröffentlichungen der Projekte 'Lebensverläufe und historischer Wandel in der ehemaligen DDR' und 'Ostdeutsche Lebensverläufe im Transformationsprozeß'**

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