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Ostdeutsche Lebensverläufe im Transformationsprozeß

**Continuities and Breaks in Occupational Careers
and Subjective Control:
The Case of the East German Transformation**

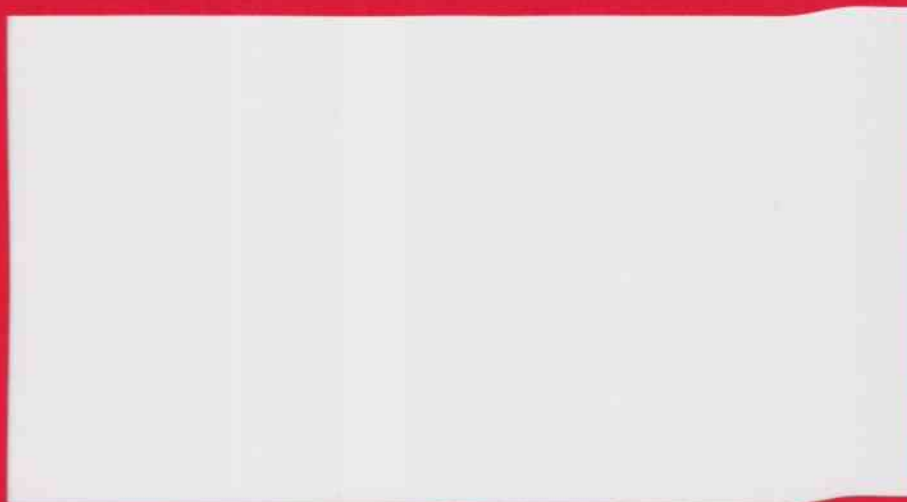
Martin Diewald

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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 Zühlke.

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1. Introduction

The German unification process since 1989 has no doubt led to a massive restructuring of East German society and economy. People in East Germany found themselves within a very short time in a radically changed societal order. The former certainty and security of the old system, as well as its hindrances and blockades, became obsolete, and new opportunities for action emerged. Quite suddenly, the East Germans had to cope with new, unfamiliar, formerly unpractised living conditions; they had to abandon old scripts and routines and to invent new ones. "Normal" expectations of continuity in the life course and everyday life have been called into question.

In the following, I will deal with the question of continuities and breaks in individual life courses by focusing on East German occupational careers before and after 1989: How are people re-allocated on the new labor market, and which impact do structural as well as individual factors have in this context? How well do competences acquired before 1989 fit with the new requirements after 1989? What does this mean for continuities and discontinuities in the East German occupational careers after 1989?

To study life course dynamics, I follow the paradigmatic assumption of individual life courses as mutual interplay between societies and individual personalities. This is demonstrated in this paper in two respects: personalities moulded by and bound into institutionalized life courses (section 2.1), and the role of subjective control in times of a societal break (section 2.2). These general theoretical arguments are then exemplified for the specific context of the East German transformation process, leading to hypotheses concerning the impact of the GDR life courses as the point of departure (section 3.1), as well as concerning the unique conditions of the transformation as pan-German unification (section 3.2). After describing the data base and methods available (section 4), empirical results of continuities and breaks in individual life courses and the role of subjective control are presented (sections 5 and 6).

2. Life course dynamics, subjective control, and social change

2.1 Life Course Dynamics and Society

Life course dynamics can be studied as interplay between societies and individual personalities (e.g., Caspi/Bem 1990, Elder/O'Rand 1995, Kohli/Meyer 1986, Kohn 1989, Turner 1989). Some authors doubt more or less that it is necessary and promising to look at personalities and individual agency to explain social phenomena like life course patterns,

social mobility and the like. It almost seems to be a *quantité négligeable*. For example John W. Meyer (1986, 1988) does not deny the importance of the self in modern societies but argues that the individual "sacred self" is institutionalized in modern societies as a client of market and policy institutions.¹ Most aspects of the self, however, are incorporated into the "institutionalized" life courses formed by modern institutions: If I know the certificates acquired and positions held by a person, I know - more or less - his personality. As Mary Douglas (1986:63) has noted, institutionalized ways of thinking "appear to be grounded in nature itself." They "turn individual thought over to an automatic pilot.. ." Similarly, Karl Ulrich Mayer (1990, 1996, 1997), argues that individual life courses are mainly mirrors which reflect the shape and the effects of the various societal institutions and macro-configurations like the systems of education and training, the labor market and system of industrial relations, or the welfare state.

Societies or institutional systems within societies can be differentiated according to their mode of developing and transforming individual, general (ontogenetic) capabilities into specific action competences. The question then arises to which degree these specific action competences reflect *only* such "institutionalized ways of thinking" in a specific society (as specific person-situation interaction) or whether they are manifestations of more general "traits" which are more or less transferable between different action fields and societies (by fast learning), even if they are embedded in different contexts of learning and experience. For example, are tenacity, flexibility, informal solidarity, or improvisations directed *against* formal institutions really the same as those *within* formal institutions?

Sørensen (1986) focused on the question how social structure shapes individual behavior by generating interests and predispositions. He points to the seminal, ideal-typical difference between open- and closed-position systems. They provide completely different opportunities and constraints for individual achievement strivings and define different mechanisms to obtain the achievement goals. Much more than in closed-position systems, career patterns in open-position systems should reflect a development of individual strivings and capacities, whereas "in closed-position systems, it is structure that creates success and failures, efficacy and depression" (pp. 196). Therefore, especially in open-position systems

¹ I do not distinguish here conceptually between "personality" and "self", though both concepts belong to different theoretical traditions. The concept of self refers explicitly to reflexivity and self-awareness, whereas, without this restriction, the concept of personality is the broader one (c.f., Gecas/Burke 1995).

the certificates and occupational positions held by an individual should reflect individual agency and an unfolding of individual competences. It is mostly in closed-position systems that we find individual competences developing to a high degree in person-situation interactions outside or even against the formal institutions of education and occupation.

On the other hand, as Soskice (1993) has argued, in a comparison of the German and British systems of industrial relations, closed-position systems are an element of societies and economies regulated by trust relationships and confidence in long-term commitments. They try to avoid the losses of self-esteem and achievement strivings which may result from uncertainty and instability in an open market system by providing stable perspectives and by buffering risks. The tendencies of demotivation inherent in closed-position systems as described by Sørensen above can be met by institutionalized career ladders, by patterns of flexible coordination, and the like. It should therefore be left as an open question whether open-position or closed-position systems foster individual strivings and agency more than the other.

I would like to add a third aspect which can be important for the fit between personalities and institutions in a given society: the fit between different social institutions following one another during an individual life course, as in the case with the systems of education and work. If the orientations and competences formed by selection and adaptation in the first institution (education) are picked up by corresponding selection and adaptation processes within the second institution (work), the fit should be high. In such cases, individual action competences and strivings should be represented well by the roles and positions the individuals held within these institutions. In other words: The more the competencies and personalities developed within the system of education are congruent with the selection criteria and requirements of the labor market, the more individual selves and competences are reflected by occupational certificates and positions. In the case, however, that the fit is low, agency and the development of competences should be shifted to a higher degree to action fields outside institutional careers.

The case of a rapid and far-reaching transformation of a society provides a unique opportunity to study the interplay between societies and personalities. Four aspects can be distinguished:

(1) When the old institutions are abolished or reshaped considerably, this leads automatically to a loss of meaning of former incorporated knowledge and patterns of

behavior. Much more than under stable conditions, attributes like gender, vocational certificates or occupational positions reveal their character as social constructions insofar as they might not mean the same under the new circumstances anymore. The resources, advantages, and disadvantages linked to them may change and therefore may force changing preceptions and perspectives of action, too. The aspects of the self which are incorporated into or provided by the previous life course and its ascribed and achieved roles or positions are therefore, more or less, called into question. Thus, even formal continuity (in the sense of life history spells) may indeed be discontinuity.

(2) Chances of upward and risks of downward moves are therefore greater in such times of a transition than in stable societies. This comprises high risks of losses of former investments, but insofar as former constraints and barriers get weakened or abolished, it potentially includes high chances, too. How such chances and risks are balanced can be quite different between individuals and depends on resources accumulated beforehand, on personal competencies, and on the specific institutional rules and basic conditions of the transformation process.

(3) Because in the more open situation of a transformation chances of gains and risks of losses are higher than in stable societies, the impact of motivation and subjective control should be higher too. This impact should be all the higher, the more the former system had blocked such subjective resources. The non situation is much more burdened with tasks of reorientation and coping requiring special abilities and from which people are normally protected by stable institutions. As Elder and Caspi (1990) have argued, "accentuation" of individual inequalities is likely to appear in such a situation.

(4) A fourth factor having impact on the amount of continuities and breaks is the degree to which both institutional systems - the "society of origin" and the "society of destination" - differ from one another with respect to qualifications and skills required. The assumption of massive-scale discontinuities relies on the assumption that these requirements are discrepant, but this is by no means a matter of course.

2.2 Life Course and Subjective Control

The self as "an originating agent seems crucial to the fundamental experience of self" (Gecas 1982:17). Gurin and Brim (1984) define the striving for control as "central aspect of the self", and according to Inkeles (1983:38), it belongs to the core elements of individual

modernity. Rothbaum, Weisz, and Snyder (1982) term control even as a quasi-anthropological need. Insofar as one agrees that life courses are not completely steered by institutions but also products of individual action, individual perceptions and concepts of control are crucial for understanding them (Brandstätter 1984, Krampen 1987, Heckhausen 1995). In the following, I refer to two different aspects of control: control beliefs and control strategies.

Control beliefs are "perceived behavioural outcome contingencies" (Krampen 1986:204). Several concepts can be distinguished: Control beliefs, causality beliefs, and agency beliefs. "Beliefs about control may be defined as person's generalized expectancies that they are capable of producing intended outcomes. In contrast, beliefs about causality represent generalized expectancies that particular causes or conditions result in particular outcomes. Finally, beliefs about agency refer to generalized expectancies regarding the availability of the antecedent conditions to the particular agent" (Skinner 1985:130). The enormous interest in control beliefs in psychological empirical research is based on the hope of explaining and predicting actual behaviour and problem-solving. As learning theory suggests, this expectation should be confirmed mostly for unknown and ambiguous situations, where no situation-specific experiences and expectations are available. Domain-specific control beliefs are more predictive than general control beliefs (Lachmann 1986).

Inkeles (1983) stresses the importance of the modern educational and occupational systems in forming and maintaining these aspects of personality (pp. 68). And as several studies on social structural differences in control beliefs make evident, the maintenance of self-efficacy or "internal" control beliefs seems to be dependent on positive feedbacks and reinforcements, whereas experiences of discrimination and stigmatization lower the perceived control (Krampen 1986:137), as already mentioned in the former discussion of the difference between open-position and closed-position systems.

This is, however, only one side of the process of "spiralling success and failure" (Gecas 1989:307). On the other side, individuals with a high level of self-efficacy or high internal control beliefs are "better discerners and users of information", have more advantages from social support (Lefcourt 1985:165), they tend to be more optimistic about the success of their own efforts and abilities, and to use these comparative advantages to reach advantageous positions which further strengthen their sense of control (e.g., Hoff 1982). Perceived control can therefore be seen as a product of prior experiences in the

society as well as a psychological resource leading to a more active and persistent problem solving behavior when confronted with stressors.

Two different strategies to gain control can be distinguished (Rothbaum/Weisz/Snyder 1982, Heckhausen/Schulz 1995). Active engagements are labeled as "primary control". It comprises all efforts to exert influence on the environment to adapt it to one's own needs and goals. "Secondary control" is the strategy to "fit in with the world" and to "flow with the current" (Rothbaum/Weisz/Snyder 1982:8). The fit between person and its environment is reached here from the other side, namely by adapting one's goals and desires to the circumstances which are perceived to be more or less unchangeable. In order to prevent a confusion of terminology, these terms refer in the following to different manners of a striving for control, which need not at all be congruent with actual strategies or even achieved behaviour-event contingencies.

Normally, so-called "internal" control beliefs should be linked with an enhanced striving for primary control, given the same social conditions of spiralling success and failure. This is the case insofar as action-related beliefs are "decisive for determining the feasibility of primary control and thereby can inform the individual whether primary control type action is worthwhile or not. Action related beliefs mediate the relationship between the individual's assessment of reality and the individual's primary and secondary control behavior..." (Heckhausen 1995:135). As some research findings suggest, however, especially in times of societal discontinuities and unusual threats to the self-concept and former investments, individuals react with an enhanced striving for primary control to prevent losses instead of an adaption of life goals to the environment (Elder 1974).

3. The context of the East German transformation process

3.1 The GDR as point of departure

"Unmodern" personalities, as they were formed by the "unmodern" institutions of the GDR, are often seen as serious impediments for a successful transformation process in East Germany (e.g., Engler 1993, Andretta/Baethge 1995). Most criticized in this respect are what could be termed, in Melvin Kohn's (1989) words, lags in "occupational self-direction", less developed occupation-oriented achievement strivings, conformism and traditionalism instead of personal autonomy, a low level of primary control, and a "niche" mentality. Other authors state instead that there are also mentalities, dispositions, and habits acquired under the

specific circumstances in the GDR which can now become potentials for muddling through and building up a new, partly "postmodern", service economy as well as fitting into "new production concepts" in the industry: communitarian orientations, solidarity, communication abilities, and the ability of creative improvisations combined with tenaciousness (e.g., Senghaas-Knobloch 1992, Hradil 1995). A third position, combining the two assumptions, would assume that there existed different social milieus in the GDR which created different habits which lead now to differential success and failure in the transformation process (Vester et al. 1995).

The main debate in this field concerns the question of how deeply worklife and occupational careers did indeed follow the autonomous logic ("Eigenlogik") of an highly differentiated, achievement- and competence-oriented occupational system, but were also steered or "overridden" by a primacy of politics mainly interested in loyalty and equality (instead of achievement) on the labor market and systems of industrial relations. The more the latter is true, (a) the more the class- and occupation-specific, crucial distinction of "differential opportunities for occupational self-direction" (in the sense of "the use of initiative, thought, and independent judgement in work", Kohn et al. 1990) known from market societies is supposed to disappear or at least to be levelled, and (b) the lower the general level of occupational self-direction should be. The following arguments to support this hypothesis can be found in the literature:

(1) The Party kept the control over the means of production, so that even managers at a middle and a higher level (with the exception of the very party elite positions) had few opportunities to plan and decide actively; this is part of a monopolized structure of power and control in the East German society - which make all other differentiations more or less meaningless (cf. Adler 1991).

(2) Due to a "pampering of the working class" ("Hofierung der Arbeiterklasse", Lötsch 1990) in the GDR, workers had much more control over their work than in market economies, and their relationship to supervisors and managers was less one of subordination than one of bargaining (Voskamp/Wittke 1990, Rottenburg 1992).

(3) For the same reason, the GDR had a more egalitarian distribution of material and cultural living conditions irrespective of occupational position or class membership (Meuschel 1992, Geißler 1993, Engler 1993). Additionally, the comprehensive welfare state of the GDR provided an encompassing system of social security and subsidies. Incentives for

achievement strivings therefore should have been considerably lower;

(4) The daily hassles and conditions at the working places were so demotivating that they led to a far-reaching withdrawal or disengagement from responsibilities and commitment to work and occupation itself.

Taken together, worklife and occupation, and especially the firm, seemed to play a major role in the lives and selves of people in the GDR, but it was not so much dedicated to the ethics of occupational commitment and performance but to work as "center of the daily life" (Voskamp/Wittke 1990, Kohli 1994). Under such conditions, occupational upward mobility and higher occupational positions generally should not signal the same qualities as expected in market economies: achievement strivings, internal subjective control, and the like extra-qualifications. Thus, it is argued by some authors that occupational mobility in the GDR was undertaken mainly for private, rather than occupational or career, reasons (Andretta/Baethge 1995, Grünert/Lutz 1995). Mobility processes contrary to this picture - like job shifts to obtain a more interesting job - should therefore be, the exception not the rule.

There is, however, some counter-evidence against this picture:

(1) Differences of material rewards for different jobs were less pronounced than in market economies but still considerable enough to provide incentives for career strivings (Diewald/Solga 1995).

(2) The "underlife" (in the sense of Goffman 1959) within firms and the bargaining processes among the different levels of the firm's hierarchy are not part of the formal occupational structure, but rather are to some extent, a quasi-institutional expression of work ethics.

(3) The system of education and training in the GDR had a strong orientation towards occupational specialization, that is, to transmitting the respective skills and identities, and it seemed to be quite successful in teaching competences like achievement strivings and responsibility (Lenhardt/Stock 1996).

If one accepts especially the two last arguments, the problem in the GDR was not in the development of achievement orientations and work ethics in its citizens but the failure to transmit them into the formal organizations of the economy. As Bandura (1977) would argue, (former) feelings of futility may result from low self-efficacy or competence beliefs in the former case, from the perception of a system which is unresponsive to one's strivings in the

latter. The expectation for the time after 1989 is therefore an unfolding of hitherto blocked subjective resources, especially in the case of an unstructured and chaotic transformation process where the "chaos competencies" against institutional shortcomings acquired in the GDR might be helpful. If one tends, however, more to the first group of arguments, the expectation is closer to a "deficiency hypothesis" of subjective resources and competences, especially if one does not believe that competences acquired and developed in extra-occupational contexts before 1989 will be transferrable to the occupational life after 1989.

Another aspect of occupational careers and positions in the GDR, mostly independent of such considerations about personality influences, is the question of a devaluation of certificates and occupational experiences acquired before 1989 in the light of a partly different occupational system and partly different institutional embeddings for same occupations. Such fears should be especially relevant for technology-intensive occupations where a lag between East and West existed (e.g., engineers, computer specialists), and for occupations based on specific knowledge about laws, economic and administration rules (e.g., economists, managers, lawyers). But most researchers claim a much more general devaluation. The reason is that the qualifications acquired and necessary in the state socialist economy of the GDR (whether in the processing industries, in administration, or in the service industries) are no longer useful because they were to a high degree system- and company-specific (Grünert/Lutz 1995, Andretta/Baethge 1995). On the other hand, the assumption a GDR labor market having been primarily an inner-firm labor market could not be confirmed by analysis with respective life course data (Huinink/Mayer/Trappe 1995).

Compared internationally to other societies, however, the systems of trainings and education in the GDR and the FRG seem to be characterized by a high degree of commonality both exhibiting a thoroughly elaborated segmentation according to various degrees and technical fields (Diewald/Solga 1996a). In general, this should it make easier to transfer the the GDR certificates as resource into the transformation process and therefore enable stable occupational careers.

Certificates, however, are not only credentials of specific technical and professional knowledge in a narrow sense but also provide broader "biographical portraits" including more general skills like achievement strivings, agency, responsibility, flexibility, styles of communication and the like. Such general skills are precisely the skills which were labeled as deficits of the GDR occupational system shortly after unification. On the other hand, the

systems of training and education of the GDR receive quite good marks in this respect (Lenhardt/Stock 1996).

Especially in hierarchical and authoritarian systems, indicators for individual engagement and development may be found outside institutional contexts like the occupational system and the economy, insofar as these formal contexts are supposed to block individual engagement and “subjectivity” instead of integrating and developing it. For the GDR and socialist societies in general, engagement in informal, practical network help and the shadow economy are primary examples of “vents” for individual flexibility and creativity blocked in formal institutions. Both such activities in informal networks and the above mentioned bargaining within firms to improve one's working conditions and to overcome adverse conditions in the production process are the basis for special skills for “muddling through”.

Taken together, these arguments support the assumption that the individual life courses and incorporated competences and selves in the GDR are not so uniform that they can sufficiently be deduced from macrosocial system imperatives, as when they are normally ascribed to the system of the GDR. Obviously, there was some leeway for different pathways of individual development, different strategies for coping with these system imperatives and pursuing one's own life goals, and therefore for different types of inclusion into the system (Huinink, Mayer et al. 1995, Pollack 1996, Engler 1996, Mayer/Diewald 1996). Such individual differences can serve as a starting point for examining successes and failures in the time after the wall came down.

3.2 The specific rules of the East German transformation as pan-German unification

The question of how these features become resources in the transformation process stems not only from interest in these individual “heritages” stemming from the GDR period, but also from a concern with the rules and mechanisms of the transformation itself. I cannot deal here with all of them in detail (Mayer/Diewald/Solga 1996) but want to focus on two important arguments. The first is the legal, far-reaching acknowledgement of most occupational certifications in the Unification Contract. This political decision is backed up culturally by the German tradition of a labour market segmented according to occupational lines (Diewald/Solga 1996a), and should facilitate the qualification transfer from the GDR labour market to that after 1989. Despite the arguments for a devaluation discussed above,

failure and success, inclusion and exclusion on the labor market after 1989 should therefore be steered to a high degree by occupational certificates, providing occupational continuity for many.

The Unification Contract includes at least one other provision presumably important for continuities and breaks in occupational careers after 1989: As a rule, people who were employed in the former state sector of the GDR were to be carried over into public service in the FRG - excepting of course, the so-called "x-sector" comprising former political functionaries and the secret service (Staatssicherheit). As a result, former state employees should have higher chances of status continuity and employment compared to other employment groups.

Third, non-certified orientations and capabilities should become increasingly important in a transformation situation like the one after 1989 in East Germany. Even in the case that the legal regulations for recognizing the equivalence of educational and training degrees of the GDR prove to become relevant, the necessary structural change in the East German economy should lead to more openness than in (more or less) stable economies. In an ideal-type manner, one can think of a transition from a very rigid system to an "individualized" system addressing the responsibility to the single self. Or, in a similar perspective, from a closed-position system with few incentives and very restricted opportunities for economic behavior to an economy with more open-position sectors, the latter maybe especially in the new-developing private service sectors. It can plausibly be expected that qualifications and capabilities that suffering suppression and discrimination in the GDR have now better chances to unfold. Personality characteristics like internal agency beliefs and primary striving for control may be crucial for seizing these chances. It is just the type of situation where control beliefs should be predictive of actual behavior. On the other hand, the availability of such chances is dependent on economic development creating a corresponding demand for labor.

4. Data, operationalizations, and methods

In the following analyses, I apply data of the study "Life Courses and Historic Change in the Former GDR", carried through at the Max Planck Institute for Human Deveopment and Education. The main data collection took place between September 1991 and October 1992, whereby half of the interviews were able to be completed by the end of 1991, that is,

approximately two years after the historic events which together are referred to as the *Wende* today. The random sample consists of 2,323 people born in one of four birth cohorts (1929-31, 1939-41, 1951-53 and 1959-61) who in October 1990 were living in what had up to then been the German Democratic Republic ("East Germany"). These 2,323 people underwent an oral interview and answered very detailed questions about their life course. In the spring of 1993, a follow-up survey was conducted by mail in which 1,254 of the original participants took part. The present paper is based on the data on control beliefs, control strategies and career mobility collected in this follow-up survey. The sample of this follow-up survey sample shows almost no distortions at all compared to the original sample. The unemployment rate in the sample corresponds almost perfectly to the official unemployment rates for the birth cohorts included.

Data on control beliefs were collected with the help of the CAMAQ-SV, a shortened version of the CAMAQ (Control Agency Means-Ends in Adulthood Questionnaire, Heckhausen 1994). The CAMAQ-SV contains a differentiated inquiry about control beliefs ("I can achieve goal X"), about means-ends beliefs ("means Y leads to goal X") and finally, about agency beliefs ("I have access to means Y, which may help me to reach goal X"). Means-ends beliefs and agency beliefs refer to the importance of or access to five conditional factors. Two of these factors are internal: effort and ability (Skinner et al. 1988), and three are external: happiness, personal relations (Lachman 1986, Levenson 1972) and the socio-economic situation. The follow-up survey asked about all these beliefs as they relate to work-life. Primary control striving is measured by the tenacits scale, and secondary control striving is measured with the flexible goal-adjustment scale (Brandtstädter & Renner 1990).

Though a can refer to longitudinal data about life histories, data about control beliefs and control strategies are available only for one point in time, namely in spring 1993. Therefore, I do not have the opportunity to disentangle empirically the influences of subjective control on life course trajectories from the impact of life course trajectories on subjective control. As we have seen in section 2, both causal directions are plausible. It is therefore only possible to look for empirical evidence for underlying theoretical hypotheses by model designs which allow to control for competing factors which are supposed to be relevant for the respective causal direction.

5. Results

5.1 Subjective control and former occupational career

What aspects of subjective control carry over from the different occupational positions and mobility experiences during the time of the GDR? Because my main interest is limited to people who are still on the labour market after 1989, I look here only at the three younger birth cohorts of the sample. The oldest cohort has almost completely retired either by regular (women) or early (men) retirement during the first two years of the transformation process.² Results are documented in table 1 (scales for tenacity and flexibility), and table 2a,b (means-ends beliefs and agency beliefs). They show association between subjective control on the "dependent" side, and occupational status and occupational careers before and after 1989 on the "independent" side.³

---- about here tables 1 and 2a,b ---

As shown for Western societies, people in higher occupational positions show higher levels of primary control, and higher internal control beliefs, though many of the differences are quite small. Most remarkable is the high level of tenacity of former managers at the middle and higher levels, as well as their higher means-ends- and agency-beliefs with respect to effort and ability. In addition, they think of themselves as having access to external conditions (socio-economic conditions and social connections). On the other side of the occupational hierarchy, people employed in unskilled positions in 1989 show the lowest level of tenacity and slightly lower internal control beliefs than people in skilled level positions.

In sum, we find no empirical evidence that occupational life courses in the GDR reflect differential subjective potentials of control other than those found in Western market societies. That the barriers to mobility across different segments of the labor market enforced by different occupational levels may not have been weakened after 1989, refuting the suspicion that GDR certificates and occupational positions did not reflect differences in

²For a more detailed and cohort-specific analysis of life histories, action control beliefs, developmental regulation, and self-esteem see Diewald/Huinink/Heckhausen 1996.

³Other factors included in the models for which the results are not displayed here are party membership in 1989, intergenerational mobility before 1989, whether respondents grew up with father or not, and sex (for detailed results see Diewald/Huinink/Heckhausen 1996).

subjective competences as required by a "Western" occupational stratification.⁴ Whether the differences are less pronounced in planning than in market economies, however, cannot be decided here.

Whereas these measures of success in occupational careers are positively linked with subjective control, indicators of informal practical network help and jobs on the side are not. This runs contrary to the expectation that informal activities and private life were the major spheres sounds juvenile for individual subjectivity and activity, and that occupational life and political participation did not provide opportunities for primary control strivings.⁵ To be sure that I am not misunderstood: I do not mean by this that the GDR was successful or effective in mobilizing such subjective resources on the whole, but only that success within the formal organizations of the GDR seem to be a better predictor of subjective agency and tenaciousness than other types of engagements and no engagement.

Similar associations are found with respect to occupational success after 1989: Upward mobility is linked with high primary control and a high self-esteem; downward mobility and especially unemployment with the reverse. As control beliefs show, the "losers" refer mostly to external factors like luck, social connections, and socioeconomic conditions as being important but out of individual control. The "winners" point instead to both external and internal factors: they believe in effort and ability as important for success (and believe that they have both), but they also say that they were lucky and had good connections.

As already mentioned, it is not possible, given only a single point of measurement, to decide whether different control beliefs, control strategies, or levels of self-esteem lead to the life events under observation here or vice versa. As life course theories linking personal development with life histories assume (Vondracek/Lerner/Schulenberg 1986, Elder/O'Rand 1995, Caspi/Bem 1990, Gecas/Burke 1995), the observed associations can perhaps be best understood as the result of self-reinforcing and stabilizing selection and cumulation effects. Without additional evidence for either the one or other causal direction, the observed

⁴Similar results are reported by Kohn and Slomczynski (1990) in a comparison of the USA and Poland.

⁵These results fit very well with another observation made in the context of this research: Former Party members and functionaries when asked in the affirmative, whether one could reach one's goals in the GDR to a high degree, in the affirmative, whereas people especially engaged in informal practical network aid and activities in the shadow economy did not (Diewald 1995:234).

interrelations between subjective control and the life histories until 1989 should be understood in this way.

5.2 Continuities and Breaks in occupational careers after 1989

Given these results, further expectations concerning the impact of the former life course on continuity and discontinuity, failure and success after 1989 can be formulated as follows:

(1) Non-meritocratic prerequisites or advantages for occupational success in the GDR should have been comprehensively devaluated. The prototypical example for such characteristics is former political loyalty as expressed by Party membership.

(2) Strong and permanent ties to a firm - as expressed by no or low inter-firm-mobility - weaken adaptability to the new requirements and circumstances characterized, among other things, by a low stability of former enterprises. Two factors are responsible for this: First, occupational skills linked to the needs of a specific firm are hard to sell in a labor market which is primarily segmented according to occupational lines. Second, prior experiences of firm shifts might strengthen coping competences which are relevant in times of transition when the population of firms is unstable.

(3) Persons who, in the GDR, had pursued a life style dedicated more to private, extra-occupational needs now have poorer chances on the labor market and particularly high risks of unemployment.

(4) Older age is a disadvantage. The older the people, the more they are shaped by the now obsolete system of the GDR, the less time they have had for successful coping, and the less employers are willing to invest in further education.

(5) Prior experiences of discontinuity and initiative in occupational careers should have developed action and competences which might be helpful in coping with new unexpected, non-routine situations like the transformation process.

(6) Subjective control in the form of tenacity and agency beliefs should have an impact, because such personality characteristics are especially important in turbulent times to avoid losses and to achieve gains. This impact, however, should be only a limited one for two reasons. First, these characteristics are already partly incorporated into former occupational failure and success. And second, the Unification contract provided strong structural forces steering status maintenance and loss.

To give a comprehensive overview of occupational mobility in East Germany since 1989, I draw on six single logit regression models of different labor market positions in 1993, as compared to the situation in 1989. In Table 3, four mutually exclusive alternatives of success and failure in the labour market are displayed: becoming unemployed, downward mobility, upward mobility, and - as a "continuity expectation" - stability of occupational position. In Table 4, two other alternatives are dealt with: change of occupational field, and becoming self-employed. These two are not additional or mutually exclusive alternatives to those in Table 3, but refer simply to other aspects of the "continuity expectation".

For each of these alternatives, I look at four types of explanatory factors:

a) Work-related, ascribed, and achieved assets, which were considered to be important for occupational success as measured, in 1989 before the wall came down and which might change their significance after 1989: cohort membership and gender as ascribed characteristics, and former Party membership and network support in getting a job as achieved assets.

b) Several characteristics of occupational mobility in the GDR: It is a little unclear what changes of the occupational field and shifts between firms really stand for: tenacity in goal achievement, flexibility in coping with structural opportunities and constraints, or simply experiences of discontinuity and resulting adaptation competences in the work-life. In any case, such experiences contradict the common presumption of immobility and a firm-related (and not career-centered) work-life and accumulation of capabilities and should therefore signal capabilities which can be useful in times of societal transformation. More directly, the questions of job shifts due to private versus occupational factors and of self-initiated job shifts are aimed at the identifying individuals who possessed or developed such orientations before 1989 and at differentiating between persons who have a low versus high job orientation, as well as these who were more active than others.

c) The very detailed differentiation of different types of occupational mobility until 1989 refers to success and failure in the occupational career in times of the GDR. But especially in a labor market which is segmented according to occupational lines and which adheres to such a great extent to occupational certifications, as in the GDR (and Germany as a whole), success and failure should be defined in relation to the *highest* level of qualifications acquired. In addition, I also differentiated between different ways in which fits or discrepancies between level of qualification and level of occupation came about: by

compensating for an initial employment below the level of qualification via upward mobility, by downward mobility after prior upward mobility and vice versa, or by steady employment at the same level. This tells us something about experiences of continuity and discontinuity already before 1989, and whether difficulties in maintaining a job equivalent to the level of qualification acquired had to be pursued against the odds.

d) Whether respondents worked in 1989 in the public sector or not was additionally included, as this distinction defines at least a legal (if not a real) difference of job security after 1989 (see section 3.2).

e) Whether people were engaged in above-average levels of informal economic support was included as an indicator for a possible shift of engagement and agency to outside the formal economy.

f) Several indicators of subjective control, measured in 1993: tenacity (striving for primary control) and flexibility (striving for secondary control) as control strategies, and agency beliefs referring to the so-called internal factors: ability and effort.

In sum, the expectation is, that people who (a) had already shown self-initiative, (b) who had proven tenaciousness in pursuing occupational goals, (c) who did not withdraw into the private niche, (d) who did not simply stay where they were allocated and who had already experienced instability before 1989, and (e) who believe in their abilities and efficacy are more successful after 1989 than others, and that they are better able to take advantage of the chances offered by the structural change in the East German economy. Tenacity and perceived agency should be especially important in such a situation of rapid social change to avoid losses and to make use of the situation's openness. Their impact on processes of reallocation on the labor market should, however, be limited by the facts reported in the previous section.

Whereas all these arguments emphasize the importance of differential personalities - life course experiences, competences, beliefs - for sudden processes of re-allocation in a quite open situation, another perspective points to the overwhelming impact of structural forces like the rules of the unification contract, similarities and dissimilarities of the educational and occupational systems of GDR and FRG, or the rapid and extensive elimination of industrial workplaces in certain regions of the former GDR. In this view, personal differences are nothing more than minor influences on what happens at the East German labor market after the Wall came down - and I must admit that, due to the data

available, structural forces are less represented than individual properties and experiences in the analyses I will present.

To give a comprehensive overlook of different types of occupational mobility, I refer to six separate logistic regressions. I look first at four types of failures and successes on the labor market in 1993 compared to 1989 which are exclusive to one another: from employment to unemployment, downward mobility, stability of occupational status, and upward mobility (see Table 3). Second, I look at two types of occupational shifts which are typical of the structural change of the East German economy: shifts into self-employment and shifts of the occupational field (see Table 4).

An initial look at successes and failures in occupational careers after 1989 reveals that roughly two thirds of the East German employees were able to keep their occupational position during the first three-and-a-half years of the transformation process. Second, the presumed openness of the situation after 1989 is quite one-sided, at least with respect to occupational mobility: Upward mobility was considerably lower than downward mobility and even less than in West Germany (Table 3; see also Diewald/Solga 1996c⁶). Downward mobility was roughly two times higher than upward mobility, and the amount of unemployment even exceeded that of downward mobility, rising from zero to about 17 percent. In sum, this means a quite clearcut polarization of chances at the labor market.

---- about here table 3 ---

Which factors are responsible for belonging to one or the other group? Obviously, gender and age have become one of the sharpest criterions for inclusion and exclusion at the labor market. Women face a higher risk of unemployment and of downward mobility, leading to a lower chance of stability of occupational position, and they have only half the chances of upward mobility compared to men. Though women did not have equal career chances during the times of the GDR, the situation now has different character. Looking at the different birth cohorts, the most striking difference is between those born around 1940 and the other two cohorts. The disadvantages of comparably older age seem to prevail over the advantages of longer former investments into the occupational career. The youngest

⁶ In that paper, these results could be confirmed by further analyses with the data of the GSOEP (German Socioeconomic Panel).

cohort in our study, those born around 1960, has the lowest risk of unemployment. Compared to the the cohort which is 8 years older, they have a slightly higher risk of downward mobility but much better chances of upward mobility.

An important asset for occupational success in the GDR is now found to be a liability in the labor market: Former Party membership does certainly not lead to a higher risk of unemployment, but to it does load to twice the risk of downward mobility. This is - looking closer at the data - mostly true for the former managers but also for other occupations.

The occupational career and worklife until 1989 seem to have a strong impact on failures and successes, or continuities and discontinuities after 1989, but they are difficult to interpret in terms of personal versus structural characteristics. Structural forces should be responsible for the fact that the formelyr self-employed and the public sector employees were best able to be avoid the risk of unemployment (see section 3.2). The coefficients for stability of occupational position, too, stress the significance of the public sector as a domain of relative employment security (it is still less than in West Germany; see Diewald/Solga 1996c). It provides by far the highest stability of occupational position, but on the other hand, it is also by far the smallest window for upward mobility.

Secondly, the "shape" of the former occupational career seems sometimes to have contradictory impacts on the career after 1989. People who worked in positions below their level of qualification (who are mainly people in unskilled positions) now have lower chances of status continuity. Those who reached their position by downward mobility do not face a higher risk of downward mobility, but they are at greater risk unemployment. People who worked below their level of qualification from the beginning, however, had a significantly lower risk of unemployment. I will return to this distinction later.

Against initial expectations, upward and downward mobility before 1989 do not continue after 1989 but are "reserved". The former would be primarily floor and ceiling effects. But why does upward mobility before 1989 imply a higher risk of downward mobility after 1989, and downward mobility before 1989 a higher chance of upward mobility after 1989? Yet the explanation for this, apparently, strange result becomes quite clear after a closen look at the data: The former upwardly mobile and now downwardly mobile are driven back to the occupational level which fits to their qualification level. The same is true for the people who were downwardly mobile before 1989 and are upwardly mobile now. This latter effect, however, is primarily caused by a single group and is therefore not

generalizable: people with vocational training who worked in quite well-paid unskilled level positions now move into skilled level positions after 1989. This effect in particular does not reflect a general opening of formerly restricted career opportunities but rather, a return to the level of occupation in a special segment, which fits to their qualification level.

The explanation for this result is perhaps that certificates are the preferred choice for reducing uncertainty in the re-allocation of persons after the Wall came down - even if their significance is called into question by discrepancies between the two educational systems and the content and character of individual occupational training programs. The political decision to acknowledge the educational system of the GDR in the unification contract is crucial in this respect and is culturally embedded in the East and West German tradition of a labor market segmented according to occupational lines. This seems to be true despite some well-known exceptions such as law or business administration. Even for these professions, detailed analyses show a surprisingly high level of occupational stability. But due to the small number of cases for such specific occupational groups, I must point out that the latter is not more than a preliminary impression.

The interpretation offered here is additionally supported by the fact that persons who changed their occupation in times of the GDR had a considerably higher risk of unemployment and a lower probability of keeping their occupational position. Shifts between firms, however, have no impact on the risks or chances under observation. This result is contrary to the expectation that immobility favoring a firm-centered career in the GDR leads to reduced chances for externalizing occupational skills in a labor market which is no longer segmented according to the formerly existing production combines.

The interpretations offered up to now all point to the importance of structural forces driving the occupational careers after 1989. The patterns of occupational mobility also hint, however, at individual factors. Relative to "stable" careers - where employment is always equivalent to the level of qualification without upward or downward mobility, or else upward mobility only - formerly experienced discontinuities, disappointments, and difficulties seem to lead to higher discontinuities after 1989 as well. This is true for chances as well as for risks. With some caution, one could conclude that the individual behavior shows continuity before after 1989 but that the "result" of the behavior seems to be dependent on the respective fit between individual behavior and structural opportunities and constraints.

More directly, both the reasons for and the initiation of job shifts before 1989 are indicators of individual orientations and competences. Job shifts due primarily to private motivations can be regarded as indicator of job orientation which is definitely not career-oriented. Forty-three percent of our respondents reported having had such job shifts (81 percent women and 19 percent men). As might be expected, these persons face now a double risk of unemployment, but not of downward mobility. And they have also smaller chances for upward mobility. However, self-initiative we did not find the expected impact of former self-initiative. Astonishingly it even (weakly) connected with a higher (and not lower) risk of unemployment.

Against some of the expectations discussed in section 3.1, a higher engagement in informal practical support inside and outside the work environment, or jobs on the period during the time of the GDR, do *not* indicate assets, general activity, or abilities to “muddle through” which can be transferred to the worksphere or which are helpful to master the new requirements after the wall came down. One exception is informal networks which were helpful in getting a job before 1989. They are not generally helpful defying the odds in the transformation of the labor market but do seem to be important in some of the relatively few cases of upward mobility we observe.

In sum, individual characteristics of the life course and structural forces each have an impact on success and failure on the East German labor market after 1989. However, most of the observable labour market processes seem to be the outcome of a few far-reaching institutional arrangements: acknowledgement of the old occupational credentials leading to status maintenance for the majority at the cost of gender discrimination and early retirement. In this perspective, the transformation process does not look like a very open or chaotic situation in which a reassessment of individual competences leads to dramatic reallocations.

The different successes and failures we just examined might not sufficiently take into account the significance of various institutional contexts discussed in section 3, especially the role of the structural change in the East German economy, and are therefore not very sensitive to question of structural versus personal impacts. In Table 4, I draw on two types of occupational shifts which represent this structural change: Changes of the occupational field and shifts into self-employment which signal for the considerable flexibility in staying in the labor force and seizing the chances offered by the new circumstances, mostly, changing one's occupation from non-service to service jobs (Diewald/Solga 1996b). This

meant a comparably higher risk of downward mobility (23% compared to an average of 16% of those still employed in 1993) and comparably higher chances for upward mobility (14% compared to an average of 8% of those still employed in 1993) as well. Both types of occupational shifts should be especially sensitive to the impact of specific individual

competences because they are much less steered by formal rules than are usual career tracks such location in the public sector among other thing.

---- about here table 4 ----

Apparently, both types of occupational shifts predominantly affect males. Beyond this, changes of occupational field are not only simply enforced by structural forces but also seem to be a track chosen mainly by people who already made this decision before 1989, and more generally of people who did not follow a career exactly at their level of qualification without ups or downs before 1989. One might say that shifts between occupations after 1989 show a “homotypic” continuity of behavior before 1989. Former experiences of shifts between occupations during the times of the GDR seem to be good preparation for the search for new chances in the transformation process outside the previous occupational field. Although it cannot be decided here, it seems plausible that such experiences stand for abilities to adjust flexibly to institutional failures and to muddle through outside the usual, “given” tracks. On the other side, who oriented their occupational life period more according to private needs during the GDR are not at all the people who seized the opportunities offered by the structural change after 1989.

For the second type, shifts into self-employment, I have to be cautious with far-reaching interpretations because it is a very heterogeneous group and consists of only 31 cases in our sample. Contrary to shifts of the occupational field, the previous shape of the occupational career seems to be more or less unimportant, a part from the fact that former employees of the public sector rarely choose (or have to choose) this means of staying in the labor force. However, this relatively small group shows a very multifaceted mix of devaluations of former resources and the use of specific resources as driving forces. The alternative of being self-employed attracted who have been clearly career-oriented, and informal instrumental networks obviously were quite important for assuming the risk of this

strategy. On the other side, it also attracted people who have been clearly oriented towards private needs outside the job, and former Party members who lost an important asset for their career. In the first case, self-employment may mean a seizing of new chances, while in the latter it may be perceived as a last resort for avoiding unemployment.

5.3 Subjective control and the question of continuity in occupational careers

Finally, when we look at measures of subjective control, tenacity and flexibility as different control strategies have only weak or intermediate correlations with failure and success at the labour market after 1989 (see Table 5). In view of to the overwhelming impact of legislative and other rules of the East German transformation as pan-German unification described above, this is no longer surprising, and as stepwise inclusion of these subjective constructs shows (results are not displayed here), their impact is not simply overridden by the other variables and not much larger in the bivariate case.

Agency beliefs, however, proved to be more significant but only in the case of ability and luck beliefs: Low beliefs are linked with downward mobility and especially with unemployment, while high ones are linked with stability and, even more strongly, with upward mobility. More surprising and contrary to expectations is that effort beliefs broadly show the opposite pattern: At least in direction, high effort beliefs are linked with unemployment and downward mobility, while low ones are linked with stability! On the other hand, these results are absolutely in line with the same expectations that occupational fate after 1989 seems to be more a matter of abilities - whether acknowledged or not - and less of extraordinary individual efforts. It could also be interpreted as a "control cycle" reaction in the sense of Elder and Caspi.⁷ The interrelations of upward mobility with the "external" dimensions luck, social connections, and socioeconomic conditions again support our emphasis on structural factors, and the results fit remarkably well with a comparison of control beliefs between East and West Germany measured with the help of another instrument (Diewald 1996).

Concerning the two types of occupational shifts as well as direct psychological

⁷ But as already stated: With one point of measurement for subjective control, the question of causal direction must be left open. The assumption of life histories and cohort membership forming the subjective control is theoretically consistent, as is the opposite direction. For the case of birth cohorts, it has already been carefully tested and confirmed against alternative explanations in another paper (Diewald/Huinink/Heckhausen 1996).

measures of control beliefs and strategies, we find only weak or no correlations for both alternatives, with the exception of tenacity having a quite strong association (see Table 6). As stepwise inclusion of these subjective constructs shows (results are not displayed here), the low impact of control beliefs is not just overridden by the other variables but once again is not significant even in the bivariate case. Thus, we do not find strong evidence for the importance of subjective control in the processes of reallocation at the labor market after 1989.

-- about here Tables 5 and 6 --

6. Conclusions

Taken together, a comprehensive assessment of the East German transformation of the labor market seems to be much more structured by rigidities in the occupational system and legal regulations than the presumption of an open situation would have us believe. The correspondences between the occupational systems of the GDR and the FRG seem to be a crucial factor in making devaluations of former investments and certificates selective, rather than a mass phenomenon, at least with respect to the redistribution of persons within the occupational system. The price for that relative stability for many was a partial exclusion of women from gainful employment and an almost total exclusion of those who were older than 55 in 1990 from the labor market (Mayer/Diewald/Solga 1996).

This statement should not be overemphasized to mean that characteristics of the personality and individual life-courses were unimportant in processes of reallocation and for the structural change. There are not only continuities in occupational careers reflecting occupational segmentation but also continuities of individual labor market behavior: Persons who had left the pathway of a straight career within the boundaries of a single occupational field for which they already had certificates before 1989 are much more likely to do so after 1989 as well. The criteria for getting jobs in new occupational fields and seizing the rare chances for upward mobility obviously include personal experiences and competencies which are acquired and learned after leaving well-trodden pathways.

With the data available here it cannot be decided what competencies are most decisive. The relatively low impact of subjective control is one ground for supposing that it is not the level of context-unspecific personality traits but rather context-specific

competencies as they are formed in coping with specific opportunities for action. That, the impact of activities outside the worksphere have little impact after 1989 contrary to the shape of the occupational career before 1989 further leads me to assume that only competencies acquired within the worksphere can be made fruitful in a career after 1989. However, the similarities between the GDR and the FRG systems of training and occupation described above are surely an important supporting condition for that.

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**Table 1: Control Strategies and Life Courses before and after 1989
(Multiple Classification Analysis, Cohorts 1939-41, 1951-53 and 1959-61)**

	n	Tenacity		Flexibility	
		eta	deviation from mean	eta	deviation from mean
Cohort:		.16¹		.03	
1939-41	242		-1,45		-0,26
1951-53	265		1,04		0,23
1959-61	217		0,34		0,01
Occupational Mobility until 1989		.08		.04	
downward	150		0,00		-0,06
lateral	372		-0,46		-0,17
upward	202		0,85		0,36
Occupational Position in 1989		.15		.19	
Managerial	64		2,89		1,40
Professional	81		0,58		-0,84
Semiprofessional	146		0,26		-0,63
Skilled level white collar	119		-0,31		1,48
Skilled level blue collar	198		-0,40		-0,47
Self-employed	17		-0,72		3,15
Unskilled level	99		-0,36		-1,20
Engagement in informal economy above average before 1989		.03		.02	
no	440		-0,14		-0,08
yes	284		0,29		0,43
Job at the side before 1989		.01		.04	
no	635		-0,01		-0,06
yes	89		0,06		0,11
Occupational Mobility 1989/93		.14		.06	
unemployed	134		-0,45		0,39
downward	85		-2,07		-0,40
lateral	456		0,28		0,04
upward	49		2,18		-0,79
mean			36,19		34,71
n	724				
Variance explained		.080		.032	

¹ Bold coefficients are significant at least at 95%-level.

**Table 2a: Control Beliefs concerning Employment/Work: Means-Ends
(Ordered Probits, Birth Cohorts 1939-41, 1951-53, 1959-61)**

	n	ability	effort	luck	socioecon. conditions	social connections
Cohort (1939-41)¹:	242					
1951-53	265	0,16 ²	0,25	0,07	0,20	-0,03
1959-61	217	0,27	0,29	0,07	0,31	-0,03
Occupational Mobility until 1989 (lateral)	372					
downward	150	-0,09	-0,07	-0,01	-0,01	-0,05
upward	202	0,03	-0,04	0,10	-0,21	-0,12
Occupational Position in 1989 (Skilled level blue collar):	198					
Managerial	64	0,66	0,21	0,53	0,04	0,17
Professional	81	0,18	0,09	0,11	-0,12	0,06
Semiprofessional	146	0,09	0,05	0,05	-0,05	0,04
Skilled level white collar	119	0,08	0,05	0,05	-0,05	-0,01
Self-employed	17	0,21	0,38	0,16	0,43	0,47
Unskilled level	99	-0,05	-0,04	-0,01	-0,09	-0,03
Engagement in informal economy above average before 1989 (no)	440					
yes	284	0,04	0,03	-0,10	0,08	0,02
Job at the side before 1989 (no)	635					
yes	89	0,00	0,03	0,07	0,05	0,02
Occupational Mobility 1989/93 (lateral)	456					
unemployed	134	-0,33	-0,06	0,35	0,15	0,41
downward	85	-0,33	-0,20	-0,21	-0,16	-0,17
upward	49	0,65	0,25	-0,15	0,01	-0,24
$\mu(1)$		0,49	0,45	0,48	0,48	0,40
$\mu(2)$		1,01	0,92	0,87	1,04	0,80
$\mu(3)$		1,78	1,58	1,64	1,56	1,18
Constant		1,17	1,03	0,53	0,91	0,18
n	724					
Chi ² (df=15)		111,7	67,5	33,4	44,9	39,3
sign.		0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00

1 in parentheses: reference category

2 Bold coefficients are significant at least at 95%-level

**Table 2b: Control Beliefs concerning Employment/Work: Agency
(Ordered Probits, Birth Cohorts 1939-41, 1951-53, 1959-61)**

	n	ability	effort	luck	socioecon. conditions	social connections
Cohort (1939-41)¹:	242					
1951-53	265	0,07 ²	0,25	0,07	0,20	0,36
1959-61	217	0,10	0,29	0,07	0,09	0,32
Occupational Mobility until 1989 (lateral)	372					
downward	150	-0,09	0,01	0,05	0,13	-0,05
upward	202	0,10	0,12	-0,08	-0,02	-0,12
Occupational Position in 1989 (Skilled level blue collar):	198					
Managerial	64	0,27	0,44	0,11	0,31	0,31
Professional	81	0,19	0,19	0,11	0,14	0,08
Semiprofessional	146	0,10	0,08	0,05	0,07	0,08
Skilled level white collar	119	-0,02	0,05	0,08	0,05	0,07
Self-employed	17	0,26	0,38	0,14	-0,03	0,48
Unskilled level	99	-0,07	-0,01	-0,01	-0,02	-0,01
Engagement in informal economy above average before 1989 (no)	440					
yes	284	0,02	0,05	-0,02	0,08	0,05
Job at the side before 1989 (no)	635					
yes	89	0,00	-0,03	0,11	0,04	0,02
Occupational Mobility 1989/93 (lateral)	456					
unemployed	134	-0,03	-0,06	-0,39	-0,67	-0,11
downward	85	-0,19	-0,10	-0,13	-0,09	0,14
upward	49	0,21	0,15	0,27	0,76	0,26
$\mu(1)$		0,34	0,33	0,69	0,51	0,60
$\mu(2)$		0,98	0,76	1,25	0,86	0,87
$\mu(3)$		1,93	1,47	2,16	1,82	1,64
Constant		1,92	1,07	0,25	-0,18	-0,15
n	724					
Chi ² (df=15)		64,9	47,7	41,8	84,7	60,8
sign.		0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00

¹ in parentheses: reference category

² Bold coefficients are significant at least at 95%-level

Table 3: Success and Failure in Occupational Careers after 1989
(Multivariate Logistic Regressions: Odds ratios)¹

1993 compared to 1989: (Percent of sample)	<i>un- employed</i> (17%)	<i>downward mobility</i> (13%)	<i>upward mobility</i> (7%)	<i>stability of occupational position</i> (63%)
Cohort (Ref. Cat: 1939-41)				
1951-53	.72	.45	.58	2.18
1959-61	.43	.68	1.20	2.17
Gender: female	2.48	1.69	.40	.55
WORKLIFE UNTIL 1989				
<i>Occupational mobility compared to level of qualification</i>				
Upward mobile	1.15	9.08	.60	.86
Upward mobile with former experiences of downward mobility	.21	8.40	3.12	1.23
No upward, no downward mobility	Ref. Cat.	Ref. Cat.	Ref. Cat.	Ref. Cat.
Equivalence by making up former employment below level of qualif.	1.88	1.50	2.41	.68
Equivalence by downward mobility following former upward mobility	1.25	.85	4.63	.79
Always empl. below level of qualif.	.51	.66	3.60	.68
Below level of qualification after downward mobility	2.03	.10	7.56	.59
Self-employed	.26	.90	.17	2.21
<i>Change of occupational field</i>	1.95	1.67	1.04	.55
<i>Self-initiated job shifts (n)</i>	1.16	.88	1.19	1.04
<i>Job shifts between firms (average)</i>				
Less than average	.88	1.01	.68	.79
More than average	.80	.98	1.41	1.22
<i>Job orientation: Career vs. private (Undecided)</i>				
Clearly career oriented	1.01	.68	1.23	1.13
Clearly oriented to private life	2.05	.77	.31	.83
<i>Often got a job by informal networks</i>	1.17	.96	1.53	1.11
<i>Informal economic support among colleagues above average</i>	1.51	.84	1.21	1.27
<i>Employed in public sector in 1989</i>	.38	1.24	.63	2.83
<i>Informal economic support among kin and nonkin outside workplace</i>	.98	1.00	1.02	1.09
<i>Party membership in 1989</i>	1.04	2.57	.95	.60

¹ Bold coefficients are significant at least at 90 percent-level

Table 4: Change of Occupation after 1989
(Multivariate Logistic Regressions: Odds ratios)¹

1993 compared to 1989:	<i>change of occupational field (34% of sample)</i>	<i>getting self-employed (4% of sample)</i>
<i>Cohort</i> (Ref. Cat: 1939-41)		
1951-53	1.18	1.43
1959-61	1.17	1.95
<i>Gender: female</i>	.40	.19
<i>WORKLIFE UNTIL 1989</i>		
<i>Occupational mobility compared to level of qualification</i>		
Upward mobile	1.54	.59
Upward mobile with former experiences of downward mobility	2.76	.77
No upward, no downward mobility	Ref. Cat.	Ref. Cat.
Equivalence by making up former employment below level of qualif.	2.98	.45
Equivalence by downward mobility following former upward mobility	2.39	1.73
Always empl. below level of qualif.	1.98	1.28
Below level of qualification after downward mobility	1.41	.78
Self-employed	4.21	-
<i>Change of occupational field</i>	2.19	.49
<i>Self-initiated job shifts (n)</i>	1.04	1.16
<i>Job shifts between firms (average)</i>		
Less than average	.79	.88
More than average	.92	1.05
<i>Job orientation: Career vs. private (Undecided)</i>		
Clearly career oriented	1.13	3.15
Clearly oriented to private life	.53	2.49
<i>Often got a job by informal networks</i>	1.11	2.45
<i>Informal economic support among colleagues above average</i>	1.27	1.55
<i>Employed in public sector in 1989</i>	.83	.43
<i>Informal economic support among kin and nonkin outside workplace</i>	1.02	1.01
<i>Party membership in 1989</i>	1.04	2.32

¹ Bold coefficients are significant at least at 90 percent-level

**Table 5: Success and Failure in Occupational Careers after 1989:
Interrelations with subjective control**
(Multivariate Logistic Regressions: Odds ratios)¹

1993 compared to 1989: (Percent of sample)	<i>un- employed</i> (17%)	<i>downward mobility</i> (13%)	<i>upward mobility</i> (7%)	<i>stability of occupational position</i> (63%)
<i>Tenacity (1993)</i>	1.03	.96	1.04	1.02
<i>Flexibility (1993)</i>	1.06	.98	.95	.98
<i>Work-related agency beliefs (1993)</i>				
<i>Agency beliefs x Means-ends beliefs</i>				
Ability	.82	.86	1.18	1.07
Effort	1.04	1.10	1.05	.96
Luck	.85	.97	1.15	1.03
Social connections	.98	1.00	1.09	1.01
Socioeconomic conditions	.91	1.01	1.13	.98

¹ Additional factors controlled for: All indicators included in Table 3.
Bold coefficients are significant at least at 90 percent-level

**Table 6: Change of Occupation after 1989:
Interrelations with subjective control
(Multivariate Logistic Regressions: Odds ratios)¹**

1993 compared to 1989:	<i>change of occupational field (34% of sample)</i>	<i>getting self-employed (4% of sample)</i>
<i>Tenacity (1993)</i>	1.03	1.07
<i>Flexibility (1993)</i>	.98	1.04
<i>Work-related agency beliefs (1993)</i>		
<i>Agency beliefs x Means-ends beliefs</i>		
Ability	1.06	1.19
Effort	1.02	1.16
Luck	.97	1.03
Social connections	.99	1.11
Socioeconomic conditions	1.02	.96

¹ Additional factors controlled for: All indicators included in Table 4.
Bold coefficients are significant at least at 90 percent-level

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the 1990s, the number of people with a mental health problem has increased in the UK, and the number of people with a mental health problem who are in contact with mental health services has also increased (Mental Health Act 1983, 1990, 1994, 1997, 2003).

There is a growing awareness of the need to improve the lives of people with a mental health problem, and to reduce the stigma and discrimination that they experience. This has led to a number of initiatives, including the development of mental health services that are more user-centred and that are more focused on the needs of people with a mental health problem (Mental Health Act 1983, 1990, 1994, 1997, 2003).

One of the key areas of focus is the need to improve the lives of people with a mental health problem who are in contact with mental health services. This includes people who are in contact with mental health services through the criminal justice system, and people who are in contact with mental health services through the health care system.

The aim of this paper is to explore the experiences of people with a mental health problem who are in contact with mental health services through the criminal justice system, and to explore the experiences of people with a mental health problem who are in contact with mental health services through the health care system.

The paper is structured as follows. First, we will explore the experiences of people with a mental health problem who are in contact with mental health services through the criminal justice system. Then, we will explore the experiences of people with a mental health problem who are in contact with mental health services through the health care system.

Finally, we will discuss the implications of our findings for the development of mental health services that are more user-centred and that are more focused on the needs of people with a mental health problem.

The paper is based on a review of the literature, and on interviews with people with a mental health problem who are in contact with mental health services through the criminal justice system, and with people with a mental health problem who are in contact with mental health services through the health care system.

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