

industrial movements in Greek industry

Intragenerational Trends

by
Koula Kassimati
Ph. D.

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents intragenerational trends in industrial mobility rates of employees in Greek industry and analyses variations of rates by means of individual's socioeconomic features and characteristics of their social and industrial environment particularly.

Intragenerational mobility is restricted to inter industrial movements and in this context the following will be studied: (i) job changes during respondent's life, (ii) intragenerational occupational mobility during the period 1965-1974 and (iii) reasons motivating respondents to change or stay in the same job. To achieve these aims a sample of one thousand industrial workers employed in one hundred establishments of the Greater Athens area were extensively interviewed. The sampling design was based on the principles of two stage random sample (with the self weighing estimator).

1. introduction

Intragenerational flows have recently acquired a special interest in mobility studies and have been incorporated in such studies, since the traditional manner of considering mobility as a matter of describing movements, has been turned to account for such movements in the context of society. Thus many scholars are engaged in accounting for occupational status not only by means of the individual's family background and/or environmental factors but in addition by status of his previous occupations (see among others: Blau-Duncan, 1967; Duncan *et al.*, 1972; Sewell-Hauser, 1975).

Different individuals have made a different number of moves at any given time and consequently we find no fixed time interval between successive moves. This implies greater difficulties in studying intragenerational trends compared with intergenerational ones, particularly when stochastic processes models are used (Bartholomew, 1975:43).

Industrial mobility is mainly of intragenerational type. Movement of workers among occupations, employers and industries have long posed one of the most important topics of industrial trends and have found practical interpretation in manpower planning and labour market economics.

Industrial movements either as inter-sector flows, that is, movements between agriculture, manufacturing, trade, etc. or inter-industrial branch changes (branches defined by two-digit or broader classification—ISIC classification), and particularly movements between various occupational groups are influenced by, and in turn affect, social structure. The level of industrialisation of the country plays a crucial role in such movements since in advanced industrialised societies flows mainly take place within and between industrial branches. Conversely, for countries in the process of industrialisation inflows, especially

from agriculture to industry, are thus observed.

Individuals move from one job to another either voluntarily, because they aspire to better conditions (financial advancement, improvement of working conditions, etc.) or involuntarily, because of dismissal (Sørensen, 1975:460). Voluntary movements presuppose that (i) vacancies exist in the social spectrum, and (ii) individuals possess the proper qualifications to fill existing vacancies. As it is obvious, both voluntary and involuntary changes are related to social structure and dominated by labour market conditions in the sense that increased demand of labour facilitates voluntary flows and, conversely, labour surplus favours involuntary movements. Voluntary flows aiming at the individual's improvement are expected to result in an upward movement. Considering mobility as a continuous process, once the individual has arrived at a higher position he (naturally) looks for further advancement. Even if he remains there permanently he acquires some characteristics as a result of this new position which will affect both him and his successors (education, occupation and aspiration for advancement of successors to a large extent are influenced by father's status). Therefore the more frequent the voluntary flows, the more significant will be the changes in the social structure.

2. job changes during respondent's career

2.1. The Number of Job Changes

«Job» is often confused with «occupation». For people of lower levels of prestige—for instance—labourers, jobs are specified simultaneously by the function they practise and the employing organisation. For individuals of higher prestige, job coincides with an explicit title of occupation, say: doctor, architect, etc. In this study, as employees are engaged in the manufacturing sector and the overwhelming majority enjoy low prestige being labourers, «job» is defined as meaning an employing organisation, and thus it has a synonymous meaning as «employers».

White (1970:245) considers jobs as a «simple concrete case of social positions» since job portrays an individual's social status. Reiss (1961:10-11), on the other hand, suggests that the work situation plays a role in determining occupational status, and furthermore, social position. Thus institutional setting of the work gives factory a lower status than an office, and small firms lower prestige than big companies. In Greece, though no systematic study on this topic exists, the daily experience put public employment on a higher level of status than private in terms of

higher rewards (F.G.I., 1974:86-89), and for the security that employees enjoy as well as relative authority they exercise.

The number of job changes that individuals experienced during their careers depends upon their personal characteristics and the structure of the society. In particular, vacancies are assumed to be determined by the economic level and the social structure of the country. The manner in which they are fulfilled is defined by the individual characteristics such as sex, age, marital status, education, occupation, etc. However the features of education and occupation presuppose that a meritocracy dominates in social life and thus only individuals' qualifications are taken into account in the filling of vacancies. Nevertheless in practice meritocracy is questionable since social «inheritance» factors, especially in developing countries, exert a powerful role on occupational movements.

Tables 1, 2, 3 give trends of job changes insofar as respondents' characteristics are concerned. There are some points concerning these figures that seem worthy of note:

(i) «Movers», that is, those respondents who have made at least one job change before arriving at the present job, are in the overwhelming majority in this sample (74%).

(ii) The number of job changes is related to «movers» respondents with a negative linear function (see Figure 1), that is, an increasing number of job changes corresponds with a decreasing number of such movers.

(iii) Males have been found to move more than females. In general an inverse pattern underlies females' job changes; there are more «stayers» (no moves in their career), and more with only one job change, while more males are found to have a higher number of job changes. This pattern suggests that sex and number of job changes are not independent ($X^2 = 46.8$, 5 df, $p = .000$) but have a fair degree of association (Cramer's $V = .25$).

(iv) Marital status, given by a dichotomous classification: single and non-single (married, divorced, widowed)—since the number of divorced and widowed is extremely low—is also found to be significantly related to the number of job changes ($X^2 = 34.8$ 5 df, $p = .000$ and Cramer's $V = .21$). Almost twice as many singles as non-singles have been found to be «stayers», though one should expect to find the reverse. A possible explanation lies in the fact that since the non-singles have to face family responsibilities they intend, by changing their job, to improve their position.

(v) Respondent's origin from rural or urban areas affects the number of job changes ($X^2 = 15.57$, 5

FIGURE 1. Number of Job Changes

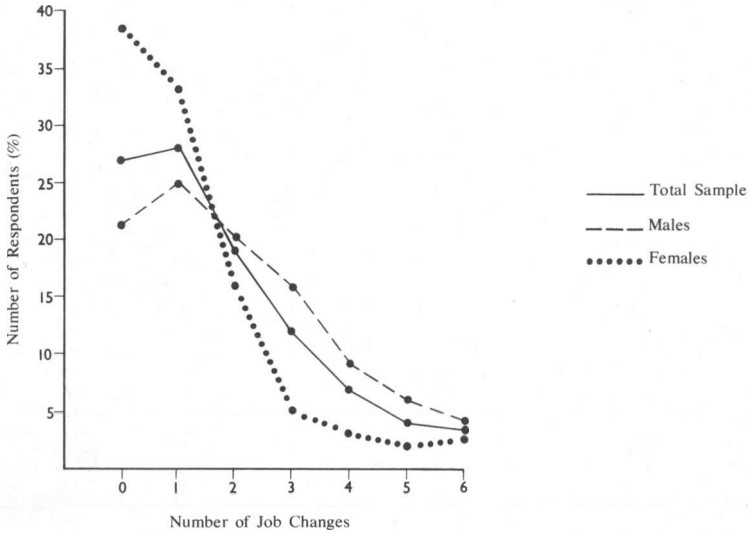


TABLE 1. Distribution of Job Changes according to Respondent's Sex, Marital Status, Place of Residence, Occupation (in Percentages)

	Sex		Marital status		Place of Residence		Occupation		Total sample %	N
	Males	Females	Single	Married Divorced Widowed	Urban Areas	Rural Areas	Non- Manual	Manual		
0	20.5	37.8	37.6	19.5	26.7	25.8	31.1	24.5	26.4	268
1	25.5	32.8	30.6	26.0	27.5	28.5	28.3	27.5	28.0	285
2	20.2	15.8	16.1	20.1	16.6	21.7	20.3	17.9	18.5	188
3	16.0	5.4	8.8	14.9	11.4	13.9	12.9	12.4	12.3	125
4	8.9	3.1	3.4	9.4	8.2	5.6	3.5	8.5	6.9	70
5	5.7	1.7	3.4	4.6	5.6	2.0	2.1	4.9	4.4	45
6+	3.2	3.4	0.1	5.5	4.0	2.5	1.7	4.3	3.5	36
X ²	46.796		34.825		15.575		14.890			
d f	5		5		5		5			
Level of Significance	.000		.000		.008		.011			
Cramer's V	.2499		.2156		.1460		.1410			

TABLE 2. *Distribution of Respondents' Number of Job Changes (in percentages) according to Their Age*

Number of job shifts	Ages					Total
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	
0	38.43	25.75	22.39	9.33	4.10	100.0
1	22.81	27.37	16.49	23.86	9.47	100.0
2	22.87	21.28	29.79	17.55	8.51	100.0
3	17.60	20.80	24.80	21.60	15.20	100.0
4	7.14	22.86	25.71	32.86	11.43	100.0
5	8.89	20.00	24.44	28.89	17.78	100.0
6+	—	16.67	30.56	33.33	19.44	100.0

TABLE 3. *Distribution of Respondents' Number of Job Changes (in percentages) within Their Age Groups*

Number of job shifts	Ages				
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
0	42.56	28.28	25.64	12.44	11.46
1	26.86	31.96	20.09	33.83	28.13
2	17.77	16.39	23.93	16.42	16.67
3	99.99	10.66	13.25	13.43	19.79
4	2.07	6.56	7.69	11.44	8.33
5	1.65	3.69	4.70	6.47	8.33
6	—	2.46	4.70	5.97	7.29
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

df, p = .01, Cramer's V = .15). The pattern shows that more respondents from rural areas have changed from one to three jobs while more respondents from urban places have changed three or more jobs.

(vi) The pattern concerning occupation, which was dichotomised into manuals and non-manuals, reveals that manual workers move more than non-manual workers. It must be stressed, however, that the categorisation into these two broad occupational groups was based upon present occupation, making the assumption that respondents followed a constant line from their previous jobs, insofar as their grouping into manuals and non-manuals is concerned. This assumption may be erroneous; however, the fact that intragenerational occupational mobility has been found to be extremely low (see the relevant section) suggests that this assumption holds fairly well. The relationship between the number of job changes and manuals and non-manuals, suggests that, although it can be considered significant ($X^2 = 14.89, 5$ df, $p = .01$ and Cramer's $V = .14$), it is of less importance than the relationship between the number of job changes on the one hand, and sex and marital status variables on the other (compare X^2 in Table 1).

(vii) The number of job changes is also affected by respondent's age ($r = .270$, $p = .01$). The youngest age group (15-24) contains the highest percentage (38%) of «stayers» (see Tables 2, 3). Conversely, the number of job changes that movers have made increases gradually as age increases almost in a regular pattern: thus the highest percentage of «movers» making one change is found in the age group 25-34. The corresponding percentage of two or three changes is met in the cohort 35-44 and, finally, the ages 45-54 concentrate the highest percentages for four or more changes. Furthermore, the highest percentage of the «number of job changes» distribution (Table 3) within each age group, are found either in the category of «stayers» respondents or in «movers» who have experienced only one move.

These patterns have shown that personal characteristics affect the number of job shifts; but how much these characteristics account for the variation of the number of job changes is shown by a multiple regression additive model (with interaction terms). The variables concerned have been the following:

- Y = Number of job changes treated as dependent variable
- X₁ = Sex
- X₂ = Age
- X₃ = Marital status
- X₄ = Occupation (non-manuals, manuals)
- X₅ = Place of residence (urban-rural area) of respondents until the age of fourteen

The contribution of each independent variable to the variation of the number of job changes is given by the following regression coefficients of a standardised form:

$$Y = .24663 X_1 + .17527 X_2 - .07972 X_3 - .03245 X_4 + .12605 X_5 - .09772 X_4 X_5 - .03952 X_1 X_2 X_3$$

$$(R^2 = .16232)$$

This regression suggests: (i) respondent's sex, age and geographic origin mainly account for variation in the number of job changes, since they show the highest regression coefficients, and (ii) marital status, occupation and interaction terms negatively influence the variation of the number of job changes.

We should note that only 16% of the total variation is explained by personal characteristic variables which suggests that other factors, most probably labour market conditions, the economic rewards that each job entails and the individual's needs, are additional factors which influence respondents' decision for moving.

2.2 Respondents' Duration in Each Job

The time that the respondent spends in each

TABLE 4. *Summary Measures (Mean, Standard Deviation, Skewness, Kyrstosis) Concerning Respondents' Duration in Jobs (Movers Respondents)*

Number of jobs	Mean (in Years)	Standard Deviation	Kyrstosis B ₂	Skewness B ₁	Number of *Respondents
1	5.026	7.910	7.424	2.632	748
2	1.722	3.333	22.581	3.836	467
3	1.138	3.117	24.525	4.704	278
4	0.468	1.518	31.030	4.965	151
5	0.316	1.735	87.721	8.650	82
6+	0.093	0.751	120.305	10.010	59

* Indicates the number of respondents found in each job irrespective of whether they stayed at a certain job or moved to another.

TABLE 5. *Patterns Duration of Movers from One Job to the Next by Group of Ages (in percentages)*

Duration Comparisons	Group of ages				
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
<i>First to second job</i>					
Same duration	54.05	20.62	27.64	19.45	18.64
Longer duration	24.32	41.24	43.90	44.44	64.41
Shorter duration	21.63	38.14	28.46	36.11	16.95
<i>Second to third job</i>					
Same duration	50.62	23.64	26.76	29.73	20.45
Longer duration	20.47	34.54	43.66	29.73	27.77
Shorter duration	10.91	41.82	29.58	40.54	52.28
<i>Third to fourth job</i>					
Same duration	70.00	9.68	33.33	22.92	20.00
Longer duration	10.00	48.39	38.09	31.25	70.00
Shorter duration	20.00	41.93	28.58	45.83	10.00

job is directly related to the number of job changes that he has experienced during his career. Mean duration in each job indicates (Table 4) that a monotonic decreasing pattern underlies the number of job changes insofar as duration in each job is concerned. Thus mean stay is higher where there is a smaller number of job changes than where there is a larger one. Nevertheless, a longer time is spent in the first job ($\bar{x}_1 = 5$ years) than in successive jobs ($\bar{x}_2 = 1.7$ years).¹

Furthermore, the distribution of «durations» shows a right skewness and high peakedness which in turn suggests that deviations from the

1. If in the calculation of mean in the first job change were taken only those respondents who, having arrived there, stayed permanently in this job, the absolute value of mean increases approximately twice ($X_1 = 10.47$ years).

normal distribution, and consequently irregularities, underly «duration» as the number of job changes gradually increases.

Relating this to age (Table 5) reveals that the period of employment at the second job is of equal duration as in the first job for over half of the respondents (54%) in the first age group (15-24). The greater proportion of the remainder of respondents who changed from a first to a second job, spend a longer period of time in the second job. This is especially true of the oldest respondents (41% to 44% for age groups 25 to 54).

Those remaining make successive movements from second to third and from third to fourth job that hardly can be considered to follow a general trend. Thus respondents seem to change jobs as circumstances dictate, irrespective of their previous duration of staying in jobs.

2.3 Classification of Jobs into the Sectors of Economic Activities

The most important topic directly related to the social structure concerns respondents' exchanges within and between sectors of economic activities since these sectors suggest broad social strata.

The manufacturing sector prevails in all job shifts (see Table 6) with a gradual increase as the number of job shifts increases (54 percent in the first shift to 76 percent in the fifth). In the case of a single shift a considerable percentage (23%) of respondents come from the agricultural sector. These respondents show stability since they content themselves only with one shift. Explanations rest upon various assumptions; we could argue for example that having to face many difficulties in adjustment in the new environment they have insufficient confidence to experience the further complications that a new job implies. Furthermore, in periods of high unemployment they have few opportunities in their new environment to find vacancies. An explanation may lie also in the psychological stability that a rural environment cultivates which may follow respondents through life. But this is speculation only.

A picture of «movers» from one job to the next between and within the sectors of economic activities by sex and age is given in the Table 7. An almost constant pattern is found as far as moves within the same sector are concerned (percentages varying from 56% to 59%) but considerable differences are shown by age group. Nevertheless a pattern can be drawn suggesting that moves within the same economic sector are more frequent in younger ages than in the older ones, especially in the exchange of first job for

TABLE 6. *Distribution of Jobs into Sectors of Economic Activities (in percentages)*

Sectors of economic activities	Number of job shifts					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Agriculture-Livestock	22.8	1.6*	5.6*	4.6*	2.2*	—
Manufacturing	54.4	64.7	59.2	74.2	75.6	73.1
Trade	12.1	6.8	10.4	16.7	2.2*	—
Services	6.8	13.2	9.6	1.5*	2.2*	11.5*
Miscellaneous	3.9	13.7	15.2	3.0*	17.8*	15.4*
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Absolute frequencies <10.

second and second job for third. Moreover, movements within industry absorb the overwhelming majority of «within sector» moves. It is apparent that the manufacturing industry contains large «openings» since the country continues to be in the process of industrialisation. In addition, the fact that the survey was carried out in the manufacturing sector emphasizes this pattern.

Making the assumption that economic sectors indicate broad social strata, Yasuda's Index¹ can be applied to determine the overall exchanges between sectors. For movements from the first job to the second and from the second to the third, Yasuda's Index gives a satisfactory approximation of intersector mobility; but for the third job change to the fourth, the number of respondents broken down in age groups is considerably lowered and rectangular tables are obtained, thus Yasuda's Index cannot be applied. This Index follows a pattern for the whole number of «movers», showing gradual increase of mobility as they move from a lower number of job changes to a higher, but no unique trends are present in inter-cohorts comparisons. We can merely say that from first to second job overall inter-sector mobility is higher for older age groups than younger ones, while the inverse pattern holds in the case of changes from the second job to the third.

1. Yasuda's Mobility Index is given by the formula: (Boudon 1973).

$$Y_M = 1 - \frac{\sum n_{ii} - \sum (n_{i.} \cdot n_{.i} / N)}{\sum (\text{Minim } n_{i.} \cdot n_{.i} - \sum (n_{i.} \cdot n_{.i} / N)}$$

where:

n_{ii} = diagonal cells

$n_{i.}$ = total rows

$n_{.i}$ = total columns

A comparison between males and females only in the youngest age group where adequate data for females allowed the calculation of the summary measures, reveals that females move within the same sector, and particularly within industry, more often than males, but at the same level of the Index of the whole «movers».

3. movements during the period 1965-1974: intragenerational occupational mobility

Intragenerational occupational mobility as it is shown in the decade 1965-1974 (Table 8) suggests that in essence employees remain stable as far as occupation is concerned. Of course, one can argue that occupation is specified by means of more or less analytical determinants in the sense that a finer or a broader occupational classification implies a different degree of description of occupational roles (Carlsson, 1958:55-57). Thus, in this context, it is possible for respondents to experience mobility in a finer but not in a broader classification.

In this study, using a one-digit occupational classification (ILO Index) which distinguishes only broad aggregates, mobility, as the following Table 8 shows, is extremely low (Yasuda's Index is 4.7 in 1974-1973 against .6 in 1966-1965), following a constantly decreasing trend. Ignoring the possible occupational movements within this decade and comparing only occupational groups of 1965 to those of 1974 the corresponding mobility index increases to 7.3.

Using a different classification according to Duncan's Socioeconomic Index (ten-point scale interval) (Reiss 1964) immobility does not follow a pattern, but in general it is very high (varying from 89.9 in 1972-1971 to 95.5 in 1966-1965). Even higher immobility occurs in the case of respondents who, entering the labour market before 1965, have a common base of at least ten years of employment (the lowest immobility is 95.6 in 1971-1970 and the highest 98.7 in 1966-1965). High immobility can also be shown by using Cramer's V as an index of association between occupational status of successive years, the value being very high (from .882 in 1974-1973 to .973 in 1966-1965).

One deficiency in studying intragenerational occupational mobility in this way lies in the fact that employees have not experienced the same working time (years) since they have entered the labour market at different times. Examining respondents in terms of their age (by cohort analysis) partially remedies this. Thus, expressing occupation in terms of Duncan's SEI (ten-point scale interval) and working with a sub-sample of those respondents who have at least the last ten

TABLE 7. Movers' Exchanges from One Job to the Next between Sectors of Economic Activities by Group of Ages, and Sex (in percentages)

	Group of ages					Sex		Total Sample
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	Males	Females	
<i>First to second job</i>								
Moves within the same sector	67.12	65.98	56.69	43.52	50.88	55.01	62.10	56.47
Moves within industry	60.27	52.58	49.61	34.26	42.11	45.26	54.74	47.20
Yasuda's inter-sector mobility index	65.25	59.93	78.42	77.76	69.66	71.54	72.41	71.97
<i>Second to third job</i>								
Moves within the same sector	67.74	63.16	53.52	62.16	52.27	55.98		59.12
Moves within industry	58.06	52.63	50.70	50.00	40.91	47.86	*	50.73
Yasuda's inter-sector mobility index	66.15	73.59	97.76	52.41	56.58	80.35		77.48
<i>Third to fourth job</i>								
Moves within the same sector	77.78	48.39	51.28	66.67	54.55	53.91		58.39
Moves within industry	77.78	48.39	51.28	58.33	45.54	50.78	*	53.69
Yasuda's inter-sector mobility index	*	*	*	*	*	90.72		84.94

* small frequencies or rectangular mobility tables.

TABLE 8. Summary Measures of Intragenerational Occupational Mobility

Summary Measures	Successive Years									1965-1974
	1974-1973	1973-1972	1972-1971	1971-1970	1970-1969	1969-1968	1968-1967	1967-1966	1966-1965	
Immobility (ILO Classification)	97.1	95.9	96.2	96.8	98.3	97.6	98.6	98.6	98.7	89.9
Immobility (SEI Classification)	94.8	92.1	89.9	91.4	90.1	93.3	94.4	94.3	95.5	84.2
Immobility (SEI Classification) of those respondents being at least the ten last years in the labour market	98.4	98.7	98.3	95.6	97.9	98.7	98.7	98.7	97.6	88.3
Yasuda's Mobility Index (IOI)	4.7	5.1	5.1	2.8	2.6	2.1	2.9	.9	.6	7.3
Cramer's V (SEI Classification)	.882	.902	.879	.882	.888	.924	.928	.958	.973	.764

TABLE 9. Intragenerational Occupational Status Immobility (Duncan's Socioeconomic Index) by Groups of Ages and Sex

	Group of ages					Sex	
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	Males	Females
1974-1973	88.9	98.6	97.5	99.4	100.0	97.7	96.2
1973-1972	94.4	99.3	98.0	99.4	100.0	96.0	95.8
1972-1971	100.0	98.6	98.0	98.9	97.4	95.3	98.1
1971-1970	100.0	97.9	98.0	97.3	98.7	96.3	97.9
1970-1969	100.0	97.9	98.0	97.8	97.4	97.3	96.2
1969-1968	100.0	99.3	99.5	98.9	98.7	97.9	96.9
1968-1967	100.0	98.6	98.5	98.9	98.7	98.4	98.9
1967-1966	94.4	99.3	99.5	98.9	98.7	98.4	99.4
1966-1965	99.4	99.3	99.5	100.0	98.7	98.7	98.7
1965-1974	84.5	86.9	88.0	90.8	91.0	84.6	90.5

years in the labour market, it was found that younger respondents show a slightly higher mobility within the decade 1965-1974 than older ones (84.5 in the cohort 15-24 against 91.0 in the cohort 55-64: table 9). However, as a rule high immobility is present in all age groups in all successive years (1965-1974).

An analysis by sex in the same sub-sample gives priority to males rather than females in occupational immobility in this decade, although both sexes show high immobility (84.6 males against 90.5 females) (Table 9).

In general, low intragenerational occupational mobility, as found in this survey, stems from two reasons: first, occupational mobility, especially for unskilled workers, is the consequence of low inter-sector and generally low interindustrial movements that respondents have experienced in this limited period, in the sense that job changes (as job was defined in this survey) in most cases also imply occupational changes. The second reason relates to the classification scheme, because occupational changes may occur but they take place within the same occupational aggregates. Thus working with finer occupational categories (this presupposes a larger sample) different patterns of occupational mobility might possibly be obtained. Nevertheless, this mobility (within the same occupational aggregates) cannot affect social stratification and therefore in practice it acquires a limited significance. The interpretation of such low intragenerational mobility is more likely to be explained by the economic conditions which prevailed during this decade in Greece and particularly to high unemployment as was referred to previously.

4. reasons motivating respondents to change or to stay in the same job

Respondents reported a variety of reasons which motivated them either to change their situation or to stay permanently in a certain job. These reasons can be classified into six major groups. Five groups of them, i.e. «financial reasons», «personal-family reasons», «working conditions», «opportunities for advancement» and «miscellaneous» are important reasons both for «stayers» and «movers»; they simply take a positive meaning in the case of respondents who have stayed in the same job and a negative meaning when respondents have changed jobs. The sixth category is «dismissal» for «movers» corresponding with a category «habit» for «stayers».

4.1 Reasons for Changing Jobs

The reasons given for the changing of jobs imply in certain cases that there is job dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction for «financial reasons» may take several forms, such as: the work offered is evaluated more highly than the rewards received; the minimum needs of the employee (a subjective estimation) may not be satisfied by the rewards received; the labour market conditions may offer higher rewards irrespective of employees' needs or the standard of work offered. The latter case, in general, would appear to predominate in an employee decision to move from one job to another for financial reasons. As Vroom (1964:151) stated, satisfaction from the receipt of rewards «is dependent not on the absolute amount of these wages but on the relationship between the amount and some standard of comparisons used by the individual». This point of comparison may concern either rewards received by other people or rewards received in previous jobs.

In a similar manner, dissatisfaction with «working conditions» and with lack of «opportunities for advancement» are mediated by subjective estimations and aspirations within the job situation.

The reasons «personal-family context» are independent of job satisfaction. They are characterised by exogeneous factors; and as such they vary considerably from individual to individual. Reasons for changing jobs because of «dismissal», either for disagreement with the management or because of seasonal production, are directly related to the content of the job and create seeds of dissatisfaction within both employer and employee.

It is recognised that the responses cannot be regarded as strictly equivalent within categories. As Kreck *et al.* (1962:291) pointed out: «if two persons have had different experiences with words or if they perceive the communication context differently, the meaning of an utterance will differ for them». Hence only the rough indications of the motives which caused individuals to change jobs can be derived from such data.

Respondents who have changed jobs more than once may be motivated in each case by different reasons. The fact that 22% of movers have also reported a different reason for each job change provides support for this remark. The comparison between first and second response¹ as a reason for changing jobs gives the spectrum of motives

1. Only the first and second responses were restricted because only 12 respondents (1.3%) have reported a third response as well.

TABLE 10. *Reasons Reported by Movers for Changing Jobs and by Stayers for Remaining in the Same Job and Summary Statistics of Association between Reasons Reported and Respondent's Sex, Age, Marital Status, and Occupational Role*

Reasons Reported for Moving	Overall Sample of Movers		Summary Statistical Measures				Overall Sample of Stayers		Reasons Reported for Staying
	N	%	X ²	df	Level of Sig	Cramer's V	N	%	
Financial Reasons	305	41.4					34	13.3	Financial Reasons
Family - Personal Reasons	91	12.3					18	7.0	Family - Personal Reasons
Working Conditions	111	15.1					71	27.7	Working Conditions
Opening for Advancement	65	8.8					79	30.9	Opening for Advancement
Dismissal	128	17.4					47	18.4	Habit
Miscellaneous	37	5.0					7	2.7	Miscellaneous
Total	737	100.0					256	100.0	Total
Association between Reasons for Moving and Sex		→ 92.09	5		.00	.35			
									← Association between Reasons for Staying and Sex
		11.70	5		.04	.21			
Association between Reasons for Moving and Age		→ 67.08	20		.00	.15			
									← Association between Reasons for Staying and Age
		25.78	20		.17	.15			
Association between Reasons for Moving and Marital Status		→ 49.22	5		.00	.15			
									← Association between Reasons for Staying and Marital Status
		2.07	5		.00	.08			
Association between Reasons for Moving and Occupation		→ 55.13	15		.00	.12			
									← Association between Reasons for Staying and Occupational Status
		70.06	15		.00	.23			

within which respondents' variations are expressed. Whether the first response forms the most important motive for changing jobs or simply expresses the reason for the final move of respondent is not clear. But irrespective of the point of reference of responses, the pattern reveals (see Figure 2) that respondents who gave priority to «financial reasons» put «working conditions» in second place. Conversely respondents who reported as a first reason «working conditions» or «dismissal» have mentioned «financial reasons» as a second response. This moreover suggests rotation among «financial reasons», «working conditions» and «dismissal», giving these three reasons an outstanding priority in respect to others. The further analysis of motives for changing jobs is based upon the first response only, since only the number of employees with a single reply is sufficiently large.

Responses in terms of respondents' main constraints such as his personal characteristics (age, sex, marital status, occupation) are displayed in Table 10 (see also appendices 1,2).

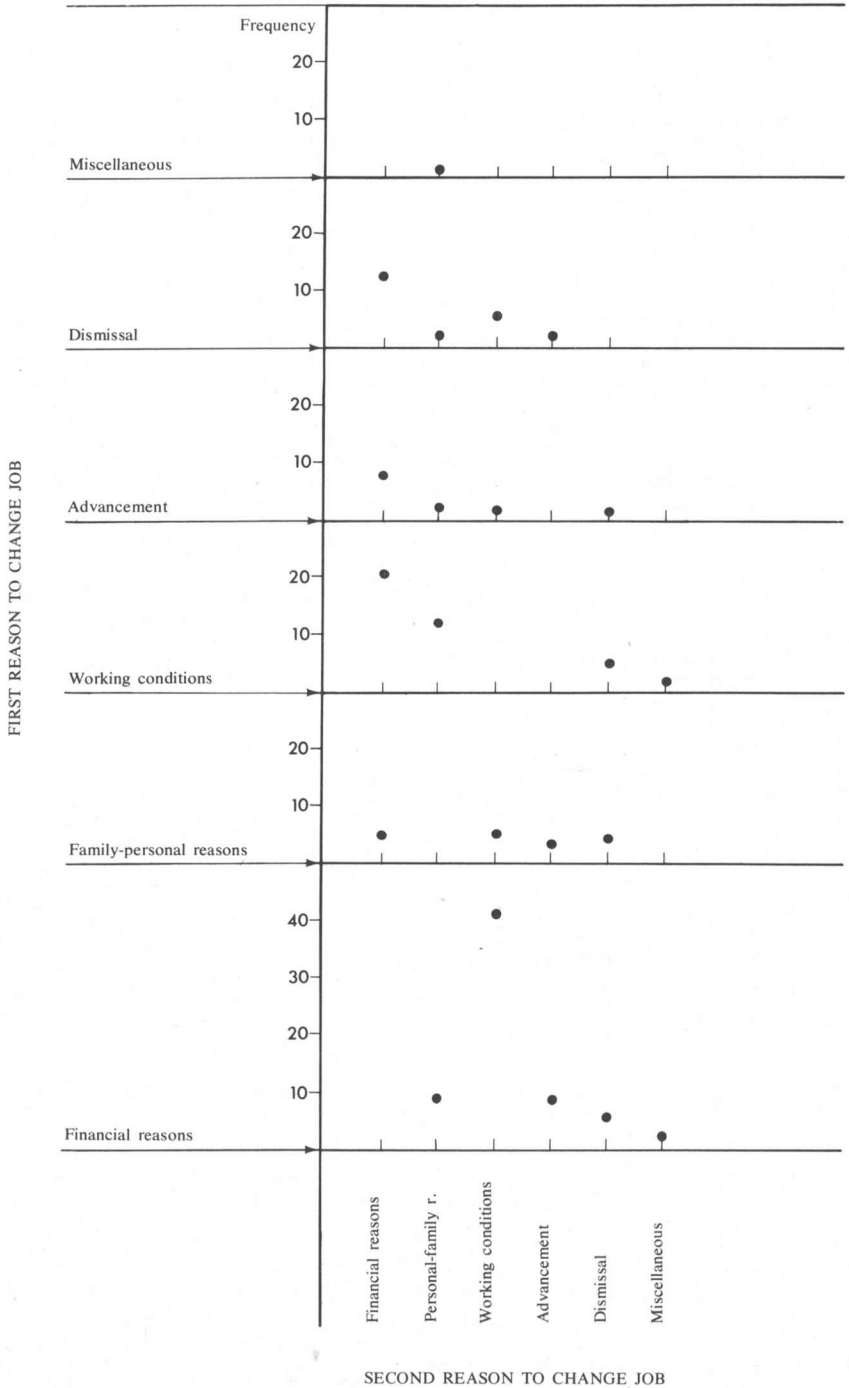
In the whole sample of «movers», «financial» motives predominate over the other categories absorbing 41% of all responses. «Dismissal» as a

reason for changing jobs ranks second (17%) followed by «working conditions» category (15%) and «family and personal reasons» (12%). The category «opportunities for advancement» tends to be rated as less important (8%).

This general pattern does not hold for all personal characteristic variables. A study by age groups (see Appendix I) revealed that though the youngest cohort (15-24) gave priority to «financial reasons» as a motive to change jobs, this does not prove to be the only significant reason; they selected «working conditions» almost equally. Moreover, the percentage for «opportunities for advancement», despite being considerably lower than the previous mentioned categories still is highest (14%) for this age group. This pattern could be partially accounted for because these employees oriented to the future, stress factors which contribute to a stable and satisfactory career, such as «working conditions» and «opportunities for advancement». Conversely, for older respondents and particularly for the age group 35-44, financial motives acquire more importance, presumably because of increased family expenses.

«Dismissal» is an important category for older

FIGURE 2. Distribution of Second Reason Motivating Respondent to Change Job in Terms of First Reason



respondents. One interpretation of the dismissal of older respondents lies in the rewards scheme and legislation which secure higher rewards and other allowances for older respondents, thus turning the employer's preference—especially for unskilled labourers—towards younger employees. In general, reasons reported as motives for changing jobs are differentiated by respondents' age ($X^2 = 67.08, 20 \text{ df } p = .000$).

A comparison by respondents' sex reveals a difference of motives between males and females. For males «financial reasons» stand as the most important motive (40% of total responses) to change jobs. Conversely, for females, despite the considerably lower rewards which they receive in the manufacturing sector compared with males (FGI, 1974:47-61), they give priority to «working conditions» (31%). Women, in addition, have been found to experience the highest percentage of «dismissal»—27%. Both trends can be interpreted in terms of females' situation in Greek social context. As a woman's occupational horizon is undermined because of her family destiny, she receives lower education and skill which in turn result in lower productivity and as such is more prone to «dismissal». Motives for changing jobs, more than any other personal characteristic variable, are affected by sex (compare summary measures in Table 10).

The marital status variable confirms the general pattern. Married employees are more intent upon financial improvement (45.7% against 35% single respondents) and dismissal for married respondents (mainly women) increased from 15.8% for single employees to 18% for married (see Appendix 1). There is an inverse pattern with the categories «working conditions» and «opportunities for advancement» showing higher percentages for single employees than for married.

A close association exists between the occupational status of respondents—as it is measured by the Duncan Socioeconomic Index—and motives for changing jobs. A derived trend suggests (see Appendix 2) that low status respondents (0-20) who in majority practise manual occupations, experienced the highest number of «dismissals» (20%). Obviously for employers such respondents can be replaced easily, especially in periods of high unemployment. However, it is noticeable that in the upper level of occupational status (61-90) which corresponds to executives and administrators, a considerable proportion of «dismissals» occurs (16%), but to interpret this further information would be necessary.

Economic reasons for changing prevail in the movements of all occupational status groups, but although one would expect this to be reported

more frequently by low status respondents, who generally are illpaid, the inverse trend occurs; they displayed the lowest percentage (37% against 45% of the highest level). For those respondents of low status «working conditions» and «family-personal reasons» are cited most. On the other hand, as was expected, the category «opportunity for advancement» enjoying here the lowest percentage (5% against 11% in the highest level) of all occupational status groups reveals the low aspirations for improvement of these respondents.

4.2 Reasons for Staying Permanently in the Same Job

The group of respondents who had stayed permanently in the same job justified this by a number of motives which, as already noted, paralleled those of the «movers».

Concerning the reasons for staying in the same job (see Table 10) the priority is given to the «opportunities for advancement» category (30%) followed by «working conditions» (28%). These findings support the long held contention of many investigators that these factors secure a degree of satisfaction irrespective of economic benefits (Vroom, 1964:150). Thus for 13% of respondents the motive for remaining in the same job is given as «financial reasons» only.

Personal characteristic variables demonstrate a weaker relationship with motivation for staying than with motives for changing jobs (Table 10) (see also Appendices 3,4). This further suggests that while for «movers» the reasons for changing jobs are relatively adequately specified and dissatisfaction with previous jobs is realised in certain aspects (financial, working conditions, etc.) in the case of «stayers» motives are not conceived in such a clear-cut manner. Evidence in support of this is shown by the frequency with which the category «habit» is selected (18%). This category expresses a neutral attitude towards jobs, indicating that for those respondents remaining in the same job the motive for doing so is ill defined.

From all personal characteristic variables only sex and occupational status have been found to be significantly associated with motives (see Table 10). Attention may be drawn to the fact that females showed a stable preference in both groups—movers and stayers—giving their first priority to «working conditions».

Motives for remaining in the same job differ by occupational status category (see Table 10 and Appendix 4). Although a clear trend can hardly be drawn, comparing employees of the lowest occupational status (0-20) with those of highest

status (60-95), certain differences are clear. Thus the category «openings for advancement» has been found more important for the lowest status group than the highest (30% against 23%). It is worthy of note that although this motive for changing jobs is illustrated by the lowest percentage (4.8%) in the case of «movers», for «stayers» this has proved the most significant reason to remain in the same job. Further suggesting that for respondents of this status, this motive can produce satisfaction but its absence does not seem to imply dissatisfaction.

Another noticeable difference between respondents of the two extreme occupational status groups concerns the category of «habit». For lowest status respondents a considerable number of them (21%) reported this neutral motive as a reason for staying permanently in the same job, while a small proportion (4%) of highest status respondents mentioned this reason. They may be due to a variation in occupational roles and responsibilities in comparison with lower status respondents.

From this descriptive analysis it is concluded that each group of respondents—stayers or movers—gave a different weight to their motives for staying or moving. Furthermore, motives are differentiated by the respondents' personal characteristics. In addition other factors which have not been taken into consideration in this analysis, for instance, labour market conditions, seem to account for such motives.

5. summary

The respondents' intragenerational moves from sector to sector of economic activity, their inter- and intra-industrial branch mobility, as well as their changes of occupational group studied in relation to their personal characteristics have shown that:

1. The whole career of the respondent exhibits high mobility when examined as to job changes, which vary from one to six in a decreasing function. Personal characteristic variables such as sex, age, marital status, occupation and geographic origin affect the number of job changes that a respondent experiences. In particular, males move more than females and non-singles and people from urban areas more often change jobs than do single people or those from a rural community. However, though these variables differentiate between the number of job changes, they can only explain 16% of the total variation. This suggests that other factors, and particularly labour market conditions, dictate the number of job changes that individuals undergo during their careers.

Concerning movements among sectors of economic activity, agriculture seems to supply industry with labour in a higher ratio than any other sector. The mobility index for the first four successive job changes varies from .72 to .85. This is affected by age. The middle age group (35-44) experience the highest mobility for all successive job changes.

Mean duration in each successive job follows a monotonic decreasing pattern. Age does not play an important role in duration of job-holding, but does have an effect in the case of older respondents in their second job.

Intragenerational occupational mobility in this decade, studying it either by grouping the occupations according to the International Occupational Index of Duncan's Socioeconomic Index, mobility ratios are found to show the same low trend.

2. Reasons reported as motivating respondents to change jobs differ according to their sex, age, marital status and occupation. As a general rule financial motives predominate across all these categories, with the exception of sex, where females give priority to working conditions. Younger and single respondents put working conditions in second place, while for older respondents, females and non-single persons, dismissal is placed second. In the case of immobility, opportunity for advancement is the main factor keeping respondents in the same job, although the reasons reported are not as clear-cut as in the case of mobility.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Reasons Motivated Respondents to Change Jobs by Their Age, Sex and Marital Status

	Groups of age					Sex		Marital status			
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	Males	Females	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed
Financial Reasons	(31.0)	(46.6)	(49.0)	(35.8)	(43.4)	(49.2)	(21.6)	(36.9)	(45.7)		
Family-Personal Reasons	(12.0)	(11.0)	(12.6)	(15.2)	(9.6)	(10.2)	(17.5)	(9.5)	(12.7)		
Working Conditions	(27.5)	(15.7)	(10.3)	(11.5)	(9.6)	(8.9)	(30.7)	(21.2)	(10.0)		
Openings for Advancement	(14.0)	(11.0)	(8.6)	(6.0)	(1.2)	(10.5)	(4.8)	(11.6)	(8.0)		
Dismissal	(11.3)	(10.5)	(14.9)	(26.7)	(28.9)	(15.5)	(22.0)	(15.8)	(18.0)		
Miscellaneous Reasons	(4.2)	(5.2)	(4.6)	(4.8)	(7.3)	(5.7)	(3.4)	(5.0)	(5.6)		
Total	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)		

APPENDIX 2

Reasons Motivated Respondents to Change Jobs by Their Occupational Status (Duncan SEI)

Reasons for changing jobs	Occupational status			
	0-20	21-40	41-60	61-90
Financial Reasons	125 (37.2)	70 (53.5)	80 (38.8)	25 (45.4)
Family-Personal Reasons	52 (15.5)	12 (9.2)	22 (10.7)	5 (9.1)
Working Conditions	59 (17.6)	13 (9.9)	33 (16.0)	5 (9.1)
Opening for Advancement	16 (4.8)	13 (9.9)	28 (13.6)	6 (10.9)
Dismissal	67 (19.9)	18 (13.7)	33 (16.0)	9 (16.4)
Miscellaneous	17 (5.0)	5 (3.8)	10 (4.9)	5 (9.1)
Total	336 (100.0)	131 (100.0)	206 (100.0)	55 (100.0)

APPENDIX 3

Reasons Motivating Respondents to Stay Permanently in the Same Job by Their Age, Sex and Marital Status

Reasons	Age Group					Sex		Marital status			
	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	Males	Females	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed
Financial Reasons	17 (17.7)	8 (12.5)	6 (10.9)	2 (6.9)	1 (8.3)	19 (15.8)	15 (11.0)	19 (13.6)	15 (13.8)		
Family-Personal Reasons	6 (6.3)	3 (4.7)	4 (7.3)	3 (10.3)	2 (16.7)	7 (5.8)	11 (8.1)	7 (5.0)	11 (10.1)		
Working Conditions	24 (25.0)	24 (37.5)	10 (18.2)	10 (34.5)	3 (25.0)	29 (24.2)	42 (30.9)	41 (29.5)	26 (23.9)		
Openings for Advancement	31 (32.3)	12 (18.8)	25 (45.5)	7 (24.1)	4 (33.3)	47 (39.2)	32 (23.5)	42 (30.0)	36 (33.0)		
Habit	13 (13.5)	17 (26.6)	9 (16.4)	6 (20.7)	2 (16.7)	16 (13.3)	31 (22.8)	27 (19.3)	18 (16.5)		
Miscellaneous Reasons	5 (5.2)	—	1 (1.8)	1 (3.4)	—	2 (1.7)	5 (3.7)	4 (2.9)	3 (2.8)		
Total Number	96	64	55	29	12	120	136	140	109		
Percentage	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)		

APPENDIX 4

Reasons Motivating Respondents to Stay Permanently in the Same Job by Their Occupational Status (Duncan SEI)

Reasons	Occupational status							
	0-20		21-40		41-60		61-90	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Financial Reasons	15	(13.39)	3	(7.9)	14	(15.22)	2	(15.38)
Family-Personal Reasons	10	(8.93)	4	(10.53)	4	(4.35)	—	—
Working Conditions	29	(25.89)	13	(34.21)	23	(25.0)	5	(38.47)
Openings for Advancement	34	(30.36)	9	(23.68)	33	(35.87)	3	(23.08)
Habit	23	(20.54)	8	(21.05)	15	(16.30)	1	(7.69)
Miscellaneous	1	(0.89)	1	(2.63)	3	(3.26)	2	(15.38)
Total	112	(100.00)	38	(100.00)	92	(100.00)	13	(100.00)