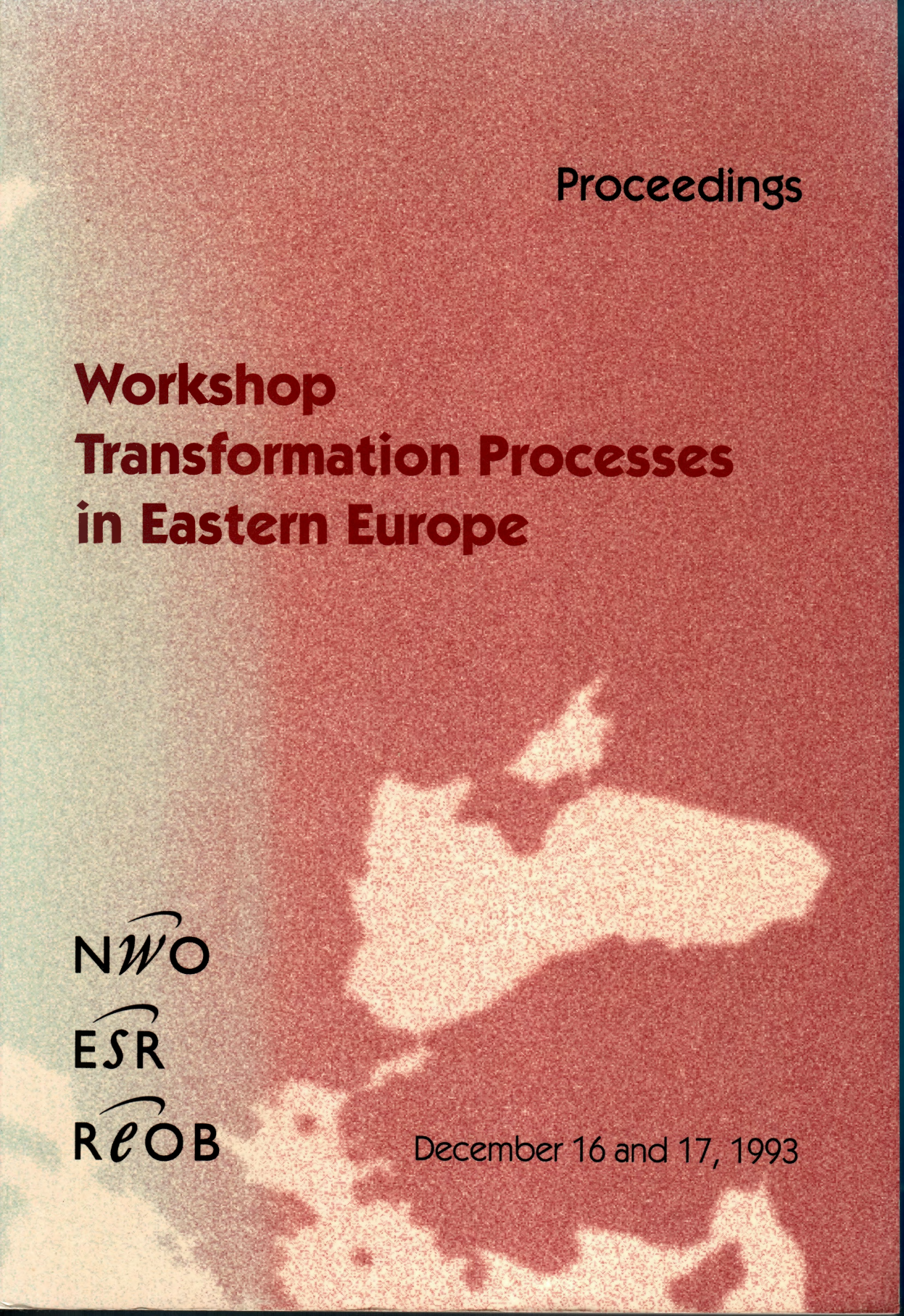
Proceedings

Workshop Transformation Processes in Eastern Europe



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First Results from the Project: Social Stratification in Eastern Europe after 1989

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This is a progress report on the project called Social Stratification in Eastern Europe after 1989, which is partly funded by the NWO. Although the title of the paper in the program refers to "first results," this is more like a status report, since--as will be detailed below--we barely have data in hand as of this writing, December 1993.
Let me first remind you what the project is about and how it is designed. Then I will bring you up-to-date on progress. Finally, I will present a few preliminary results.

Project description

Our project is concerned with the effect of the transformation of Eastern Europe to post-Communism on who gets ahead in general (social mobility) and on elite recruitment in particular. The principal task of the project -- as it has been proposed to funding agencies -- is to test two alternative sets of theories about the effect of the transformation, both of which apply in a general way to both the elite and the general population. One set of theories, which might be billed *reproduction* theories, emphasizes the crystallization of the personal assets required for socioeconomic attainment in general and elite access in particular (human or cultural capital, social or political capital, and economic capital), and the relative ease of convertibility of one form of capital into another form. The prediction of these theories, therefore, is that there will be considerable continuity in elite personnel before and after the transformation--because even those who lose their offices will be able to use their political skills and connections, their knowledge of the system, and their generalized human capital to gain important economic positions. For the same reason there will be little change in patterns of social mobility in general.
The competing set of theories, which might be billed *circulation* theories, sees the assets required for status attainment and elite access as relatively independent of one another and as not easily convertible. These theories therefore posit considerable change in both the principles governing elite recruitment (and social mobility generally) and in the personnel in various positions. Political capital in the old regime (Communist Party membership and office-holding), in particular, will be completely devalued and will certainly not facilitate -- and may even hinder -- upward mobility and elite access in the new regime. Entrepreneurial skills and economic capital will have a much more important effect in the new regime than in the old. And human or cultural capital will continue to be important, in the new regime as well as the old.
A second objective of our project is to study the history of communism (or, better, the comparative history of communism) -- a very peculiar institution, after all, about which relatively little is known, especially with respect to patterns of elite recruitment. Since we have collected complete educational, occupational, and political histories for respondents and substantial information for their parents, we will be able to study a number of interesting questions. To what extent did Communist Party membership, and office-holding, facilitate career advancement? Did people join the Party in order to get ahead? Or did they join the party once they had made it onto the fast track, to keep from being shunted aside? What effect did the vicissitudes of parental occupational and political careers have on their

children's careers? Did "Communist affirmative action" -- the creation of special educational opportunities for the children of peasants and workers -- actually alter the pre-communist class structure? Finally, because we have information on parental and grandparental property-holding, we will have some ability to study the effect of both the transition *to* communism and the transformation *from* communism. In this vein, we will be asking whether the pre-communist class structure has been restored, in the sense that those from pre-communist propertied families are particularly likely to be propertied in the post-communist period. If so, we will inquire whether the principal mechanism was the maintenance by families of their status advantage *throughout* the communist era or some other device.

To study these questions, we are conducting sample surveys in six formerly communist bloc Central/Eastern European countries: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Slovakia. There is a possibility that Slovenia will be added as a seventh country, if adequate funding (now pending) is obtained. It should be noted that when we started this project we envisioned a three-country comparison between Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. The project expanded in two ways: Czechoslovakia split into two parts and we were able to conduct general population surveys in both the Czech Republic and Slovakia; furthermore, groups from Bulgaria, Russia, and now Slovenia have asked to join the project.

In each country our design calls for two sample surveys. One is a survey of 5,000 persons constituting a probability national sample of the population aged 20-69. The other is a survey of 1,000 members of the old elite (a probability sample of 1,000 persons who in January 1988 occupied *nomenklatura* positions, that is, positions requiring the approval of the central committee of the Communist Party) and 1,000 members of the new elite (a probability sample of 400 persons occupying political and cultural positions that are the functional equivalents of a subset of the *nomenklatura* positions: members of parliament, ministers and deputy ministers, newspaper editors, heads of universities, etc. and a probability sample of 600 heads of the largest economic enterprises in the country --typically drawn from a list of the 3,000 or so largest firms).

The questionnaire for the general population survey includes extensive residential, educational, political, work, entrepreneurial, and family histories; information on the social status characteristics (education, occupation, size of place of birth, etc.) of parents and grandparents; information on property ownership, confiscation, and restitution; information on political persecution; information on cultural and material capital; and a modest amount of material on subjective aspects of the transformation. The elite survey omits the residential history, part-time activity history, and some of the attitude items, whereas it adds information on social capital.

Status report

Fieldwork -- To date [December 1993], we have completed the field work for and have in hand data from five of the six general population samples (the Polish general population survey has been delayed pending the receipt of additional funding) and three of the six elite surveys (for Hungary, Poland, and Russia). The Czech elite survey and the Polish general population survey are expected to go into the field in early 1994, and the remaining two elite surveys sometime during the first half of 1994.

To satisfy the interests of the Dutch geographers that constitute part of the NWO group, we arranged to oversample the populations of Prague and Warsaw, to bring the total sample size for each of these cities to about 1,500 cases each. Since about 20 percent of the Hungarian

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Structural Change

population lives in Budapest, we anticipated about 1,000 cases for Budapest without an oversample. Taken together, the possibility exists to compare patterns of residential mobility and housing conditions in three major Central/Eastern European capitals. The data for Prague and Budapest are in hand, while the data for Warsaw await completion of the Polish general population survey.

The sample design for the general population surveys has been executed as planned, with two exceptions: in Hungary the population sampled was all persons aged 18 and older, and in Russia the population sampled was all persons aged 20-79. Fortunately, these deviations from the common design can be corrected simply by omitting cases outside the age range.

With respect to the elite survey we had somewhat greater difficulty in achieving complete comparability in realized samples. The economic elite constituted a special problem. Our original intention had been to interview 300 heads of state enterprises and 300 members of private or privatized enterprises. This proved not to be feasible, since privatization is currently in process in all three countries. Therefore, we could not ascertain in advance which enterprises were more than half state-owned and which were more than half privately owned. We thus decided to make the issue of privatization an *outcome* of our analysis, not a sampling criterion. Apart from the issue of privatization, the Poles departed from the common design by interviewing both the heads and the deputy heads of 300 enterprises rather than the heads of 600 enterprises. There is little we can do about the inefficiency introduced by this clustering, except to downweight the sample size in our analysis.

Data preparation -- We met in Utrecht for 10 days (December 5-14, 1993) to put the data in order. A separate group met in Hungary for the first week to work on the elite data and then joined us in Utrecht for the last three days of the meeting. The general population data will be available, in cleaned and well-documented form, with a number of additional variables (e.g., various occupational classifications and scales) by early 1994, to those groups that are entitled to the data before the material enters public archives. If you are eligible to use the data, and are interested in a quick response, you should contact the Dutch coordinator, Harry Ganzeboom. The elite data from the first three countries will probably be distributed about two months after release of the general population data.

Publications -- As a first, collective, project product, two books are planned. We are going to try to get them out very quickly. We began to work on these during the first half of December 1993. Both are intended for a general intellectual audience and will address issues that are current in the ongoing public debate in these countries.

One book, based mainly on the elite data from the first three countries -- Hungary, Poland, and Russia -- is under the primary editorial leadership of Ivan Szelenyi (together with Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski and Donald Treiman). It will be entitled *Circulation or Reproduction of Elites in the Transformation to Post-Communism?* It will have six substantive chapters. Three are oriented to each of the three countries for which we now have data (Hungary, Poland, and Russia) and will focus on differences among the various elites in a given country. The remaining chapters are oriented to cross-national comparisons within each of the three elite groups.

A second book is based mainly on the general population data. Donald Treiman has the primary editorial responsibility (with Petr Mateju and Ivan Szelenyi as co-editors). It will be entitled *Stability and Change in Social Stratification in Eastern Europe after 1989.* Being somewhat longer, it will include 13 substantive chapters:

Structural Change

1. The pace of privatization
2. Stability and change in the division of labor
3. Property confiscation and restitution
4. Urban exodus, rural unemployment

Social Mobility

5. The unleashing of entrepreneurship
6. Stability and change in income
7. The rise of poverty; Stability and change in the standard of living
8. The changing status of women

The Rise of Meritocracy

9. Changes in educational attainment
10. Credentials vs. political loyalty as a basis of occupational advancement

The Political Consequences

11. Political persecution before, during, and after Communism
12. Subjective perceptions of costs and benefits of the transformation
13. The political consequences: social bases of the current vote (particularly poignant given the results of the election in Russia in early December 1993)

First results

We have barely begun our analysis, so I have relatively little to show. However, to give a taste of our data and our future analysis, I will present some first results on the social origins of the nomenklatura in Hungary, Poland, and Russia. I will then follow this preliminary overview with a very limited set of frequency distributions by country from the general population survey.

1. *Social origins of the nomenklatura*

(Based on work done at the Hungarian meeting in early December 1993 by Gil Eyal, one of the UCLA graduate students). Table 1 shows the father's occupational class position for various cohorts in Hungary, Poland, and Russia, where the cohorts are defined by the year the respondent was first advanced to a position for authority. The first cohorts cover the same period in Hungary and Poland. Because of historical circumstances in Russia, these periods are somewhat different there. Due to apparent errors in the dates in the work histories -- which we expect to resolve -- a small number of persons in each country are recorded as having advanced to positions of authority during the 1989-93 period, even though they appeared on the January 1988 lists of occupants of *nomenklatura* positions.

The most striking feature of these tables is that they show great upward mobility into the communist elite in all three countries. In Poland, about 60 percent of the *nomenklatura* was of peasant or manual laborer origin; in Hungary, more than 50 percent; in Russia, about a third. In addition, nearly 20 percent of the elite in Hungary and Poland, and nearly 10 percent in Russia, had routine non-manual origins. Finally, only about five percent of the Hungarian *nomenklatura,* less than five percent in Poland, and about 10 percent in Russia were themselves of elite origin. Thus, the story is not at all of a self-perpetuating 'new class' of communist rulers. It may be argued that in Hungary and Poland the advent of communism was too recent for a 'new class' to have established itself. Yet even in Russia, about 40 per cent of the elite had neither professional nor managerial origins. Of course, these observations must be refined by considering the relative likelihood that persons with various backgrounds

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will enter the elite. But at first blush, they strongly suggest that the *nomenklatura* position was achieved rather than ascribed --although we cannot yet say to what extent the achievement was based on merit and to what extent on political loyalty.
Many other comparisons embedded in these tables warrant study: country differences, cohort differences, and country by cohort differences. But, considering the very preliminary nature of these data, these are left without further discussion.

2. *The general population survey: Some preliminary data on the effect of the transformation.*

Here I am able only to present some frequency distributions, cross-tabulated by country, for the five countries on which we now have data. Note that these tabulations should be regarded as provisional. Undoubtedly, they will change. Various errors in the data may show up in the process of additional cleaning. We certainly intend to weight the data. This will be necessary to convert household samples, used in the Czech Republic and Russia, to person samples. Another reason is to correct for various biases we discover in the data. To emphasize their provisional character, I simply reproduce the SPSS output rather than convert it into attractive tables. The tables are restricted to the population aged 20-69 and do not include the Prague oversample.
Table 2 shows the percentage of each population that has ever been a member of the Communist Party. Some reviewers of our proposal expressed doubt as to the willingness of the population to admit past Communist Party membership. In that light, it is reassuring that the percentages so reporting are approximately what would have been expected from official statistics on party membership available for the various countries.
Table 3 is similarly reassuring. It shows that the bulk of those who left the Communist Party did so when we would have expected them to leave. They did so in 1989 in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia; in 1989 and 1990 in Bulgaria; and in 1991 in Russia. Taken together, these two tables give us considerable confidence that people are reporting their political histories in an honest way.
Tables 4 and 5 show the respondents' 'activity' in 1988 and at the time of the survey: working, going to school, keeping house, etc. Not surprisingly, more people are retired at the time of the survey than in 1988, since the population is about five years older. Of much greater interest is the sharp increase in unemployment: from no more than one percent in any country in 1988 to 10.7 percent in Bulgaria, 9.0 percent in Hungary, and 5.0 percent in Slovakia by 1993. (The unemployment rate is actually higher, since these figures are a percentage of the entire population aged 20-69, not just the population either employed or actively seeking work.) Here we have evidence of the real economic cost of the transformation to post-communism. Incidentally, the low percentage for the Czech Republic is probably correct. By keeping wages relatively low, the Czechs have also kept unemployment low. The Russian figure is, however, anomalous. It may be that in Russia, nominal employment is maintained but at wages too low to sustain a viable standard of living.
Tables 6 and 7 show an apparent anomaly in the data --the disproportionately high fraction of the Russian population in "high controller" (that is, executive and professional) occupations. About twice as many Russians are "high controllers" than in any other country. We suspect that this result arises through a combination of sampling error (a propensity to undersample very poor persons in Russia) and the Russian propensity to describe as professional engineers those persons performing functions that in other countries would be regarded as technician work. We anticipate devoting substantial energy to sorting out these and other possibilities.
Tables 8 and 9 are truncated industrial distributions. They show that, contrary to the

assumption of many, the countries studied here are no longer heavily agricultural. In fact, the highest proportion is found in Bulgarian, where less than 17 percent of the population was engaged in agriculture in 1988. Thus, it no longer makes sense to speak of the 'peasantry' -- there is hardly any left.

There has been considerable controversy about the speed of privatization in Eastern Europe, but little evidence. Our data (Tables 10 and 11) show that as of 1993 most people were still employed in publicly (state and local) owned enterprises. The proportions range from 57 percent in Hungary to 87 percent in Russia. Thus, on the evidence we have here, privatization is proceeding rather slowly.

Finally, Tables 12 and 13 document the shift toward self-employment that accompanied the transition to post-communism. In 1988, 3.1 percent of Bulgarians and 5.1 percent of Hungarians were self-employed, with the self-employment rate less than two percent in the remaining three countries. By 1993, by contrast, there was substantial self-employment in all countries except Russia, ranging from 7.9 percent of Slovaks to 11.9 percent of Hungarians. In Russia, where privatization started much later, only four per cent were self-employed at the time of the survey.

Summary

A great deal of work has yet to be done to prepare both the general population and elite surveys for analysis. Meanwhile, the results of our preliminary tabulations make it quite clear that we have a viable data set. Variables behave about as they would be expected to. And anomalies in the data are well under way to correction. This gives us great reassurance as we begin our analysis.

Table 1 Father's occup
Hungary, Pola

Country Cohort--year first advanced to authority position (no. of cases)	Elit
Hungary	
1939-68 (N=305)	4.9
1969-88 (N=275)	6.5
1989-93 (N=27)	3.7
No info. (N=87)	2.3
Total (N=694)	5.2
Poland	
1939-68 (N=250)	1.6
1969-88 (N=388)	4.1
1989-93 (N=11)	[9.1]
No info. (N=42)	9.5
Total (N=691)	3.6
Russia	
1930-56 (N=131)	9.9
1957-68 (N=247)	9.3
1969-88 (N=184)	9.8
1989-93 (N=9)	[33.3]
No info. (N=52)	11.5
Total (N=623)	10.1

Note: The cohorts advanc
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Table 1 Father's occupational class position of members of the 1988 nomenklatura in Hungary, Poland, and Russia, by cohort

Country Cohort--year first advanced to authority position (no. of cases)	Father's occupational class						
	Elite	Other managers	Profes-sionals	Other non-manual	Farmers	Skilled manual	Other manual
Hungary							
1939-68 (N=305)	4.9	8.9	10.2	17.0	19.3	30.5	9.2
1969-88 (N=275)	6.5	11.3	18.2	21.1	14.5	21.5	6.9
1989-93 (N=27)	3.7	14.8	22.2	11.1	3.7	33.3	11.1
No info. (N=87)	2.3	16.1	11.5	14.9	12.6	33.3	9.2
Total (N=694)	5.2	11.0	14.0	18.2	16.0	27.4	8.4
Poland							
1939-68 (N=250)	1.6	6.4	4.8	19.2	31.2	33.2	3.6
1969-88 (N=388)	4.1	11.3	6.7	20.6	24.0	30.9	2.3
1989-93 (N=11)	[9.1]	[9.1]	[18.2]	[18.2]	[9.1]	[27.3]	[9.1]
No info. (N=42)	9.5	4.8	19.0	16.7	23.8	23.8	2.4
Total (N=691)	3.6	9.1	6.9	19.8	26.3	31.3	2.9
Russia							
1930-56 (N=131)	9.9	26.0	18.3	10.7	9.9	20.6	4.6
1957-68 (N=247)	9.3	27.5	22.3	5.7	7.7	26.3	1.2
1969-88 (N=184)	9.8	22.8	26.6	10.9	3.8	20.7	5.4
1989-93 (N=9)	[33.3]	[0.0]	[44.4]	[0.0]	[0.0]	[22.2]	[0.0]
No info. (N=52)	11.5	15.4	34.6	17.3	7.7	13.5	0.0
Total (N=623)	10.1	24.4	24.1	9.1	6.9	22.3	3.0

Note: The cohorts advanced to authority positions in 1989-93 probably represent errors in the reporting of dates in the work histories, since the *nomenklatura* sample was drawn from a list of incumbents of *nomenklatura* positions as of January 1988. The brackets surrounding the percentages for these cohorts in Poland and Russia are intended to alert the reader to the very small numbers of cases, and hence unstable percentages, in these categories

Table 2 Ever a member of the Communist Party (CPEVER)? by country

	Count / Col Pct	COUNTRY: Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Russia	Slovakia	Row Total
		1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	
CPEVER							
.00		4195	4034	3756	4122	4166	20273
No		85.4	85.4	89.0	88.2	85.5	86.6
1.00		717	691	465	552	708	3133
Yes		14.6	14.6	11.0	11.8	14.5	13.4
	Column Total	4912	4725	4221	4674	4874	23406
		21.0	20.2	18.0	20.0	20.8	100.0

Table 3 Year left CP (YRLFTSUM), summary by country

	Count / Col Pct	COUNTRY: Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Russia	Slovakia	Row Total
		1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	
YRLFTSUM							
-7.00		191	152	12	57	49	461
Don't know year l		3.9	3.2	.3	1.2	1.0	2.0
-1.00		4195	4036	3756	4142	4166	20295
Not applicable		85.4	85.4	89.0	88.6	85.5	86.7
1.00		63	155	139	53	105	515
Before 1988		1.3	3.3	3.3	1.1	2.2	2.2
2.00		17	16	82	20	28	163
In 1988		.3	.3	1.9	.4	.6	.7
3.00		181	244	190	36	373	1024
In 1989		3.7	5.2	4.5	.8	7.7	4.4
4.00		181	88	37	110	115	531
In 1990		3.7	1.9	.9	2.4	2.4	2.3
5.00		61	16	2	218	29	326
In 1991		1.2	.3	.0	4.7	.6	1.4
6.00		23	18	3	38	9	91
In 1992 or 1993		.5	.4	.1	.8	.2	.4
	Column Total	4912	4725	4221	4674	4874	23406
		21.0	20.2	18.0	20.0	20.8	100.0

Table 4 Activity in 198

	Count / Col Pct
ACT88	
-97.00 Don't know	
-1.00 Skipped	
.00	
1.00 Working	
2.00 Unemployed	
3.00 School	
4.00 Housekeeping	
5.00 Maternity leave	
6.00 Retired	
7.00 Unable to work	
8.00 Military	
9.00 Jail	
10.00 Forced labor	
11.00 Concentration ca	
12.00 Not working	
13.00 Other	
14.00 Under age 14	
16.00 Retired and working (Bulgaria only)	
Column Total	

Number of missing ob

ER)? by country

Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
4122	4166	20273
88.2	85.5	86.6
552	708	3133
11.8	14.5	13.4
4674	4874	23406
20.0	20.8	100.0

Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
57	49	461
1.2	1.0	2.0
4142	4166	20295
88.6	85.5	86.7
53	105	515
1.1	2.2	2.2
20	28	163
.4	.6	.7
36	373	1024
.8	7.7	4.4
110	115	531
2.4	2.4	2.3
218	29	326
4.7	.6	1.4
38	9	91
.8	.2	.4
4674	4874	23406
20.0	20.8	100.0

Table 4 Activity in 1988 (ACT88) by country

ACT88	Count / Col Pct	Bulgaria 1.00	Czech Republic 2.00	Hungary 3.00	Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
-97.00 Don't know		2			1	2	5
		.0			.0	.0	.0
-1.00 Skipped		58	30		145	90	323
		1.2	.6		3.1	1.8	1.4
.00				1			1
				.0			.0
1.00 Working		3787	3633	3262	3882	3942	18506
		77.1	76.9	77.8	83.1	80.9	79.2
2.00 Unemployed		48	7	20	14	33	122
		1.0	.1	.5	.3	.7	.5
3.00 School		43	35	43	59	24	204
		.9	.7	1.0	1.3	.5	.9
4.00 Housekeeping		48	62	126	38	91	365
		1.0	1.3	3.0	.8	1.9	1.6
5.00 Maternity leave		204	172	148	101	181	806
		4.2	3.6	3.5	2.2	3.7	3.4
6.00 Retired		373	701	488	244	331	2137
		7.6	14.8	11.6	5.2	6.8	9.1
7.00 Unable to work		42	5	26	25	27	125
		.9	.1	.6	.5	.6	.5
8.00 Military		201	61	52	123	115	552
		4.1	1.3	1.2	2.6	2.4	2.4
9.00 Jail		1	3	1	8	7	20
		.0	.1	.0	.2	.1	.1
10.00 Forced labor		1	1		1	3	6
		.0	.0		.0	.1	.0
11.00 Concentration ca					1	1	2
					.0	.0	.0
12.00 Not working		21	3	22	16	4	66
		.4	.1	.5	.3	.1	.3
13.00 Other		13	12	5	16	23	69
		.3	.3	.1	.3	.5	.3
14.00 Under age 14				1			1
				.0			.0
Retired and working (Bulgaria only) 16.00		70					70
		1.4					.3
	Column Total	4912	4725	4195	4674	4874	23380
		21.0	20.2	17.9	20.0	20.8	100.0

Number of missing observations: 26

Table 5 Current activity (ACT93) by country

ACT93	Count / Col Pct	COUNTRY: Bulgaria 1.00	Czech Republic 2.00	Hungary 3.00	Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
-97.00		3			1	2	6
Dont know		.1			.0	.0	.0
-1.00		62	36		145	102	345
Skipped		1.3	.8		3.1	2.1	1.5
1.00		3017	3044	2382	3580	3333	15356
Working		61.4	64.4	56.8	76.6	68.4	65.7
2.00		525	62	377	78	245	1287
Unemployed		10.7	1.3	9.0	1.7	5.0	5.5
3.00		48	27	47	64	20	206
School		1.0	.6	1.1	1.4	.4	.9
4.00		40	65	112	77	77	371
House keeping		.8	1.4	2.7	1.6	1.6	1.6
5.00		140	195	183	122	186	826
Maternity leave		2.9	4.1	4.4	2.6	3.8	3.5
6.00		861	1236	991	475	795	4358
Retired		17.5	26.2	23.6	10.2	16.3	18.6
7.00		60	12	48	33	37	190
Unable to work		1.2	.3	1.1	.7	.8	.8
8.00		25	16	12	23	25	101
Military		.5	.3	.3	.5	.5	.4
9.00		1	2		3	6	12
Jail		.0	.0		.1	.1	.1
10.00		2	1		1	4	8
Forced labor		.0	.0		.0	.1	.0
11.00		1	1			2	4
Concentration ca		.0	.0			.0	.0
12.00		22	11	25	40	7	105
Not working		.4	.2	.6	.9	.1	.4
13.00		11	17	13	32	33	106
Other		.2	.4	.3	.7	.7	.5
14.00		1		1			2
Under age 14		.0		.0			.0
Retired and working (Bulgaria only) 16.00		93					93
		1.9					.4
	Column Total	4912 21.0	4725 20.2	4191 17.9	4674 20.0	4874 20.9	23376 100.0

Number of missing observations: 30

[This and the remaining
of the survey.]

Table 6 EGP category

EGP88	Count / Col Pct
-4.00	
Unkn 4 digit	
-3.00	
Unkn 3 digit	
-2.00	
Unkn 1 or 2 digi	
-1.00	
Missing, dk or r	
1.00	
High controllers	
2.00	
Low controllers	
3.00	
Routine nonmanua	
4.00	
Se w/employees	
5.00	
Se w/out employe	
7.00	
Manual superviso	
8.00	
Skilled manual	
9.00	
Semi unskilled m	
10.00	
Agr labor	
11.00	
Se farmer	
Column Total	

[This and the remaining job characteristics tables are restricted to those employed at the time of the survey.]

Table 6 EGP category for those employed in January 1988 (EGP88) by country

EGP88	Count / Col Pct	Bulgaria 1.00	Czech Republic 2.00	Hungary 3.00	Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
-4.00		303		45	97		445
Unkn 4 digit		8.0		1.4	2.5		2.4
-3.00		74	1			18	93
Unkn 3 digit		2.0	.0			.5	.5
-2.00		1					1
Unkn 1 or 2 digi		.0					.0
-1.00			9	53	10	28	100
Missing, dk or r			.2	1.6	.3	.7	.5
1.00		306	347	307	808	408	2176
High controllers		8.1	9.6	9.4	20.8	10.4	11.8
2.00		535	606	444	787	611	2983
Low controllers		14.1	16.7	13.6	20.3	15.5	16.1
3.00		438	604	535	450	672	2699
Routine nonmanua		11.6	16.6	16.4	11.6	17.0	14.6
4.00		5	3	15	3	4	30
Se w/employees		.1	.1	.5	.1	.1	.2
5.00		23	14	54	14	4	109
Se w/out employe		.6	.4	1.7	.4	.1	.6
7.00		55	107	57	67	117	403
Manual superviso		1.5	2.9	1.7	1.7	3.0	2.2
8.00		498	687	710	633	892	3420
Skilled manual		13.2	18.9	21.8	16.3	22.6	18.5
9.00		1110	1032	852	754	918	4666
Semi unskilled m		29.3	28.4	26.1	19.4	23.3	25.2
10.00		404	219	165	247	261	1296
Agr labor		10.7	6.0	5.1	6.4	6.6	7.0
11.00		35	4	25	12	9	85
Se farmer		.9	.1	.8	.3	.2	.5
	Column Total	3787	3633	3262	3882	3942	18506
		20.5	19.6	17.6	21.0	21.3	100.0

Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
1	2	6
.0	.0	.0
145	102	345
3.1	2.1	1.5
3580	3333	15356
76.6	68.4	65.7
78	245	1287
1.7	5.0	5.5
64	20	206
1.4	.4	.9
77	77	371
1.6	1.6	1.6
122	186	826
2.6	3.8	3.5
475	795	4358
10.2	16.3	18.6
33	37	190
.7	.8	.8
23	25	101
.5	.5	.4
3	6	12
.1	.1	.1
1	4	8
.0	.1	.0
	2	4
	.0	.0
40	7	105
.9	.1	.4
32	33	106
.7	.7	.5
		2
		.0
		93
		.4
4674	4874	23376
20.0	20.9	100.0

Table 7 EGP category for those employed at the date of the survey (EGP93) by country

COUNTRY — Page 1 of 1

EGP93	Count / Col Pct	Bulgaria 1.00	Czech Republic 2.00	Hungary 3.00	Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
-4.00 Unkn 4 digit		285 / 9.4		37 / 1.6	85 / 2.4		407 / 2.7
-3.00 Unkn 3 digit		70 / 2.3	81 / 2.7			75 / 2.3	226 / 1.5
-2.00 Unkn 1 or 2 digi		3 / .1					3 / .0
-1.00 Missing, dk or r			7 / .2	48 / 2.0	13 / .4	30 / .9	98 / .6
1.00 High controllers		262 / 8.7	296 / 9.7	255 / 10.7	791 / 22.1	333 / 10.0	1937 / 12.6
2.00 Low controllers		454 / 15.0	516 / 17.0	373 / 15.7	716 / 20.0	554 / 16.6	2613 / 17.0
3.00 Routine nonmanua		353 / 11.7	503 / 16.5	435 / 18.3	374 / 10.4	541 / 16.2	2206 / 14.4
4.00 Se w/employees		30 / 1.0	39 / 1.3	25 / 1.0	26 / .7	28 / .8	148 / 1.0
5.00 Se w/out employe		66 / 2.2	104 / 3.4	75 / 3.1	27 / .8	67 / 2.0	339 / 2.2
7.00 Manual superviso		30 / 1.0	67 / 2.2	34 / 1.4	64 / 1.8	101 / 3.0	296 / 1.9
8.00 Skilled manual		362 / 12.0	490 / 16.1	450 / 18.9	573 / 16.0	672 / 20.2	2547 / 16.6
9.00 Semi unskilled m		820 / 27.2	784 / 25.8	536 / 22.5	697 / 19.5	724 / 21.7	3561 / 23.2
10.00 Agr labor		237 / 7.9	137 / 4.5	82 / 3.4	203 / 5.7	188 / 5.6	847 / 5.5
11.00 Se farmer		45 / 1.5	20 / .7	32 / 1.3	11 / .3	20 / .6	128 / .8
Column Total		3017 / 19.6	3044 / 19.8	2382 / 15.5	3580 / 23.3	3333 / 21.7	15356 / 100.0

Table 8 Industry in 198

IND88	Count / Col Pct	1.00
Agriculture		
Column Total		

Table 9 Current industr

IND93	Count / Col Pct	1.00
Agriculture		
Column Total		

f the survey (EGP93) by country

Russia	Slovakia	Row
5.00	6.00	Total
85		407
2.4		2.7
	75	226
	2.3	1.5
		3
		.0
13	30	98
.4	.9	.6
791	333	1937
22.1	10.0	12.6
716	554	2613
20.0	16.6	17.0
374	541	2206
10.4	16.2	14.4
26	28	148
.7	.8	1.0
27	67	339
.8	2.0	2.2
64	101	296
1.8	3.0	1.9
573	672	2547
16.0	20.2	16.6
697	724	3561
19.5	21.7	23.2
203	188	847
5.7	5.6	5.5
11	20	128
.3	.6	.8
3580	3333	15356
23.3	21.7	100.0

Table 8 Industry in 1988 (IND88) by country

IND88	Count / Col Pct	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Russia	Slovakia	Row Total
		1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	
1.00 Agriculture		638	468	470	558	644	2778
		16.8	12.9	14.5	14.4	16.3	15.0
	Column Total	3787	3633	3233	3882	3942	18477
		20.5	19.7	17.5	21.0	21.3	100.0

Table 9 Current industry (IND93) by country

IND93	Count / Col Pct	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Russia	Slovakia	Row Total
		1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	
1.00 Agriculture		407	289	259	488	461	1904
		13.5	9.5	11.0	13.6	13.8	12.4
	Column Total	3017	3044	2360	3580	3333	15334
		19.7	19.9	15.4	23.3	21.7	100.0

Table 10 Organization in 1988 (ORG88) by country

ORG88	Count / Col Pct	Bulgaria 1.00	Czech Republic 2.00	Hungary 3.00	Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
-99.00					1		1
					.0		.0
-98.00				4			4
Refused				.1			.0
-97.00		4	1		1	81	87
Dont know		.1	.0		.0	2.1	.5
-1.00		112	56		9	22	199
Skipped		3.0	1.5		.2	.6	1.1
.00					1		1
					.0		.0
1.00		2897	2931	2174	3668	3176	14846
State enterprise		76.5	80.7	67.6	94.5	80.6	80.4
2.00		157	106	166	50	72	551
Local enterprise		4.1	2.9	5.2	1.3	1.8	3.0
3.00		466	336	536	92	407	1837
Cooperative, emp		12.3	9.2	16.7	2.4	10.3	10.0
4.00		58	53	22	22	34	189
In process of pr		1.5	1.5	.7	.6	.9	1.0
5.00		3	98	20	16	81	218
Now privatized,		.1	2.7	.6	.4	2.1	1.2
6.00		38	25	25	2	27	117
Now privatized,		1.0	.7	.8	.1	.7	.6
7.00		6	4	172		6	188
Private, never s		.2	.1	5.3		.2	1.0
8.00		3	3	16	20	1	43
Joint venture, n		.1	.1	.5	.5	.0	.2
9.00		25	20	5		35	85
Foreign owned en		.7	.6	.2		.9	.5
10.00		18		76			94
		.5		2.4			.5
Column Total		3787 20.5	3633 19.7	3216 17.4	3882 21.0	3942 21.4	18460 100.0

Table 11 Current organ

ORG93	Count / Col Pct	
-99.00		
-98.00		
Refused		
-97.00		
Dont know		
-1.00		
Skipped		
.00		
1.00		
State enterprise		
2.00		
Local enterprise		
3.00		
Cooperative, emp		
4.00		
In process of pr		
5.00		
Now privatized,		
6.00		
Now privatized,		
7.00		
Private, never s		
8.00		
Joint venture, n		
9.00		
Foreign owned en		
10.00		
Column Total		

Table 11 Current organization (ORG93) by country

Count / Col Pct	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Hungary	Russia	Slovakia	Row Total
ORG93	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	
-99.00				2		2
				.1		.0
-98.00			3	1		4
Refused			.1	.0		.0
-97.00	5	2	4	1	94	106
Dont know	.2	.1	.2	.0	2.8	.7
-1.00	110	53		11	22	196
Skipped	3.6	1.7		.3	.7	1.3
.00				1		1
				.0		.0
1.00	2064	1819	1181	3046	2176	10286
State enterprise	68.4	59.8	50.3	85.1	65.3	67.1
2.00	125	80	154	68	58	485
Local enterprise	4.1	2.6	6.6	1.9	1.7	3.2
3.00	256	196	239	228	285	1204
Cooperative, emp	8.5	6.4	10.2	6.4	8.6	7.9
4.00	53	83	38	65	58	297
In process of pr	1.8	2.7	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.9
5.00	12	236	47	104	180	579
Now privatized,	.4	7.8	2.0	2.9	5.4	3.8
6.00	305	474	94	17	350	1240
Now privatized,	10.1	15.6	4.0	.5	10.5	8.1
7.00	16	49	391	3	35	494
Private, never s	.5	1.6	16.7	.1	1.1	3.2
8.00	7	14	71	33	9	134
Joint venture, n	.2	.5	3.0	.9	.3	.9
9.00	51	38	23		66	178
Foreign owned en	1.7	1.2	1.0		2.0	1.2
10.00	13		101			114
	.4		4.3			.7
Column Total	3017	3044	2346	3580	3333	15320
	19.7	19.9	15.3	23.4	21.8	100.0

Table 12 Self-employed in 1988 (SE88) by country

SE88	Count / Col Pct	Bulgaria 1.00	Czech Republic 2.00	Hungary 3.00	Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
-9.00					4		4
					.1		.0
-8.00				5			5
Refused				.2			.0
-7.00		48		4			52
Dont know		1.3		.1			.3
-1.00		128	26		6	76	236
Skipped		3.4	.7		.2	1.9	1.3
1.00		130	38	165	66	50	449
Yes		3.4	1.0	5.1	1.7	1.3	2.4
2.00		3481	3569	3063	3806	3816	17735
No		91.9	98.2	94.6	98.0	96.8	96.0
Column Total		3787 20.5	3633 19.7	3237 17.5	3882 21.0	3942 21.3	18481 100.0

Table 13 Currently self-employed (SE93) by country

SE93	Count / Col Pct	Bulgaria 1.00	Czech Republic 2.00	Hungary 3.00	Russia 5.00	Slovakia 6.00	Row Total
-9.00					6		6
					.2		.0
-8.00				3			3
Refused				.1			.0
-7.00		41		5			46
Dont know		1.4		.2			.3
-1.00		106	34		7	95	242
Skipped		3.5	1.1		.2	2.9	1.6
1.00		253	319	280	143	262	1257
Yes		8.4	10.5	11.9	4.0	7.9	8.2
2.00		2617	2691	2071	3424	2976	13779
No		86.7	88.4	87.8	95.6	89.3	89.9
Column Total		3017 19.7	3044 19.9	2359 15.4	3580 23.3	3333 21.7	15333 100.0

Institutionalization of

Ania van der Meer - Kr

Introduction

This paper consists of tw
project "Institutionalizati
the way we intend to op
encountered in analyzing
still underway. Part Tw
parliament from 1989 to
The original intention w
three countries. In Hung
parliament have already
was delayed by parliame
the subsequent dissolutio
events allow the inclusio
the more timely since th

Institutional approach

In his seminal work on
institutionalization as th
stability. He defines
adaptability, complexity
Huntington 1968). Hunt
of political stability, and
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economic problems whi
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Patterson 1979:29). Ziel
arguing that "without sta
unable to function proper
for purposes very well.
regimes we are studying
Although institutional in