

The winning right-wing citizen-Christian alliance requires ten additional votes in the Assembly of the People of the Federal Assembly to gain a sufficient majority. In the Czech part of the Assembly of Nations they have a sufficient majority, but the Slovak parties rule in the Slovak part of the Assembly of Nations. If the value of votes is one in the Assembly of Nations, then due to the principle of parity and the ban on the majority of one nation, the value of each Czech vote is 0.5 to the value of the Slovak vote. This fact, in spite of its principal importance for the functioning of political democracy or for the fate of the common state, never became a matter of considerable political battle or emotion. If the Slovak representation can block the parliament in its part of the Assembly of Nations, the Czech right-wing representation (ODS-KDS with KDU-ČSL) has the same possibility in its part of the Assembly of Nations. In the presidium of the parliament, which can govern in the case the representation is not functioning, the left wing will have a weak majority, which is a significant stimulus for the Czech right-wing representation to consider splitting the state (which they refused to consider before the elections) in

order to maintain the pace of the economic and political transformation of the Czech lands.

The division of the CSFR could lead to the disappearance of the European arrangement created by the Versailles system, the bond of which Czechoslovakia was usually considered, and this system was also the guarantor of the new state, having the consequence of the revision of the borders of many Central and East European countries. In 1866, Chancellor Bismarck thought about the danger of these changes in Central Europe in the following way: "He who rules Bohemian, rules Europe. Hence, Europe cannot allow any other nation to rule there than the Czech, because this nation will not try to rule over others. The border of Bohemia is the guarantor of European security, and he who crosses it leads Europe to disaster". This consideration can seem, from the point of view of the West, anachronistic. Eastern and Central Europe, however, thanks to a half-century of totalitarianism both leftist and rightist, is not too far from the thinking contained in this view from the nineteenth century.

Lubomír Brokl

Declared Occupational Mobility and the Change in the Role of Achievement Principles in Four Nations of East-Central Europe

In October 1991 the sociological survey "*The Dismantling of the Social Safety Net and Its Political Consequences*" was carried out in three formerly communist countries of Europe: Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.¹ The principal purpose of the survey was to assess the effect of the gradual dismantling of various forms of the social

safety net typical for state socialism on the political attitudes and behavior of different groups of the population in the three countries (four nations).

In addition to political attitudes and behavior, the questionnaire contained indications of some other aspects of social transformation, including the subjective evaluation of changes in the respondents' occupational status during the post-communist transformation² and the

¹) The survey was coordinated and financed by the Institute of East West Security Studies, New York. Four national analytical files were created: Czech lands (1187), Slovakia (817), Hungary (1500) and Poland (1491), as well as a merged multinational data file containing 4995 cases.

²) We asked: "Now, think for a moment of the time two or three years ago when the major political change started in our society. Since then, have you experienced any important change in your occupation, your job or in your position in the company? We are not asking you about any kind of change, but only about a change that markedly influenced your career and life situation." If the

perception of change in the role of various factors of life success. In this brief report we will focus on the question of cross-national differences in occupational mobility and the revitalization of meritocratic principles of social stratification.

Figures 1 and 2 display the extent and structure of occupational mobility as declared by the respondents themselves. There is no significant cross-national variation in the *extent* of mobility in Eastern Europe: one fifth of the population declares a marked change in occupational status during the transformation. There is, however, a significant dissimilarity in its structure (Figure 2). The Czech lands show the strongest tendency towards upward mobility into higher managerial positions and the strongest outflow of manpower to the private sector. Respondents in the Czech lands also experienced less unemployment than all other nations in the region. Slovakia, in turn, experienced the strongest downward mobility, while unemployment has been at a level typical for the whole region there. Two tendencies were typical for Poland: the highest level of unemployment in the region and the lowest outflow to the private sector. Hungary doesn't show any significant deviation from figures typical for the region as a whole.

Table 1 displays the results of the factor analysis of eight factors determining the chances of getting ahead ("life success"). As expected, two principle factors were extracted: one rather "meritocratic" (we labeled it "ACHIEVEMENT") and the other rather "particularistic" (we borrowed the label "ASCRPTION"). These two factors explained 42 % of the common variance of variables in all four nations. Due to the clear interpretation of factors we proceeded by calculating factor scores (regression method), and by analysis, arrived at the following components of variance of the two

respondent reported a change, he/she had to mark whether it was a) a move up to a higher managerial position, b) a move down from higher managerial position or its loss, c) the loss of a job, or d) a move to the private sector (either to one's own business or as an employee).

factors: nation, education, and declared change in the occupational status since the beginning of the transformation (Table 2, Figure 3 and 4).

The results of the analysis of the first factor ("ACHIEVEMENT") show:

- a) The strongest source of variation in this factor is national. Its net effect is by far the most significant among the variables in the analysis. The nation with the strongest tendency to perceive the transformation process as a shift to more universalism and meritocracy are the Czech lands (+0.46). Slovakia and Hungary, with a much weaker level of such an evaluation of the change in social stratification, represent the "core" of the region (close to the average). Apparently the weakest tendency to meritocracy and achievement principles was found in Poland (-.70).
- b) There is empirical evidence supporting the thesis that experienced occupational mobility has only a weak effect on the evaluation of the change in the role of achievement factors for getting ahead. Figure 4 clearly shows that the effect of nation is dominant over the net effect of experienced mobility, except for the effect of being a "mover" to the private sector.
- c) Education shows a slightly higher significance in its effect on the evaluation of the progress in the role of achievement in life success. The higher the respondent's education, the stronger is his/her belief that the society is becoming more "meritocratic". There is, however, significant cross-national dissimilarity in the effect of education on this attitude. Figure 4 displays regression lines of the attitude on education for individual nations. The effect of education proved to be significant only in Czech lands and Slovakia.

The results make it clear that the social transformation in Eastern Europe is a unique but not universal process. It is quite obvious that individual nations are experiencing different political developments and different strategies of the economic reform. Our brief report is based on the data from one of the first comparative research projects carried out in Eastern Europe in the

middle of its transformation and aimed at the assessment of dissimilarity in the component countries' social transformation as perceived by their populations. It seems to be empirically defensible to conclude that the socioeconomic transformation in the Czech lands has been opening more room for universal and meritocratic principles of social stratification than in other nations. The question remains, however, whether this is due to differences in the present policy or due to distinctions in the original ("pre-revolutionary") situation. It has been proven

by other analyses that the egalitarian ideology and policy orientation were stronger in Czechoslovakia than in the other state socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Therefore, it seems quite understandable that the results of our analysis show that the reform in the Czech lands is generating far stronger beliefs that the transformation is bringing the revitalization of meritocracy and universalism as major principles of social stratification.

Petr Matějů and Milan Tuček

Table 1. Results of the factor analysis on the change in the roles of various determinants of getting ahead in four nations of Eastern Europe

Question: *Do you think that in comparison with the previous (communist) regime there has been any change in the importance of factors influencing life success? I am going to read a list of various things that might be important for getting ahead. Can you tell me for each of them whether it is more important, less important, or about the same?*

Scale: 1 - less important, 2 - about the same, 3 - more important

Factor Analysis on Multinational Sample
(Czech lands, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland)

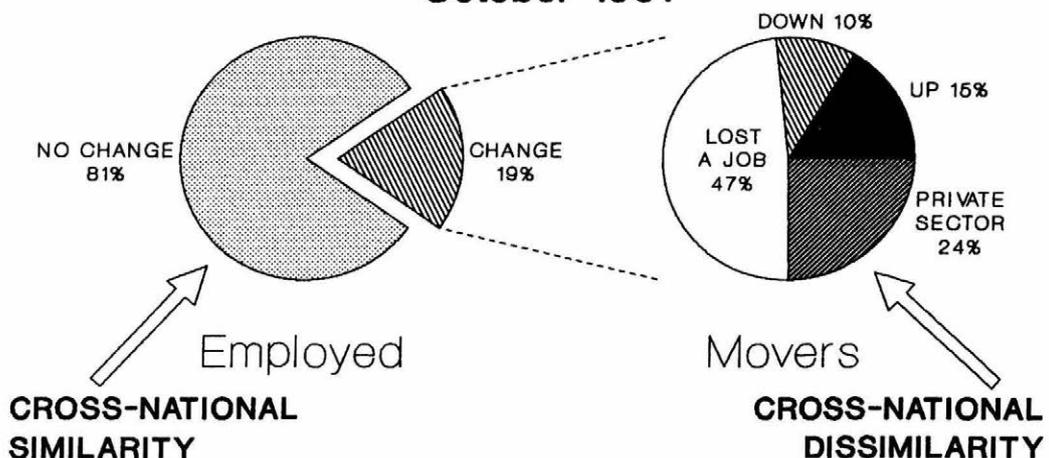
Item	Factor 1 "ACHIEVEMENT"	Factor 2 "ASCRPTION"
Ambitions	.725	.003
One's hard work	.723	-.210
Education	.531	.042
Willingness to take a risk	.520	.153
Political connections	-.114	.798
Knowing the right people	.281	.604
Coming from a wealthy family	.057	.524
One's religious commitment	-.321	.420

Method: Principal components, oblique rotation (method "OBLIMIN", correlations between factors $r = -.008$). Table displays the pattern matrix.

Table 2 Results of analysis of the variance of the factor
 "ACHIEVEMENT" - MCA table
 (adjusted deviations from the grand mean and beta-coefficients)

	deviation	N	beta	sig. of F
NATION				
Czech lands	0.46	1057		
Slovakia	0.07	709		
Hungary	0.06	1134		
Poland	-0.70	855	0.42	>0.000
EDUCATION				
elementary	-0.08	904		
vocational	-0.02	1256		
secondary	0.06	1156		
college	0.09	439	0.06	0.001
REPORTED CHANGE IN STATUS				
no change	-0.01	3104		
upward on managerial hierarchy	0.00	105		
downward on manag. hierarchy	0.03	50		
lost a job	-0.06	309		
moved to the private sector	0.25	187	0.06	0.003

Figure 1
Change in occupational status since
the beginning of the transformation
Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland
October 1991

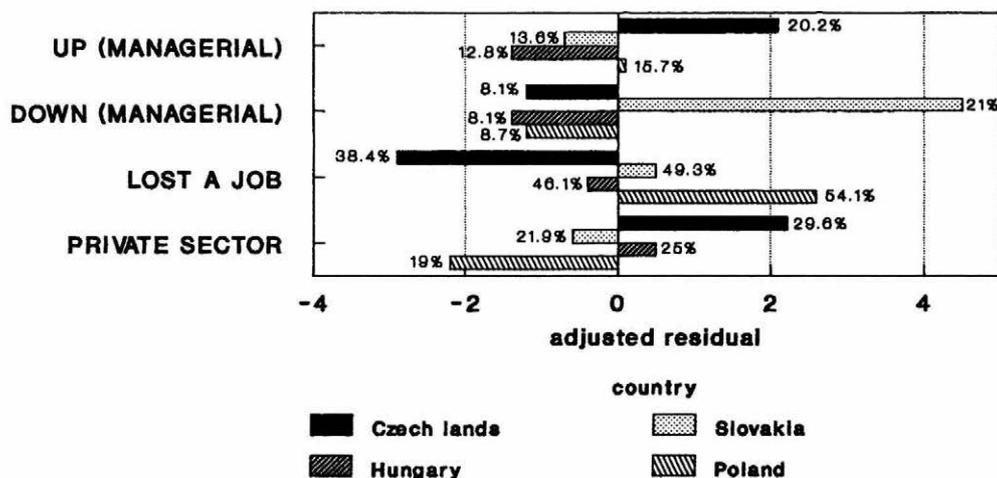


Source: "Dismantling of the social safety net: Czechoslovakia Hungary and Poland" 1991

See Figure 2

N=4540

Figure 2
Change in occupational status
during the transformation - by nation
MOVERS ONLY



Residuals larger/less than 1.96 (+/-)
 are significant at the level 0.05

Figure 3
Change in the role of achievement
by change in occupational status

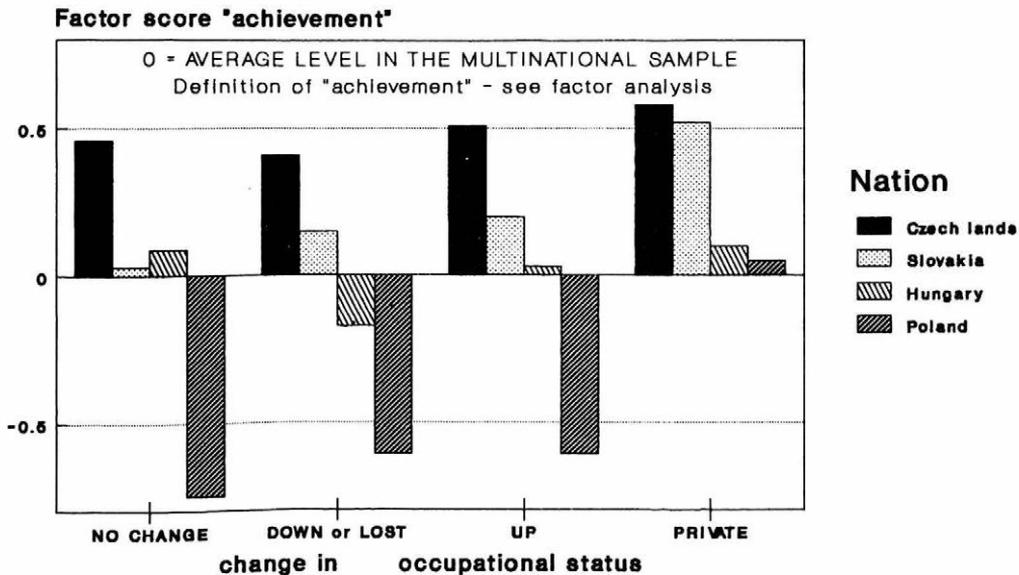


Figure 4
Change in the role of achievement
principles by education

