A Historical Comparison of Social Structures in the Czech Republic in the Years 1984 and 1993*

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Abstract: On the basis of three representative surveys conducted in 1984, spring 1993 and autumn 1993, the increasing vertical social differentiation of the economically active Czech population is analysed and the results of the historical comparison are interpreted with reference to the social change in the first phase of the post-communist transformation. The shifts in education, the distribution of managerial positions and class structure are seen as the results of both limited modernisation and progress in privatisation and meritocratisation. The traditional differentiating principles of the (rather egalitarian and anti-meritocratic) state socialist society – based on steep power differentiation and, eventually, differentiation caused by demographic factors – have lost much of their former influence. A new class structure based on the differentiation of property relations, managerial positions and earnings is gradually emerging. Concurrently, the influence of meritocratic factors, such as education and work complexity on income distribution and, above all, on life-style is also growing. The first steps towards increased social status consistency and a more gradual status distribution are noticeable. At the same time, the attitudes and forms of behaviour have become somewhat more determined by the objective social differentiation. As far as the various concepts and methodological instruments are concerned, an increased explanatory force of the EGP scheme and of a multi-dimensional social status typology based on cluster analysis could be observed in the course of the 1990s. In spite of important changes in the general social context, many frequented multi-dimensional status patterns in 1984 and 1993 show a great deal of mutual similarity.
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1. Subject and Purpose of the Article

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the authors have focused on the study of the post-communist social transformation in the Czech Republic as a specific case of social change. The present article is based on certain theoretical and methodological

prerequisites outlined in already published articles or working papers. [Machonin 1992a; 1993a, b; 1994]

The principle ideas, formulated prior to this new analysis, could be summed up as follows: The processes occurring in the former state socialist countries of Central-Eastern Europe are not viewed as the mere transition from an extensively scientifically defined social order (a totalitarian system based on a redistributive, non-market economy) to another, equally familiar order (namely liberal democratic capitalism), which is being realised by a series of instruments, supplied a priori, logically deduced from the characteristics of the outcome and the end of the transition. Indeed, we understand the ongoing social processes in our countries as one aspect of a complex societal transformation involving changes in civilisation and culture, economy, the political system and spiritual life. We define them as a qualitative historical change (social transformation), the prehistory, recent history and the current course of which should be examined through the empirical verification and falsification of various theoretical concepts (including the most plausible models of the possible future for the given conditions), applying to this end all useful and attainable methodological instruments (compare [Offe 1991; Stark 1992]). Although in the case of Czech society, the mentioned „transition approach" seems very close to the likely course of the recent changes, attempts to predict the future should be formulated rather in terms more or less likely alternatives and variants than in the form of a „one way" prognosis. Even the perfect realisation of the most optimistic image of the assumed transition can be achieved in various social forms which are strongly determined by the concrete social history of the group of countries and of the individual countries in question as well as by the complex initial conditions (including cultural specificities) resulting from the social and political actors' activities. It is for this reason that the social transformation processes are to be systematically monitored by means of empirical research.

Applying our own data or secondary analyses of accessible data collected by others and reacting to interpretations of sociological surveys produced by Hungarian, Polish and particularly Czech sociologists, we have already published some articles and working papers which seek to interpret the character of both the state socialist past and the ongoing social transformation, particularly in Czech (and eventually Slovak) society, and their relation to the analogous processes in Hungary and Poland. The main considerations concerning the social structure of so-called Soviet-type societies, the reasons for their collapse and their surviving legacy have already been published in this review. [Machonin 1993b] The social structure of state socialist society is seen as functionally linked to totalitarian and anti-meritocratic social arrangements (the anti-meritocratic principle combining egalitarianism with undeserved privileges for the nomenclature). The inevitable consequence of the above is the extraordinary expansion in social status inconsistency [Wesolowski 1968; Machonin et al 1969; Kolósi 1984; Róbert 1990] and, eventually, „destratification" [Matějů 1990]. Combined with other circumstances, this system's evident inhibitive influence on the modernisation of the societies in question is considered to have been one of the major reasons behind the collapse of communism. The Hungarian sociological concept of the „second society" [Hankiss 1988] is applied here in the broader sense of indicating the specificities of the non-macro-institutionalised phenomena and social actors which also prepared the qualitative changes of 1989 in Czechoslovakia. From this and in response to the recent political development in the period from 1989 to 1993, a preliminary characteristic of the

gradually changing political elites as the main actors of the social transformation has been derived. [Machonin 1994: 81-83] Parallel to this, we have also presented an elementary description of the basic process of vertical social differentiation already proved and characterised by other authors [Večerník 1992; 1993; Kolósi, Róna-Tas 1992; Matějů 1993; Matějů, Řeháková 1993; Domański 1993] in terms of restratification and/or the emergence of class structure. [Machonin 1994: 72-81; Machonin, Tuček 1994a: 292-303; 1994c]

With regard to the analyses of more complex empirical data based on sociological surveys, we have already published and presented some preliminary studies on Czechoslovakia in 1967, 1984, 1991 and 1993. [Machonin, Tuček 1992a, b, c; 1994b] The aim of this article is to present the first results of a new stage in our empirical work. Having received the definitive version of the representative international comparative sample of the stratification and mobility survey 1993 from the UCLA in September 1994, we were able to prepare the definitive „reweighted" and therefore fully representative version of our national sample of individuals from the same survey (for details, see part 2); at the same time we were also able to re-elaborate the sample of our complementary survey on beliefs and behaviour from autumn of the same year. The „reweighting" of the samples brought no substantial revision to those interpretations presented in the preliminary analyses. We have also made analogous changes in the sample of the social and class structure survey carried out in 1984 by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology in Prague. In doing so, however, we revealed a considerable mistake in the linkage of life-style data with the basic stratification data in the „inherited" 1984 sample. As a consequence, we were able to correct some elements in the previous interpretation of cultural activities as one social status dimension. This done, for the first time we were in possession of representative and fully comparable samples for 1984 and 1993 encompassing both males and females separately for the Czech Republic; we also had an additional representative sample enabling a deeper insight into the interdependence between objective social indicators and subjective perceptions of social changes. At the same time, the latest data corresponds to a more developed stage of social transformation with a higher probability correctly reflecting the population's attitudes.

In this paper, we have limited ourselves to an examination of the individual social statuses of the economically active adult population. On this basis, we aim to compare the social structures of the years 1984 and 1993 within the following parameters:

a) Changes in some basic variables indicating the vertical dimensions of education, occupational and managerial positions with the assumption that the progress of both the privatisation and limited modernisation has influenced their distribution.

b) Changes in those factors influencing the vertical social differentiation of earnings with the assumption that the impact of both the privatisation and „meritocratisation" should be visible, while the influence of traditional demographic factors should have diminished.

c) Shifts in the synthesising neo-Weberian class classification, influenced by the processes mentioned sub a).

d) Changes both in the interrelations of the individual social status dimensions (moving to a higher degree of social consistency and to progress in meritocratic stratification)

and in the distribution of multi-dimensional social status indices towards a more gradual vertical differentiation shape.

e) An increase in associations between individuals' objectively described social statuses and their perceptions of the progressing vertical social differentiation.

Besides the task of reporting on recently acquired knowledge about the present phase of the post-communist transformation in the Czech Republic, our article has an additional task: to present information regarding our experience of the application of different theoretical concepts and methodological instruments suitable for the study of post-communist social processes. This we have done by comparing the application of the EGP class classification, of different kinds of synthesising multi-dimensional status indices, and of the multi-dimensional status patterns typology, produced by means of an improved cluster analysis program – all this for the 1984 data. For the year 1993 we could, in addition, arrive at a comparison with the predictive force of both the ISEI and the International occupational prestige scale.

2. Sources and Methods

2.1. Samples

Data from three sociological surveys has served as the empirical basis for this paper.

The first survey was carried out in 1984, i.e. shortly before the „outbreak" of the Soviet „perestroika". It was that historical moment in which the so-called normalisation regime, installed by the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, reached its developmental peak. The original topic of this survey was „Class and Social Structure". In spite of some theoretical and methodological limitations, the group of Czech sociologists at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Prague) who prepared the survey (led by A. Matějovský and J. Linhart) managed to incorporate such occupation identifications and many other important indicators enabling data comparison in conditions substantially different to their original ideological context. (Milan Tuček transformed the data for this purpose). N for the final sample of economically active in the Czech Republic was equal to 7625.

The second survey (1993) drawn upon is the international comparative survey „Social Stratification and Mobility". It was conducted under the leadership of the Department of Sociology of UCLA, USA (Profs. Treiman and Szelényi). Data for the Czech Republic – on which this article is based – were collected in spring 1993 by the national team of the Sociological Institute of the Academy of Sciences, the Czech Republic (headed by P. Matějů). The income data relate to the year 1992. The time of the data collection corresponds to the birth of the Czech Republic as a sovereign state. N for the sample of economically active was equal to 3296 respondents.

The third, additional source of data (1993 BB) is represented by the comparative survey on beliefs and behaviour in the Czech and Slovak Republics. The authors of the project and questionnaire (Machonin, Roško, Kuchař, Tuček) sought to complete the information from the survey on social stratification and mobility with a set of data characterising people's attitudes, value orientations and subjective behaviour. The data were collected for the Sociological Institute of the Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic, in autumn 1993, when the Czech people's personal experience both of the separate existence of the national state and the dominant tendencies of political and

economic development could already have had significant influence on their attitudes. N for the economically active population is equal to 1376.

2.2. Sample Standardisation

All three surveys were carried out as macrostructure quantitative sociological surveys representing the adult population on the basis of random selection. For the purpose of our analysis and mutual comparison all three samples have been standardised as follows:

a) The age range of all three samples has been unified to the interval 20 - 69 years.

b) All three surveys were carried out on randomly selected samples of households. To acquire representativity for individuals, every case has been „reweighted" by the number of persons of the given age living in the household, divided by the average number of persons living in a household.

c) All three samples were „reweighted" in such a way that the data on locality size, age, gender and education level corresponded to the statistical relations established in the 1980 and 1991 censuses. In the case of the 1984 survey, changes in the statistical data for the subsequent years (1981-1984) were also taken into account.

The standardisation has been carried out for the samples as a whole, including both the economically active and inactive population, thus ensuring a representativity of all three samples for the Czech population at the given historical point. Where no further mention is made, all tables and differences presented in the article are statistically significant on a level lower than 0,01.

2.3. Operationalisation of the Non-Categorised Status Forming Variables and their Categorisation

For education, the most detailed information from the questionnaires has been used. In 1984 and 1993 BB there were 9, in 1993 14 categories.

Work complexity has been operationalised in both 1993 surveys on the basis of five figure codes from ISCO 1988 for each occupation. For 1984, a reduced version of the official Czechoslovak Unified Classification of Occupations has been used. In both cases, a group of experts classified all occupations according to a nine degree scale from 9 = highly complex, qualified, manifold and creative work (ministers, university professors, directors of large companies) to 1 = unskilled and auxiliary work (charwomen, dustmen, etc.).

The operationalization of the managerial position category is clearly expressed in table 1.

Earnings were taken as earnings in crowns from the primary employment. Earnings lower than the officially valid minimum in the given years were not included · and were considered missing on the assumption that they are based on part-time jobs. Especially high earnings (more than 20,000 in 1984 and 30,000 crowns in 1993) have been revised on the basis of other identifications in terms of their likelihood. Their inclusion in the data has been decided for each individual case.

Cultural activities have been operationalised from factor analyses of leisure activities – selected analogously for both years – in the form of a score derived from the first factor before rotation.

Table 1.   Education, work complexity and managerial position
             in 1984 and 1993 (in %)

	1984	1993
Education		
Primary	28.1	18.3
Vocational	40.4	42.2
Secondary	23.7	28.1
Tertiary	7.8	11.4
Work complexity		
1 (the lowest)	7.9	9.6
2	12.3	11.5
3	16.5	10.2
4	16.0	25.7
5	24.8	16.1
6	11.2	10.3
7	5.4	7.7
8	3.7	5.8
9 (the highest)	2.3	3.2
Managerial position		
Without subordinates	80.5	74.9
Self-employed without subordinates	0.0	7.6
With 1-9 (1984), 1-10 (1993) subordinates	11.0	8.4
Self-employed with subordinates	0.0	1.9
With more than 9 (1984), more than 10 (1993) subordinates	6.5	4.0
High managers	1.9	3.3

For the categorisation of continuous status forming variables (earnings and cultural activities), the model of equidistant six degree scales has been chosen. For earnings, the 1984 interval was 750 Kčs, and the 1992 interval 1000 Kčs. With cultural activities, weights were derived from the structure of the first factor before rotation and the sum of the original frequency scales of leisure activities (0 = never, 6 = daily) was weighted by them and then divided into six equal intervals. Education and work complexity have been reduced to six degree scales through the integration of some categories. In order to create a realistic six degree scale for education, the four basic integrated categories (elementary, vocational, secondary and tertiary) were further divided in terms of the duration of the vocational schooling (apprenticeship) and the study major at secondary schools.

2.4. Status Indices Construction

The principle of equidistancy has likewise been applied here. Rank-correlation matrices and factor analyses were counted on the basis of non-categorised status forming variables. The first factor before rotation determined the weights employed for the construction of the general social status index, the first after orthogonal rotation for the construction of the „cultural" and the second after rotation of the „material" social status indices. The categorised status forming variables were then multiplied by these weights and the values added. The resulting indices were divided into six equal intervals. The interval is equal to the highest value of the summarised index minus the lowest value divided by six.

The selection of the status forming variables for economically active individuals, the means of both their operationalisation and the creation of the synthesising social status constructs (including the typology of multi-dimensional social status patterns explained in the following paragraph) was based both on a long tradition of Czech and Slovak sociology and a self-critical analysis of the empirically based 1967, 1984 and 1991 studies evaluating social stratification. We have used all these constructs in parallel with internationally acknowledged international status and class constructs. Empirical results show that their explanatory power corresponds to the specific conditions of our country – at least to the same degree as that of standard international indices or classifications and, in some directions, even better. The EGP scheme is used in the variant applied for the 1993 international comparative survey, while for the 1984 survey data, a roughly comparable classification of those times is used. ISEI and the International occupational prestige scale in the 1993 surveys were based on the ISCO 1988; for the purposes of comparison with our social status constructs they were categorised into six degrees on the principle of equidistancy.

2.5. Multi-Dimensional Social Status Patterns Typology

This construction was derived from the categorised status forming variables. Given the number of samples (particularly from 1984) it was necessary to realise the task in two steps. In the first step, on a one thousand randomly selected sub-sample the hierarchical procedure „CLUSTER" from SPSS with parameters „average linkage between groups" and „squared Euclidean distance" was accomplished. We observed the „clustering" process of the sub-sample in the last iterations (from 20 to 1 cluster) and chose a lucid structure of ten clusters with a sufficient amount of individuals. The centroids of these clusters then became the „initial values" of the procedure „QUICK CLUSTER" which was applied in its classification mode to the samples as a whole („method = classify"). In this case, the empirical results achieved by the cross-tabulations of the typologies with many identifying variables also show that, in some respects, this method enables a deeper insight into the concrete social reality of our country, with its frequent and abrupt social and political shifts during the recent historical developments and, therefore, wide-spread status inconsistency.

All the techniques and methodological approaches mentioned serve in our article as a means of applying the main methodological instrument, this being, of course, the historical comparison of social structures of the same society at two significant points in its historical development. From the results of this comparison, conclusions are drawn about the changes that occurred in the first phase of the post-communist social transformation in the country investigated. We see the application of an approach parallel to the generally acknowledged cross-national comparison to be extremely important for the study of individual countries' specificities. It also introduces the question of continuity and discontinuity in the ongoing profound social changes.

3. Synthesising Approaches to the Comparison

3.1. Comparison of Basic Indicators

Before presenting the results of the more complex comparisons, we display a simple historical comparison of three elementary partial status dimensions (Table 1). It is apparent, with respect to education, that in spite of a justified critique concerning the slow progress of tertiary education under communism (with university studies lasting at

least four years, in some faculties even more), some changes towards a modernisation of educational levels have been achieved during the last decade. There is now a relatively large proportion of people with the highest secondary school qualification (including, in the Czech case, people with two or three subsequent years of specialised schooling replacing the formerly non-existent undergraduate studies). Moreover, a very broad group of people completing vocational school education both for manual and non-manual occupations is typical of the Czech Republic.

One cannot expect any substantial shifts in work complexity in one decade. In any case, it is useful to present this information because work complexity is the variable which we – continuing the Czech tradition from the 1960s – use as an appropriate operationalization of the vertical differentiation of occupations. This corresponds to the phenomenon of frequent incongruencies between actual work complexity, the achieved education level and earnings.

The comparison of managerial position distribution shows the results of the reconstruction of this variable for the year 1993, at which point some progress in the privatisation had already led to the emergence of self-employed, whose managerial position – in terms of an enlarged space for decision-making – is rightly conceived to be relatively higher than the position of employees. In this way, the introduction of private property, in accordance with reality, also intervenes in the construction of synthesising status variables. The managerial position thus to some extent becomes a characteristic of class appurtenance.

3.2. Factors Influencing Earnings Distribution

The increasing earnings differentiation that, particularly after 1991, began to develop on the basis of a moderate increase in real incomes, is a typical phenomenon of the post-communist social differentiation. Parallel to this, some increase in the differentiation of wealth (fortunes) and life-styles is also to be observed. However, only the factors influencing earnings can be compared on the basis of our samples.

Table 2 shows clearly the decline in the influence of traditional demographic factors mostly explaining the existing earnings differentiation in the egalitarian past. If we take education and work complexity as two variables operationalising the differentiation of people according to their qualification and performance, then their influence as a whole increased somewhat. However, the most remarkable change is the increase in the predictive force of managerial position distribution following from this variable's embodiment of self-employment. Thus, from the first steps of our analysis, two typical processes in the ongoing social differentiation are observable: the parallel assertion of meritocratic and class principles.

3.3. Class Differentiation

The modernised class classifications, particularly those based on rather neo-Weberian concepts such as the EGP scheme [Erikson, Goldthorpe 1972], represent one possibility of conceiving an *a priori* classification through a configuration of some partial social differentiations such as those in ownership, education, nature of work, management position, and work in different branches of the economy. We have used this scheme for the presentation of 1993 data. 1984 data are presented under a classification created by the authors of the survey on class and social structure in Czechoslovakia.

Table 2.   Multiple regressions of individual earnings in 1984 and 1993
            (Beta coefficients)[*]

	1984	1993
Gender	-0.53	-0.33
Age	0.17	-0.04[**]
Education	0.17	0.15
Managerial position	0.12	0.26
Work complexity	0.08	0.15

[*]) Earnings have been transformed to logarithmic values.
[**]) Statistical significance 0.02.

Table 3.   Class position 1984 and 1993 (in %)

1984		1993	
Higher professionals	10.2	Higher professionals	9.7
Lower technicians	6.5	Lower professionals	14.5
Administrative workers	17.5	Routine non-manual	14.0
		Self-employed with employees	2.4
		Self-employed without employees	7.2
Highly qualified workers	3.0	Supervisors of manual	2.1
Skilled workers	25.3	Skilled workers	16.8
Unskilled workers	22.5	Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	28.5
Manual in agriculture	7.3	Manual in agriculture	4.8
Other manual	7.7		

Table 3 compares the identified class structures. The figures clearly show a continuing fall in the percentage of manual in agriculture, connected with a) the tendency to an abrupt and strict introduction of market principles to Czech agriculture in a much more severe form than within the European Union and b) a deterioration in the agricultural situation as a result of the privatisation processes (restitutions concerning mostly land ownership) and the rather chaotic privatisation of state-owned farms. A substantial fall in the share of skilled workers and a partial fall in the total of semi-skilled and unskilled workers (in 1984 unskilled workers plus the other manual), connected with the decline in excessive levels of industrial production (particularly in the big plants), can be observed. On the other hand, there has been a rise in the relative number of lower professionals, caused mainly by a growth in the service sector (administration) and partly by the demand for this category of workers in the private sector. If we consider that at least part of the self-employed participate in non-manual jobs, it will be clear that a gradual reduction in the abnormal (for Western countries) share of the manual labour-force, typical of Central Eastern Europe, has begun in the Czech Republic, although it remains relatively high among employees. All this reveals nuclei of the nascent modernisation of the national economy, with its manifold, significant social consequences.

The main change, however, is the emergence of a considerable group of self-employed, roughly divided between „medium-scale entrepreneurs" with employees and small businessmen, craftsmen, and people without employees offering various services. (In practice, the percentage of real medium-scale entrepreneurs is likely less then 2.4%, since many of the entrepreneurs with employees have only one or two assistants and

belong rather to the group of small businessmen.) In addition, the formal registration of employees shows that at least the same percentage of self-employed from the total labour-force as given in the table (i.e. about another 10%), are developing private business activities on a part-time basis. The number of formally registered self-employed grew approximately 12-fold during the five year period after November 1989. A large portion of people are apparently engaged in private activities without official registration, that is, in the grey and black economies. These phenomena, combined with careful and pragmatic governmental policy concerning bankruptcies and wage regulation, have contributed significantly to the low unemployment rate.

In any case, in spite of the long-lasting tradition of a highly systematic suppression of private economic activities (even when compared with Poland and Hungary), at least one fifth of the economically active people in the Czech lands take part in private economic activities, either in full-time or part-time jobs, with or without official permission. This is an enormous social change directly influencing a substantial part of the population and, indirectly, the population as a whole. On the other hand, the possibilities for the development of small-scale proprietor are not yet fully exhausted. The development of the medium-scale entrepreneur is only in its initial phases, as is the likely joining of some employee groups to a gradually emerging middle class.

The complicated issue of large-scale privatisation has been discussed elsewhere [Machonin 1994: 74-75]. The data from large representative general surveys do not give a sufficient insight into this problem.

It is quite clear that the already described processes represent an analogy of the primary accumulation of capital and a renewed creation of classes and subclasses of large and medium-scale capitalists, small-scale proprietors and, eventually, of employees involved in private business on a part-time basis, as well as „rentiers". While in general the process is moving quite rapidly, the crucial changes – the emergence of a relatively large middle class and that of a capitalist elite and, dependent on this, a new system of relationships among the new classes and of the employed people and rank and file members of co-operatives – are only in their initial phases. Thus, for the time being the future shape of the class society which will likely prevail in the Czech Republic remains unclear. Its creation and further development should, however, be carefully monitored.

3.4. The Internal Structure of Multi-Dimensional Social Status and Synthesising Status Indices

Another way (rather empirical and conceived *a posteriori*) of linking several social status dimensions in a synthesising construct is based on the multi-dimensional social status concept. Correlation matrices of partial indicators of individual social status for economically active persons presented in the upper part of table 4 primarily show the low correlations of earnings with all other 1984 status indicators. This seems to corroborate the hypothesis concerning the status inconsistency or destratification typical of the state socialist society at least in this concrete parameter. Furthermore, the role of the managerial position with self-employment included increased somewhat after four years of transformation. Of course, this variable already manifested a relatively close correlation with earnings in 1984. At that time, however, this was apparently caused by the connection of the differentiation in managerial positions with participation in official politics (functions or membership in the Communist party, eventually appurtenance to the nomenclature).

Table 4.   Rank-correlation matrices and factor analyses of status forming variables[*]

Matrices

1984	CA	EA	MP	WC	1993	CA	EA	MP	WC
ED	0.49	0.19	0.34	0.62	ED	0.49	0.28	0.31	0.65
WC	0.37	0.20	0.31		WC	0.42	0.32	0.35	
MP	0.16	0.30			MP	0.16	0.43		
EA	0.08				EA	0.14			

[*]) ED = education, WC = work complexity, MP = managerial position,
EA = earnings, CA = cultural activities.

Factor analyses

	Before rotation			
	1984		1993	
Status forming variables	F1	F2	F1	F2
Education	0.84	-0.22	0.82	-0.28
Work complexity	0.80	-0.14	0.82	-0.17
Managerial position	0.59	0.49	0.61	0.56
Earnings	0.42	0.73	0.58	0.61
Cultural activities	0.64	-0.46	0.63	-0.52
Exhausted variation	46.0%	21.1%	49.2%	21.1%

	After orthogonal rotation			
	1984		1993	
Status forming variables	F1	F2	F1	F2
Education	0.84	0.23	0.83	0.25
Work complexity	0.76	0.28	0.76	0.35
Managerial position	0.27	0.72	0.17	0.81
Earnings	-0.01	0.84	0.11	0.83
Cultural activities	0.79	-0.07	0.82	-0.05
Exhausted variation	39.7%	27.4%	37.1%	33.2%

On the basis of correlation matrices we obtained factor analyses described in the second part of table 4. The percentage of variance exhausted by the first factor before rotation in the 1993 data, is somewhat higher than in the 1984 data. The difference is, however, minimal, so that this kind of test can hardly be used as serious proof of a higher level of status consistency after four years of post-communist transformation. Status inconsistency continues to be relatively significant; we know that status consistency in 1993 has probably not yet reached the level identified on the eve of the Prague Spring, i.e. 1967. (Compare [Machonin et al. 1969]). At the beginning of 1993 the restratification process was still in an initial phase.

The structure of the two factors after rotation is surprisingly similar for the two cases analysed. In both years, the first and stronger factor represents the interdependence of education, work complexity and life-style, operating more or less in the same direction. This means that in spite of the incongruency between declared earnings and the attained educational and occupational status, people somehow managed (likely on the basis of extra occupational activities and/or undeclared incomes) to spend their leisure on a level roughly corresponding to the cultural niveau designated by their education and

occupation. In this sense, a certain degree of meritocracy was achieved in both analysed situations, although the apparent discrepancy between earnings and cultural activities in 1984 clearly reveals the increasing role of life in the unofficial „second society". The second factor is characterised by the relatively close connection of managerial position and income distribution. This factor is even stronger in 1993 than in 1984, likely because of the inclusion of the ownership aspect into the variable measuring participation in management. On the other hand, the political power aspect (not operationalised in 1984 for conceptual difficulties) certainly was a source of the rigidity of the vertical social differentiation at that time. In both analysed historical situations, the second factor has something to do with the class aspect of the social differentiation. Only in 1984 was it connected with the typical „new class" system [Djilas 1957], whereas in 1993 it was connected with the emerging differentiation according to private property, that is, with some return to the classical class differentiation. In 1993, its connection with work complexity was a little stronger. In any case, the significance of the meritocratic and class principle duality seems once again to have been corroborated for both analysed cases. It is particularly important for the present situation and for future developments, as the meritocratic and the class types of vertical social differentiation apparently both complement and compete with one another in the present social differentiation system.

For both historical cases, the procedure, described in part 2 of this article, created three synthesising social status indices: the general based on the first factor before rotation; the „cultural" based on the first factors after rotation, in which education, work complexity and cultural level of life-style dominated; and the „material", in which the managerial (power) position and material standard, in particular income, played decisive roles. See Table 5.

The final distribution of the general status based on this model does not show any substantial changes in the formal shape of the vertical social differentiation between 1984 and 1993. In both cases, it takes the „pear-like" distribution. This way it is not possible to show the differences between a society based more on totalitarian and egalitarian principles and the society developing along the lines of the Western model of class differentiated society with meritocratic tendencies. However, the analogous operation with both the „cultural" and „material" statuses reveals some interesting features symptomatic of these two different distributions. First of all, in both cases the cultural differentiation, more corresponding to the meritocratic principles, is somewhat more gradual than the material differentiation: In accordance with the class principle, this is steeper. At the same time, the shape of the cultural distribution is more gradual in 1993 than in 1984. This could mean that when compared with the totalitarian and rather anti-meritocratic social system of the 1980s some progress in (meritocratic) stratification in the first phase of social transformation has occurred. The differences in the material statuses for 1984 and 1993 demonstrate some progress in overcoming egalitarianism.

Table 5.   Multidimensional social status indices in 1984 and 1993 in %

General social status (6 = the highest, 1 = the lowest)

	1984	%	1993	%
6		3.0		3.2
5		9.0		8.9
4		14.1		16.0
3		26.9		26.6
2		32.3		30.7
1		14.7		14.7

„Cultural" social status (6 = the highest, 1 = the lowest)

	1984	%	1993	%
6		3.6		7.4
5		11.2		12.5
4		16.8		19.0
3		19.9		26.5
2		33.7		23.6
1		14.8		11.0

„Material" social status (6 = the highest, 1 = the lowest)

	1984	%	1993	%
6		2.7		3.2
5		5.9		3.8
4		10.0		9.4
3		22.5		20.4
2		41.8		34.5
1		17.1		28.3

3.5. Multi-Dimensional Social Status Typology

By means of procedures described in part 2 of this article, the typology of multidimensional social status patterns for both analysed historical points has been constructed. A first glance at Table 6 shows that the 1993 structure has a somewhat higher percentage of relatively consistent status patterns (clusters 10, 6, 3 and 1 in 1984 and 10, 7, 2 and 1 in 1984). In both cases, the lowest, status-consistent grouping is numerous, encompassing not only unskilled and semi-skilled workers but also some portion of other categories, including in 1993 some routine non-manual or self-employed without employees. At this point the typological approach, based on using unweighted status dimensions for cluster analysis, introduces a picture partly differing from that described in part 3.4. It stresses rather the bipolar class character of both the ancient and the emerging new structures. Besides that, many other analogies and similarities in the 1984 and 1993 typological structures are apparent. However, the analysis of this problem will be published in the connection with detailed social identifications of individual clusters at a later date.

Table 6.   Typology of multidimensional social status patterns* in 1984 and
             1993
             (Partial status scales 1 = the lowest status, 6 = the highest status)

Number of cluster	%	Average value	ED	WC	MP	EA	CA
1984							
10	2.4	4.98	5.6	5.1	5.4	5.1	3.7
9	3.9	4.18	5.2	5.2	3.0	3.7	3.8
8	5.1	4.12	4.1	4.9	5.2	3.2	3.2
7	8.5	3.68	5.4	5.0	1.0	2.9	4.1
6	3.7	3.16	2.7	4.2	3.2	2.8	2.9
5	7.7	2.94	2.8	3.2	1.2	4.7	2.8
4	16.5	2.80	3.7	4.1	1.0	2.0	3.2
3	3.8	2.62	2.5	1.9	3.4	2.9	2.4
2	10.1	2.08	1.2	3.7	1.0	1.9	2.6
1	38.3	1.88	1.9	2.1	1.0	2.2	2.2
1993							
10	4.8	4.94	5.2	5.1	5.0	5.9	3.5
9	2.6	4.48	5.1	5.0	5.2	3.3	3.8
8	10.8	3.94	5.5	5.5	1.2	3.3	4.2
7	4.5	3.68	3.9	4.5	2.9	3.3	3.8
6	1.7	3.56	2.2	4.4	4.8	3.7	2.7
5	6.3	3.52	4.1	3.6	1.4	5.1	3.4
4	6.2	2.82	2.2	3.0	1.4	5.1	2.4
3	21.0	2.78	3.8	3.7	1.0	2.2	3.2
2	3.2	2.72	2.4	3.8	2.9	1.9	2.6
1	38.9	1.90	1.9	2.2	1.0	1.9	2.5

*) ED = education, WC = work complexity, MP = managerial position,
EA = earnings, CA = cultural activities.

4. The Interdependencies of Status Indices and Other Variables

4.1. Mutual Interdependencies of Synthesising Status Constructs

The contingency and rank correlation coefficients presented in the upper parts of Tables 9 and 10 show that the linkages among the general status indices and the cultural and material statuses correspond to the method of their construction. Somewhat higher values of the correlation coefficients for relations between cultural and material statuses in 1993 testify to the progress of status consistency in this specific parameter – that is, to the assumption that the stratification and class principle of social differentiation thus far complement rather than contradict one another. (This was not the case in the totalitarian and anti-meritocratic society of the past.) Close associations of general status indices and status typologies (in both cases = 0.81) prove that, although technically independent, both these synthesising methods of multi-dimensional social status construction reflect two only slightly differing and closely related aspects of the same sphere of social reality.

The cross-tabulation of two conceptually and technically quite independent „measures" of vertical social differentiation (class categorisation and general social status indices), and eventually multi-dimensional status typology, have in Tables 7 and 8 uncovered extremely important information. The contingency coefficient values equal or

overreaching 0.7 in all tables show that the three constructs in question represent different measures of distinct but mutually intertwining aspects of social reality.

Table 7. Crosstabulations of „class" position and general social status in % (6 = the highest, 1 = the lowest)

1984 Class position	6	5	Social status 4	3	2	1	Row Total
Higher professionals	24.1	49.7	23.5	2.7			
	83.2	56.1	16.8	1.0			10.2
Lower technicians	3.4	32.5	51.9	11.1	1.1		
	7.7	24.0	24.3	2.7	0.2		6.6
Administrative workers	1.4	8.7	31.7	46.7	10.3	1.1	
	8.7	17.1	39.3	30.4	5.6	1.3	17.5
Highly qualified workers		2.5	17.7	41.0	33.5	5.3	
		0.9	3.8	4.6	3.1	1.1	3.0
Skilled workers		0.2	4.7	43.0	44.6	7.5	
		0.6	8.5	41.2	35.5	13.2	25.8
Unskilled workers			0.5	12.6	47.6	39.4	
			0.8	10.4	32.5	59.3	22.1
Peasants			1.0	10.1	47.6	41.3	
			0.5	2.7	10.8	20.5	7.3
Other manual	0.2	1.5	11.3	25.2	52.7	9.1	
	0.4	1.3	6.0	7.0	12.3	4.6	7.5
Column total	2.9	9.0	14.1	26.9	32.4	14.7	100.0

Coefficient of contingency = 0.71

1993 Class position	6	5	Social status 4	3	2	1	Row total
Higher professionals	24.4	46.3	25.7	3.6			
	74.6	50.1	15.6	1.3			9.7
Lower professionals	0.9	19.6	43.4	29.9	6.2		
	4.4	33.0	41.0	17.0	3.0		15.1
Routine non-manual		0.2	10.5	47.4	34.4	7.5	
		0.4	9.3	25.1	15.8	7.1	14.1
Self-employed with employees	16.4	24.2	39.5	17.0	2.9		
	11.9	6.2	5.7	1.5	0.2		2.3
Self-employed without employees	0.6	7.8	28.9	37.7	20.6	4.4	
	1.3	6.1	12.7	10.0	4.7	2.1	7.0
Supervisors of manual	9.0	8.1	56.3	24.4	2.2		
	5.8	1.9	7.2	1.9	0.1		2.1
Skilled workers		0.2	3.9	40.7	51.8	3.4	
		0.3	4.1	25.7	28.3	3.9	16.7
Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	0.2	0.6	2.2	15.7	42.8	38.5	
	2.1	2.0	4.0	16.8	39.8	74.7	28.5
Manual in agriculture			1.4	4.8	54.7	39.1	
			0.4	0.8	8.1	12.1	4.5
Column total	3.2	9.0	15.9	26.6	30.6	14.7	100.0

Coefficient of contingency = 0.70

For both years under analysis, Table 7 shows that the class scheme, based in principle on strict limits between manual and non-manual occupations, does not fully correspond to both the past and present social situations in the Czech lands. In both cases, particularly in 1993, one can find many routine non-manual, eventually self-employed without employees who belong to the two lowest social status categories. On the other hand, many manual, especially skilled and semi-skilled workers, not to speak of highly qualified workers or supervisors, belong to the two middle status categories. The status positions of such important categories as higher professionals and qualified workers remained the same or very similar in 1993 and 1984, while that of lower professionals and routine non-manual fell somewhat. In the general status hierarchy the new category of self-employed with employees took the second best position after higher professionals, whereas self-employed without employees attained a place between lower professionals and routine non-manual.

Furthermore, semi-skilled and unskilled workers and manual in agriculture now also occupy a relatively lower position than in the mid-1980s, while the creation of a group of self-employed, divided into those with and those without employees, also contributed to a social differentiation corresponding to the class scheme. Analogically (see Table 8), the concentration of most semi-skilled, unskilled and manual in agriculture in the lowest type of multi-dimensional status patterns differentiation, of the self-employed with employees in the higher clusters and without employees in the middle lower ones, contributed to the assertion of class differentiation. The concentration of a number of higher professionals in cluster 8, of a part of lower professionals in cluster No. 3 and a large part of routine non-manual in clusters 3 and even 1 operates conversely. It seems that those differentiation processes which are bringing the Czech social structure closer to the Western type of class relationships are moderately prevalent. At the same time, the process has not yet advanced considerably. This circumstance helps explain the continuing maintenance of social peace in the country.

4.2. Identifications of Synthesising Status Constructs by Other Variables

Tables 9, 10 and 11 present an overview of normalised contingency coefficients, eventually of Spearman's rank correlations measuring the intensity of connection between synthesising status constructs, based on class categorisation, and on multi-dimensional social status hierarchies or typological status patterns and many other variables. On the basis of a definitive version of the international stratification and mobility sample, we could also add some information for 1993 on the coefficients measuring the explanatory power of the Standard International Socio-economic Index of Occupational Status ISEI [Ganzeboom 1992] and the International Occupational Prestige Scale IPS [Treiman 1977].

The mutual relations of different instruments measuring the class or status positions in both historical situations have been already discussed. Here we should add that both the ISEI and IPS (closely correlated with one another) have relatively more intense correlations, and, eventually, associations with the general and cultural status indices and with the status pattern typologies than with the material status indices. This is not surprising since they were constructed to measure the general status differentiation bound to the occupational status, which constitutes one of the axes for all our status constructs, the one exception being the so-called material status index.

Table 8.   „Class" position and typology of multidimensional social status in %

1984 Class position	Cluster										Row total
	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Higher professionals	18.0	22.6	9.8	43.5	1.3	2.8	1.8			0.2	
	78.2	58.8	19.5	51.4	3.7	3.7	1.1			0.1	10.1
Lower technicians	4.4	8.8	33.9	27.6	5.5	0.3	17.3		2.2		
	12.6	15.0	44.1	21.4	9.9	0.2	6.9		1.4		6.6
Administrative	0.7	4.9	7.5	10.2	6.6	2.1	52.3	1.8	6.9	7.0	
workers	5.6	22.2	25.8	20.9	31.1	4.8	55.1	8.6	11.9	3.2	17.5
Highly qualified	0.9	2.0	3.0	4.7	4.7	13.4	13.6	20.7	2.9	34.1	
workers	1.1	1.6	1.8	1.7	3.9	5.2	2.5	16.5	0.9	2.7	3.0
Skilled workers	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.9	4.0	17.6	15.3	6.0	8.7	46.7	
	0.9	0.3	2.9	2.7	27.6	58.6	23.8	40.9	22.1	31.6	25.9
Unskilled workers			0.1	0.1	0.6	7.4	2.9	2.8	23.4	62.7	
			0.6	0.2	3.6	21.2	3.8	16.6	51.3	36.2	22.1
Peasants			0.3		0.4	4.7	2.4	2.5	3.3	86.4	
			0.4		0.7	4.5	1.0	4.9	2.4	16.5	7.3
Other manual	0.5	1.1	3.3	1.9	9.7	1.9	12.7	6.3	13.4	49.2	
	1.6	2.2	4.9	1.7	19.7	1.8	5.8	12.5	10.0	9.7	7.5
Column total	2.3	3.9	5.1	8.5	3.7	7.7	16.6	3.8	10.1	38.3	100.0

Coefficient of contingency = 0.73

1993 Class position	Cluster										Row Total
	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Higher professionals	32.3	18.8	36.2	3.4	5.7	2.1		0.4	1.1		
	64.7	68.9	32.5	7.4	33.2	3.2		0.2	3.4		9.7
Lower professionals	2.5	0.3	37.0	16.3	0.2	8.0	1.2	24.7	7.2	2.6	
	7.9	1.7	51.9	54.4	2.2	19.0	2.9	17.8	33.9	1.1	15.1
Routine non-manual			4.7			6.7	1.5	51.2		35.9	
			6.1			14.9	3.4	34.4		13.0	14.1
Self-employed	37.0	14.1			13.3	14.4		7.3		13.9	
with employees	17.4	12.2			6.7	19.7		2.7		9.9	2.3
Self-employed			11.0	8.8		23.6	18.2	11.1	8.0	19.3	
without employees			7.2	13.7		26.1	20.6	3.7	17.4	3.5	7.0
Supervisors	17.6	12.5	6.5	8.4	32.6	3.3	2.5	5.0	11.6		
	7.4	9.7	1.2	3.8	40.0	1.1	0.8	0.5	7.4		2.1
Skilled workers			0.4	1.4		7.6	10.1	37.7	3.1	39.6	
			0.6	5.2		20.1	27.4	30.2	16.4	17.0	16.7
Semi-skilled and	0.4	0.6	0.2	1.3	0.3	3.4	8.5	9.0	1.3	75.0	
unskilled workers	2.6	6.6	0.5	7.9	4.9	15.1	39.0	12.3	11.6	55.0	28.5
Manual in agriculture		0.5		0.9		0.7	4.3	4.2		89.4	
		0.9		0.9		0.5	3.2	0.9		10.4	4.5
Column total	4.8	2.6	10.8	4.5	1.7	6.3	6.2	20.9	3.2	39.0	100.0

Coefficient of contingency = 0.75

Table 9.   Interdependence of synthesising status constructs and other variables
            in 1984
            (Values of coefficients of contingency CN and rank correlations RC)[*]

	CP	GS		CS		MS		TS
	CN	CN	RC	CN	RC	CN	RC	RC
Class position (CP)	–	0.72		0.64		0.58		0.73
General status (GS)	0.72	–		0.85	0.93	0.73	0.75	0.81
„Cultural" status (CS)	0.64	0.85	0.93	–		0.59	0.60	0.77
„Material" status (MS)	0.58	0.73	0.75	0.59		–		0.81
Typology of status (TS)	0.73	0.81		0.77		0.81		–
Education	0.77	0.74	0.82	0.76	0.84	0.56	0.56	0.75
Work complexity	0.72	0.72	0.78	0.72	0.78	0.58	0.57	0.73
Managerial position	0.44	0.58	0.50	0.44	0.40	0.71	0.63	0.80
Earnings	0.43	0.49	0.44	0.33	0.26	0.72	0.78	0.66
Cultural activities	0.46	0.54	0.58	0.64	0.67	0.23	0.20	0.49
Gender	0.40	0.23	-0.20	0.15	-0.08	0.43	-0.46	0.35
Age	0.15	0.18		0.16		0.20		0.27
Locality[**]	0.37	0.31	0.31	0.33	0.32	0.24	0.17	0.30
Communist Party membership[***]	0.25	0.29	-0.24	0.22	-0.20	0.36	-0.28	0.34
Orientation to performance	0.30	0.30	-0.26	0.30	-0.25	0.26	-0.23	0.29

[*]) Here and in the following tables: CP = class position, GS = general social status,
CS = „cultural" social status, MS = „material" social status, TS = typology of multi-
dimensional social patterns (clusters).
[**]) Here and in the following tables: number of inhabitants in increasing order.
[***]) 1 = functionary, 2 = member, 3 = non-member.

The comparison of coefficients illustrating the relations of the status constructs and other variables for the years 1984 and 1993 raises some interesting points. In 1993, managerial position, operationalised with respect to the increased autonomy of the self-employed, is naturally more closely associated with class position than the same variable in 1984. Further, the data show the diminishing role of gender and age in determining status positions. It is interesting that the role of the (at present mostly former) Communist Party membership/non-membership sank only slightly. This fact points to the already described phenomenon of investment and/or conversion of social, cultural, political and economic capital accumulated by Communists in the former regime into various forms of actual capital, also enabling the maintenance or attainment of corresponding social status under the new conditions of the post-communist transformation. If in 1988 data from some of those former Communists who did not correctly answer the question concerning their membership could be included, the tendency to this kind of career would be even more distinct. The 1984 data do not provide sufficient material for a comparison of the explanatory force of our three synthesising status constructs. On the basis of 1991 data, we discussed a similar issue, concluding that both the EGP class scheme and the ISEI „gave slightly better results in relation to the variables derived from occupation. Meanwhile, the status-pattern groupings explain more concretely and objectively the whole social context of stratification, including the attitudes and forms of behaviour."
[Machonin, Tuček 1992b: 665]

Table 10. Interdependence of synthesizing status constructs and other variables in 1993
(Values of coefficients of contingency CN and rank correlations RC)

	ISEI		CP	GS		CS		MS		TS	IPS	
	CN	RC	CN	CN	RC	CN	RC	CN	RC	CN	CN	RC
International socio-economic index (ISEI)	–		0.74	0.65	0.69	0.67	0.71	0.53	0.54	0.65	0.82	0.86
Class position (CP)	0.74		–	0.70		0.68		0.66		0.75	0.71	
General status (GS)	0.65	0.69	0.70	–		0.82	0.92	0.78	0.84	0.81	0.68	0.74
„Cultural" status (CS)	0.67	0.71	0.67	0.82	0.92	–		0.65	0.71	0.77	0.69	0.75
„Material" status (MS)	0.53	0.54	0.68	0.78	0.84	0.65	0.71	–		0.81	0.56	0.60
Typology of status = clusters (TS)	0.65		0.75	0.81		0.77		0.81		–	0.68	
International prestige scale (IPS)	0.82	0.86	0.71	0.68	0.74	0.69	0.75	0.56	0.60	0.68	–	
Education	0.63	0.62	0.65	0.75	0.81	0.78	0.82	0.58	0.60	0.73	0.63	0.62
Work complexity	0.72	0.71	0.70	0.73	0.82	0.75	0.82	0.62	0.68	0.73	0.77	0.80
Managerial position	0.38	0.32	0.84	0.62	0.52	0.43	0.39	0.71	0.63	0.78	0.44	0.35
Earnings	0.36	0.31	0.47	0.59	0.59	0.45	0.44	0.73	0.81	0.72	0.37	0.35
Cultural activities	0.42	0.41	0.42	0.53	0.55	0.63	0.67	0.32	0.31	0.52	0.43	0.41
Gender	0.25	-0.01	0.37	0.21	-0.18	0.19	-0.10	0.32	-0.33	0.29	0.14	0.05
Age	0.11		0.17	0.12		0.12		0.12		0.20	0.11	
Locality	0.29	0.27	0.35	0.32	0.31	0.32	0.31	0.27	0.26	0.32	0.28	0.25
Communist Party membership[**]	0.14	0.11	0.21	0.23		0.17		0.24		0.24	0.17	0.13
Self-employment: yes/no	0.13	-0.12	0.69	0.20	-0.20	0.16	-0.13	0.31	-0.29	0.31	0.17	-0.14
Industry (branch)	0.51		0.65	0.36		0.42		0.29		0.47	0.45	
Social capital	0.28	0.26	0.33	0.37	0.35	0.35	0.34	0.32	0.29	0.35	0.29	0.27
Household equipment	0.29	0.29	0.35	0.37	0.36	0.33	0.34	0.35	0.32	0.38	0.29	0.28
Self-ranking according to family income	0.23	0.20	0.30	0.33	0.28	0.28	0.24	0.36	0.30	0.34	0.24	0.20
Family social self-ranking	0.28	0.25	0.32	0.34	0.32	0.32	0.30	0.34	0.29	0.34	0.29	0.25
Evaluation of changes in quality of life since 1989: better/worse	0.26	-0.24	0.31	0.31	-0.30	0.30	-0.30	0.29	-0.27	0.32	0.26	-0.24

[*]) 1 = non-Communists, 2 = expelled after 1968, 3 = left after 1989, 4 = still Communists

This time, in 1993, we have used the EGP and ISEI and, in addition, both the IPS and our general social status index. Table 10 proves that the EGP scheme's associations with demographic variables and indicators connected with forms of ownership and the branch structure are still stronger than those of the other constructs. In relation to most other variables, it operates equally well as a general status or status typology, except with those partial status indicator variables used for the synthesising social status construction and some of the very important variables representing social and political attitudes and value orientations. In these cases, the status typology, as a rule, provides the most concrete explanation of the objective characteristics influencing the dependent variables. The differences in the explanatory power of EGP, on the one hand, and the multi-dimensional status typology, on the other, seem to have diminished somewhat over the last two years. This runs in accordance with our assumption as to the EGP's prospects of becoming more important in the future stages of the post-communist transformation. It will occur to the same extent to which the emerging class structure will assert itself in reality. In any case, the multi-dimensional typology provides a great deal of concrete and detailed information which is worthy of elaboration.

Table 11.   Interdependence of synthesising status constructs and other variables in 1993 BB*
(Values of coefficients of contingency)

	CP	GS	CS	MS	TS
Evaluation of financial accessibility of goods and services	0.40	0.33	0.31	0.36	0.34
Individual social self-ranking	0.47	0.41	0.39	0.35	0.40
Preferred leisure activities	0.45	0.46	0.50	0.34	0.45
Conformity to the regime	0.26	0.27	0.26	0.25	0.26
Confidence in central state institutions	0.25	0.20	0.21	0.22	0.22
Attitude to the present social order	0.25	0.30	0.29	0.26	0.23
Evaluation of the transformation	0.21	0.20	0.20	0.24	0.21
General expectations for the future	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.28	
Satisfaction with social security	0.23	0.21	0.21	0.23	0.24
Individual responsibility for standard of living	0.35	0.36	0.36	0.36	0.35
Necessity of limitations on incomes and fortunes	0.34	0.27	0.28	0.30	0.29
Role of education in determining the reward	0.27	0.25	0.29	0.24	0.31
Parliamentary or participative democracy	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.26	0.30
Liberal orientation	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.23	0.26
Left-wing vs. right-wing orientation	0.36	0.29	0.28	0.27	0.26
Preferences for individual political parties	0.45	0.34	0.30	0.27	0.47

*) Due to the different data selection period (spring vs. autumn 1993), the status characteristics, although constructed in the same way as the 1993 data, are not fully identical with the characteristics in the preceding table. In the column TS, we even use contingency coefficients counted on the data from an un-reweighted sample. However, the survey 1993 BB offers a greater opportunity to analyse the interdependence of status constructs similar at least to „subjective" phenomena such as attitudes and value orientations and, eventually, behaviour.

ISEI and IPS most noticeably enter into strong associations and, eventually, correlations with variables derived from occupational characteristics. On the other hand, their explanatory force is, as a rule, somewhat weaker than that of our social status indices and substantially weaker than that of our status typology. This is determined by their connection with the occupational status, on the one hand, and by their origin in international comparative data that could not be fully adapted to the specific conditions of our country or of other countries with similar conditions. Their indispensability for the cross-national comparative surveys is doubtless. However, for historical comparisons within one country, either the EGP scheme, or our synthesising status constructs seem more suitable. It is likely that after some years of transformation changes, the application of ISEI and IPS will be increasingly plausible.

Both Table 11 (1993 BB) and, to some degree, Table 10 provide an overview of the associations (and, in some cases, correlations) between global status constructs and some indicators of the population's attitudes, value orientations and subjective behaviour.

Table 12.   Typology of social status and Communist Party membership

Number of cluster	1984		1993	
	Member 1984	Non-member 1984	Member 1988	Non-member 1988
10	63.0	37.0	31.3	68.7
9	30.2	89.8	33.1	66.9
8	46.1	53.9	15.4	84.6
7	18.3	81.7 .	18.6	81.4
6	26.8	73.2	22.3	77.7
5	24.9	75.1	15.0	85.0
4	10.6	89.4	8.7	91.3
3	22.4	77.6	10.1	89.9
2	7.1	92.9	13.1	86.9
1	10.3	89.7	8.7	91.3
Total	16.7	83.3	12.7	87.3
Coefficient of contingency	0.30		0.19	

Table 13.   Evaluation of financial accessibility of goods and services among class-like groups (1993 BB)

Class position	Higher	Middle	Lower
Higher professionals	37.4	33.6	29.0
Lower professionals	27.2	43.7	29.1
Routine non-manual	17.5	41.6	40.9
Self-employed with employees	72.2	11.0	16.8
Self-employed without employees	32.6	33.8	33.6
Supervisors	24.0	36.6	39.4
Skilled workers	20.0	44.6	35.4
Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	12.7	36.9	50.4
Manual in agriculture	0.0	32.3	67.7
Total	23.0	38.9	38.1

Table 14.   Should the amount of private property and income be limited?
              (1993 BB)

Class position	Rather no	Neutral	Rather yes
Higher professionals	54.3	24.5	21.2
Lower professionals	45.2	32.4	22.4
Routine non-manual	37.3	37.1	25.6
Self-employed with employees	74.9	21.2	9.9
Self-employed without employees	65.7	26.5	7.8
Supervisors	50.0	22.4	27.6
Skilled workers	47.1	37.0	27.9
Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	27.0	42.7	30.3
Manual in agriculture	0.0	32.3	67.7
Total	42.7	34.1	23.2

Tables 12-14 demonstrate three examples of interesting cross-tabulations of that kind. We would like to direct the reader's special attention to the high value of the contingency coefficients for the relations of the EGP scheme and, particularly, of the status typology with voting preferences. In general, the interdependence of the status and class categorisations and of the indicators of subjective attitudes and forms of behaviour is distinctly growing as compared with our 1991 data. Our hypothesis that the loose associations identified in 1991 were a result of a) the population's lack of experience of the new social reality, and b) the fact that at the time we did not analyse the Czech and Slovak attitudes separately [Machonin, Tuček 1992c: 800-801], thus seems to be well-founded. For the future, we should probably reckon with a further differentiation in beliefs and behaviour and with their even closer interdependence with the indicators of vertical social differentiation. A process of increasingly precise reflection of the respondents own social positions and mobility movements by their social and political orientations and attitudes seems to be occurring even in the Czech Republic, where in all comparative surveys the pro-reform attitudes are represented by substantially higher percentages than in any other post-socialist Central Eastern country. [Tuček 1993; Machonin 1992b]

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We believe that our analysis of the years 1984 and 1994 provides new information on the changes typical of the post-communist social transformation, at least in the Czech Republic. Brief conclusions summarising this information have been formulated in the abstract of this article.

Of course, we have further detailed social identifications of the typological multi-dimensional social-status patterns. They are highly interesting and will, in our opinion, contribute substantially to elucidating the question of the continuity and/or discontinuity of social structures in the 1980s and 1990s. However, due to limited space, we have not incorporated this empirical material in the present article.

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