
Structural Changes and Social Mobility 1988-1995 in the Czech and Slovak Republics

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Abstract: The paper is devoted to the mapping and comparing of socio-professional mobility in the Czech and Slovak Republics. The data from complete state statistics are exploited that impart ownership and structural changes connected with the social transformation after 1989. These macro-level statistical data are confronted with the individual mobility trajectories that were identified in sample surveys. In addition, contemporary mobility is also compared with the situation as it was in the middle of the eighties. An analysis of the subjective perception of individual and group mobility is carried out in the conclusion.

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The last published data concerning structural changes and social mobility and the perception of them in the course of post-communist transformation come mostly from the international stratification and mobility survey that was carried out in 1993 and led by D. J. Treiman and I. Szelényi from UCLA [Domański 1996; Machonin, Tuček 1996; Matějů 1996; Řeháková, Vlachová 1995].

Since that time there have been further analyses concerning mainly the perception of social changes and mobility from surveys on social justice [Matějů 1996].

In the summer of 1995, the survey 'Strategies and Actors of Social Transformation and Modernisation' was carried out in the Czech and Slovak Republics on samples of 1219 and 956 persons, representing the populations between the ages of 20 and 59 years respectively. The representativity for the basic sample of individuals was achieved by re-weighting the original randomly selected samples of households units. The survey was part of the international comparative French-Polish-Czech-Slovak-EC project entitled 'System Change and Modernisation'. The data were collected by the Centre for Empirical Research (STEM) in Prague. The survey instruments, elaboration of data, data analysis and interpretation were prepared by a team from the Sociological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague led by Pavel Machonin in co-operation with the Sociological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, a team from which was led by Ján Bunčák.

The contents of the questionnaire and the character of the samples enable us to supplement the knowledge of the process mentioned above with data from 1995 and use them to describe and analyse differences between the Czech and Slovak Republics. Of course, other statistical and sociological data are also used for this purpose.

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1. Changes in Ownership and Branch Structure in the Czech and Slovak Republics

When Czechoslovakia was established in 1918, the Czech Lands were already industrial in character while Slovakia was strongly agricultural. During the First Republic (which lasted until 1939) there was a sustained progression and modernisation of industry in the Czech part, with Slovakia remaining mostly agricultural. After the renewal of Czechoslovakia and the establishment of the state socialist system in 1948, a second industrialisation (re-focusing on heavy industry) was implemented in the Czech Lands, including the rapid industrialisation of Slovakia. The process of 'harmonising' both parts of the state was achieved in the late 80's when a similar branch structure could be found in both republics, along with an almost identical social class structure. (According to the Census of 1991 there were 43.1% manual workers, 45.5% non-manual workers, 6.1% farm workers and 2.0% self-employed in the Czech Republic, and 44.1% manual workers, 43.6% non-manual workers, 7.2% farm workers, and 1.2% self-employed in Slovakia.) This similarity was also partially due to a certain stagnation of economic development in the Czech Lands over the period of the 70's and 80's.

There were many important changes in the structure of the national economies during the six years of transformation of the Czech and Slovak societies between 1989 and 1995. The most important change occurred in the ownership sphere. Up until the end of 1989 there existed practically only two types of ownership of firms in Czechoslovakia – state and co-operative enterprises. The co-operative firms operated mostly in the sphere of agricultural production. Soon after 1989 new laws paved the way for private enterprise. This initially began to grow in the business and services spheres, including communal services and transportation. The 'small' privatisation (concerning the trade net, communal services, etc.), partly also property restitution, and most significantly the great unsatisfied demand brought almost 1 million people into private entrepreneurship within two years (by 1992) in the Czech Lands and 300,000 in Slovakia, which was about one-fifth of the population in productive age in the Czech Republic and one-eighth in the Slovak Republic. (Statistical Yearbook 1993.) In the following years the number of private entrepreneurs did not further increase: in 94/95 there was even a decrease of around 10% due to natural processes leading to the rise of small and middle-sized firms on the one hand, and to the return of unsuccessful entrepreneurs to regular employment on the other.

At the beginning of private enterprise many people conducted business activities alongside their primary jobs. This duplicity of individual economic activities subsequently decreased. At present, a qualified estimate states that two-thirds of the self-employed work exclusively in their business. This revitalisation of individual private enterprise caused, at least to those who are full-time self-employed, changes in their occupational status and even changes in the character of the work done.

Although the boom in self-employment petered out in the final period of the existence of the Czechoslovak Federation, the different percentages of self-employment in both countries signifies that the conditions for this kind of activity were different. It may be difficult to estimate though to what extent these differences were affected by the geopolitical situation of the countries in question (the Czech Republic neighbours Germany and has a long border with Austria), by the attractiveness of Prague for tourists, by the diverse political climate and by public opinion. However, it remains clear that at the time of the split of Czechoslovakia the share of self-employed in Slovakia was one-third lower than in the Czech Republic. This situation has so far remained unchanged.

The privatisation of larger companies and firms (so-called 'large privatisation') was carried out in different forms and has been implemented in several stages. Whether it was voucher privatisation or direct sale to domestic or foreign investors on the principle of various forms of tenders, it mostly led to the dissolution of state ownership. The change of owner in many cases brought about various organisational and personnel changes, a reduction in the number of employees, and so on, but for the time being it only amounts to a partial change in the branch structure and, in productive structures of individual plants leading to modernisation. The processes of the major ownership changes in both republics after 1989 can be observed in Table 1.

Table 1. The proportion of persons working in various ownership sectors 1989-1995 in percentages

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
<i>Czech Republic</i>							
State (communal)	84.3	79.6	70.5	60.2	40.2	35.8	24.5
Co-operative	12.9	12.3	9.6	7.5	5.7	4.8	4.2
Private	1.3	7.0	18.8	31.1	47.1	53.0	57.2
Mixed			0.3	0.3	6.4	5.9	13.4
<i>Slovak Republic</i>							
State (communal)	81.1	78.9	72.5	71.6	59.2	47.2	45.8
Co-operative	16.5	15.0	13.1	11.3	8.6	8.1	7.5
Private	1.0	5.0	12.5	17.1	32.2	44.7	46.7

Source: Statistical Yearbook of the Czech Republic 1996 and Statistical Yearbook of the Slovak Republic 1996

The process of moving the Czech and Slovak economies to closer Western standards has actually only just begun. The change in ownership and organisational structures in 'large privatisation' did not result in a remarkable shift in the labour force in the sense of occupational mobility (re-qualification, etc.) even though – when compared with the late 80's – there was a significant increase in this respect as will be seen later.

Nevertheless, the data on the changes in number of workers in some branches that are important from the point of view of transformation and modernisation indicate that certain processes have at least started. In spite of the fact that the relative number of work opportunities in some branches is low (e.g. finance), the basic statistics concerning the increase and decrease of branch employment is a good illustration of the ongoing processes (Table 2).

Between the years 1989 and 1995 there was a decrease in the number of people working in agriculture and industry by about one-third in both states. This corresponds with the data on the decrease in production attended by stable work productivity as is proved by statistical records. Commensurable to the decrease, the number of people working in services of all kind (tertiary and quaternary sectors) increased. The increase in some of the spheres of these sectors however was much more distinct, mainly in finance and business services (banking, insurance, and information). This rapid increase corresponds to the system change: a market economy cannot do without a 'financial' and 'information' infrastructure. (The change in the role of banking also led to an exceptional growth in average earnings in this branch.) However, the increase of state administration cannot be fully explained in terms of the emergence of institutions essential for a well-

functioning market economy (financial offices, labour offices, etc.). It is rather the expression of the ongoing bureaucratisation of society under conditions of surviving etatism.

Table 2. Percentages of workers in selected branches of national economy as a portion of 1989 levels (1989, resp. 1990 = 100%)

	1989	1990	1992	1993	1994	1995
<i>Czech Republic</i>	Thousands					
Agriculture	569* = 100	97	61	49	50	45
Industry, total	2117* = 100	96	85	81	76	77
Wholesale and retail trade		523* = 100	104	116	134	143
Hotels and restaurants		89* = 100	112	124	153	158
Financial intermediating	25* = 100	108	200	256	304	336
Public administration	79* = 100	120	155	167	184	203
<i>Slovak Republic</i>	Thousands					
Agriculture	304 = 100	97	85	86	70	68
Industry, total	835 = 100	99	79	77	74	76
Wholesale and retail trade	229 = 100	93	99	130	128	132
Hotels and restaurants	23 = 100	93	123	164	158	170
Financial intermediating	10 = 100	114	195	240	308	339
Public administration	36 = 100	137	234	203	203	218

*) After 1991 there was in some cases a change in the branch classification listed in statistical yearbooks that does not allow a simple comparison with past figures.

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Czech Republic 1996 and Statistical Yearbook of Slovak Republic 1996

2. Mobility of Individuals among Ownership Sectors and Branches

The statistical description of changes in ownership structures completed and concretised by survey data on the mobility of individuals can be seen in Table 3.

The 1995 survey results concerning employment of respondents within the various ownership sectors are in agreement with the data from national statistics. If we include students in 1988, the data indicates that in 1995 there was already more than one half of economically active people working in the private sector in the Czech Republic. The ratio of employees to private entrepreneurs has stabilised at 5:1. Co-operative farmers or members of transformed co-operative unions plus employees of co-operatives count for about 7%. It is significant that the newly-educated generation is entering the private rather than state sector. This is probably due to the differences in wages between these two sectors.

In Slovakia, only one-third of respondents work in the private sector. This corresponds to the differences already seen in national statistics. The ratio of employees to the self-employed is about 12:1. Although the younger generation is joining private companies as with their the Czech counterparts, the share of self-employed among the upcoming generation is ten times lower. This means that the differences in this category have grown apart and are a factor distinguishing both economies.

Table 3. Economically active population according the ownership sector of firms: the change between 1988 and 1995 (row and column percentages)

1988	1995					Total
	State	Employee of firm Co-operative	Private	Member of co-operative	Self-employed	
<i>Czech Republic (N = 765)</i>						
Employee	51.2	0.5	33.2	0.3	14.7	86.5
state firm	97.8	14.8	86.8	6.7	86.2	
Employee	1.8	40.2	40.9	4.9	12.3	4.2
co-operative	0.2	63.2	5.1	5.1	4.6	
Member of	8.8	9.0	13.3	54.5	14.5	6.5
co-operative	1.3	22.0	2.6	88.2	7.3	
Total	45.3	2.7	33.1	4.0	14.9	
<i>Slovak Republic (N=552)</i>						
Employee	66.8	0.4	24.9	1.4	6.5	86.5
state firm	99.5	7.2	89.3	22.9	88.1	
Employee	6.2	73.0	20.9			4.5
of co-operative	0.5	69.7	3.8			
Employee in		17.0	63.8	10.7	8.5	1.8
private firm		6.6	4.7	3.7	4.0	
Member of		14.1	9.3	71.0	5.6	6.5
co-operative		16.5	2.1	73.5	7.9	
Total	59.1	4.7	24.5	5.3	6.3	

Even though the size of the sample limits the validity of the statements concerning the branch structure, the recorded mobility again corresponds to national statistics. It was found that, in the Czech Republic, of those who were employed both in 1988 and in 1995, the most people moved into services (from industry, and education) and finance (from education). The most stable branches were agriculture, mining, metallurgy, transport, and health care (85-90% of people remained working in the same branch). The number of those who were studying or were in vocational schools in 1988 and entered finance and state administration was about three times higher than those entering heavy industry, mining transport and partly machinery.

The changes become clearer when comparing the present situation with the situation in the late 70's and early 80's. This can be illustrated by comprising the branch structure of employment of the young and total economically active population in Table 4. With the exception of agriculture, there was a distinct stability of branch structure. Each newly-educated generation entered the various branches in corresponding ratios to the overall structure of employment, which consolidated the firmness of branch structure.

Table 4. What branches young people entered between 1977 and 1984. A comparison with the economically active population structure in 1984 in percentages*

	Czech Republic		Slovakia	
	Young	Total	Young	Total
Agriculture	9.6	13.9	9.2	18.0
Heavy industry	7.7	8.6	8.6	7.0
Machinery, electro	15.4	15.4	16.8	12.7
Other industry	14.1	13.4	12.9	12.5
Building	9.3	7.8	9.6	9.7
Transport, communications	6.1	7.0	5.1	6.1
Trade	11.3	8.0	11.1	8.0
Services	5.9	5.7	4.5	4.7
Science, research	1.0	1.2	1.9	1.2
Education, culture	6.5	7.0	7.5	8.1
Health care	7.2	5.5	6.6	5.5
Administration	2.4	3.0	2.2	2.7
Other	3.4	3.5	4.0	3.9
N	1104	8600	778	4253

*) The data come from the Class and Social Structure Survey 1984 that was carried out by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology and Czechoslovak State Statistical Office in 1984 as a sample survey of the population over 16. The sample contained 18,829 respondents from Czechoslovakia.

3. Changes in Occupational Structures

From the total of the economically active population there were two-fifths of respondents who had changed their original occupation in the Czech Republic and more than one-quarter in Slovakia. The most frequent change from the point of view of class-occupational structure in 1988 occurred in the group of higher professionals (56%), followed by manual workers in agriculture (47%) and skilled workmen (42%). From the point of view of structure in 1995 the change in occupation is naturally linked mostly to the emerging private entrepreneurial activities – 80% of the self-employed have changed the occupation that they had in 1988.

We use similar data for socio-occupational groups in 1977 and 1984. Although a direct comparison is impossible because of the different definitions of the categories, the data testify once again to a much greater stability in the 70's and 80's when compared with the high occupational dynamics of the 90's, which is connected mainly with the emergence of self-employment.

Table 5. Changes of occupation 1988-1995 in percentages of class occupational categories (CZ N = 765, SK N = 540)

	Czech Republic Status in		Slovak Republic Status in	
	1988	1995	1988	1995
Higher professionals	55.8	44.5	36.6	33.2
Lower professionals	37.2	32.6	22.6	31.7
Routine non-manual	29.9	36.3	28.3	21.5
Skilled manual	42.0	28.6	25.3	21.3
Semi- and unskilled manual	35.6	31.0	23.7	24.9
Manual in agriculture	46.7	28.6	51.9	19.5
Self-employed with employees		79.7		92.0
Self-employed without employees		79.7		67.0
Total		38.8		27.3

4. Mobility of Individuals among Class-Occupational Categories

Despite the late start for private enterprise after 1989, a significant movement in social structure began, mainly in the Czech Republic. Here nearly a third of respondents from the 1995 sample significantly changed their class-occupational position (Table 6). This movement was distinctly less frequent in Slovakia as a consequence of the slower development of self-employment. Nevertheless, this still affected nearly a fifth of respondents. (Note: in our simplified categorisation, we do not consider mobility between agricultural and industrial unskilled and semi-skilled workers, which was more frequent in Slovakia and which would significantly alter the total mobility rate.)

Table 6. Change of class-occupational status between 1988 and 1995 – row and column percentages

<i>Czech Republic</i> (N = 778)		1995					
1988		1	2	3	4	5	Total
1 Unskilled and semi-skilled workers		78.4	7.6	7.2	3.8	3.0	37.0
		83.7	9.5	26.9	9.6	9.8	
2 Skilled workers and routine non-manual		12.9	63.5	13.1	5.8	4.7	36.7
		13.6	79.8	48.4	14.8	15.2	
3 Self-employed, private entrepreneurs							
4 Lower professionals		2.8	14.8	5.5	67.4	9.5	13.9
		1.1	7.0	7.7	64.8	11.8	
5 Higher professionals		4.3	11.1	13.8	12.7	58.1	12.3
		1.5	4.6	17.0	10.7	63.2	
Total		34.7	29.6	10.0	14.5	11.3	

Contingency coefficient 0.73

Percentage of stable respondents 68.8%

<i>Slovakia</i> (N = 540)		1995					
1988		1	2	3	4	5	Total
1 Unskilled and semi-skilled workers		84.2	8.6	2.3	2.7	2.2	37.6
		89.6	9.3	31.2	6.8	6.8	
2 Skilled workers and routine non-manual		8.8	78.0	3.1	5.7	4.4	37.9
		9.4	89.2	41.9	14.2	14.1	
3 Self-employed, private entrepreneurs							
4 Lower professionals		0.9	10.5	1.1	75.1	12.4	13.5
		0.3	4.1	5.5	66.8	14.0	
5 Higher professionals		2.1	4.3	4.5	17.2	71.9	10.8
		0.6	1.3	17.4	12.2	65.1	
Total		35.3	34.7	2.8	15.2	11.9	

Contingency coefficient 0.81

Percentage of stable respondents 79.3%

Of those who were economically active both in 1988 and 1995 more than 30% (in the Czech Republic) and 20% (in Slovakia) changed their positions according to the listed categories. It is necessary to add that there were 9.5% of respondents unemployed in Slovakia while only 3% in the Czech sample (the data correspond with national statistics on unemployment). If this information is included in our mobility calculations we can estimate that there has been a similar extent of changes in broadly conceived mobility in both countries. The difference consists in the number of respondents who started their own business on the one hand, and the different number of unemployed on the other.

When evaluating the vertical aspect of mobility, it is necessary to take into account that the class-occupational structure common in Western industrial countries has not yet attained a stable form in the Czech Republic nor in Slovakia: there remain many inconsistencies from the past, for instance, in the earnings and prestige of many occupations, in education and in standard of living.

If we consider the status 'unemployed' as a mobility decrease and any entry into self-employment as an increase then the mobility increase prevails (three-quarters of the total mobility) in Czech society, while in Slovakia there is more of a mobility decrease

(two-thirds of mobility changes). This certainly can explain many differences in attitudes and political behaviour in the two parts of the former federal Czechoslovakia. The structure of other mobility paths (those which do not relate to entering self-employment nor to lost employment) are similar in both republics. They apply to about 20% of respondents and involve nearly equal proportions of ascending and descending orientations. Most increases and decreases relate to more or less professional non-manual work on the one hand, and more or less qualified manual work on the other. More radical mobility changes are exceptional.

5. Comparison of Individual Mobility 1988-1993 and 1988-1995

The analysis of the historical mobility of individuals in 1988-1995 presented in the previous chapter is based on a certain re-categorisation of the EGP scheme, which has some advantages, above all the stress laid on important mobility paths concerning the self-employed and private entrepreneurs. Solving a similar task in the framework of the output from the International Social Stratification and Mobility Survey of 1993 for the Czech Lands [Machonin, Tuček 1996: 142-150], the author of the chapter on intragenerational mobility used another categorisation. (For detailed information concerning the operationalisation, see the same source.) He divided the populations of economically active both in 1988 and in 1993 into five categories: (1) higher professionals plus private entrepreneurs with employees, (2) lower professionals plus self-employed without employees, (3) routine non-manual, (4) skilled workers, (5) semi-skilled and unskilled workers plus manual in agriculture. This scheme makes unclear the role of property relations. On the other hand, it approximately represents an existing and empirically proven vertical status differentiation and thus makes possible the application of colloquial measures of vertical mobility/stability. For this reason we decided to use the same scheme for the data from the Czech and Slovak Republics collected in 1993 and 1995 (with the unified age structure corresponding to the sample of the 1995 survey, this being 20-59 years) in order to compare the main standard measures of stability/mobility patterns 1988-1993 and 1988-1995.

Table 7. Main mobility/stability measures for the economically active

	1988-1993		1988-1995	
	CR	SR	CR	SR
N	2,811	2,912	791	546
Stable (%)	79.2	82.4	67.5	78.9
Gross mobility (%)	20.8	17.6	32.5	21.1
Index 1995/1993	100	100	156	120
Upward (%)	14.0	11.2	19.8	13.2
Downward (%)	6.8	6.4	12.7	7.9
Upward/downward	2.06	1.75	1.55	1.68
Net mobility (%)	7.5	7.6	13.3	12.6
Structural mobility (%)	13.3	10.0	19.2	19.9
Net/structural mobility	0.56	0.75	0.69	0.63

The table shows high mobility rates in the Czech Republic and somewhat lower, though not insignificant rates in Slovakia. The gross mobility rate continued to increase after the

separation of the Czechoslovak Federation, very rapidly in the Czech Lands, but much slower in the Slovak Republic.

Upward mobility prevailed in both countries and in both time periods, however in 1988-1993 it developed much more, and in 1988-1995 somewhat more rapidly in the Czech Republic. After the split, upward mobility substantially increased in Slovakia. Structural mobility, that is mainly the move of previously dependent persons to the newly created private property positions, prevailed in both countries, before the split as well after it. The differences demonstrate various paces of privatisation, mainly before the split, when continuing privatisation at the detriment of manual workers' positions in the Czech Republic led to a more distinct prevalence of structural mobility than in Slovakia.

The analysis of stability/mobility paths based on the data concerning people economically active both in 1988 and 1993 or 1995 does not take into account neither the moves of the economically non-active to working jobs, which can be considered some kind of upward mobility, nor the changes from economic activity to non-activity caused by retirements or loss of jobs due to becoming unemployed or a housewife. These can be seen as a kind of downward mobility. Of course, in samples limited by age to persons between 20 and 59 years, the retirements are less numerous than in the adult population with full representation of elderly people. If we involve the cases of those interviewed who started or left their occupational careers between 1988 and 1993 or 1995 into the data, the picture of stability/mobility patterns changes.

Table 8. Main stability/mobility measures for the population aged 20-59 years

	1988-1993		1988-1995	
	CR	SR	CR	SR
N	3,971	4,079	1,219	956
Stable (%)	63.0	64.0	54.5	59.0
Gross mobility (%)	37.0	36.0	45.5	41.0
Index 1995/1993	100	100	123	114
Upward (%)	20.5	16.8	25.5	19.0
Downward (%)	16.5	19.2	20.0	22.0
Upward/downward	1.24	0.88	1.28	0.86
Net mobility (%)	21.3	17.2	24.5	18.7
Structural mobility (%)	15.7	18.8	21.0	22.3
Net/structural mobility	1.36	0.91	1.17	0.84

When including the transfers of people from and to non-active positions, the gross mobility becomes enormous, revealing how profound and rapid were the social shifts in the population as a whole after 1988. In this case, the mobility rate in Slovakia was nearly equal to the Czech rate, due to the large number of unemployed and also of young people starting their occupational careers. The high unemployment rate is the main reason why downward mobility prevails in the Slovak Republic. Retirements and females exiting the workforce led, in the Czech Lands, to a lower, but still important prevalence of upward mobility when compared with the sample of economically active persons. One of the reasons for this is the exclusion of old people from the analysed samples. However, even the inclusion of pensioners could not change the main specificities: the downward mobility in Slovakia was characterised by a mighty stream of people losing their jobs, while in the Czech Republic rather the share of retirements was important. In the Czech case, as in

the Slovak many young people started their first jobs, a factor that stimulated both upward and structural mobility. The increase of structural mobility is a consequence of taking into account the positions of economically non-active persons. All shifts between economic activity and non-activity are in this kind of analysis naturally seen as structural.

For the analysis of concrete social stability/mobility patterns, it was necessary to create more numerous categories in order to get statistically significant results. This was done the same way as in the above quoted intragenerational historical mobility study. [Machonin, Tuček 1997: 142-150] The samples were divided into three categories: (1) UPPERCAT (higher professionals plus entrepreneurs), (2) MIDDLECAT (lower professionals plus self-employed without employees plus routine non-manual), (3) LOWERCAT (all manual occupations). This re-categorisation means that only the more radical mobility changes are registered.

The mobility table of the economically active showed after this simplification a somewhat lower level of mobility (after the exclusion of the not too numerous moves between routine non-manual and other middle-range groups, and of moves between skilled and unskilled workers). However, the main standard measures as a whole repeated in principle the same structure as analysed above in the case of five categories.

From the mobility table, a typology of stability and mobility patterns was constructed with the following results:

Table 9. Stability/mobility patterns of the economically active in percentages^{*}

	1988-1993		1988-1995	
	CR	SR	CR	SR
Stable in UPPERCAT	7.9	8.8	4.8	5.9
Upwardly mobile to UPPERCAT	4.1	4.0	4.5	4.3
Stable in MIDDLECAT	28.5	31.6	26.5	29.0
Upwardly mobile to MIDDLECAT	6.7	5.0	11.4	4.7
Downwardly mobile total	3.8	3.9	7.9	4.4
Stable in LOWERCAT	49.0	46.7	44.9	51.7
Total	100.0	100.0 [*]	100.0	100.0

^{*}) N is in all the columns equal to the size of samples indicated in Table 7. This means that the quantitative characteristics of the patterns' structures concerning the years 1988-1995, particularly in the cases of less numerous categories and mainly in the Slovak case, have from the statistical point of view rather an illustrative character.

Curiously enough, after the simplification of the basic vertical scale, the structure of stability/mobility patterns of economically active persons in the Czech and Slovak Republics become rather more similar than divergent. In both cases, the amount of mobile individuals is increasing in the process of transformation, though the number of stable in the broad categories remains relatively high. The number of actual 'winners' in the transformation processes, encompassing mainly the first two patterns, is very limited in both countries, especially in Slovakia. On the other hand, the number of stable manual workers remained very high in both republics. The most important difference between the Czech Lands and Slovakia consists in the more distinct prevalence of upward mobility to the middle category in the Czech Lands – a consequence of more 'small' privatisation processes. This situation among economically active people was additionally sharpened by a

larger level of unemployment in Slovakia. This picture can to a certain extent explain the differences in attitudes and political behaviour characterising the analysed populations in the period 1988-1993-1995. However it cannot explain the significant changes in attitudes and behaviour in the years 1995-1997, above all in the Czech Lands. This is partly because the rough character of the EGP scheme, from which the stability/mobility patterns were deduced does not allow a detailed analysis of multi-dimensional social statuses and, particularly, their intrinsic inconsistencies, typical in 1995 mainly of the middle strata.

6. Perception of Mobility

In a situation when social stratification is characterised by many inconsistencies and is affected by relics of state socialism (still existing relative material preferences in favour of manual occupations) on the one hand, and is influenced by certain simplified images held by the population as regards stratification in advanced countries (a distinct over-estimation of the self-employed irrespective the field of their activities) on the other, the self-ranking and the feeling of social increase/decrease provide additional information concerning the ongoing social changes in society. This view can to some extent verify the previous conclusions about ascending or descending objective mobility. When analysing this 'subjective mobility', it is also clear that it cannot be reduced merely to a self-evaluation of the moves concerning those who changed occupational positions. No less important is the self-evaluation of those who have not been through any changes in their occupations. In this case, a subjectively evaluated increase or decrease of each occupational group as a whole in the social hierarchy undoubtedly has its own objective sources in so-called collective mobility. One must not forget, however, that the subjective self-evaluation of social status and mobility can in any cases be seriously biased due to many factors of both objective and subjective nature.

One half of Czech respondents who were economically active in both 1988 and in 1995 evaluate their social status to be the same in both years. The other half divides into groups of those who think that their actual status is higher than it was and those who feel a status decrease. The difference between these two groups is about 8% in favour of the decrease. All this represents a substantive deviation from the objective findings referred to in the previous chapter. It should be remembered that in the Czech Lands 38% of the economically active changed their occupation in the period concerned. This change caused a shift into another class-occupational category for 31%.

The situation is different in Slovakia where a relatively lower number of changes in occupations (27%) and changes of class-occupational categories (21%) occurred. Here only 45% of the economically active evaluate their social status as stable. Consequently, a larger part of those who have neither changed their occupation nor class occupational category perceive their present status as mobile when compared to the past. The respondents who in this connection perceive a decrease prevail over those who feel their status to have increased by 8%, as was experienced in the Czech Republic.

In order to obtain a complete picture, it has to be added that the situation is different among those who left economic activity within the analysed period. In the Czech Republic only a third of these, mostly retired persons, considered their positions as being stable and more than a half as decreasing, with 29% feeling a substantial decrease. This stands in opposition to the self-evaluation of those who entered economic activity during the period in question. The situation is similar in Slovakia, except for the fact that the

respondents are far more restrained in their evaluations. In the case of the retired, a distinct decrease evaluation is recorded, while the upcoming generation declares a distinct increase. However, these feelings are twice weaker than in the Czech Republic.

The following tables illustrate the differentiation in perceptions of change in social positions between those who either did not or actually did change their occupation.

Table 10. Feelings of social increase/decrease among those who did not change occupation in percentages

	Substant. decrease	Moderate decrease	No change	Moderate increase	Substantial increase	Total
<i>Czech Republic</i> (N = 467)						
Unskilled workers	6.9	17.6	63.8	11.1	0.6	36.3
Skilled w. and routine non-man.	6.9	16.6	60.3	15.4	0.9	33.3
Self employed	0.0	10.7	34.0	29.4	26.0	3.4
Lower professionals	10.8	22.0	53.1	10.6	3.5	17.5
Higher professionals	0.9	13.2	61.5	22.3	2.0	9.6
Total	6.8	17.4	59.5	14.1	2.2	
Contingency coefficient 0.34						
<i>Slovak Republic</i> (N = 383)						
Unskilled workers	9.8	25.7	50.4	12.6	1.4	37.2
Skilled w. and routine non-man.	6.3	20.4	48.8	24.5	36.4	
Self-employed	0.0	0.0	34.2	15.1	50.7	1.0
Lower professionals	6.1	20.5	51.8	20.6	1.4	15.9
Higher professionals	1.0	25.4	54.8	13.3	5.4	9.6
Total	7.0	22.8	50.2	18.3	1.8	
Contingency coefficient 0.39						

Those who did not change their occupation in the analysed period (but were able to change their class-occupational category by becoming self-employed, for example) often evaluate their positions as stable, 60% in the Czech Republic and 50% in Slovakia. The others are inclined to evaluate their position on the 'social ladder' as moderately decreasing. Here the situation differs in both republics in various class-occupational groups.

In the Czech Republic the feeling of decrease is the most apparent among lower professionals (a third of this group). Conversely, the tertiary educated professionals or managers feel rather a certain social increase. This feeling may not be a consequence of income de-equalisation (which has not yet been realised, for example, as far as the budget sphere is concerned); it can also be caused by the global change of social climate (prestige of expertise, personal prospects, new position of management, etc.) The results do not support the widespread view about the general social decline of workers since 1989. It is true, among both skilled and unskilled workers, there are about twice as many of those who feel a decrease than those declaring an increase; however, at the same time more than 60% evaluate their position in society as stable.

In Slovakia, a strong feeling of decrease can be found among unskilled workers (35.5%). In other groups, except for the self-employed, the feeling of decrease is almost 10% lower than among this group. In contrast to the situation in the Czech Lands, the Slovak higher professionals rather tend to decrease than to increase in their evaluations, while skilled workers in almost equal proportions declare both increase and decrease.

Since these feelings actually mirror the objective group mobility, and thus correspond to the experience of people, the observed differences are in our opinion essential. They undoubtedly have a big influence on the attitude of these groups towards the societal changes taking place in both countries. Thus, it can be hypothesised that these objectively grounded differences in evaluation of changes in social status of the key groups has become one of the vital factors forming the different political scenes in the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Table 11. Feelings of social increase/decrease among those who changed occupation in percentages

	Substant. decrease	Moderate decrease	No change	Moderate increase	Substantial increase	Total
<i>Czech Republic</i> (N = 267)						
Unskilled workers	16.6	25.9	44.7	12.1	0.7	27.2
Skilled w. and routine non-man.	13.0	26.2	34.4	20.9	5.5	24.2
Self-employed	9.7	14.0	22.8	32.4	21.1	21.4
Lower professionals	11.0	20.6	31.5	25.9	11.0	11.8
Higher professionals	4.2	20.3	36.6	26.8	12.1	15.5
Total	11.7	21.9	34.7	22.5	9.2	
Contingency coefficient 0.33						
<i>Slovak Republic</i> (N = 143)						
Unskilled workers	18.4	18.0	43.1	14.8	5.7	31.3
Skilled w. and routine non-man.	17.8	32.1	39.8	5.7	4.6	26.6
Self-employed	2.9	9.9	21.5	48.2	17.5	7.3
Lower professionals	6.1	25.1	39.6	29.2	17.0	
Higher professionals	9.6	26.0	26.2	26.6	11.6	17.7
Total	14.1	23.6	37.3	18.8	6.4	

Contingency coefficient 0.37

The evaluation of change in social status of those who have changed their occupation is slightly different. In their case, there is not a feeling of collective mobility at issue, but the evaluation of individual mobility. Let us remember that the change in occupation caused a change in class-occupational categorisation in three-quarters of cases, while half of these changes can be found among the self-employed.

First, it is necessary to remark that the change in occupation has not affected the evaluation of social status among more than one third of respondents in both republics. In the Czech Republic another third of respondents evaluate their occupational mobility as increased, the remaining third as decreased. In Slovakia, the negative evaluation prevails in a ratio of 3:2. Similar findings in both national samples prove that the feeling of decrease prevails among workers occupations. It is likely that within the groups of workers occupations that were the most affected by structural changes after 1989 (the decline of agriculture, mining, the fall in the production of machinery, electronics etc.) there were many who were forced to descend to 'worse' posts. The prevailing negative evaluations of occupational careers within the workers and unskilled non-manual occupations also imply in this case a realistic perception of the objective collective mobility of these groups. Those who are mobile feel the fall of these groups more than the non-mobile.

This means that the necessary restructuring processes in the production spheres of the national economies will probably cause the emergence of conflict situations.

As for the self-employed, it is remarkable that almost one-quarter of the Czech and more than one-tenth of the Slovak members of this category consider their present status as a descent on the 'social ladder' as compared to their status in 1988. These findings along with the evaluation of status changes of those self-employed who remained working in their original occupation support our assumption about the ambiguous self-ranking of the self-employed.

The most distinct difference between the two republics consists in the distribution of answers among professionals and managers. In Slovakia, there are 10% more of those who view their professional career between 1988 and 1995 as a lowering in their social status. This information is in agreement with the previous assumption about the differently reflected collective mobility of this group.

Conclusions

The data from the transformation and modernisation survey along with the data from the late 80's and the beginning of 90's confirmed that the essential changes at the macro-economic level since 1989 were attended by corresponding changes at the micro-economic level. The socio-occupational mobility of the Czech population radically increased over the last five-year period to 1995, when compared to the late 80's and the beginning of the 90's (the period of stagnation in industrial development). This radical increase cannot be solely attributed to the rise of private enterprise. There are other changes of a structural character that correspond not only to the conversion to market economy, necessitating a certain infrastructure, but also certain modernisation tendencies in the branch and institutional structure of the production and non-production sectors. Along with the transformation of the socio-occupational structure there is also occurring a change in social differentiation. The widening income inequalities, the inequalities in accessibility to decision making (economic power) and information, and so on, change not only the objective social status characteristics, but also how they are subjectively perceived. The development of the socio-occupational structure of society in the Czech Republic after 1989 was caused mainly by the transformation processes in the national economy. These changes were realised without major shocks and in an atmosphere of prevailing social consensus. However, a part of the data concerning attitudes shows that in 1995 a certain disillusion and various dissatisfactions were emerging.

In Slovakia, the processes of changes in social structure have taken a distinctly a different shape. The data from the late 80's and the beginning of the 90' indicate an almost identical situation in both parts of former Czechoslovakia. Moreover, the data from the 1993 survey confirm the resemblance of objective social structures. However, all findings from national statistics and also from the 1995 survey confirm that the development has been different since the split of Czechoslovakia. The changes in Slovakia, whether they concern ownership or the branch structures or mobility of individuals, appeared in our survey as less distinct. This is undoubtedly caused by the different speeds and progress of privatisation along with the different structures of national economy on the one hand, and the different social situation of the populations on the other (unemployment rate, restricted labour market etc.). From the Slovak respondents' point of view (change in self-ranking), between 1988 and 1995 there were stronger feelings of a decline in social standing among both those who are professionally stable and those who changed

their occupation. The differences vary at around 5-10%, when compared to the situation in the Czech Republic. This means that in spite of the fact that there are objectively fewer changes among the economically active population in Slovakia, there was a less favourable development in attitudes than in the Czech Lands.

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