Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences

The Second Generation of Democratic Elites in Central and Eastern Europe

Edited by Janina Frentzel-Zagórska and Jacek Wasilewski

Warsaw 2000

Contents

ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER THE 1998 ELECTIONS IN SLOVAKIA	Acknowledgements 7
Włodzimierz Wesołowski THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF ELITE RESEARCH IN POSTCOMMUNIST SOCIETIES 17 John Higley and Jan Pakulski 17 ELITE THEORY AND RESEARCH IN POSTCOMMUNIST SOCIETIES 37 Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska 11 ELITES AND MASS MEDIA IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE 51 Radosław Markowski PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION: ON THE IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE POLISH CASE 65 Marek Rybář ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER THE 1998 ELECTIONS IN SLOVAKIA 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 91 POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 105 Anton Steen 105 MHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 125 THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL 175 Jacek Wasilewski 159 POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE 197 Janina Frenzel-Zagórska 197 STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE A	
THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF ELITE RESEARCH IN POSTCOMMUNIST SOCIETIES 17 John Higley and Jan Pakulski 17 John Higley and Jan Pakulski 17 Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska 37 Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska 51 Radosław Markowski PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION: ON THE IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE POLISH CASE 65 Marek Rybář ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER THE 1998 ELECTIONS IN SLOVAKIA 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 90 91 POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE 105 Anton Steen 105 WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 151 ELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SLOVENIAN ELITES 175 Jacek Wasilewski 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 175 STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN BY THE ELITE 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska	INTRODUCTION9
SOCIETIES 17 John Higley and Jan Pakulski 17 John Higley and Jan Pakulski 17 Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska 37 Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska 51 Radosław Markowski 94 PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC 65 Marek Rybář 65 Marek Rybář 65 ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 91 POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN SLOVAKIA 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 91 POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 105 Anton Steen 105 WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 125 THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 175 ELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE 175 Jacek Wasilewski 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 197 STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCE	
John Higley and Jan Pakulski ELITE THEORY AND RESEARCH IN POSTCOMMUNIST SOCIETIES 37 Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska ELITES AND MASS MEDIA IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE 51 Radosław Markowski PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC 65 Markowski PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC 65 Marke Rybář ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 91 POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 70 TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE 105 Anton Steen 105 WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 125 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 125 Jack Wasilewski 175 Jacke Wasilewski 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 217 Ewa Nalewajko 217 Fwa Nalewajko 217	THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF ELITE RESEARCH IN POSTCOMMUNIST
ELITE THEORY AND RESEARCH IN POSTCOMMUNIST SOCIETIES 37 Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska ELITES AND MASS MEDIA IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE 51 Radosław Markowski PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC 65 CONSOLIDATION: ON THE IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE POLISH CASE 65 Marek Rybář ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 91 POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 105 Anton Steen 105 WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 115 THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 175 Jacek Wasilewski 197 POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 197 STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN 217 Ewa Nalewajko 217 Tewa Nalewajko 217	SOCIETIES 17
Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska 51 Radosław Markowski 51 Radosław Markowski 51 Radosław Markowski 65 Markowski 65 Markowski 65 Markowski 65 Marek Rybář 65 ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 91 POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN SLOVAKIA 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 90 POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 105 Anton Steen 105 WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 125 THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 175 Jacek Wasilewski 197 POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 197 STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN 197 Janina Frentzel	John Higley and Jan Pakulski
ELITES AND MASS MEDIA IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE 51 Radosław Markowski 9 PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC 65 Marek Rybář 65 Marek Rybář 65 ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 91 POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN SLOVAKIA 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart 901 POLITICAL GENERATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL BACKGROUND 105 Anton Steen 105 WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 175 Jack Wasilewski 170 POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 197 STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN 217 Ewa Nalewajko 217 Tewa Societty: THE ELITES ON GROUP PRESSURES 233 Irena Pańków 23	ELITE THEORY AND RESEARCH IN POSTCOMMUNIST SOCIETIES
Radosław Markowski PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION: ON THE IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE POLISH CASE Marek Rybář ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER THE 1998 ELECTIONS IN SLOVAKIA POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE MATK KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION CONSOLIDATION Markey i glič and Andrej Rus ELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SLOVENIAN ELITES 175 Jacke Wasilewski POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN BY THE ELITE BY THE ELITE AND THE SOCIETY: THE ELITES ON GROUP PRESSURES 217 Ewa Nalewajko	Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska
PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION: ON THE IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE POLISH CASE	ELITES AND MASS MEDIA IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE
CONSOLIDATION: ON THE IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE POLISH CASE	Radosław Markowski
Marek Rybář ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER THE 1998 ELECTIONS IN SLOVAKIA POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE MATK KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus ELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SLOVENIAN ELITES 175 Jacek Wasilewski POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN BY THE ELITE BY THE ELITE 217 Ewa Nalewajko THE STATE AND THE SOCIETY: THE ELITES ON GROUP PRESSURES 233 Irena Pańków	PARTY SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC
ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER THE 1998 ELECTIONS IN SLOVAKIA	CONSOLIDATION: ON THE IDIOSYNCRASIES OF THE POLISH CASE
THE 1998 ELECTIONS IN SLOVAKIA 91 Aili Aarelaid-Tart POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE 105 Anton Steen WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 125 Gabriella Ilonszki 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 175 Jacek Wasilewski 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 217 Ewa Nalewajko 217 Fewa Nalewajko 217	Marek Rybář
Aili Aarelaid-Tart POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE	ASSESSING THE ELITE CONVERGENCE HYPOTHESIS A YEAR AFTER
POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE	THE 1998 ELECTIONS IN SLOVAKIA
TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE 105 Anton Steen WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA	Aili Aarelaid-Tart
Anton Steen WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA	POLITICAL GENERATIONS IN ESTONIA: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA AND RUSSIA 125 Gabriella Ilonszki THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus ELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SLOVENIAN ELITES 175 Jacek Wasilewski POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN BY THE ELITE 217 Ewa Nalewajko THE STATE AND THE SOCIETY: THE ELITES ON GROUP PRESSURES 233 Irena Pańków	TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SCENE 105
NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION. A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA	Anton Steen
A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA	WHAT KIND OF LIGHT IN THE END OF THE TUNNEL? DEMOCRATIC
AND RUSSIA	NORMS, MARKET ORIENTATIONS AND POLITICAL SOCIALISATION.
Gabriella Ilonszki THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION	A COMPARISON OF ELITES IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA
THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL CONSOLIDATION 159 Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus 159 ELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE 175 Jacek Wasilewski 175 Jacek Wasilewski 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 197 Janina Frentzel-Zagórska 217 Ewa Nalewajko 217 Ewa Nalewajko 213 Irena Pańków 233	AND RUSSIA 125
CONSOLIDATION159Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej RusELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGEIN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SLOVENIAN ELITES175Jacek WasilewskiPOLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITEPOLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE197Janina Frentzel-ZagórskaSTRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEENBY THE ELITE217Ewa NalewajkoTHE STATE AND THE SOCIETY: THE ELITES ON GROUP PRESSURES233Irena Pańków197	Gabriella Ilonszki
Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus ELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SLOVENIAN ELITES Jacek Wasilewski POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE Janina Frentzel-Zagórska STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN BY THE ELITE 217 Ewa Nalewajko THE STATE AND THE SOCIETY: THE ELITES ON GROUP PRESSURES 233	THE SECOND GENERATION POLITICAL ELITE IN HUNGARY: PARTIAL
ELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SLOVENIAN ELITES	CONSOLIDATION 159
IN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SLOVENIAN ELITES	Hajdeja Iglič and Andrej Rus
Jacek Wasilewski POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE	ELITE NETWORKS IN TRANSITION: THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE
POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE	IN PERSONAL NETWORKS OF SLOVENIAN ELITES 175
Janina Frentzel-Zagórska STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN BY THE ELITE	Jacek Wasilewski
STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN BY THE ELITE	POLISH POST-TRANSITIONAL ELITE 197
BY THE ELITE	Janina Frentzel-Zagórska
Ewa Nalewajko THE STATE AND THE SOCIETY: THE ELITES ON GROUP PRESSURES 233 Irena Pańków	STRUCTURE OF THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE AS SEEN
THE STATE AND THE SOCIETY: THE ELITES ON GROUP PRESSURES 233 Irena Pańków	BY THE ELITE
Irena Pańków	Ewa Nalewajko
	THE STATE AND THE SOCIETY: THE ELITES ON GROUP PRESSURES 233
TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS 249	TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS 249
Notes on the Contributors	Notes on the Contributors