

# Statistical review of the political year 1991

by Mieck VOS,

Research assistant at the Section of Political Sociology of the Catholic University of Leuven.

## I. Politics and government

### A. Legislative assemblies

#### 1. Parliamentary elections of November 24, 1991

Political parties <sup>1</sup>	Chamber		Senate	
	Voting strength(%)	Change (1987-1991)	Voting strength(%)	Change (1987-1991)
CVP	16.8	-2.6	16.8	-2.4
PSC	7.7	-0.3	7.9	-0.1
SP	12.0	-3.1	11.9	-2.8
PS	13.5	-2.2	13.3	-2.4
PVV	12.0	+0.4	11.7	-0.4
PRL	8.1	-1.3	8.1	-1.1
VU	5.9	-2.2	6.0	-2.2
Agalev	4.9	+0.4	5.1	+0.2
Ecolo	5.1	+2.5	5.3	+2.5
FDF	1.5	+0.3	1.4	+0.1
Vlaams Blok	6.6	+4.7	6.8	+4.8
Rossem	3.2		3.2	
NF-FN	1.1		1.0	

(1) Christian democratic parties : CVP (Christelijke Volkspartij), PSC (Parti Social Chrétien); Socialist parties : SP (Socialistische Partij), PS (Parti Socialiste); Liberal parties : PVV (Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang), PRL (Parti Réformateur Libéral); Nationalistic Flemish party : VU (Volksunie), Green parties : Agalev (Anders Gaan Leven), Ecolo (Ecologistes); FDF (Front Démocratique des Bruxellois Francophones), Extreme right : Vlaams Blok ; Rossem (Libertarian party / Radicale omvormers en sociale strijders voor een eerlijker maatschappij).

## 2. Composition of the political institutions by language and political party

### 2.1. Chamber

Political parties	Chamber				Total	
	Dutch Language Members		French Language Members		Before Elections	After
	Before Elections	After	Before Elections	After		
CVP	43	39				
PSC			18	18	61	57
SP	31	28				
PS			40	35	71	63
PVV	25	26				
PRL			23	20	48	46
VI.Blok	2	12			2	12
VU	16	10			16	10
Agalev	6	7				
Ecolo			3	10	9	17
FDF			3	3	3	3
Rossem	0	3			0	3
NF-FN			0	1	0	1
Indep.	1	0	1	0	2	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>212</b>

#### a. Resignation and succession of the members of the Chamber<sup>2</sup>

- Etienne Bertrand succeeded Paul Henrotin, (October 9, 1990).
- Stefaan De Clerck succeeded Antoon Steverlynck, CVP (October 9, 1990).
- Patrick Hostekint succeeded Roger Van Steenkiste, (October 2, 1991).

(2) The date between brackets is the date of publication in "Het Belgisch Staatsblad".

2.2. Senate

Political Parties	Senate				Total	
	Dutch Language Members		French Language Members		Before Elections	After
	Before Elections	After	Before Elections	After		
CVP	39	36				
PSC			16	16	55	52
SP	29	26				
PS			36	30	65	56
PVV	18	22				
PRL			21	18	39	40
VU	13	8			13	8
Agalev	5	8				
Ecolo			3	11	8	19
FDf			2	2	2	2
Vl.Blok	1	6			1	6
Rossem	0	1			0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>184</b>

b. Resignation and succession of the Senators<sup>2</sup>

- Lydia Maximus succeeded Hugo Adriaensens, SP (November 8, 1990).
- Patrick Allewaert succeeded Frans Baert, VU (January 30, 1991).
- Leonard Quintelier succeeded Clement Prieels, CVP (Jun 27, 1991).
- Willy Michiels succeeded Hans De Belder, VU (July 12, 1991).

2.3. Flemish Community Council

Political Parties	Members	
	Before Elections	After
CVP	65	59
SP	48	42
PVV	36	39
VU	24	15
Agalev	9	12
Vl.Blok	3	17
Indep/Rossem	1	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>188</b>

2.4. Walloon Regional Council

Political Parties	Members	
	Before Elections	After
PSC	25	24
PS	51	47
PRL	25	20
Ecolo	2	13
FDf	1	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>104</b>

## 2.5. French Community Council

Political Parties	Members	
	Before Elections	After
PSC	27	27
PS	60	53
PRL	35	29
FDF	4	4
Ecolo	5	16
Indep/FN-NF	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>130</b>

2.6. German-Language Community Council<sup>3</sup>

Political Parties <sup>4</sup>	Members
CSP	8
PDB	4
PFF	5
SP	4
Ecolo	4
SEP	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>

2.7. Brussels Regional Council<sup>5</sup>

Political parties	Members <sup>6</sup>	Political parties	Members <sup>6</sup>
Language group of the Flemish Community Commission		Language group of the French Community Commission	
CVP	4 (1)	PS	18 (2)
PVV	2	PRL	15
SP	2 (1)	FDF-ERE	15
VU	1 (1)	PSC	9 (1)
Vl.Blok	1	Ecolo	8
Agalev	1	FN-NF	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>11 (3)</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>64 (5)</b>

## 3. Index of fractionalization

$$\text{Index of fractionalization} = 1 - (\sum_i^n S_i^2),$$

$S_i^2$  is expressed as a percent of the strength of the parties in the legislative assembly.

(3) Elections of October 28, 1990.

(4) CSP (Christlich Soziale Partei), PDB (Partei der Deutschsprachigen Belgier), PFF (Partei für Freiheit und Fortschritt), SP (Sozialistische Partei), Ecolo (Ecolo), SEP (Solidarität und Partizipation).

(5) Council elections of the Brussels Region of June 18, 1989.

(6) The Flemish Community Commission has 14 members (11 active members and 3 successors). The French Commission has 69 members (64 active members and 5 successors). The successors of the ministers and state-secretaries of the Brussels Regional Government are authorized to participate in the Brussels Regional Council and the Community Commissions. The successors are mentioned between parentheses.

The range runs from 0 to 1. A large index of fractionalization means that many political parties are represented in the legislative assembly.

Legislative assembly	Index	
	Before elections	After elections
Chamber	0.8619	0.8811
Senate	0.8542	0.8700
Flemish Community Council	0.7546	0.7810
Walloon Regional Council	0.6434	0.6898
French Community Council	0.6789	0.7245
German-Language Community Council		0.7424 <sup>3</sup>
Brussels Regional Council		0.8455 <sup>5</sup>

**B. Executives/cabinets**

**1. National Government (Martens IX) (29.09.91 - 07.03.92<sup>7</sup>)**

National government Martens VIII.

See : M. VERMINCK, Statistical review of the political year 1990. *Res Publica*, 1991, n° 3-4, p. 436.

**a. the government reshuffle**

As a result of a political crisis on September, 29, 1991 the government Martens VIII split up. The Volksunie, as a member of the coalition, left the government and chose for an opposition-term.

A forming of the cabinet Martens IX started immediately with the other coalition-partners : CVP-PSC-SP-PS.

Political Parties	Ministers		Secretaries of State		Total	
	Dutch language	French language	Dutch language	French language	Dutch language	French language
CVP	5		3		8	
PSC		3		1		4
SP	4		1		5	
PS		5		3		8
Total per language group	9	8	4	4	13	12
Total	17		8		25	

(7) As a result of the dissolution of parliament at October 18, 1991, the government Martens IX becomes a government of current affairs until the formation of the new government Dehaene I (07.03.92).

The total of Ministers in the new cabinet is thereby being reduced from 27 to 25 Ministers and Secretaries of State.

- On September 29, 1991, Wivina Demeester (CVP) - former Secretary of State of Financial Affairs in the government Martens VIII - was named Minister of Budget and Scientific Affairs. She replaces Hugo Schiltz - former Vice-President and Minister of Budget and Scientific Affairs.

- Eric Derycke (SP) - former Secretary of State for Scientific Affairs in the government Martens VIII - became Minister of Development Coöperation and Adjunct-Minister for Scientific Affairs, replacing André Geens, former Minister of Development Coöperation (September 29, 1991).

b. cabinet experience of the national government ministers from 1981 to 1991  
See III, B: Cabinet stability p. 435.

## 2. Flemish Community Executive

Political parties	Ministers
CVP	4
SP	3
VU	1
Total	8

## 4. Walloon Regional Executive

Political parties	Ministers
PS	4
PSC	3
Total	7

## 6. Brussels Regional Executive

Political parties	Ministers		Secretaries of State	
	Dutch language	French language	Dutch language	French language
PS		1		1
SP	1			
CVP	1			
PSC		1		
FDF		1		1
VU			1	
Total	5			3

## 3. French Community Executive

Political parties	Ministers
PS	3
PSC	1
Total	4

## 5. German-language Community Executive

Political parties	Ministers
CSP	1
PFF	1
SP	1
Total	3

## C. Legislation

## 1. Proceedings of the Chamber and the Senate during the 1990-1991 session

	Chamber	Senate
1. Public session		
Number of plenary meetings	71	82
- morning	19	17
- afternoon	52	61
- evening	-	4
2. Legislative activities		
a) Government bills		
Introduced	68	39
Passed by Senate/Chamber	64	93
Amended by Senate/Chamber	7	-
Total received	139	132
Accepted	140	130
Rejected or revoked	2	-
Total examined	142	130
b) Parliamentary bills		
Introduced	229	111
Accepted	34	19
Rejected or revoked	73	34
Total examined	107	53
Under consideration	122 <sup>8</sup>	58
3. Control activities		
a) Interpellations		
Introduced	378	93
Discussed	317	91
Revoked	31	2
Introduced motions	119	11
b) Questions		
In writing	2318	1929
Verbally	247	233
Urgent questions	-	-
Clarification	1	-
4. Commission activities		
a) Permanent commissions		
Number of meetings	574	570
b) Particular commissions		
Number of meetings	97	

Source: Chamber, *Parliamentary proceedings*.

Senate, *Documentation Service, Internal document*.

(8) This relatively high number of parliamentary bills under consideration is a consequence of the dissolution of Parliament on October 18, 1991.

## 2. Passed, ratified and promulgated laws during the parliamentary sessions 1982-1983 to 1990-1991, by initiator<sup>9</sup>

Session	Government initiative		Parliamentary initiative				Total
	N	%	Chamber	Senate	Total		N
			N	N	N	%	
1982-1983	145	89.5	12	5	17	10.5	162
1983-1984	163	95.3	5	3	8	4.7	171
1984-1985	115	74.7	22	17	39	25.3	154
1985-1986	53	81.5	8	4	12	18.5	65
1986-1987	113	86.3	12	6	18	13.7	131
1987-1988	25	92.6	1	1	2	7.4	27
BZ 1988	47	95.6	2	-	2	4.1	49
1988-1989	110	86.6	12	5	17	13.4	127
1989-1990	104	81.9	15	8	23	18.1	127
1990-1991	89	79.5	12	11	23	20.5	112
1968-1991	2889	87.2			424	12.8	3313

## 3. Passed, ratified and promulgated material laws<sup>10</sup> during the parliamentary sessions of 1982-1983 to 1990-1991, by initiator<sup>11</sup>.

Session	Government initiative		Parliamentary initiative		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
1982-1983	44	72.1	17	27.9	61
1983-1984	59	88.1	8	11.9	67
1984-1985	45	53.6	39	46.4	84
1985-1986	14	53.8	12	46.2	26
1986-1987	57	76.0	18	24.0	75
1987-1988	4	66.7	2	33.3	6
BZ 1988	10	83.3	2	16.7	12
1988-1989	38	69.1	17	30.9	55
1989-1990	43	65.2	23	34.8	66
1990-1991	61	72.6	23	27.4	84
1968-1991	1238	74.6	422	24.0	1660

Source: Year-report of the Belgian Chamber, Parliamentary proceedings 1990-1991.

(9) For the period from 1968 to 1981-1982, see: M. VERMINCK, Statistisch overzicht van het politieke jaar 1987. *Res Publica*, 1988, n° 2-3, p.240.

(10) Material laws are formal laws without budgets, ratifications of international acts, declarations, constitutional amendments and assessments of armed forces.

(11) For the period from 1968 to 1981-1982, see: M. VERMINCK, Statistisch overzicht van het politieke jaar 1987. *Res Publica*, 1988, n° 2-3, p.241.



## D. Elections

### 1. Parliamentary elections of November 24, 1991.

See : W. FRAEYS, Les élections législatives du 24 novembre 1991. Analyse des résultats. *Res Publica*, 1992, n° 2, p. 131-153.

Basic results : Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Openbaar Ambt/Ministère de l'Intérieur et de la Fonction Publique, *Parlementsverkiezingen. Uitslagen der verkiezingen van 24 november 1991. Elections législatives. Résultats des élections du 24 novembre 1991*. Brussels, 1992.

### 2. Provincial elections of November 24, 1991.

See : M. BRANS, De provincieraadsverkiezingen van 24 november 1991. *Res Publica*, 1992, n° 2, p. 245-262.

Basic results : Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Openbaar Ambt/Ministère de l'Intérieur et de la Fonction Publique, *Provincieraadsverkiezingen. Uitslagen der verkiezingen van 24 november 1991. Elections provinciales. Résultats des élections du 24 novembre 1991*. Brussels, 1992.

### 3. Municipal elections of October 9, 1988.

See : J. ACKAERT, De gemeenteraadsverkiezingen van 9 oktober 1988. *Res Publica*, 1989, n° 3, p. 359-384.

Basic results : Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Openbaar Ambt/Ministère de l'Intérieur et de la Fonction Publique, *Gemeenteraadsverkiezingen. Uitslagen der verkiezingen van 9 oktober 1988. Elections communales. Résultats des élections du 9 octobre 1988*. Brussels, 1989, 176p.

### 4. European elections of June 18, 1989.

See : W. FRAEYS, Les élections européennes de 1989. Analyse des résultats pour la Belgique. *Res Publica*, 1989, n° 4, p. 551-564.

Basic results : Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Openbaar Ambt/Ministère de l'Intérieur et de la Fonction Publique, *Verkiezing van het Europees Parlement. Officiële uitslagen van 18 juni 1989. Election du Parlement Européen. Résultats officiels du 18 juin 1989*. Brussels, 1989, 494 p.

### 5. Council elections of the Brussels Region of June 18, 1989.

See : M. VERMINCK, Statistical review of the political year 1990. *Res Publica* 1991, n° 3-4, 442-443.

Basic results : Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Openbaar Ambt/Ministère de l'Intérieur et de la Fonction Publique, *Verkiezing van de Brusselse Hoofdstedelijke Raad. Officiële uitslagen van 18 juni 1989. Election du Conseil de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale. Résultats officiels du 18 juin 1989*.

## 6. Elections of the German-language Community Council of October 28, 1990.

See : M. VERMINCK, Statistical review of the political year 1990. *Res Publica* 1991, n° 3-4, p. 444.

Basic results : *Wahlen der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft vom 28. Oktober 1990. Offizielle Ergebnisse* (Rat der Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft).

## 7. Social elections of 1991.

See : G. TEGENBOS, De sociale verkiezingen van 1991. *Res Publica* 1991, n° 2, p. 263-274.

Basic results : Ministerie van Tewerkstelling en Arbeid/Ministère du Travail et de l'Emploi, *Resultaten van de sociale verkiezingen 1991. Elections sociales. Resultats des elections de 1991*. Brussels, 165p. + 54p.

### E. Civil service

Sector/Department	Number of persons employed on March 31, 1991
<b>1. Ministries</b>	
Prime Minister	556
Internal affairs and civil service	2298
Foreign affairs, foreign trade and development cooperation	1759
Finance	32082
Justice	6106
Economic affairs	3533
Agriculture	1070
Middle class	279
Trafic	1481
Education	60
Labor	1514
Social welfare	777
Health care and environment	1309
Defense	4219
Total	57043
<b>2. Particular bodies</b>	
Judicial order	9314
Council of State	253
Provincial governors, district commissioners, etc.	303
Military personnel	54333
Gendarmerie	17178
Scientific organizations of the State	3106
Total	84487

3. Communities and Regions	
Ministries	23.640
Institutions for the public utilities	40.339
Teaching personnel	278.624
Total	342.785
4. Local powers	
Municipalities	119.046
Agglomerations	2.437
Societies for public welfare	78.145
Intercommunales	22.062
Provinces	16.070
Total	237.760
5. Institutions for the public utilities	158.121
6. Legislative branch	1.925
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>882.121</b>

Source : Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Openbaar Ambt, *Overzicht van de personeelssterkte in de overheidssector. Toestand op 30 juni 1991 en 31 december 1991, 1992*, Brussel.

## II. Policy

### A. Public Finances

#### 1. National budget of revenues and expenses of 1991 (in billion Bfr.)

<b>Revenues</b>	
Current revenues	1118,1
Capital revenues	4,1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1122,2</b>
<b>Expenses</b>	
Current expenses	1413,0
Capital expenses	70,7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1483,7</b>
<b>Balance</b>	
Balance of current transactions	-294,0
Balance of capital transactions	-66,6
Net balance	-360,6
Balance of treasury transactions	-32,9
Net financing balance	-393,5
Repayments of public debt	302,0
<b>Cross-financing balance</b>	<b>-695,5</b>

## 2. National budget of revenues and expenses of 1991 and 1992 by ministry (in million Bfr.)

### a. Revenues

See : M. VERMINCK, Statistical review of the political year 1991. *Res Publica*, 1991, n° 3-4, p. 446-447.

With the fall of the government Martens IX, October 4 1991, a new 1992 budget has been introduced into Parliament<sup>12</sup>. This financial law is composed of two main parts :

- the 1991 (adapted) budget ;
- the 1992 (initial) budget, made up of provisional credits (concerning a maximal period of four months).

Consequently no recent numbers are available about the 1992 assumed revenues.

### b. Expenses

	1991 <sup>13</sup> (initial)	1991 (adapted)	1992
<b>I. Current/Capital expenses</b>			
<b>A. Major departments</b>	292,362.0	313,170.4	94,509.5
Grants	9,698.5	9,698.2	2,424.6
Prime Minister	21,885.6	26,290.2	7,760.7
Justice	27,526.2	28,645.4	8,902.8
Internal affairs	14,598.6	15,648.2	4,104.2
Foreign affairs	10,857.0	12,857.5	4,555.1
Development cooperation	16,238.8	16,468.8	4,142.4
Defense	101,700.7	114,883.0	34,020.5
Gendarmerie	22,650.1	23,503.4	7,342.1
Finance	106,206.5	65,175.7	21,257.1
<b>B. Social area</b>	503,152.7	483,290.1	127,547.0
Pensions	239,687.2	198,959.2	55,381.2
Middle class	6,962.8	6,962.8	1,762.8
Labor	35,871.2	35,871.2	9,138.6
Social welfare	193,850.2	193,816.6	48,514.6
Particular allowance/no payment	-21,000.0	-	-
Health care	47,781.3	47,680.3	12,749.8
<b>C. Economic affairs</b>	155,011.0	165,662.5	43,850.8
Agriculture	14,341.1	15,987.9	4,163.9
Economic affairs	39,990.2	42,128.1	12,360.6
Traffic	87,141.0	94,007.8	23,941.6
PTT	13,538.7	13,538.7	3,384.7

(12) Publication in "Het Belgisch Staatsblad", November 15, 1991.

(13) See comment II.A.2.

D. Incidental expenses	4,552.0	-	-
<b>BALANCE OF CURRENT AND CAPITAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>955,077.7</b>	<b>962,123.0</b>	<b>265,907.3</b>
<hr/>			
<b>II. Repayments of debt</b>			
Total repayments (a.o public debt)	1406,716.3	1299,949.0	416,804.1
<hr/>			
<b>III. TOTAL</b>	<b>2361,794.0</b>	<b>2259,249.6</b>	<b>682,005.5</b>

### 3. Public debt (in billion Bfr.)

1985	4,914.6
1986	5,418.3
1987	5,872.5
1988	6,362.3
1989	6,788.2
1990	7,224.6
1991 January	7,326.7
February	7,461.0
March	7,581.0
April	7,549.6
May	7,662.9
June	7,765.1
July	7,709.0
August	7,734.7
September	7,757.8
October	7,745.8
November	7,749.5
December	7,751.0

### 4. The 92-Budget of the Flemish Community, the French Community and the Walloon Region (in million Bfr.)

#### a. Revenues

	Flemish Community	French Community	Walloon Region
Current revenues	393,740.4	191,062.3	95,348.6
Capital revenues	11,244.1	877.2	5,922.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>404,984.5</b>	<b>191,939.5</b>	<b>101,270.8</b>

b. Expenses<sup>14</sup>

	Flemish Community <sup>15</sup>	- French Community <sup>16</sup>	Walloon Region <sup>17</sup>
<b>I. Current/Capital Expenses</b>			
A.			
Grant to the Council	537.7	215.0	292.5
Central Services, Cabinet Expenses and Finance <sup>18</sup>	21,968.3	16,315.3	20,466.8
Relations with the French Community	-	-	2,413.6
Local Governments	43,526.0		34,784.7
B. Economic Area	41,412.9		28,048.5
Employment	18,455.9		13,008.0
Economic Affairs	22,570.8		14,638.6
External Relations	386.2		401.9
C. Environment and Infrastructure <sup>19</sup>	43,358.1		27,438.8
D. Environmental Planning and Housing	21,420.5		7,020.0
E. Education and Scientific Policy	203,101.7	154,656.1	
F. Social Area	60,688.1	26,056.9	
Welfare	39,320.6	10,805.7	
Health Care	5,696.7	4,944.1	
Cultural Policy	15,670.8	10,307.1	
<b>TOTAL BALANCE OF CURRENT CAPITAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>440,084.4</b>	<b>197,243.3</b>	<b>120,808.9</b>
<b>II. Repayments of Debt</b>	<b>3,823.0</b>	<b>1,438.2</b>	<b>344.0</b>
<b>III. TOTAL</b>	<b>443,907.4</b>	<b>198,681.5</b>	<b>121,152.9</b>

(14) The expenses are the sum of non-divided credits and the divided credits-budgetary commitments.

(15) See: "Stukken van de Vlaamse Raad, stuk 16, Buitengewone zitting 1992", april 24, 1992.

(16) Publication in "Belgisch Staatsblad", june 27, 1992.

(17) Internal document, publication in "Belgisch Staatsblad" expected in september 1992.

(18) Includes all kinds of general expenses such as wages (civil service), rent of buildings, ...

(19) Includes expenses for public works, natural resources and energy.

**B. Economics****1. Gross National Product<sup>20</sup>**

	GNP (market price in real prices)		GNP (market price in prices of 1985)	
	Absolute numbers (in thousand million BF)	Growth percentage	Absolute numbers (in thousand million BF)	Growth Percentage
1985	4,792.8	6.7	4,792.8	0.6
1986	5,068.2	5.7	4,888.7	2.0
1987	5,311.0	4.8	5,014.8	2.6
1988	5,637.4	6.1	5,240.0	4.5
1989	6,127.4	8.8	5,447.6	4.0
1990	6,520.6	6.4	5,651.0	3.4

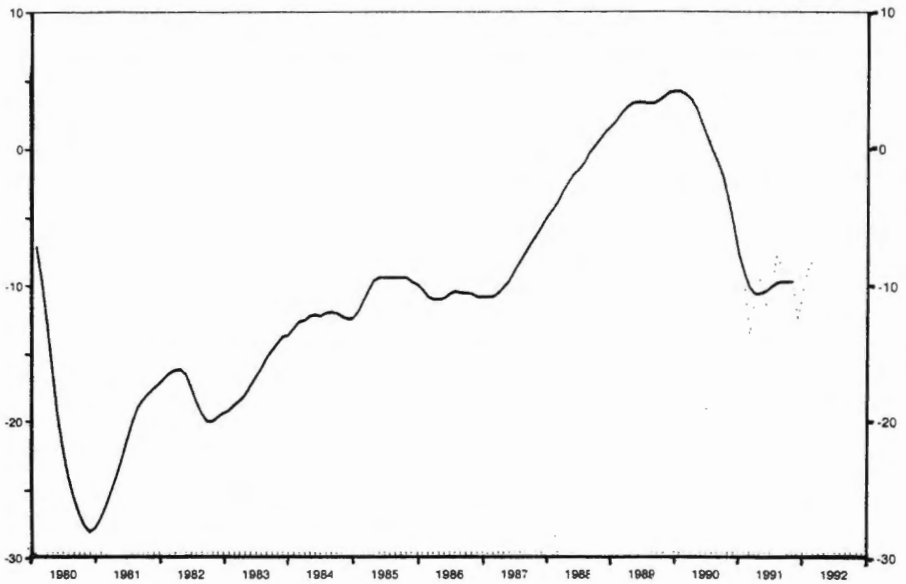
**2. Graph of economic performance of the National Bank of Belgium**

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
January	-11.9	-10.3	-10.8	-4.5	2.0	4.2	-9.2
February	-11.1	-10.8	-10.8	-3.9	2.6	4.0	-10.1
March	-10.3	-11.0	-10.5	-3.1	3.0	3.6	-10.6
April	-9.6	-11.0	-10.1	-2.5	3.3	2.9	-10.6
May	-9.4	-10.9	-9.6	-1.9	3.4	1.9	-10.4
June	-9.4	-10.6	-8.9	-1.4	3.4	0.9	-10.1
July	-9.4	-10.4	-8.2	-1.0	3.3	-0.1	-9.8
August	-9.4	-10.5	-7.6	-0.3	3.3	-1.0	-9.7
September	-9.4	-10.5	-7.0	0.3	3.5	-2.0	-9.7
October	-9.4	-10.6	-6.3	0.7	3.8	-3.7	-9.7
November	-9.7	-10.8	-5.7	1.2	4.1	-5.7	(1)
December	-9.9	-10.8	-5.0	1.6	4.2	-7.0	(1)

(1) Recent numbers are not yet available.

(20) Numbers from 1991 are not yet available.  
Source: NIS, *Statistical Journal*.

FIGURE I  
Graph of economic performance of the National Bank of Belgium



Source : *Conjunctuuronderzoekingen, vernieuwing van de synthetische conjunctuurcurve. Tijdschrift van de Nationale Bank van België*, 1992, n° 4, p. 10-13.



### 3. Gross index of industrial production (1985 = 100)

	Flanders	Wallonia	Brussels	Belgium
1985	100	100	100	100
1986	101.5	96.0	111.5	101.0
1987	103.9	99.6	105.3	102.9
1988	110.3	105.2	120.2	110.0
1989	116.0	109.7	115.2	114.2
1990	125.2	112.4	138.8	126.1
1991 January	122.8	112.7	119.3	120.6
February	108.9	101.5	104.4	107.0
March	128.2	123.7	126.2	126.8
April	123.5	125.4	123.7	124.1
May	116.3	118.8	114.9	117.0
June	124.9	123.0	124.6	123.9
July	87.4	82.4	79.9	85.2
Augustus	108.5	107.1	105.5	107.5
September	126.7	125.7	131.4	126.6
October	136.2	133.4	135.4	135.0
November	123.4	118.7	109.1	120.1
December	108.4	108.4	95.4	105.8

Source : NIS, *Industrial Statistics, Weekly Report*, n° 2436, 1992.

### 4. Consumer price index numbers (1988 = 100)

	General index		Food products	Non-food products	Services	Rent
	1988 = 100	1981 = 100				
1985	96.00	129.87	98.51	99.70	90.79	89.19
1986	97.25	131.56	100.42	97.79	95.52	92.53
1987	98.76	133.60	100.00	98.88	98.50	96.48
1988	100.00	135.15	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
1989	103.01	139.35	103.13	103.38	102.56	103.69
1990	106.56	144.16	106.95	107.02	105.84	107.01
1991 January	108.89	147.31	108.30	109.81	108.53	107.03
February	109.25	147.69	108.87	109.87	109.03	107.84
March	108.80	147.18	107.87	108.95	109.20	108.47
April	108.86	147.27	107.48	109.10	109.35	108.89
May	109.25	147.79	107.57	109.71	109.67	109.20
June	109.74	148.46	108.75	109.86	110.19	109.54
July	110.34	149.27	109.70	109.94	111.29	109.74
August	110.68	149.73	110.38	110.17	111.60	109.98
September	110.60	149.62	108.67	110.94	111.35	110.24
October	111.01	150.17	109.17	111.45	111.63	110.57
November	111.29	150.55	109.97	111.59	111.73	111.05
December	111.09	150.28	109.81	110.95	111.92	111.34

### C. Employment and unemployment

#### 1. Average gross hourly earnings in industry<sup>21</sup>

	October 1980 = 100	January 1990 = 100
1985	129.1	87.9
1986	131.2	89.4
1987	134.1	91.3
1988	135.7	92.4
1989	141.6	96.5
1990 January	146.8	100.0
April	149.1	101.6
July	149.6	101.9
October	151.2	103.0
1991 January	154.3	105.1
April	158.1	107.7
July	158.7	108.1
October	159.2	108.4

#### 2. Employed persons in the primary, secondary and tertiary sector<sup>22 23</sup>

	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector	Total domestic employment	Re-employment programmes <sup>18</sup>
1985	109.006	1.061.391	2.390.370	3.560.767	114.517
1986	107.177	1.047.758	2.428.865	3.583.800	129.134
1987	104.484	1.026.971	2.468.679	3.600.134	117.299
1988	102.337	1.021.496	2.529.511	3.653.334	121.119
1989	100.962	1.046.333	2.564.532	3.711.827	120.486
1990	100.013	1.056.065	2.608.022	3.764.100	128.249

Source: Ministerie van Tewerkstelling en Arbeid. *De beroepsbevolking in België. Deel 1. Toestand op 30 juni 1990, 58p.*

(21) Results of the limited quarterly survey on the evolution of the gross hourly earnings of the adult employees in industry.

(22) These data are different from early published data (cfr. Statistical Reviews in the Political Yearbooks 1985 to 1988) because the Labor Ministry changed the method of calculating the series.

(23) Each time the situation on June 30. Data for 1991 are not yet available.

(24) Including special employment programs as: "Bijzonder Tijdelijk Kader, Derde Arbeidscircuit, Tewerkgestelde Werklozen, Jongerenstages and Gesubsidieerde Contractuelen". This category is added only as a reminder because the data have already been included into the other three categories.

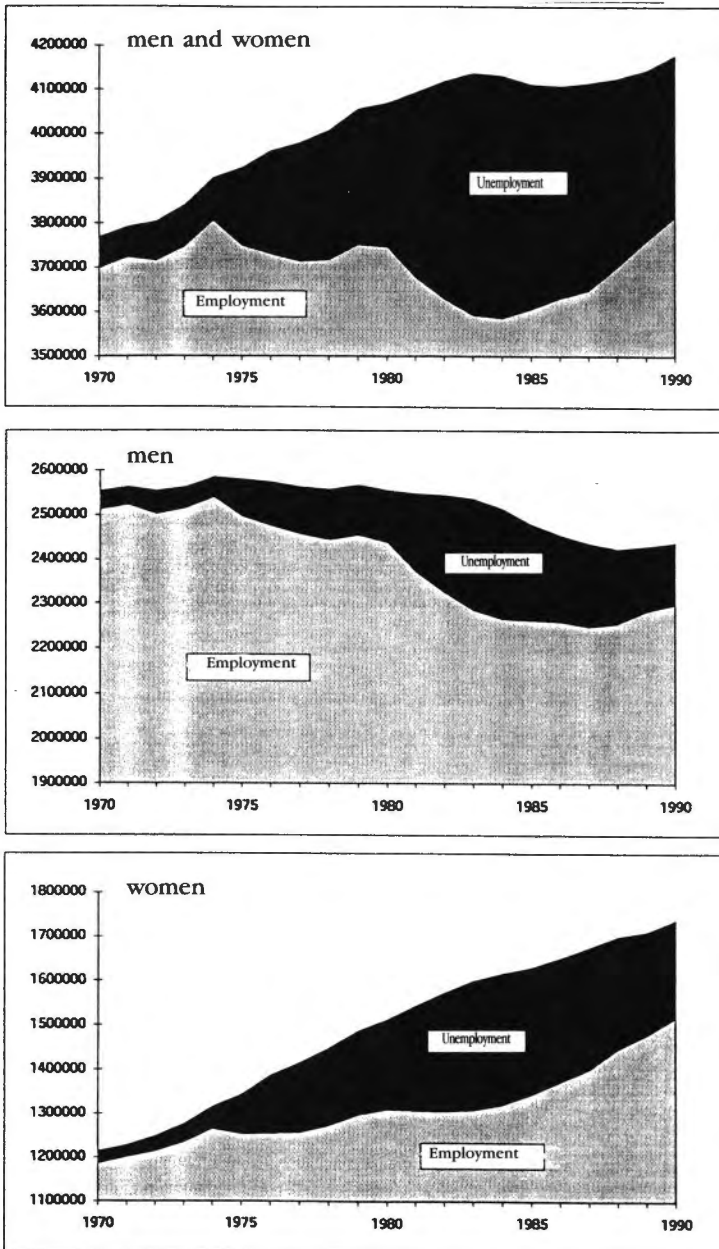
**3. Number of unemployed persons entitled to benefits<sup>25</sup>**

	Flemish Region	Walloon Region	Brussels Region	Belgium
1985	252.438	170.938	53.878	477.464
1986	225.124	167.004	50.220	442.348
1987	219.133	170.268	45.313	434.714
1988	193.771	160.654	43.439	397.864
1989	166.054	155.679	42.204	363.937
1990	152.622	153.796	41.513	347.931
1991 January	161.536	164.978	42.707	369.221
February	163.586	164.481	43.850	371.917
March	159.917	162.683	43.275	365.875
April	156.189	161.604	43.461	361.254
May	151.426	159.201	43.770	354.397
June	150.428	157.968	43.491	352.337
July	162.371	165.057	45.399	372.827
August	164.301	167.930	46.849	379.080
September	158.047	165.539	45.329	368.915
October	161.847	164.872	46.019	372.738
November	162.011	162.786	47.918	372.715
December	168.967	166.262	48.281	383.510

Source : NIS, *Statistical Journal*.

(25) Number of unemployed persons "entitled to benefits", excluding the elder unemployed persons who receive benefits but whom, at their request, are not registered as job-seekers.

FIGURE II  
Evolution of working population, employment and unemployment



Source : Ministerie van Tewerkstelling en Arbeid, *De beroepsbevolking in België. Toestand op 30 juni 1990, 1991*, Brussel, p. 19.

### III. Indices of legitimacy

#### A. Public Opinion

##### 1. Voting intentions according to the opinion polls

###### a) Flanders

Elections/ Opinion polls	CVP	SP	PVV	VU	Aga- lev	Vlaams Blok	Other
Parliamentary elections 1991 <sup>26</sup>	27.0	19.9	19.0	9.3	8.0	10.3	6.4 <sup>28</sup>
European elections 1989	34.0	20.2	16.8	8.6	12.2	6.3	1.9
MARKETING UNIT <sup>27</sup>							
March 1990	29.9	22.0	18.6	8.0	11.1	6.6	3.8
June 1990	28.1	22.1	20.0	8.1	10.9	6.6	4.2
September 1990	28.1	22.2	21.0	8.1	11.4	4.7	4.5
December 1990	28.0	21.5	21.0	8.4	13.3	6.4	3.4
March 1991	27.8	21.4	21.5	9.1	10.9	6.5	2.8
June 1991	28.2	21.1	21.5	9.3	10.9	7.0	2.0
September 1991	27.7	21.8	20.4	10.1	10.6	6.4	3.0
DIMARSO							
September 1990	28.1	24.1	19.5	9.2	10.8	4.7	3.6
October 1990	28.0	23.3	19.8	9.4	12.0	3.5	4.0
November 1990	27.8	21.7	20.4	8.8	9.9	8.2	3.2
January 1991	28.3	22.7	19.1	10.7	9.5	6.2	3.5
February 1991	26.5	23.3	20.9	11.1	10.9	4.4	2.9
March 1991	27.5	22.5	21.0	11.3	10.8	4.3	2.6
April 1991	26.7	22.2	21.9	10.2	11.1	4.7	3.2
May 1991	28.1	21.5	20.2	10.1	10.1	6.4	3.6
June 1991	26.9	21.4	20.0	10.4	10.5	5.8	5.0
July 1991	26.7	20.3	19.9	10.9	11.1	7.8	3.3
August 1991	27.6	21.0	20.6	10.2	11.0	5.3	4.3
September 1991	25.5	20.3	19.2	13.9	11.7	5.9	3.5
October 1991	23.6	19.4	19.6	16.5	10.4	6.1	4.4
November 1991	24.4	21.1	21.7	13.1	9.3	6.3	4.1

(26) Flemish electoral cantons.

(27) Because of the Parliamentary elections of November 24, 1991, the seasonal barometer of December 1991 is not registered.

(28) About 5.2 % are votes for the Rossem party (see IA.1).

FIGURE III  
Voting intentions in Flanders  
Opinion poll Marketing Unit

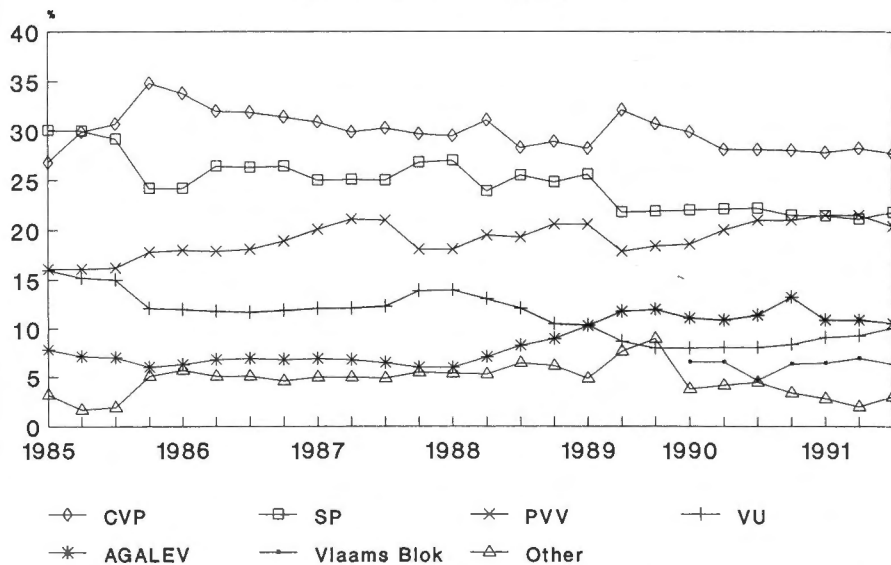
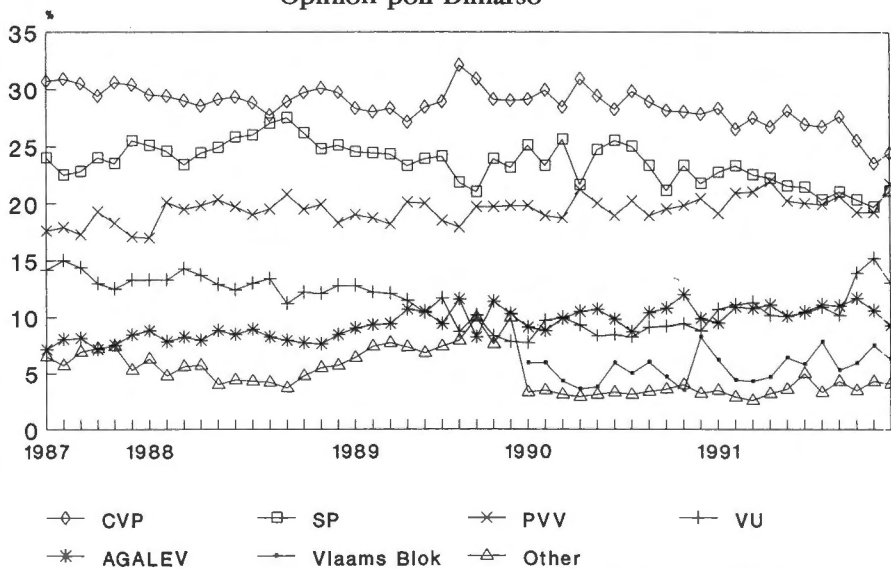


FIGURE IV  
Voting intentions in Flanders  
Opinion poll Dimarso

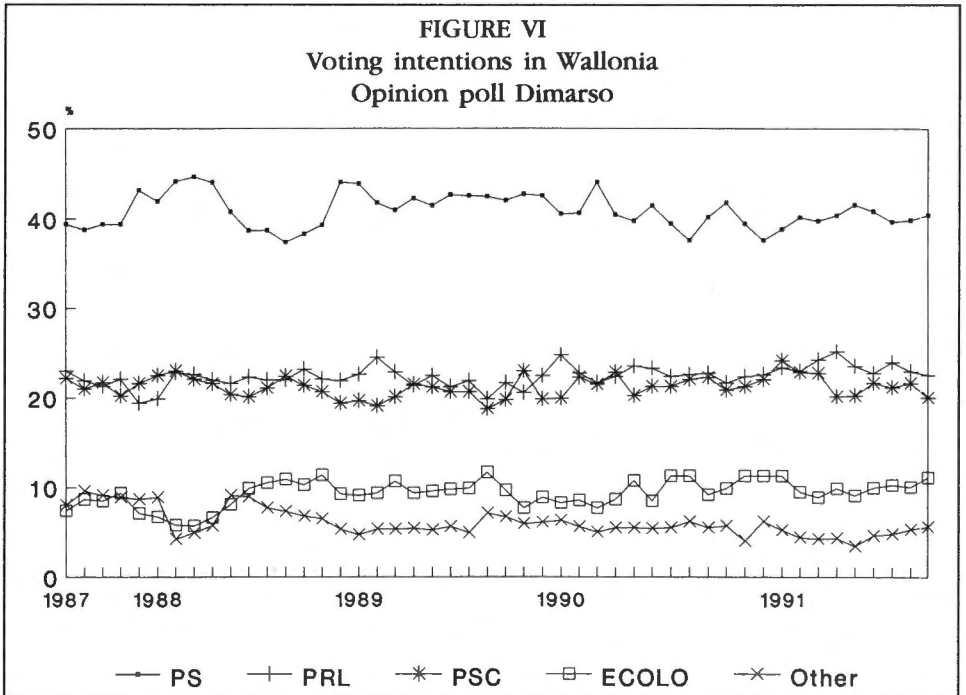
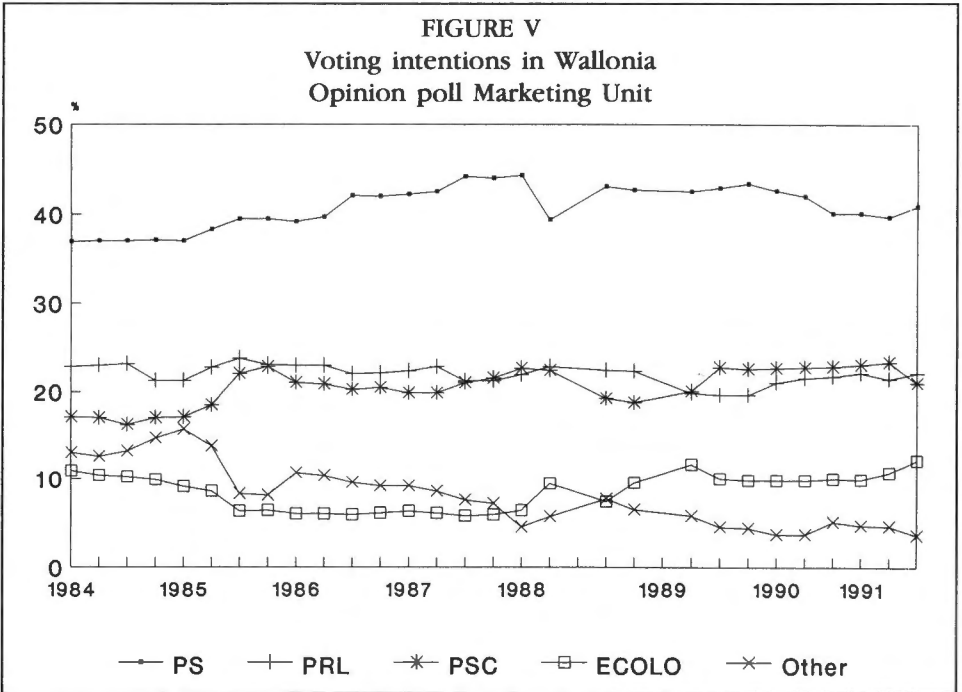


b) Wallonia

Elections/ Opinion polls	PS	PRL	PSC	Ecolo	Other
Parliamentary elections 1991 <sup>23</sup>	39.2	19.8	22.5	13.5	5.0
European elections 1989	41.5	17.0	23.2	16.0	2.3
MARKETING UNIT <sup>24</sup>					
March 1990	43.4	19.7	22.6	9.9	4.4
June 1990	42.6	21.1	22.7	9.9	3.7
September 1990	42.0	21.6	22.8	9.9	3.7
December 1990	40.1	21.8	22.9	10.1	5.1
March 1991	40.0	22.2	23.1	10.0	4.7
June 1991	39.7	21.5	23.4	10.8	4.6
September 1991	40.9	22.2	21.1	12.2	3.6
DIMARSO					
September 1990	41.8	21.7	20.9	9.9	5.7
October 1990	39.5	22.4	21.3	11.3	5.5
November 1990	37.6	22.6	22.1	11.3	6.2
January 1991	38.9	23.4	24.2	11.3	5.2
February 1991	40.2	23.0	22.9	9.5	4.4
March 1991	39.8	24.3	22.8	8.9	4.2
April 1991	40.4	25.2	20.2	9.9	4.3
May 1991	41.6	23.6	20.3	9.1	5.4
June 1991	40.9	22.8	21.7	10.0	4.6
July 1991	39.7	24.0	21.2	10.3	4.8
August 1991	39.9	23.0	21.7	10.1	5.3
November 1991	40.5	22.6	20.1	11.2	5.6

(29) Walloon electoral cantons.

(30) Because of the Parliamentary elections of November 24, 1991, the seasonal barometer of December 1991 is not registered.





c) Brussels

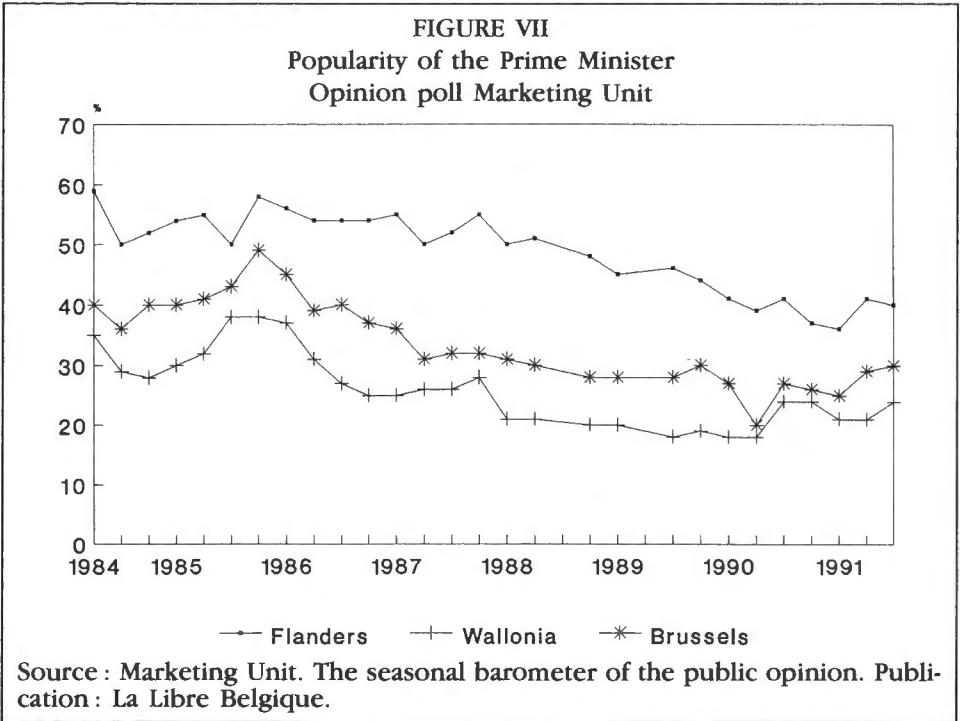
Elections/ Opinion polls	PS	PRL	PSC	Ecolo
<b>MARKETING UNIT</b>				
March 1990	18.3	17.7	7.9	6.1
June 1990	18.5	18.1	8.2	6.7
September 1990	18.5	18.1	8.7	7.0
December 1990	18.2	17.9	8.9	7.1
March 1991	18.7	17.4	9.0	6.8
June 1991	18.1	16.8	9.0	7.0
September 1991	16.2	17.1	7.3	7.5

Elections/ Opinion polls	CVP	SP	PVV	VU	Aga- lev	Vl. Blok	Other
<b>MARKETING UNIT</b>							
March 1990	11.9	9.8	9.9	5.1	3.0	2.9	1.5
June 1990	10.4	9.7	9.8	5.1	3.1	3.0	1.4
September 1990	10.4	9.4	9.5	5.1	3.0	3.8	0.5
December 1990	10.3	9.2	9.7	5.2	3.3	3.1	1.0
March 1991	10.2	9.0	9.6	5.5	3.0	3.0	1.5
June 1991	12.0	8.4	8.2	5.0	2.9	3.0	1.1
September 1991	12.6	7.1	9.5	4.6	3.0	2.8	2.9

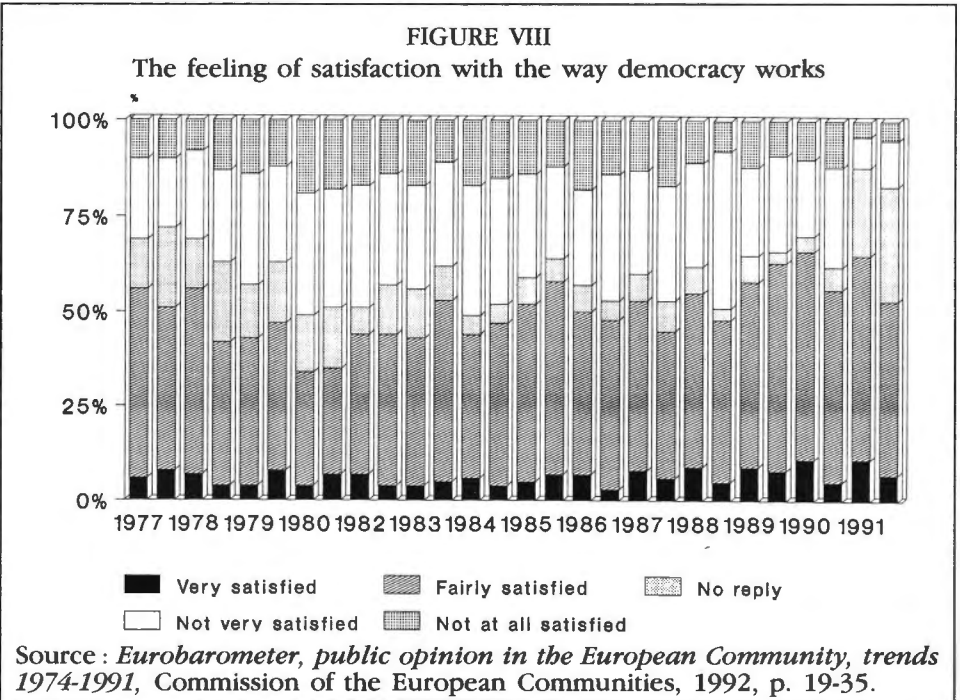
**2. Popularity of the Prime Minister<sup>31</sup>**

	Flanders	Wallonia	Brussels
March 1989	45	20	28
Sept. 1989	46	18	28
Dec. 1989	44	19	30
March 1990	41	18	27
June 1990	39	18	20
Sept. 1990	41	24	27
Dec. 1990	37	24	26
March 1991	39	21	25
June 1991	41	21	29
Sept. 1991	40	24	30

(31) Percentage of respondents who want Wilfried Martens to have an important influence during the coming months.



**3. The feeling of satisfaction with the way democracy works**



**B. Cabinet stability**

Valid and important indications pointing to cabinet stability or instability are the number of governments and the permanence or circulation of Ministers within the Cabinet (their persistence or alternation in particular).

Continious and cumulative experience measure more precisely the degree of permanent participation of Ministers to the national government.

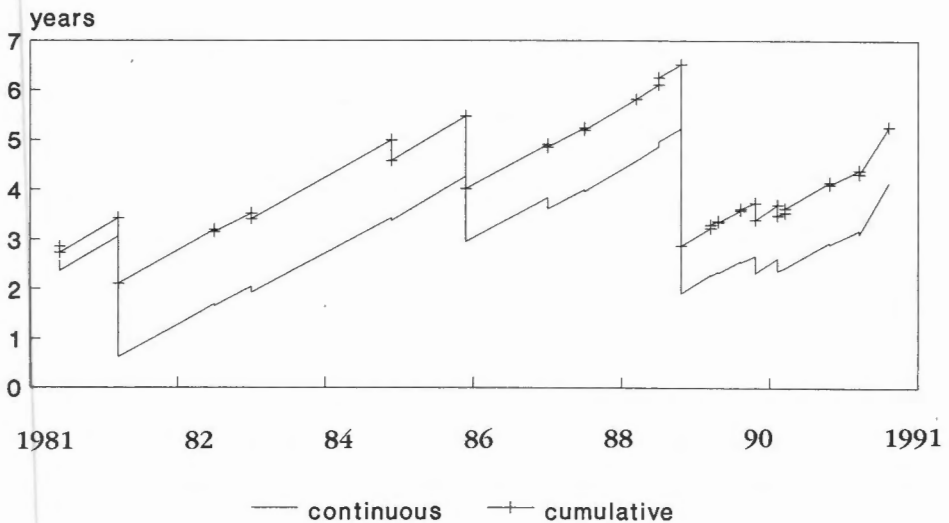
Two different indicators, *continious experience* and *cumulative experience* are being used.

-Continious experience indicates the average amount (in years) of uninterrupted service of all Ministers and State secretaries.

-Cumulative experience indicates the average amount of the total service of all Ministers and State secretaries.

FIGURE IX

Cabinet stability and cabinet experience of the national government ministers (1981-1991)



Previous figures of the continious and cumulative cabinet experience in : M. HODGES, *The Belgian political elite: a study of the composition and transformations of the political elite in Belgium since the end of World War Two*. Ann Arbor, 1971 ; W. DEWACHTER, *Instabilité gouvernementale et stabilité ministérielle en Belgique*. In : *Pouvoirs. Revue Française d'études constitutionnelles et politiques*. 1990, p. 37-49 and in M. VERMINCK, *Statistical review of the political year 1990. Res Publica*, 1991, n° 3-4, p. 437.

Continuous and cumulative cabinet experience  
of the national government ministers from 1985 to 1991

Cabinets	Duration of the Cabinet	Beginning	Continuous Experience		End	Beginning	Cumulative experience		End	Interim adaptation
			Interim adaptation	Before			After	Interim adaptation		
Martens VI	22 months	1082				1470				
1985-1987	24 days		1406	1322			1794	1773		
			1464	1448			1915	1898		
					1674				2124	
Martens VII	6 months	1674				2124				
1987-1988	20 days		1779	1815			2229	2282		
					1911				2378	
Martens VIII	40 months	702				1051				
1988-1991	21 days		834	830			1183	1206		Sept. 18, 1988
			860	849			1236	1226		Oct. 18, 1988
			939	930			1316	1326		Jan. 16, 1989
			975	850			1371	1246		March 2, 1989
			959	865			1355	1276		June 19, 1989
			887	888			1298	1329		July 11, 1989
			1079	1062			1520	1503		Jan. 18, 1990
			1166	1139			1607	1581		May 3, 1990
					1519				1924	Sept. 29, 1991

C. Membership : political parties and trade unions

1. Political parties

a. Flemish political parties

	CVP	SP	PVV	VU	AGALEV	VL.BLOK
1987 <sup>32</sup>	139.398	103.778	75.393	49.134	1.375	4.213
1988 <sup>33</sup>	133.688	-	75.327	47.582	1.800	-
1989	125.768	99.112	75.390	43.898	-	-
1990 <sup>34</sup>	131.719	-	71.051	40.779	2.130	-

b. Walloon political parties

	PSC	PS	PRL	FDF	ECOLO
1987	42.838	154.000	76.298	13.488	
1988	43.284	155.300	45.824		945
1989 <sup>35</sup>	43.353	157.000	45.430	10.587	1.609
1990	43.322	153.400	(1)	(1)	1.280
1991 <sup>36</sup>	43.283	155.100			1.375

(1) precise and recent numbers are not available.

2. Trade Unions

	ACV	ABVV	ACLVB
1970	965.208	836.963	123.210
1975	1.201.681	1.062.604	160.903
1980	1.318.848	1.126.814	199.455
1985	1.363.919	1.097.594	210.936
1986	1.381.377	1.036.028	211.048
1987	1.389.096	1.029.074	212.672
1988	1.388.586	1.019.462	211.114
1989	1.424.471	1.014.065	213.019
1990	1.430.571	1.075.444	213.098
1991	(1)	(1)	213.083

(1) Recent numbers are not yet available.

(32) M. MAES, *De ledenaantallen van de politieke partijen in België, 1945-1987. Een documentaire studie.* Leuven, Afdeling Politologie, 1988, 172 p.

(33) M. VERMINCK, *Morfologie van de politieke partijen in 1987 en 1988.* *Res Publica*, 1989, n° 3, p. 385-440.

(34) M. VERMINCK, *Morfologie van de politieke partijen in 1989 en 1990.* *Res Publica*, 1991, n° 3-4, p. 523-584.

(35) M. VERMINCK, *Morphologie des partis politiques francophones de 1988 et 1989.* *Res Publica*, 1990, n° 2-3, p. 313-348.

(36) M. VOS, *Morphologie des partis politiques francophones de 1990 et 1991.* *Res Publica*, n° 3-4, p. 448-485.

Source: ACV: *Activiteitsverslagen ACV. 1981-1984, 1985-1988, 1989-1991.*

ABVV: *Internal document.*

ACLVB: *Internal document.*

#### D. Protests: strikes in 1990 and 1991

	Disputes	Number of establishments involved	Strikers	Working days lost
1989	33	38	10.266	102.754
1990 January	6	6	966	11.253
February	2	2	78	6.043
March	2	2	3.344	14.109
April	7	12	735	15.688
May	4	4	2.385	20.568
June	3	3	2.428	25.344
July	1	1	162	738
August	1	1	160	2.998
September	3	3	292	1.235
October	1	1	144	2.600
November	1	1	31	2.103
December	1	1	16	16
1991 January	6	6	794	5534
February	11	11	2435	7338
March	12	12	1973	23242
April	4	4	456	5287
May	5	5	1779	7721
June	2	2	1649	7134
July	1	1	135	3321
August	4	4	276	1345
September	5	5	653	2284
October <sup>37</sup>	—	—	—	—
November	2	2	550	845
December	3	3	301	1469

Source: NIS, *Statistical Journal*, 1992, n° 4, p.45.

(37) Figures for October 1991 are not available.