

Statistical Review of the Political Year 1992

Mieck VOS

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

I. Politics and government

A. Legislative assemblies

1. Composition of the political institutions by language and political party

a. Chamber

Political parties	Dutch Language Members	French Language Members	Total
CVP	39		
PSC		18	57
SP	28		
PS		35	63
PVV	26		
PRL		20	46
Vlaams Blok	12		12
VU	10 ¹		10
Agalev	7		
Ecolo		10	17
FDF		3	3
Rossem	3 ²		3
Front National		1	1
TOTAL	125	87	212

Resignation and succession of the members of the Chamber

- Dirk Van Der Maelen succeeded Herman De Loor, SP (December 16, 1991).
- Denis Grimberghs succeeded Jean-Louis Thys, PSC (December 16, 1991).

(1) Jaak Gabriels becomes an independent member and resigns as a party-member of the VU (September 25, 1992).

(2) Jean-Pierre Van Rossem (President of the Rossem-party) resigns as a party-member and takes seat as an independent in the Chamber (October 5, 1992).

- Willem Draps succeeded Roger Nols, PRL (June 16, 1992).
- Jacques Simonet succeeded Henry Simonet, PRL (June 16, 1992).
- Luc Goutry succeeded Daniel Coens †, CVP (February 15, 1992).
- Didier Ramoudt succeeded Willy Declercq †, PVV (June 29, 1992).
- Didier Reynders succeeded Janine Delruelle-Ghobert, PRL (December 22, 1992).
- Jo Vandeurzen succeeded Luc Dhoore, CVP (January 1, 1993).

b. Senate

Political parties	Dutch Language Members	French Language Members	Total
CVP	36		
PSC		16	52
SP	26		
PS		30	56
PVV	22		
PRL		18	40
VU	8		8
Agalev	8		
Ecolo		11	19
FDF		2	2
Vlaams Blok	6		6
Rossem	1		1
TOTAL	107	77	184

Resignation and succession of the Senators

- Paul Pataer succeeded Herman Verwilt, SP (October 27, 1992).
- Erik Matthijs succeeded Robert Gijs, CVP (October 27, 1992).
- Alex De Boeck succeeded Cecile Harnie, Agalev (January 4, 1993).

c. Flemish Community Council

Political parties	Members
CVP	58
SP	42
PVV	39
VU	15
Agalev	12
Vl.Blok	17
Rossem + Indep.	4
Total	188

d. Walloon Regional Council

Political parties	Members
PSC	24
PS	47
PRL	20
Ecolo	13
Total	104

e. French Community Council

Political parties	Members
PSC	27
PS	53
PRL	29
FDF	4
Ecolo	16
Front National	1
Total	130

f. German-Language Community Council

Political parties ³	Members
CSP	8
PDB	4
PFF	5
SP	4
Ecolo	4
Total	25

g. Brussels Regional Council⁴

Political parties	Members
Language group of the Flemish Community Commission	
CVP	4(1)
PVV	2
SP	2(1)
VU	1(1)
Vlaams Blok	1
Agalev	1
Total	11(3)

Political parties	Members
Language group of the French Community Commission	
PS	18(2)
PRL	15
FDF-ERE	15
PSC	9(1)
Ecolo	8
Front National	2
Total	64(5)

2. Index of fractionalization

This index tells us *how many parties* there are in a system, by *taking their relative sizes into account*.

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

Si^2 is expressed as a percent of the strength of the parties in the legislative assembly. A large index of fractionalization is equal to a legislative assembly represented by many political parties.

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

(4) 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 the Brussels Regional Council and the Community Commissions.

The successors are mentioned between parentheses.

Legislative assembly	Index
Chamber	0.8811
Senate	0.8700
Flemish Community Council	0.7810
Walloon Regional Council	0.6898
French Community Council	0.7245
German-Language Community Council	0.7424 ⁵
Brussels Regional Council	0.8455 ⁶

B. Executives/Cabinets

1. National Government

Martens IX (29.09.91 - 07.03.92)⁷

See: M. VOS, Statistical review of the political year 1991, *Res Publica*, 1992, n° 3-4, p. 413.

Dehaene I (07.03.92 -)

Political parties	Ministers		Secretaries of State		Total	
	Dutch language	French language	Dutch language	French language	Dutch language	French language
CVP	5				5	
PSC		2				2
SP	3			1	4	
PS		5				5
Total per language group	8	7		1	9	7
Total	8	7		1		16

(5) Elections of October 28, 1990.

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

(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).

Cabinet experience of the national government ministers from 1981 to 1993

See III-B.

2. Flemish Community Executive**Van Den Brande I (January 21, 1992 - January 30, 1992)⁸****Van Den Brande II (January 30, 1992-)**

Political parties	Ministers
CVP	4
SP	3
VU	1
Total	8

3. French Community Executive**Anselme I (January 7, 1992 -)**

Political parties	Ministers
PS	3
PSC	1
Total	4

4. Walloon Regional Executive**Spitaels (January 8, 1992-)**

Political parties	Ministers
PS	4
PSC	3
Total	7

5. German-language Community**Maraite II (November 13, 1990-)**

Political parties	Ministers
CSP	1
PFF	1
SP	1
Total	3

6. Brussels Regional Executive**Picqué (July 12, 1989-)**

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	

(8) Van Den Brande I (7 Ministers: a coalition between CVP (4 members) and SP (3 members)) extends with another coalition-partner (VU) and becomes the Flemish Government Van Den Brande II.

C. Legislation

1. Proceedings of the Chamber and the Senate during the 1991-1992 session⁹

	Chamber		Senate	
	1991-1992	E.O. 1992	1991-1992	E.O. 1992
1. Public session				
Number of plenary meeting	7	46	7	51
- morning	3	13	1	13
- afternoon	4	33	6	31
- evening	-	-	-	7
2. Legislative activities				
a) Government bills				
Introduced	4	57	3	10
Passed by Senate/Chamber	2	33	3	32
Amended by Senate/Chamber	0	2	0	2
Total received	6	92	6	44
Accepted	6	36	4	44
Rejected or revoked	0	0	0	0
Total examined	6	56	4	44
b) Parliamentary bills	17	539 ¹⁰	8	333 ¹⁰
Introduced				
Accepted	8	10	0	5
Rejected or revoked	0	13	0	7
Total examined	17	539 ¹⁰	8	333 ¹⁰
Under consideration	9	516	8	321
3. Control activities	8	182	0	75
a) Interpellations				
Introduced				
Discussed	7	131	0	70
Revoked	0	9	0	1
Introduced motions	0	44	0	20
b) Questions				
In writing	40	1709	0	1222
Verbally	0	149	0	125
Urgent questions	0	0	0	0

(9) There are two sessions. The first session opens at October 8, 1991 and closes at October 17, 1991 because of the dissolution of Parliament. The second session (Extra-Ordinary Session) was opened at December 16, 1991. This session gave a vote of confidence (to the government Dehaene I) at March 11, 1992.

(10) The parliamentary bills in this extra-ordinary session include the proposals for changing the Belgian Constitution what explains the relatively high number.

	Chamber		Senate	
	1991-1992	E.O. 1992	1991-1992	E.O. 1992
Clarification	0	46 ¹¹	1	0
Commission activities	16	297	8	225
a) Permanent commissions				
Number of meetings				
b) Particular commissions	3	104	-	-
Number of meetings				

Source : Chamber, *Parliamentary proceedings*. Senate, Documentation Service, *Internal document*.

2. Passed, ratified and promulgated laws during the parliamentary sessions 1982-1983 to 1991-1992, by initiator ¹²

Session	Government initiative		Chamber		Parliamentary initiative		Total N
	N	%	N	N	Total		
					N	%	
1982-1983	145	89.5	12	5	17	10.55	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 ¹³ 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
1991-1992	4	100.0	-	-	-	0.0	4
1991-1992 (BZ) ¹³	37	80.4	6	3	9	19.6	46
1968-1992	2930	87.0			433	12.9	3363

(11) In the period of the Government Martens IX (which was a Government of Current Affairs) this clarification was frequently used as an instrument to democratic control.

(12) 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.

(13) BZ: Extra-Ordinary Session

3. Passed, ratified and promulgated material laws¹⁴ during the parliamentary sessions of 1982-1983 to 1991-1992, by initiator¹⁵

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 ¹⁶ 1988	10	83.3	2	16.7	12
1988-1989	38	69.	117	30.9	55
1989-1990	43	65.2	23	34.8	66
1990-1991	61	72.6	23	27.4	84
1991-1992	4	100	-	0.0	4
1991-1992(BZ) ¹⁶	21	70.0	9	30.0	30
1968-1992	1263	74.6	431	25.0	1694

Source : Year-report of the Belgian Chamber, Parliamentary proceedings 1990-1991 and 1991-1992.

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. Uit-*

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

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

(16) BZ : Extra-Ordinary Session.

slagen 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, p. 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. Résultats des élections de 1991.* Brussels, 165p. + 54p.

E. *Civil service*

Sector/Department	Number of persons employed on December 31, 1992
1. Ministries	
Prime Minister	598
Internal affairs and civil service	2277
Foreign affairs, foreign trade and development cooperation	1678
Finance	32557
Justice	6420
Economic affairs	3427
Agriculture	1062
Middle class	317
Trafic	1520
Education	85
Labor	1491
Social welfare	823
Health care and environment	1328
Defense	3997
Total	57580
2. Particular bodies	
Judicial order	9934
Council of State	314
Provincial governors, district commissioners, etc.	284
Military personnel	50162
Gendarmerie	17053
Scientific organizations of the State	3087
Total	80834
3. Communities and Regions	
Ministries	24228
Scientific organizations	204
Institutions for the public utilities	46781
Teaching personnel	281225
Total	352438
4. Local powers	
Municipalities	119406
Societies for public welfare	79406
Intercommunales	22391
Provinces	16165
Total	237368
5. Institutions for the public utilities	155048
6. Legislative branch	1959
TOTAL	885227

Source : Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Openbaar Ambt, *Overzicht van de personeelssterkte in de overheidssector. Toestand op 30.06.92 en op 31.12.92*, 1993, Brussels.

II. Policy**A. Public Finances****1. The 1993-National budget of revenues and expenses by ministry (in millions of Bfr.)****a. Revenues ¹⁷**

	Current Revenues	Capital Revenues	Credit Revenues
A. Major departments	1 284 655.2	3 986.2	1 013 124.4
Prime Minister	600.5	100.2	
Justice	918.7	1.6	
Internal Affairs	615.9	148.2	
Foreign Affairs	425.3	91.9	
Development Cooperation	-	750.0	
Defense	2 165.9	-	
Gendarmerie	45.5	-	
Finance	1 279 883.4	2 894.3	1 013 123.4
B. Social Area	43 427.1	111.7	
Pensions	38 516.4		
Middle Class	4.0	0.8	
Labor	3 908.3	0.1	
Social Welfare	215.5	0.8	
Health Care	782.9	110.0	
C. Economic Affairs	6 179.4	568.5	
Agriculture	2 164.7	147.2	
Economic Affairs	547.6	91.0	
Traffic	3 467.1	330.3	
III. TOTAL	2 352 051.5	4 666.4	1 013 123.4

(17) Budget of Revenues, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 26.01.93.

b. Expenses ¹⁸

I. Current/Capital Expenses	
A. Major Departments	302 511.0
Grants	10 748.1
Prime Minister	21 578.4
Justice	30 081.2
Internal Affairs	12 657.7
Foreign Affairs	11 923.6
Development Cooperation	18 273.9
Defense	97 017.6
Gendarmerie	24 387.9
Finance	75 842.6
B. Social Area	553 266.3
Pensions	261 121.5
Middle Class	6 530.7
Labor	39 616.1
Social Welfare	193 292.8
Health Care	52 705.2
C. Economic Affairs	142 269.8
Agriculture	14 846.9
Economic Affairs	13 430.7
Traffic	113 992.2
 BALANCE OF CURRENT AND CAPITAL EXPENSES	 998 047.1
II. Budget of Public Debt	1 573 714.3
III. TOTAL	2 571 761.4

(18) Budget of Expenses, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 08.02.93.

2. Public debt (in millions of 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		7,751.0
1992	January	7,849.3
	February	7,923.6
	March	8,028.8
	April	7,992.8
	May	8,044.8
	June	8,108.2
	July	8,119.5
	August	8,135.1
	September	8,183.9
	October	8,239.7
	November	8,293.8
	December	8,288.7
1992		8,288.7

3. The 93-Budget of Revenues and Expenses of the Flemish Community, the French Community and the Walloon Region (in millions of BFr.)**a. Revenues**

	Flemish Community ¹⁹	French Community ²⁰	Walloon Region ²¹
Current Revenues	-	200865.8	104723.6
Capital Revenues	-	10504.2	6520.3
Credit Revenues	-	7030.6	16760.7
TOTAL	428593.3	218400.6	128004.6

(19) Budget of Revenues, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 01.04.93.(20) Budget of Revenues, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 09.04.93.(21) Budget of Revenues, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 28.01.93.

b. Expenses

	Flemish Community ²²	French Community ²³	Walloon Region ²⁴
I. Current/Capital expenses			
A.			
Grant to the Council	637.7	246.0	227.0
Dotation to the Communities Commission ²⁵	488.9	-	1 275.5
Central Services, Cabinet Expenses and Finance ²⁶	29 513.6	9 484.9	10 423.1
Local Government	50 614.4	-	40 548.3
B. Economic Area	108 782.9	-	74 307.7
Employment	20 232.2	-	14 188.0
Economic Affairs	18 915.5	-	16 953.8
Environment, Housing, and Infrastructure	69 635.2	-	43 165.9
C. Education	215 387.4	170 817.7	-
D. Social Area	67 676.4	31 932.3	-
Welfare and Health Care	55 005.4	21 539.4	-
Cultural Policy	12 671.0	10 392.9	-
BALANCE OF CURRENT AND CAPITAL EXPENSES	473 101.3	212 480.9	126 781.6
II. Budget of debt	6 411.7	4 258.9	1 223.0
III. TOTAL	479 513.0	216 738.9	128 004.6

(22) Budget of Expenses, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 08.04.93.

(23) Budget of Expenses, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 10.04.93.

(24) Budget of Expenses, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 29.01.93.

(25) This dotation has a different meaning to both the Flemish Community and the Walloon Region. The dotation of the Flemish Community is given to the "Flemish Community Commission" (part of the Brussels Regional Council) while the dotation of the Walloon Region is a support for cooperation with the French Community.

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

3. The 1993-Budget of Revenues and Expenses of the Brussels Regional Council (in millions of BFr.)

Budget of Revenues ²⁷		Budget of Expenses ²⁸	
Current Revenues	2 142.1	General Services	4.3
Capital Revenues	120.0	Pensions	503.4
		Repayments (of taxes,...)	0.7
		Debt	1 627.9
		Transfer to the Walloon Region	125.8
TOTAL	2 262.1	TOTAL	2 262.1

B. Economics

1. Gross National Product

See: Monthly publication of the National Institute for Statistics (NIS), *Statistical Journal*.

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

See: Conjunctuuronderzoekingen, vernieuwing van de synthetische conjunctuurcurve. *Tijdschrift van de Nationale Bank van België*, 1993.

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

See: NIS, *Weekly Report*, Industrial Statistics, Brussels, 1993.

4. Consumer price index numbers (1988 = 100)

See: NIS, *Weekly Report*, Industrial Statistics, Brussels, 1993.

C. Employment and unemployment

1. Employed persons in the primary, secondary and tertiary sector

See: Ministerie van Tewerkstelling en Arbeid. *De beroepsbevolking in België. Deel 1. Toestand op 30 juni 1991*. Brussels, November 1992, p. 41.

2. Number of unemployed persons entitled to benefits

See: Ministerie van Tewerkstelling en Arbeid, *De beroepsbevolking in België. Toestand op 30 juni 1991, 1992*, Brussels, p. 33.

See: *Jaarlijkse telling van de op 30.06.92 ingeschreven uitkeringsgerechtigde werklozen, 1991/1992*. R.V.A. Directie Statistiek - Studies - Informatie.

(27) Budget of Revenues, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 27.01.93.

(28) Budget of Expenses, *Belgisch Staatsblad*, 28.01.93.

III. Indices of legitimacy

A. Public Opinion

1. Voting intentions according to the opinion polls

a. Flanders

Elections/ Opinion polls	CVP	SP	PVV	VU	Agalev	Vlaams Blok	Rossem	Other
Parliamentary elections 1991 ²⁹	27.0	19.9	19.0	9.3	8.0	10.3	5.2	1.2
European elections 1989	34.0	20.2	16.8	8.6	12.2	6.3	-	1.9
MARKETING UNIT								
March 1990	29.9	22.0	18.6	8.0	11.1	6.6		3.8
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	(1)	2.0
September 1991	27.7	21.8	20.4	10.1	10.6	6.4		3.0
March 1992	26.0	19.1	19.0	7.6	9.6	11.0	6.5	1.2
June 1992	24.7	18.0	21.6	6.4	10.4	12.9	5.0	
September 1992	23.6	17.4	22.5	6.7	10.8	11.9	6.7	1.3
December 1992	22.3	16.3	26.1	5.4	10.9	11.4	5.4	1.9
DIMARSO								
October 1990	28.0	23.3	19.8	9.4	12.0	3.5	4.0	
March 1991	27.5	22.5	21.0	11.3	10.8	4.3	2.6	
November 1991	24.4	21.1	21.7	13.1	9.3	6.3	4.1	
January 1992	25.2	18.7	18.8	7.8	10.4	10.6	7.0	
February 1992	26.1	19.1	18.0	7.4	10.3	10.7	7.2	
April 1992	24.9	17.4	20.5	7.0	10.2	11.9	7.0	
May 1992	26.2	18.4	19.5	6.8	10.1	11.9	5.9	
June 1992	25.5	17.3	20.2	6.7	10.6	10.6	7.4	(2)
June 1992	24.3	18.0	20.4	7.6	11.0	11.5	5.5	
August 1992	22.0	16.9	22.4	8.2	11.3	11.5	6.4	
September 1992	22.6	17.7	23.7	7.4	10.0	10.3	6.7	
October 1992	23.4	17.4	24.4	7.0	10.6	10.7	5.2	
November 1992	22.8	18.8	24.0	6.7	11.0	10.5	4.7	
December 1992	23.5	17.8	26.5	6.4	9.1	11.5	4.0	

(1) The Rossem-party didn't exist yet.

(2) No figures available.

(29) Flemish electoral cantons

FIGURE I
Voting intentions in Flanders
Opinion poll Marketing Unit

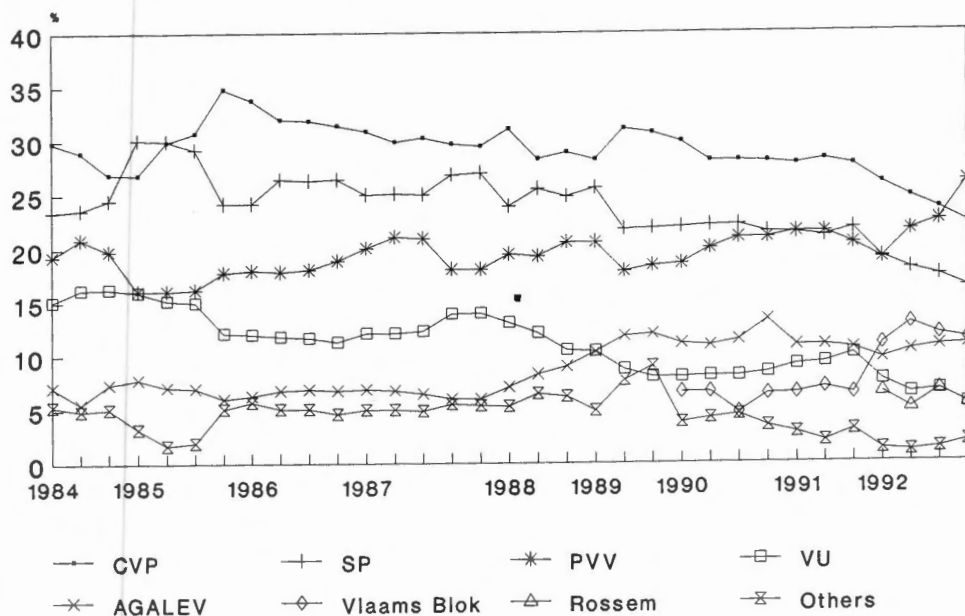
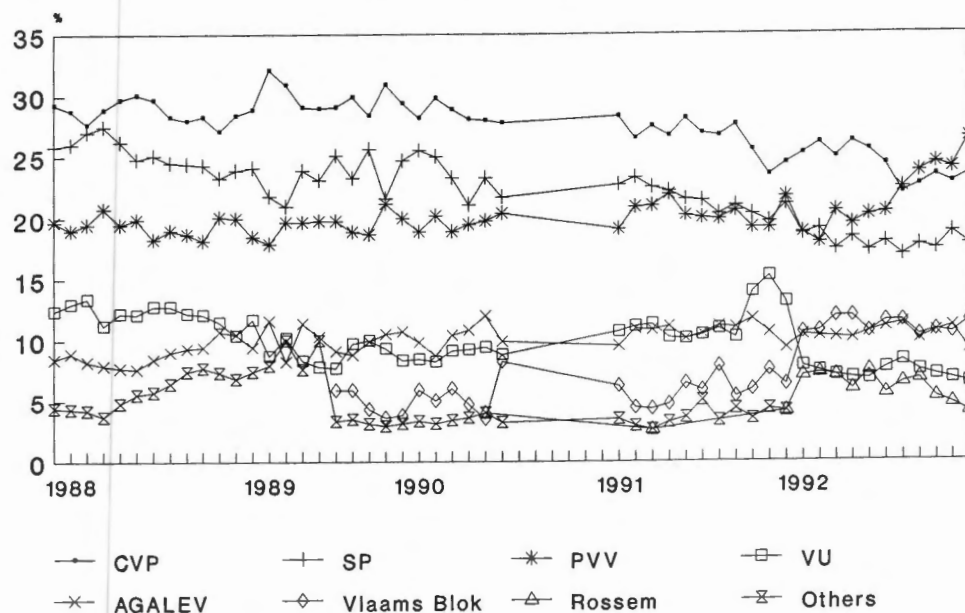


FIGURE II
Voting intentions in Flanders
Opinion poll Dimarso



b. Wallonia

Elections/ Opinion polls	PS	PRL	PSC	Ecolo	Other
Parliamentary elections 1991 ³⁰	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					
March 1990	43.4	19.7	22.6	9.9	4.4
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
March 1992	37.3	20.5	22.5	14.4	5.3
June 1992	37.1	21.0	21.1	16.0	4.8
September 1992	36.5	21.7	20.0	16.3	5.5
December 1992	36.2	21.9	20.1	16.0	5.8
DIMARSO					
October 1990	39.5	22.4	21.3	11.3	5.5
March 1991	39.8	24.3	22.8	8.9	4.2
November 1991	40.5	22.6	20.1	11.2	5.6
January 1992	37.9	-	22.6	15.3	5.5
February 1992	37.0	19.0	21.3	16.3	-
April 1992	35.7	19.6	20.4	17.1	7.2
May 1992	36.2	20.2	20.8	16.4	6.8
June 1992	35.3	20.6	19.5	16.4	8.2
July 1992	36.2	20.8	20.5	16.3	6.2
August 1992	35.1	20.4	19.9	16.2	8.4
September 1992	33.7	21.1	20.7	17.0	-
October 1992	34.6	19.8	20.7	16.5	-
November 1992	35.0	19.1	20.3	18.1	-
December 1992	34.8	19.7	21.3	15.7	8.5

(30) Walloon electoral cantons

FIGURE III
Voting intentions in Wallonia
Opinion poll Marketing Unit

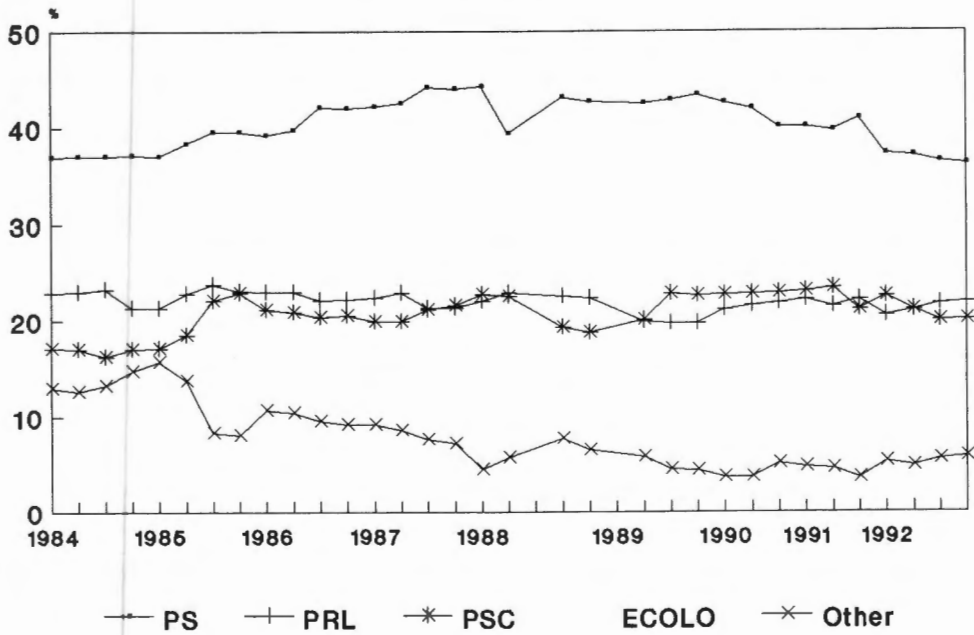
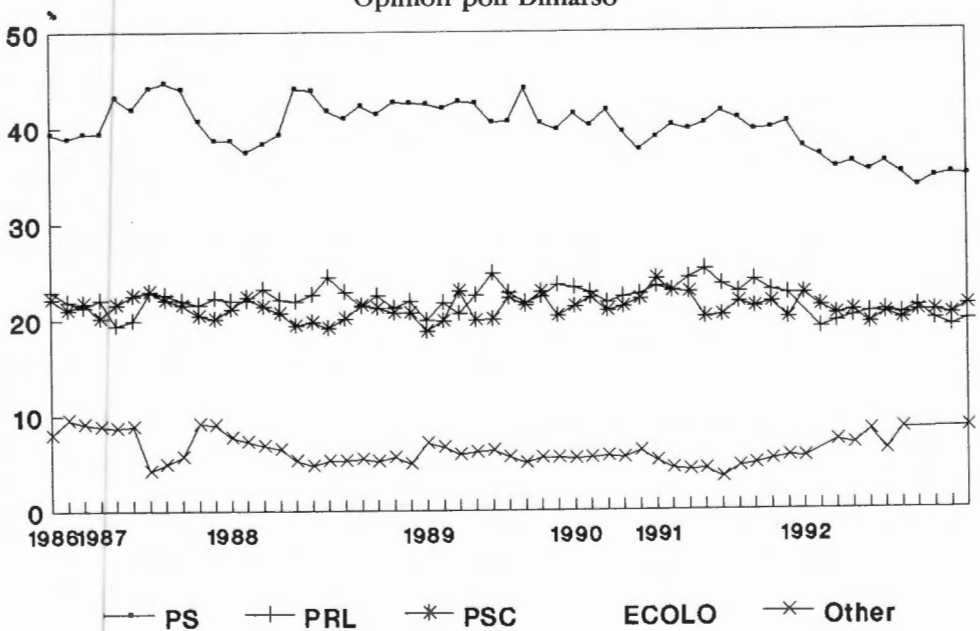


FIGURE IV
Voting intentions in Wallonia
Opinion poll Dimarso



c. Brussels

Elections/Opinion polls	PS	PRL	PSC	Ecolo	Other
MARKETING UNIT					
March 1990	18.3	17.7	7.9	6.1	1.5
June 1990	18.5	18.1	8.2	6.7	1.4
September 1990	18.5	18.1	8.7	7.0	0.5
December 1990	18.2	17.9	8.9	7.1	1.0
March 1991	18.7	17.4	9.0	6.8	1.5
June 1991	18.1	16.8	9.0	7.0	1.1
September 1991	16.2	17.1	7.3	7.5	2.9
March 1992	15.0	21.2	8.6	10.0	2.2
June 1992	13.6	19.9	7.9	13.9	2.2
September 1992	13.0	19.0	7.9	14.0	1.8
December 1992	13.3	19.7	7.9	14.0	1.0

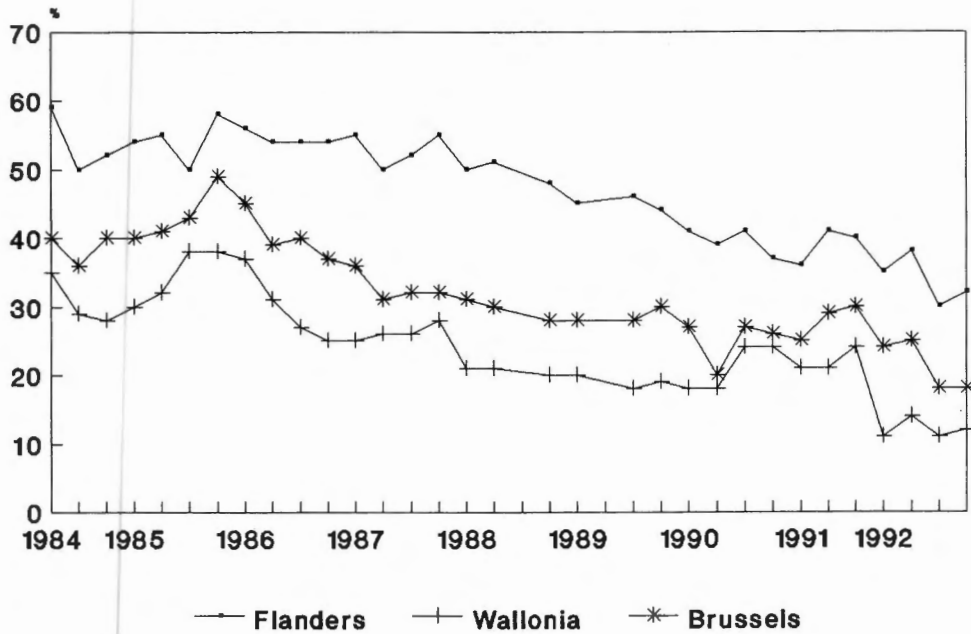
Elections/Opinion polls	CVP	SP	PVV	VU	Agalev	Vl.Blok	Rossem
MARKETING UNIT							
March 1990	11.9	9.8	9.9	5.1	3.0	2.9	-
June 1990	10.4	9.7	9.8	5.1	3.1	3.0	-
September 1990	10.4	9.4	9.5	5.1	3.0	3.8	-
December 1990	10.3	9.2	9.7	5.2	3.3	3.1	-
March 1991	10.2	9.0	9.6	5.5	3.0	3.0	-
June 1991	12.0	8.4	8.2	5.0	2.9	3.0	-
September 1991	12.6	7.1	9.5	4.6	3.0	2.8	-
March 1992	7.0	3.2	5.1	2.1	1.7	3.9	1.9
June 1992	6.6	2.9	6.0	1.9	2.0	3.8	1.5
September 1992	5.8	3.4	6.2	1.9	2.2	3.9	1.6
December 1992	5.5	3.3	6.9	1.9	2.1	3.9	1.4

2. Popularity of the Prime Minister (W. Martens/J.L. Dehaene)³¹

	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
March 1992	35	11	24
June 1992	38	14	25
Sept. 1992	30	11	18
Dec. 1992	32	12	18

(31) Percentage of respondents who want Wilfried Martens/Jean-Luc Dehaene (from march 1992 on) to play an important role in the next few months.

FIGURE V
Popularity of the Prime Minister
Opinion poll Marketing Unit



Source : Marketing Unit. The seasonal barometer of the public opinion. Publication : La Libre Belgique.

3. The feeling of satisfaction with the way democracy works

Source : Eurobarometer, public opinion in the European Community, trends 1974-1991, Commission of the European Communities, 1992, p. 19-35.

B. Cabinet stability

Valid and important measures indicating 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).

Continuous and cumulative experience indicate more precisely the degree of permanent participation of Ministers to the national government.

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

- Continuous experience indicates the average amount (in years) of uninterrupted service of all Ministers and Statesecretaries.

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

Continuous and cumulative cabinet experience of the national government ministers from 1985 to 1993

Cabinets	Duration of the Cabinet	Continuous Experience			Cumulative experience			Interim adaptation
		Beginning	Interim adaptation		Beginning	Interim adaptation		
			Before	After		Before	After	
Martens VI 1985-1987	22 months 24 days	1082	1406	1322	1470	1794	1773	
			1464	1448		1915	1898	
								1674 2124
Martens VII 1987-1988	6 months 20 days	1674	1779	1815	2124	2229	2282	
								1911 2378
Martens VIII 1988-1991	40 months 21 days	702	834	830	1051	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
Martens IX 1991-1992	5 months 8 days	1686	1800	1868	2123	2237	2325	Jan. 21, 1992
			1872	1897		2329	2355	Jan. 25, 1992
								1939 2397
Dehaene 1992-	15 months 12 days	1296	1721	1580	1722	2147	1992	May 5, 1993
				1625				2037 June 19, 1993

Previous figures of the continuous 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, no 54, p. 37-49.

FIGURE VI
The feeling of satisfaction with
the way democracy works

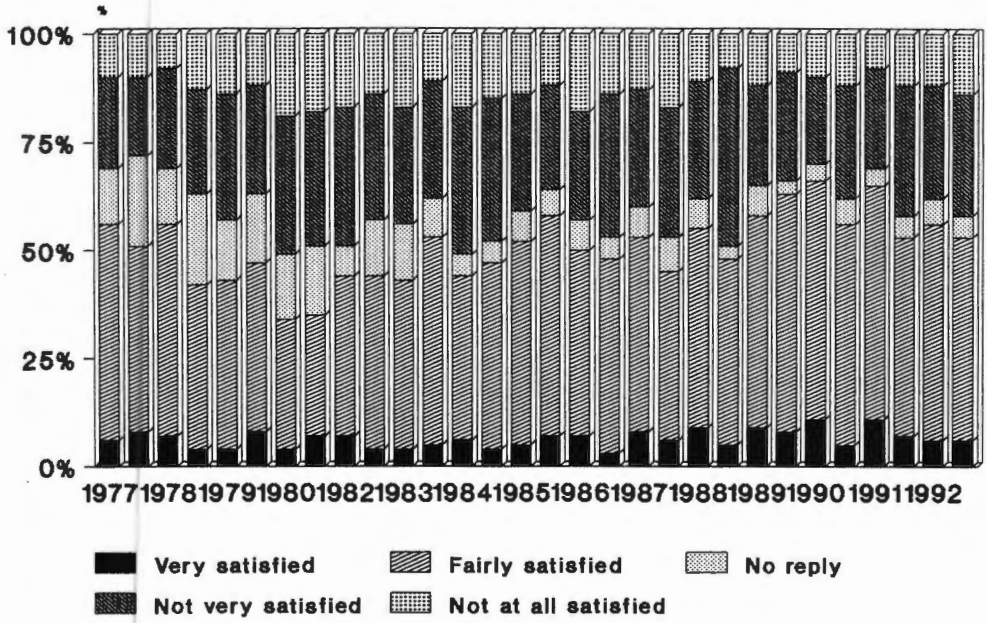
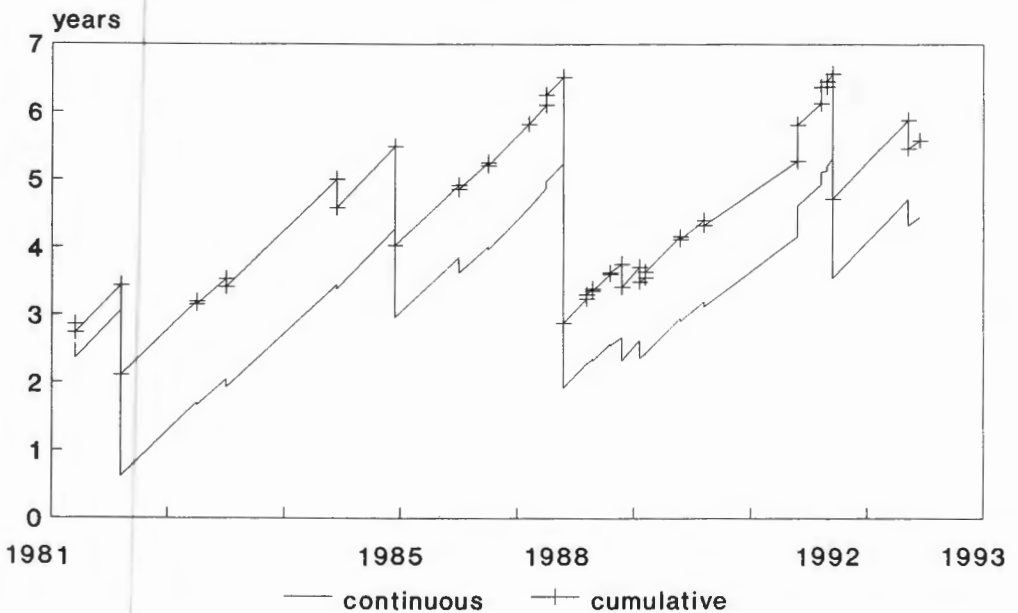


FIGURE VII
Average Cabinet Experience
1981-1993



C. Membership: political parties and trade unions

1. Political parties

a. Flemish political parties

	CVP	SP	PVV	VU	AGALEV	VL.BLOK
1987 ³²	139.398	103.778	75.393	49.134	1.375	4.213
1988 ³³	133.688		75.327	47.582	1.800	
1989	125.768	99.112	75.390	43.898	1.730	
1990 ³⁴	131.719	99.235	71.051	40.779	2.130	
1991	132.070	97.919	72.283	36.474	2.038	6.500
1992 ³⁵	126.458		76.783	32.385	2.529	8.500

b. Walloon political parties

	PSC	PS	PRL	FDL	ECOLO
1987 ³²	42.838	154.000	76.298 ³⁸	13.488	
1988	43.284	155.300	45.824		945
1989 ³⁶	43.353	157.000	45.430	10.587	1.609
1990	43.322	153.400			1.280
1991 ³⁷	43.283	155.100			1.375

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

(33) M. VERMINCK, *Morfologie van de Vlaamse politieke partijen in 1987 en 1988*. *Res Publica*, 1989, no 3, p. 385-440.

(34) M. VERMINCK, *Morfologie van de Vlaamse politieke partijen in 1989 en 1990*. *Res Publica*, 1991, no 3-4, p. 523-584.

(35) P. JANSSENS, S. FIERS, M. VOS, *Morfologie van de Vlaamse politieke partijen in 1991 en 1992*. *Res Publica*, 1993, n° 3-4, p. 503-559.

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

(37) M. VOS, *Morphologie des partis politiques francophones de 1990 et 1991*. *Res Publica*, 1992, n° 3-4, p 453-490. The Vlaams Bloks numbers of 1991 (July) and 1992 (January) were communicated by the secretariat of the party.

(38) Contested number: 66.000 according to *De Standaard*, 6 September 1989 or 55.000 according to *Le Soir*, 16 September 1989.

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	1.461.880	1.078.275	213.083
1992	1.511.439	(1)	213.083

(1) Recent numbers are not yet available.

Source : ACV : *Activiteitsverslagen ACV. 1981-1984, 1985-1988, 1989-1991.*
 ABVV : *Internal document.*
 ACLVB : *Internal document.*

D. Protests : strikes in 1991 and 1992

	Disputes	Number of establishments involved		Strikers ³⁸		Working days lost
1989	81		84	19502		132773
1990	33	38		9750		103030
1991	61	62		11173		66756
1991 January	6		6		760	5534
February	11		11		2353	7338
March	13		13		2024	23320
April	4		4		456	5287
May	5		5		1765	7728
June	3		3		1630	7134
July	1		1		135	3221
August	4		4		220	1345
September	7		7		697	2417
October	2		3		187	1082
November	2		2		549	845
December	4		4		445	1797
1992 January	9		9	954		3593
February	10	211		14366		91585
March	5	5		1396		15302
April	4	4		802		875
May	2	2		171		557
June	1	1		23		392

Source : NIS, *Statistical Journal*, 1993, n° 2, p.46.

(1) Recent numbers are not yet available.

(39) These figures do not include these workers who were compelled to the strike against their intention.