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THESIS SYNOPSIS

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**Social structure and income distribution:
State-institutionalized inequalities**

titled Ph.D. dissertation

Supervisor:

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professor

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Institute of Sociology and Social Policy

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Research questions and justification of the topic

Research history and justification of the topic

The topic of the research is related to the study of the structure of capitalist societies with a democratic political system in the 21st century. The specific aim of the research is to develop a structural theory and model that can provide a coherent and adequate explanation of the income inequalities that occur in these societies.

Thus, the topic of research is one of the topics of sociology from its inception, so its antecedents can be traced back to the analyzes of Karl Marx and Max Weber, and their followers - the Marxists and Neo-Marxists and the Weberians and Neoweberians - continue throughout our days.

However, since the 1980s, the classical tradition that hipotesised a close relationship between social structure and social inequalities, including income inequalities, has been increasingly criticized, questioning the relevance of this relationship with respect to the European societies in the second half of the 20th century.

Critics have argued that many of the fundamental characteristics of social relations analyzed by the classics of sociology have have been changed till the last quarter of the 20th century, and that the framework that developed with respect to their period does not adequately explain current social inequalities. According to the analysis of advanced Western-European welfare capitalisms, the main changes are primarily the transformation of the economic structure, the transition from industrial society to post-industrial society, the emergence of the welfare states, and the integration or “domestication” of class-struggles into the legitimate competiton of parties (Dahrendorf, 1959; Bell, 1976; Esping and Andersen, 1993; Habermas, 1994b).

Classical theories of social structure have also been questioned many times since the 1980s as a result of empirical stratification research. According to these critiques, the link between the political-economic inequalities and the patterns of individual actions, values, judgments, political statements, etc. has been weakened or disappeared. According to the critics, latter social phenomenons such as consumption, subculture, religion, experiences, life situations, etc. are more likely depend on chosen socio-cultural similarities (Beck, 2003; Schulze, 2000; Hradil, 1994). These criticisms have culminated in the international literature of the death of class debate (Clark - Lipset, 2001; Pakulski, 1993; Beck, 2003; Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992).

The existence and relevance of the relationship between social structure and inequality has never been questioned in Hungarian sociology after the political transformatin, but the interest

in the topic has declined over the last three decades. The attempts to explain inequalities have remained largely on theoretical grounds and have not been put themselves under the test of strict empirical verification (Szelényi, 1995, 1996; Szelényi - Eyal - Townsley, 1996a, 1996b; Eyal - Szelényi - Townsley, 1998; Ferge, 2002, 2010; Huszár, 2013). Although the criticisms of traditional structural theories and the need for paradigm shifts have become more loud in the mid-2000s (Kovách, 2006; Kovách - Kuczi - Jókuthy, 2006), but these criticisms had ripen in a new model just a few years ago (Dupcsik - Szabari, 2015; Kovách et al., 2016, 2017). But this new model did not focus on the issue of unequal distribution of socially produced goods, but on the integration of society (Kovách - Kuczi - Jókuthy, 2006; Kovách, 2006), and therefore, despite all its virtues, it cannot answer to the question of whether the explanatory power of the traditional power-centered approach has disappeared or not.

International criticisms of structural theory and the shortcomings of domestic empirical structural research together justify and support the need of a scientific enterprise that attempts to interpret the structural relations of present-day Hungary within a coherent unity of theory and empirical research. However, there was another argument in favor of starting this task. Namely, that the well-known international theories of social structure and stratification do not conceptualize the public employment and the social positions outside of the sphere of social production, or if they do so, they do it only to a very vague way.

However, these are the two fundamental developments that characterize the most of the development of European societies in the post-World War period of the emergence of welfare regimes. The most wellknown theorists, like Erikson and Goldthorpe (Erikson et al., 1979, Erikson - Goldthorpe, 2010), Rose and Harrison (Rose - Harrison, 2007; Rose et al., 2010) Wright (1985; 1989; 1997), or Esping-Andersen (1990; 1993; 1996), or in Hungary, Szelényi (Manchin-Szelényi, 1986), Kolosi (1982; 1987), Ferge (2002; 2010), or Bukodi (Bukodi, 2005; Bukodi-Altörjai-Tallér, 2005), did not develop such models that can make specific statements referring to these changes of social situations. The only exception that I know is the model of the normative-functionalist occupation classes by Ákos Huszár, which provides a coherent theoretical explanation for at least one of the two problems (inactive statuses), but with the exploration and conceptualization of the specificities and implications of extensive public employment this model has also been remained debtor.

The basic premise of my dissertation is that in order to explore the mechanisms underlying the basic structure of democratically societies of 21st century which operate capitalist market, besides the concepts of the economic sphere of social production, economic power, market and capital, one should take into account the concepts of non-productive spheres, such as political power / domination, redistribution and the state. The latter can also provide the key

to mapping and explaining the characteristics of public employment and inactive social positions.

In my dissertation, I try to put forward arguments that when analyzing and interpreting the structural relations of these societies it is worth turning to Karl Polanyi and to his concept of economic-integration schemes for an inspiration (Polányi, 1976; 2004), with which Hungarian sociologists previously had attempted the interpretation of the state-socialist era (Manchin-Szelényi, 1986; Kolosi, 1982; 1987).

Although the transition to a capitalist economic and democratic political system has changed the concrete socio-economic conditions in Hungary, and the present institutional systems can be traced back to completely different socio-historical processes in Western Europe, but this approach can still be applied successfully in the analysis of structural relations in the case of today's Hungary, and also in the cases of modern European societies in general. The reason of this in my opinion, is the fact, that this approach, besides the economic processes, draws attention to the social structure-shaping effects of political institutions, and more importantly, provides a coherent framework for their interpretation.

By expanding and specifying Polanyi's concepts of market and redistribution, it is possible to interpret the state as a complex institutional system, and to interpret the state employment and the system of state provided services as specific structural mechanisms. It is my belief that further specification of this conceptual framework and its embedding in political-economic relations can make a significant contribution to getting closer to explaining the evolution of income inequalities.

Research questions and hypotheses

The narrower topic of the dissertation is the examination of income distribution. Its aim is to explicate a power and institution-centered theory and to test it on the basis of empirical data. In order to complete this task, I formulated two research questions.

The first general question that arises from the theoretical framework of explanation is that whether the structural inequalities of the capitalist market economy of democratic countries have a significant impact on the income situation of individuals and their households even in the early 21st century. Since the dissertation does not have the purpose of checking this general question in international comparison, therefore due to the need to reframe the theory explanation, I am limiting the validity of this question to the examination of the interrelations in Hungary

According to the second general question of the dissertation, the evolution of income inequality is not only caused by economic factors or processes, but political factors and

processes also play a significant role in this. The second general question that follows is therefore that whether those structural models that conceptualize political power / authority and the state, can explain more powerfully the differences in income levels between individuals and households than those which are not. Therefore the second specific question of the dissertation is whether the new social-structure model I have developed, can better explain the Hungarian income distribution than the wellknown alternative models.

Data and methods used

Methods

The dissertation can be divided into three larger but interrelated units that require different analytical methods. The first part (2nd-4th chapters) of the dissertation is a pre-theoretical phase, which first task is to explore the current and potential links between the state and the capitalist market economy in their socio-historical context, with specific emphasis for the processes of emergence and change. The second task of this phase is to analyze the role of the state in social production and consumption, employment and social provision in a democratic European country and its mixed economy. The subject of this case study is Hungary in the period after the political-economical transition of 1989/1990.

Due to the historically and internationally comprehensive nature of this task as well as the exhaustive repository of previous researches, original historical research was neither possible nor necessary here. The first part of the dissertation is therefore a kind of secondary analysis, a secondary research based primarily on the analysis, collision and synthesis of relevant statements in the literature, supported by a time series analysis of related and publicly available full-scale statistical data.

The second part of the dissertation (5th chapter) also belongs to the pre-theoretical phase, which task was to clarify the basic principles and main statements of the most wellknown alternative social structure theories and models, to explore their deficiencies and to reflect on them. The method deriving from the nature of the task here was a theoretical and logical analysis of the original sources.

Therefore I accomplished in this section the critical analysis of the explanatory theories and models of Eric Olin Wright, Robert Erikson and John Harry Goldthorpe, Eric Harrison and David Rose, Gøsta Esping-Andersen, Iván Szelényi, Tamás Kolosi, Zsuzsa Ferge, Erzsébet Szalai, Erzsébet Bukodi and Ákos Huszár, as these are the ones which can be considered the most wellknown and most widespread international and domestic competing attempts within the traditional paradigm of structure and stratification research.

Finally, the new theory had been developed and empirically tested in part three (6th-7th chapters). Here, I have deduced the most important principles and mechanisms based on the conclusions drawn from the first two parts, that in my view, provide the structural foundations of the contemporary Hungarian and also European societies. Then I derived the main and sub-categories of the new social-structure model which was named as resource-integrational model. Then I compared the explanatory power of this new theoretical model against the alternative social structure models analyzed in the second part.

Data

In the third part of the dissertation, I used the micro-databases of the Household Budget and Living Conditions Survey (HBLCS: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2014, income reference period: 2013, provided by the HCSO in a frame of research contract) for empirical testing of the theoretical models. The HBLCS follows the European Union's survey of Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) in its basic methodological aspects as it provides its basic data as well. The calculations of individual and household level analysis were performed on personal data files containing 22705 persons and on household data containing 9203 households.

I used 'income' as a dependent variable in four ways: on the one hand, I calculated net and gross values separately for the individual and household income. I considered personal income in the HBLCS / EU-SILC personal data record (the sum of 'py' variables) income items, supplemented by inclusion of the household-level but child-related social incomes in the children's personal records. I considered gross household income (hy010) and net household income (hy020) as the given variables of the household income in the HBLCS / EU-SILC household dataset. The calculations of household income as dependent variable were based on the head of household on the one hand and on the composition of the household on the other hand. Linear regression calculations for personal income were examined in three ranges of validity, which were (1) total population, (2) adult population, and (3) economically active population of Hungary. In the regression analyzes, the natural-based logarithm of both personal and household income was used as a dependent variable. Considering all these, I made 150 regression calculations in order to make a thorough comparison of the fifteen alternative social structure models analyzed.

For the production of alternative models of social structure I used known and regularly applied program codes from the Hungarian and international empirical social research practice. Source codes for the Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP) model developed by the University of Trento (EGP-T) and by Harry Ganzeboom (EGP-G), the Esping-Andersen Post-

Industrial Model (ESP), and Eric Olin Wright's Exploitation Based Model (WR) are available from the European Social Survey's (ESS) related documentation and on Ganzeboom's own website (Leiulfsrud et al., 2005, 2010).

Since the original codes were developed for the purposes of the ESS database, it was inevitable that the variables must have been modified to some degree and some simplification were also necessary in order to run them on the HBLCS. I also made a narrower and broader version of the Social-occupational Stratification Scheme (TFR) as well as for the work-character groups (MJCS) by translating the SAS code of the HCSO developed for the 2011 census into SPSS codes. The logical diagrams necessary for their operationalization are contained in the publication of 'The Stratification of Society' (Huszár et al., 2015). I have slightly modified the TFR and MJCS program codes for the purpose of faithfulness to the original theoretical considerations (Bukodi, 2005; Bukodi-Altörjai-Tallér, 2005, and Ferge, 1969). Since neither of these two theories was a theoretically independent category of "children, students", nor were the categories of "unemployed who never worked" and "unemployed who could not be classified" were not conceptualized, and because of the demands of the census created categories were removed from the program code.

Results of the dissertation

In Chapter 2, I first reviewed the most important classics in the paradigm of conflict theory (Weber, 1970, 2010; Polányi, 2004; Dahrendorf, 1959; Habermas, 1971, 1994a, 1994b; Esping and Andersen, 1993; Gilbert, 2002) and the contemporary authors' analyzes of the historical transformation of European capitalism, in which I paid particular attention to the authors' findings regarding the role of the state as an embodiment of political power / domination in this process of transformation. This phase of the analysis focused on the reconstruction of the functions of the contemporary state and the exploration of the causes, motivations, conditions, limitations and consequences of these functions. Subsequently, I reviewed the literature on Hungary immediately preceding and following the change of regime (Ladányi – Szelényi, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Laki, 2006, 2009; J. Szalai, 2007; E. Szalai, 2001; Ferge, 2000; Éber et al., 2014; Éber, 2015) with the same focus. Finally, at the end of Chapter 2, I have attempted to interpret the socio-economic and political system of post-regime Hungary in the theoretical framework of the welfare regimes of advanced capitalism (Esping – Andersen, 1993) and related capitalism (Greskovits-Bohle, 2007; Bohle-Greskovits, 2008).

In Chapter 3, I examined the relationship and characteristics of monetary-welfare-transfers

with income inequalities in Hungary. In doing so, I interpreted the governmental policy cycles in international comparison, fitting into the literature on welfare regimes and the varieties of capitalism (Esping-Andersen, 1993; Greskovits-Bohle, 1993). 2008). This task were supplemented with the analysis of the relevant social political literature (Scharle-Szikra, 2015; Scharle, 2007; Duman-Scharle, 2011; Krémer, 2016; Ferge, 2017; Szikra-Tomka 2009; Szalai J., 2007; Szivós- Tóth, 2015), as well as the summary secondary analysis of data from publicly available statistical publications and databases.

In Chapter 4, I analyzed the extent and income levels of public employment comparing them with the number and earning levels of the privately owned enterprises, including those owned by foreign and multinational companies. The analysis was based primarily on the results of the Hungarian literature on labor economics (Fazekas, 2000; Altwicker – Hámori - Lovász, 2013; Laušev, 2012; Kertesi – Köllő, 1997; Ékes, 2001; Köllő, 2013; Hámori, 2007; Telegdy, 2006), supplemented by some international analyses (Keane-Prasad, 2001; Dustmann-Soest, 1999; Melly, 2005; Lucifora-Meurs, 2004).

The purpose of the 3rd and 4th chapters were to investigate in a more detailed manner and throughout a concrete example the characteristics of the state's functions and their relation to political struggles raised in the theoretical and historical analysis of Chapter 2. During the summary interpretation of the three chapters I concluded that:

- the state has played an important role in shaping both economic and social change since the beginning of capitalism;
- the historical expansion of state functions is also strongly linked to political movements and ideologies;
- the society of post-state-socialist Hungary is largely shaped by the same forces as the Western European societies, which is a result of its reintegration into the global capitalist market economy and the European economic and political community;
- although some of the Hungarian economic-political institutional systems already existed during the state-socialist period, as a result of the political transition itself and of the subsequent EU accession process, the 'inherited' institutions has been developed in a compatible manner with advanced European democracies and capitalist market economies;
- by the turn of the millennium, the process of institutional transformation was largely completed and the economic and political institutional system of Hungary have been become similar to that of the democratic countries of Western Europe, although its nature is not typical;

- Although no pure type of Western European welfare regimes has emerged in Hungary, but the institutional systems and the social-, economic-, and political forces are not fundamentally different from those that shape the Western European welfare regimes;
- after the turn of the millennium, Hungary also experienced very similar - albeit more intensive - processes of change than those described in the international literature regarding the cases of advanced democratic capitalist societies in Western Europe. Thus, the transformation of structural relations in Hungary since 2010 fits in with the international trend of welfare-workfare transformation, and the politics and the ideology play a key role in this.

Based on all these findings, I have concluded that there is no fundamental conceptual barrier to expanding the interpretation and conclusions of contemporary structural theory on Western European societies to the Hungarian social structure after the millennium. However, I also pointed out that based on the antecedent literature (Kertesi-Köllő, 1997, 2001; Hámori, 2007; Telegdy, 2006; Kézdi, 2000; Altwicker-Hámori-Lovász, 2013; Köllő, 2013, Köllő, 2013b; Ékes, 2001; Laušev, 2012) and on the basis of macrostatic data, it is worth paying further attention to the following conclusions:

- In Hungary, the governments decisions are able to change the income levels of state-dependent social groups, and the conditions of entry (or exit) into these positions shaped by the state, regardless of economic constraints. The changes of these conditions are systematically dependent from governments' political-ideological backgrounds;
- In addition, government decisions in Hungary, like in many other European countries, play a significant role in the development of public sector headcount and earnings. These changes are not clearly explained by economic determinants, but the effects of successive cycles of government with different political-ideological backgrounds can be demonstrated.

On the basis of the latter, I found that the extent of public employment, the different forms of welfare provision and the changes of income relations are influenced by the same factors, and the role of political ideologies is systematically revealed in these. Finally, I noted that it can be concluded from the above that the interpretation of the typology of welfare regimes is not only possible spatially - between different countries - but also temporally - within the same country.

In Chapter 5, I examined the most well-known and widespread international and domestic theories and models dealing with the issue of social structure and social stratification, primarily with regard to;

- the role of political power / government and the state;
- the situation of those who are not involved in or excluded from social production processes;
- and the relationship between labor market insecurity and public employment;
- and how they conceptualize and / or operationalize these factors in their explanations and models.

Among the theories and / or models analyzed were , the EGP scheme, ESeC, Wright's power and exploitation model, Esping-Andersen's post-industrial model as the most wellknown international theories of stratification on the one hand, and the work-character groups (MJCS), the double-pyramid, the L model, the Social-occupational Stratification Scheme (TFR) and the Normative-funcionalist Occupational Class Scheme (NFM) as the most prominent representations of Hungarian structure and stratification theories on the other hand. Besides these, I also examined the dual-society model of the power elite (Szalai) which, however, is rather an elit-theory than a stratification model. The selection of theories and models, and the exclusion of other alternative approaches (eg networks, cultural or consumption milieus), is justified by the fact that the thesis sets the validity measures of the traditional paradigm of social structure theory against these alternative approaches, and therefore it is sufficient to prove that this traditional paradigm can still provide powerful explanation for the reproduction of social inequalities.

In Chapter 5, I stated, that the social structure and stratification models can be divided into four groups based on the focus of the dissertation, but none were able to fully and / or coherently interpret the role of political power / authority and the role of state, the specifics of public employment, and the question of the population who do not take part in social production. The examined models were classified into four sepatate groups:

1. in which neither political power / authority, nor the role of the state in employment, nor the groups outside the production sphere are not conceptualized, or only on a residual basis (EGP, ESeC, TFR)
2. which conceptualize public employment (and partly or implicitly the question of political power / authority) but do not address structural inequalities outside the sphere of production (double-pyramid, L-model)
3. which do not show the role of political power / authority, nor the state as an employer, but deal with structural inequalities outside the sphere of production (MJCS, NFM)
4. which, in their theoretical justification, address both the issue of political power / authority, and the role of the state in employment, and also the structural inequalities outside the sphere of production, but in the end they do not apply these aspects in their

model (Wright, Esping-Andersen)

In the light of the empirical facts presented in chapter 2nd-4th, I concluded that the questions of political-power dimension appears to be unavoidable from a structural theory point of view, but none of these four groups of structural or stratification models are able to handle this in their original forms, with respect to the structure of advanced democratic capitalist societies of the 21st century. For this reason, I have stated that if we want to account for the consequences of social and income inequalities that may be related to the political dimension, then this can only be done with the help of a new model of social structure.

Therefore in Chapter 6, I outlined the weaknesses for which the already existing stratification and structural theories or models cannot provide a coherent response, reflecting on the structural weaknesses previously identified in previous chapters. After this, I identified the items on which a new structural model can be built, and then I deduced the principles, mechanisms and concepts by which the major class positions of democratic societies of advanced capitalist market economies can be theoretically distinguished. The new social-structure model was named as the Resource-Integrational model.

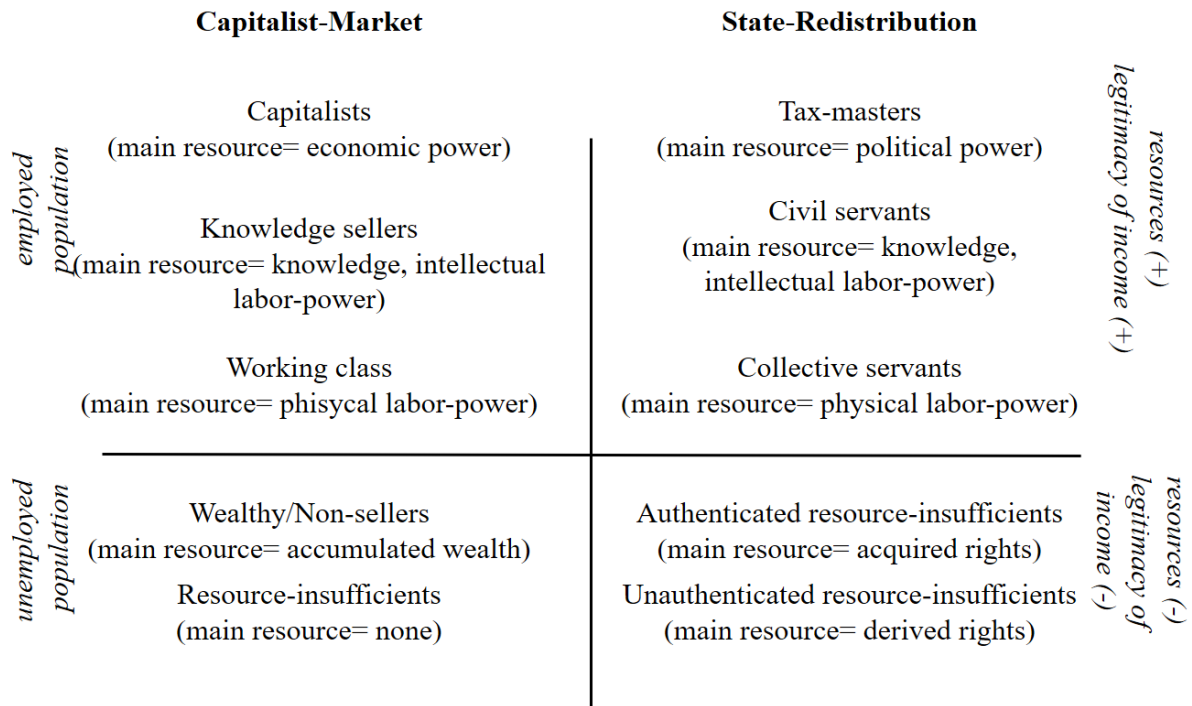
The capitalist-market positions of the resource-integrational model were tied to the power over the various factors of production (resources), to the conditions of disposal of the various resources and the products produced with them within competitive market situation.

The basic class positions determined by state-redistributive integration mechanisms were tied to the power over the centralized and hierarchical state institutional system, to the resources necessary for the operation of state functions and the institutional system, to the power of shaping legal frameworks, and finally to the rights determined by all this power. That is, in a list;

- different resources (wealth, labor, knowledge)
- different forms of ownership (private, public)
- different integration mechanisms (capitalist-market, state-redistribution)
- different legitimacy bases (economic power, public authority / political power)
- different legal bases (acquired rights, derived rights).

Based on these, I outlined the basic theoretical model of social structure:

The Resource-Integrational model



After the creation of the theoretical basic model, I elaborated a more detailed experimental model, especially for the domestic structural relations, which took into account the specific Hungarian legal regulations and the specificities arising from the global economic context as well.

Finally, in the detailed version of the resource integrational model, which is specific for Hungary, I broke down more detailed categories within the basic class positions on the basis of the size of capital, on domestic and foreign private ownership, on the executive control, and on the nature of rights related to monetary-social-transfers.

In Chapter 7, I subjected the newly developed basic and detailed theoretical model of social structure to empirical control. I compared its statistical explanatory power with the competing models and with some 'naive' models used in official statistical practice (eg education level, economic activity, occupational classification system) based on the Hungarian income distribution data for 2014 (HBLCS / EU-SILC).

The new (basic and detailed) version of the resource integration model, was examined first at the the individual level and then at the level of households.

In the individual-level study, the dependent variable was the natural-based logarithms of net and gross personal income. I examined the relationship between the alternative social structure models and the income distribution by linear regression models and also by calculations based on information criteria, regarding to three target populations. The calculations at individual level were performed separately for the total population, the adult

population and the active age group (18-62 years). Based on the results I concluded that:

- the adjusted determination coefficient of the detailed version of the resource-integrational model has the highest statistical explanatory power in all three target populations, both for gross and net income;
- the analysis of information criterias also showed that the detailed version of the resource-integrational model has the highest explanatory power compared to the alternative models;
- in the detailed version of the resource-integrational model, the adjusted coefficients of determination explained 47-79% of net income, and 44-78% of gross income, depending on the target population;
- the basic version of the resource-integrational model showed a slightly weaker, but even quite strong correlation with the dependent variables (42-56%), while two alternative models - economic activity and normative-functionalist - performed somewhat better (45-51 %). In addition, the 13-category version of the socio-occupational stratification model, was neither far from these (35-40%);
- the explanatory power of the wellknown international models was significantly lower, as they accounted for only 10 to 17 percent of the variance in the dependent variables.

At the household level, the dependent variables were the natural logarithms of the total net and gross income of households, and the correlation between the examined social structure models and the income distribution was compared by linear regression models. I have used two approaches here; on the one hand, the traditional male-centered approach based on the social position of the head of the household; on the other hand, an alternative approach based on the aggregation of the individual social position of the household members.

Comparing the adjusted determination coefficients of the regression models, it was firstly found that the explanatory power of the models based on the social position of the head of household is very weak. Thus I concluded that this operationalization of social class had lost its relevance in the interpretation and explanation of social inequalities in the early 20th century Hungary. Therefore, I compared the explanatory power of competing social structure models on the basis of the results based on household composition. These household models confirmed the conclusions drawn from individual models, with the difference that here the differences in explanatory power between competing models were smaller:

- the adjusted coefficient of determination of the detailed version of the resource-integrational model appeared to be the highest for both gross and

- net income;
- the adjusted coefficients of determination explained 57% of the variance of net income and 60% of gross income in the detailed version of the resource-integrational model;
- the basic version of the resource-integrational model was slightly weaker here, but also strongly correlated with dependent variables (54 and 57%, respectively). Its statistical explanatory power was almost the same at this level of analysis as at the normative-functionalist and the 13- and 33-category version of the socio-occupational stratification model (53-57%);
- in this household level analysis, the explanatory power of the wellknown international models did not fall far behind, as they accounted for approximately 40-47 percent of the variance in the dependent variables.

Summary

The dissertation succeeded in developing a new model of social-structure that is conceptually sound, coherent in its internal logic, and at the same time corrects a number of shortcomings that the previous social structure models have ignored.

The empirical test of the resource-integrational model has shown that this theoretical model which is derived from the most basic mechanisms and guiding principles of the economic and political institutional systems, is one of the best available explanations of income distribution in Hungary, if not the best one. Besides, I got a clear positive statistical answer to both questions of the dissertation. Firstly, the analysis of competing social-structure models reveals that current structural inequalities in Hungary (at least statistically, depending on the model and target population) have at least a moderately strong impact on the income situation of individuals and their households. And secondly, the resource-integrational model explains (in statistical terms) the Hungarian income distribution more vigorously than the already wellknown alternative models.

Thus, the detailed version of the resource integration model seems to support the relevance of the theoretical propositions in all respects, but the most important accomplishment is that the basic model which is derived from essentially deductive logic, is supported by the statistical analysis to a quite similar degree. For a number of reasons, I consider this to be a significant achievement because it means:

- I succeeded in “rescuing” an earlier great achievement of Hungarian sociology, the Polanyi-based interpretation of the dual social structure, formed by Iván Szelényi and

Tamás Kolosi, in an interpretation of the 21st century European capitalisms;

- I succeeded in synthesizing Károly Polányi's ideas on economic integration schemes with Gøsta Esping-Andersen's theory of welfare regimes without logical contradictions, which provides a possible causal explanation for the changes of inequalities;
- In addition, I succeeded in re-thematizing the inactive social positions created by welfare regimes in the 20th century by finding the key to their clear correspondence with the class positions resulting from the operational logic of the capitalist market economy;
- All this, together with the positive empirical results, means that the resource integration model provides a really good basis for interpreting micro- and macro-level social inequalities on the same theoretical basis.

The empirical test performed and presented in the dissertation can only be considered as the first micro-level verification attempt of the resource-integrational model, since statistical measurement based only on one-year cross-sectional data cannot be considered as unquestionable evidence for the validity of theories. Thus, real answer to the question of which of the various theories is true - or any of them is true at all - can only be answered through further research, that should be focused on their hypotheses on the social dynamics of each theory. However, this could only be done by examining long time series (at least 30-40 years old, ideally in international comparison) where it would really be possible to observe whether the relative headcount and income position of each class actually change in such a way as to the different theories presuppose. As the resource-integrational model has just been developed, I have not yet been able to conduct this type of research in this dissertation. However, it is already clear that the role of government and the focus and objectives of state redistribution cannot be neglected in structural theory, since changes in these certainly have a decisive influence on the relative relationships between different classes, and thus income inequalities.

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