

CZECH SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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CZECH SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

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Scope and Mission

The **CZECH SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW** is a scholarly review open to discussion of all professional and societal problems, sociological theory and methodology, and the dissemination of the results and interpretation of sociological research. Its attention is directed towards the development of the field and its teaching, and at the same time strives to be useful for solving the practical problems of Czech social and economic politics.

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The editors require an original and two easily readable copies, which do not state the name or workplace of the author, in order that the reading process will be anonymous on both sides. The accompanying letter should contain a complete contact address, including telephone number. Submission of a manuscript to another journal, while it is under review by the **CSR** is regarded as unethical.

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Editorial decisions: Decisions are generally made within one month from the date your manuscript is received at the **CSR** office. If your manuscript is accepted you will be asked to submit your final version both on paper and on a microcomputer floppy disk, either in ASCII or Microsoft Word for Windows, MS-Word 5.x, or 6.0. IBM disks are acceptable. The final version should also include a twenty-line abstract and an eighty-line summary, an alphabetized bibliography and basic information about the author.

Editorial Introduction

While the articles in the first issue of the *Czech Sociological Review* were thematically oriented and internally connected to the prognoses of Czech society and its development, the second issue of this review arose spontaneously from the many contributions the editors received over the course of the year. The careful reader, however, will discern a certain unity within this common field of interest which determines the long-term orientation of sociological knowledge, not only in the Czech Republic, but in the whole post-communist Central-European region. These unifying elements are distinct, if not always explicit. They constitute the question of social change, its character and the very effort to distinguish the aims of the change from its means, its path from its end. The different titles – Change, Transformation, Transition, or Transmission – themselves reveal varying perspectives, a range of accents. It is also from this point that different types of questions and answers may arise: Is the understanding of the changes in post-communist societies based on the concrete form of their past, with the accent on the differences in their initial state? Or, conversely, is this understanding bound solely to the clear pattern created from contemporary western liberal market economies, its mechanisms and rules considered at once common and exclusive, a goal which knows no development? Further, is it not necessary to elaborate an eventual vision of a common European future towards which we could all move, where the demonstrable inequalities, cultural deficits and other „errors“ of the Western pattern would not have to be repeated? Are we dealing with a singularly linear change, where a given system has changed under certain conditions and in accordance with universal rules into another system, or is it necessary to put the accent on the qualitative difference and individuality of each particular situation? And what to do with those social elements, traditions, values and so on, which cannot be incorporated, which cannot be reintegrated? And further, should the accent be placed on the continuity or on the discontinuity of the processes of change?

The problem of choosing from three possible interpretative accents – past, present and future – is also the problem of the „foil of representation“. In his essay, *Vested Interests Versus Strategies of Systemic Transformation in Poland*, Władysław Adamski points to the inappropriateness or the scientific unacceptability of South-American patterns of transition from authoritarianism to democracy. He emphasises the uniqueness of the totalitarian heritage, the surmounting of which is complicated by the simultaneous need to reintroduce the long-absent real market economy. Under such circumstances, would the envisaged scale of systemic transformation and its accompanying strategies clarify questions as to how to change the type of ownership in relation to social classes and socio-professional structures, how to radically modernise technologically and structurally obsolete industry, public service institutions and traditional agriculture, or how to achieve the necessary reorientation of mainstream value orientations and group interests.

These considerations are also of inspiration for Czech milieu, where relatively little attention is paid to questions which would explicitly thematise the unself-evident transformation of the society, the concrete changes of its components and its undesired consequences with regard to the whole course of necessary modernisation, i.e. with

regard to the increasing the mobility of commodities, information, the increasing social mobility, even the acceleration of differentiation, specialisation and rationalisation processes in the spheres of the labour division, the effectiveness of education, the secularisation of life and so on.

It is this level of attention, this division of accents, in the examination of the transformation which renders this particular issue of the *Czech Sociological Review* highly instructive. It is introduced by P. Machonin and M. Tuček's essay, *A Historical Comparison of Social Structures in the Czech Republic in 1984 and 1993*. It is of interest that between the otherwise extremely different social structures of 1984 and 1993 a range of conjunctions and analogies are found to reveal themselves rather clearly. According to the authors, the process of post-communist social transformation is not taking place in a void and is not an enlightened construction of a „new“ society „ex nihilo“. In spite of the initial radicalism of the political changes, in spite of the exchange of political elites and despite the ideologising declarations about quite new principles of social arrangement, the authors seek to direct our attention to the fact that the real political changes occur rather as a gradual historical alteration of inherited social structures under the active co-ordination of many individuals, who were engaged also in previous social life (the so-called „second society“) and who are driven by the need to solve the old problems which still exist.

The collective essay by J. Hřaba, F. Lorenz, G. Lee and Z. Pechačová *Economic Change, Inequality and Distress in the Czech Republic* examines social consequences of economic reforms in Central Europe with regard to the unequal distribution of wealth and the unequal influence of psychical consequences of poverty (stress and financial difficulties). It is supported by results from extensive surveys on the distribution of these consequences, especially in the USA and Poland, and suggests the closeness of the survey results to the situation in the USA.

The third essay in this issue, *The legitimacy of Privatisation* considers the problem in the context of public opinion (and partly even from the perspective of specific interests of different social actors), seeking to explain it with qualitative research in employee attitudes towards privatisation of their firm, at the same time indicating the differences between managers and employees attitudes. The final two articles are devoted to topics of special sociologies. The problems of regional specificities in the Czech Republic, especially space variations of political preferences and their specific differences from global state policy is analysed *Economic, Social and Historical Determinants of Voting Patterns in 1990 and 1992 Parliamentary Elections* by T. Kostelecký. He demonstrates, that political behaviour in local and regional communities is not merely a reflection of contemporary changes, however revolutionary they may be, but has its own specific inertia and autonomous life. The final essay, J. Buriánek's *The Relatively Low-Anomic Czech Transition* is supported by data gained from wider comparative research of criminological aspects of the social development in post-communist metropolises. It is possible to see this as a contribution to the wider contemporary discussion on the possible interpretations of the relations between the transformation of values and attitudes, social anomie and the phenomenon of criminality.

Miloš Havelka

A Historical Comparison of Social Structures in the Czech Republic in the Years 1984 and 1993*

PAVEL MACHONIN
MILAN TUČEK**

Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague

Abstract: On the basis of three representative surveys conducted in 1984, spring 1993 and autumn 1993, the increasing vertical social differentiation of the economically active Czech population is analysed and the results of the historical comparison are interpreted with reference to the social change in the first phase of the post-communist transformation. The shifts in education, the distribution of managerial positions and class structure are seen as the results of both limited modernisation and progress in privatisation and meritocratisation. The traditional differentiating principles of the (rather egalitarian and anti-meritocratic) state socialist society – based on steep power differentiation and, eventually, differentiation caused by demographic factors – have lost much of their former influence. A new class structure based on the differentiation of property relations, managerial positions and earnings is gradually emerging. Concurrently, the influence of meritocratic factors, such as education and work complexity on income distribution and, above all, on life-style is also growing. The first steps towards increased social status consistency and a more gradual status distribution are noticeable. At the same time, the attitudes and forms of behaviour have become somewhat more determined by the objective social differentiation. As far as the various concepts and methodological instruments are concerned, an increased explanatory force of the EGP scheme and of a multi-dimensional social status typology based on cluster analysis could be observed in the course of the 1990s. In spite of important changes in the general social context, many frequented multi-dimensional status patterns in 1984 and 1993 show a great deal of mutual similarity. *Czech Sociological Review*, 1994, Vol. 2 (No. 2: 149-172)

1. Subject and Purpose of the Article

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the authors have focused on the study of the post-communist social transformation in the Czech Republic as a specific case of social change. The present article is based on certain theoretical and methodological

*) In this article, most of the recent data were drawn from the international comparative survey on „Social Stratification and Circulation of Elites in the Eastern Europe after 1989“ (1993) coordinated by the UCLA and sponsored by the U. S. National Science Foundation (USA) and NWO (Netherlands). The Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic, gave partial support to the above survey, as well to another survey on beliefs and behaviour in the Czech and Slovak Republics in the framework of the grant No. 828105 for the research on „Social Stratification and Dynamics of the Post-Communist Transformation in the Czech and Slovak Republics“. Both these surveys were further sponsored by a grant from the Czech Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. The authors express their thanks to all institutions which gave their support.

**) Direct all correspondence to Doc. PhDr. Pavel Machonin, DrSc. or Milan Tuček, CSc., respectively, Institute of Sociology AS CR, Jilská 1, 110 00 Praha 1.

prerequisites outlined in already published articles or working papers. [Machonin 1992a; 1993a, b; 1994]

The principle ideas, formulated prior to this new analysis, could be summed up as follows: The processes occurring in the former state socialist countries of Central-Eastern Europe are not viewed as the mere transition from an extensively scientifically defined social order (a totalitarian system based on a redistributive, non-market economy) to another, equally familiar order (namely liberal democratic capitalism), which is being realised by a series of instruments, supplied a priori, logically deduced from the characteristics of the outcome and the end of the transition. Indeed, we understand the ongoing social processes in our countries as one aspect of a complex societal transformation involving changes in civilisation and culture, economy, the political system and spiritual life. We define them as a qualitative historical change (social transformation), the prehistory, recent history and the current course of which should be examined through the empirical verification and falsification of various theoretical concepts (including the most plausible models of the possible future for the given conditions), applying to this end all useful and attainable methodological instruments (compare [Offe 1991; Stark 1992]). Although in the case of Czech society, the mentioned „transition approach“ seems very close to the likely course of the recent changes, attempts to predict the future should be formulated rather in terms more or less likely alternatives and variants than in the form of a „one way“ prognosis. Even the perfect realisation of the most optimistic image of the assumed transition can be achieved in various social forms which are strongly determined by the concrete social history of the group of countries and of the individual countries in question as well as by the complex initial conditions (including cultural specificities) resulting from the social and political actors' activities. It is for this reason that the social transformation processes are to be systematically monitored by means of empirical research.

Applying our own data or secondary analyses of accessible data collected by others and reacting to interpretations of sociological surveys produced by Hungarian, Polish and particularly Czech sociologists, we have already published some articles and working papers which seek to interpret the character of both the state socialist past and the ongoing social transformation, particularly in Czech (and eventually Slovak) society, and their relation to the analogous processes in Hungary and Poland. The main considerations concerning the social structure of so-called Soviet-type societies, the reasons for their collapse and their surviving legacy have already been published in this review. [Machonin 1993b] The social structure of state socialist society is seen as functionally linked to totalitarian and anti-meritocratic social arrangements (the anti-meritocratic principle combining egalitarianism with undeserved privileges for the nomenclature). The inevitable consequence of the above is the extraordinary expansion in social status inconsistency [Wesolowski 1968; Machonin et al 1969; Kolósi 1984; Róbert 1990] and, eventually, „destratification“ [Matějů 1990]. Combined with other circumstances, this system's evident inhibitive influence on the modernisation of the societies in question is considered to have been one of the major reasons behind the collapse of communism. The Hungarian sociological concept of the „second society“ [Hankiss 1988] is applied here in the broader sense of indicating the specificities of the non-macro-institutionalised phenomena and social actors which also prepared the qualitative changes of 1989 in Czechoslovakia. From this and in response to the recent political development in the period from 1989 to 1993, a preliminary characteristic of the

gradually changing political elites as the main actors of the social transformation has been derived. [Machonin 1994: 81-83] Parallel to this, we have also presented an elementary description of the basic process of vertical social differentiation already proved and characterised by other authors [Večerník 1992; 1993; Kolósi, Róna-Tas 1992; Matějů 1993; Matějů, Řeháková 1993; Domański 1993] in terms of restratification and/or the emergence of class structure. [Machonin 1994: 72-81; Machonin, Tuček 1994a: 292-303; 1994c]

With regard to the analyses of more complex empirical data based on sociological surveys, we have already published and presented some preliminary studies on Czechoslovakia in 1967, 1984, 1991 and 1993. [Machonin, Tuček 1992a, b, c; 1994b] The aim of this article is to present the first results of a new stage in our empirical work. Having received the definitive version of the representative international comparative sample of the stratification and mobility survey 1993 from the UCLA in September 1994, we were able to prepare the definitive „reweighted“ and therefore fully representative version of our national sample of individuals from the same survey (for details, see part 2); at the same time we were also able to re-elaborate the sample of our complementary survey on beliefs and behaviour from autumn of the same year. The „reweighting“ of the samples brought no substantial revision to those interpretations presented in the preliminary analyses. We have also made analogous changes in the sample of the social and class structure survey carried out in 1984 by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology in Prague. In doing so, however, we revealed a considerable mistake in the linkage of life-style data with the basic stratification data in the „inherited“ 1984 sample. As a consequence, we were able to correct some elements in the previous interpretation of cultural activities as one social status dimension. This done, for the first time we were in possession of representative and fully comparable samples for 1984 and 1993 encompassing both males and females separately for the Czech Republic; we also had an additional representative sample enabling a deeper insight into the interdependence between objective social indicators and subjective perceptions of social changes. At the same time, the latest data corresponds to a more developed stage of social transformation with a higher probability correctly reflecting the population's attitudes.

In this paper, we have limited ourselves to an examination of the individual social statuses of the economically active adult population. On this basis, we aim to compare the social structures of the years 1984 and 1993 within the following parameters:

- a) Changes in some basic variables indicating the vertical dimensions of education, occupational and managerial positions with the assumption that the progress of both the privatisation and limited modernisation has influenced their distribution.
- b) Changes in those factors influencing the vertical social differentiation of earnings with the assumption that the impact of both the privatisation and „meritocratisation“ should be visible, while the influence of traditional demographic factors should have diminished.
- c) Shifts in the synthesising neo-Weberian class classification, influenced by the processes mentioned sub a).
- d) Changes both in the interrelations of the individual social status dimensions (moving to a higher degree of social consistency and to progress in meritocratic stratification)

and in the distribution of multi-dimensional social status indices towards a more gradual vertical differentiation shape.

- e) An increase in associations between individuals' objectively described social statuses and their perceptions of the progressing vertical social differentiation.

Besides the task of reporting on recently acquired knowledge about the present phase of the post-communist transformation in the Czech Republic, our article has an additional task: to present information regarding our experience of the application of different theoretical concepts and methodological instruments suitable for the study of post-communist social processes. This we have done by comparing the application of the EGP class classification, of different kinds of synthesising multi-dimensional status indices, and of the multi-dimensional status patterns typology, produced by means of an improved cluster analysis program – all this for the 1984 data. For the year 1993 we could, in addition, arrive at a comparison with the predictive force of both the ISEI and the International occupational prestige scale.

2. Sources and Methods

2.1. Samples

Data from three sociological surveys has served as the empirical basis for this paper.

The first survey was carried out in 1984, i.e. shortly before the „outbreak“ of the Soviet „perestroika“. It was that historical moment in which the so-called normalisation regime, installed by the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, reached its developmental peak. The original topic of this survey was „Class and Social Structure“. In spite of some theoretical and methodological limitations, the group of Czech sociologists at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Prague) who prepared the survey (led by A. Matějovský and J. Linhart) managed to incorporate such occupation identifications and many other important indicators enabling data comparison in conditions substantially different to their original ideological context. (Milan Tuček transformed the data for this purpose). N for the final sample of economically active in the Czech Republic was equal to 7625.

The second survey (1993) drawn upon is the international comparative survey „Social Stratification and Mobility“. It was conducted under the leadership of the Department of Sociology of UCLA, USA (Profs. Treiman and Szelényi). Data for the Czech Republic – on which this article is based – were collected in spring 1993 by the national team of the Sociological Institute of the Academy of Sciences, the Czech Republic (headed by P. Matějů). The income data relate to the year 1992. The time of the data collection corresponds to the birth of the Czech Republic as a sovereign state. N for the sample of economically active was equal to 3296 respondents.

The third, additional source of data (1993 BB) is represented by the comparative survey on beliefs and behaviour in the Czech and Slovak Republics. The authors of the project and questionnaire (Machonin, Roško, Kuchař, Tuček) sought to complete the information from the survey on social stratification and mobility with a set of data characterising people's attitudes, value orientations and subjective behaviour. The data were collected for the Sociological Institute of the Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic, in autumn 1993, when the Czech people's personal experience both of the separate existence of the national state and the dominant tendencies of political and

economic development could already have had significant influence on their attitudes. N for the economically active population is equal to 1376.

2.2. Sample Standardisation

All three surveys were carried out as macrostructure quantitative sociological surveys representing the adult population on the basis of random selection. For the purpose of our analysis and mutual comparison all three samples have been standardised as follows:

- a) The age range of all three samples has been unified to the interval 20 - 69 years.
- b) All three surveys were carried out on randomly selected samples of households. To acquire representativity for individuals, every case has been „reweighted“ by the number of persons of the given age living in the household, divided by the average number of persons living in a household.
- c) All three samples were „reweighted“ in such a way that the data on locality size, age, gender and education level corresponded to the statistical relations established in the 1980 and 1991 censuses. In the case of the 1984 survey, changes in the statistical data for the subsequent years (1981-1984) were also taken into account.

The standardisation has been carried out for the samples as a whole, including both the economically active and inactive population, thus ensuring a representativity of all three samples for the Czech population at the given historical point. Where no further mention is made, all tables and differences presented in the article are statistically significant on a level lower than 0,01.

2.3. Operationalisation of the Non-Categorised Status Forming Variables and their Categorisation

For education, the most detailed information from the questionnaires has been used. In 1984 and 1993 BB there were 9, in 1993 14 categories.

Work complexity has been operationalised in both 1993 surveys on the basis of five figure codes from ISCO 1988 for each occupation. For 1984, a reduced version of the official Czechoslovak Unified Classification of Occupations has been used. In both cases, a group of experts classified all occupations according to a nine degree scale from 9 = highly complex, qualified, manifold and creative work (ministers, university professors, directors of large companies) to 1 = unskilled and auxiliary work (charwomen, dustmen, etc.).

The operationalization of the managerial position category is clearly expressed in table 1.

Earnings were taken as earnings in crowns from the primary employment. Earnings lower than the officially valid minimum in the given years were not included and were considered missing on the assumption that they are based on part-time jobs. Especially high earnings (more than 20,000 in 1984 and 30,000 crowns in 1993) have been revised on the basis of other identifications in terms of their likelihood. Their inclusion in the data has been decided for each individual case.

Cultural activities have been operationalised from factor analyses of leisure activities – selected analogously for both years – in the form of a score derived from the first factor before rotation.

Table 1. Education, work complexity and managerial position in 1984 and 1993 (in %)

	1984	1993
Education		
Primary	28.1	18.3
Vocational	40.4	42.2
Secondary	23.7	28.1
Tertiary	7.8	11.4
Work complexity		
1 (the lowest)	7.9	9.6
2	12.3	11.5
3	16.5	10.2
4	16.0	25.7
5	24.8	16.1
6	11.2	10.3
7	5.4	7.7
8	3.7	5.8
9 (the highest)	2.3	3.2
Managerial position		
Without subordinates	80.5	74.9
Self-employed without subordinates	0.0	7.6
With 1-9 (1984), 1-10 (1993) subordinates	11.0	8.4
Self-employed with subordinates	0.0	1.9
With more than 9 (1984), more than 10 (1993) subordinates	6.5	4.0
High managers	1.9	3.3

For the categorisation of continuous status forming variables (earnings and cultural activities), the model of equidistant six degree scales has been chosen. For earnings, the 1984 interval was 750 Kčs, and the 1992 interval 1000 Kčs. With cultural activities, weights were derived from the structure of the first factor before rotation and the sum of the original frequency scales of leisure activities (0 = never, 6 = daily) was weighted by them and then divided into six equal intervals. Education and work complexity have been reduced to six degree scales through the integration of some categories. In order to create a realistic six degree scale for education, the four basic integrated categories (elementary, vocational, secondary and tertiary) were further divided in terms of the duration of the vocational schooling (apprenticeship) and the study major at secondary schools.

2.4. Status Indices Construction

The principle of equidistance has likewise been applied here. Rank-correlation matrices and factor analyses were counted on the basis of non-categorised status forming variables. The first factor before rotation determined the weights employed for the construction of the general social status index, the first after orthogonal rotation for the construction of the „cultural“ and the second after rotation of the „material“ social status indices. The categorised status forming variables were then multiplied by these weights and the values added. The resulting indices were divided into six equal intervals. The interval is equal to the highest value of the summarised index minus the lowest value divided by six.

The selection of the status forming variables for economically active individuals, the means of both their operationalisation and the creation of the synthesising social status constructs (including the typology of multi-dimensional social status patterns explained in the following paragraph) was based both on a long tradition of Czech and Slovak sociology and a self-critical analysis of the empirically based 1967, 1984 and 1991 studies evaluating social stratification. We have used all these constructs in parallel with internationally acknowledged international status and class constructs. Empirical results show that their explanatory power corresponds to the specific conditions of our country – at least to the same degree as that of standard international indices or classifications and, in some directions, even better. The EGP scheme is used in the variant applied for the 1993 international comparative survey, while for the 1984 survey data, a roughly comparable classification of those times is used. ISEI and the International occupational prestige scale in the 1993 surveys were based on the ISCO 1988; for the purposes of comparison with our social status constructs they were categorised into six degrees on the principle of equidistance.

2.5. Multi-Dimensional Social Status Patterns Typology

This construction was derived from the categorised status forming variables. Given the number of samples (particularly from 1984) it was necessary to realise the task in two steps. In the first step, on a one thousand randomly selected sub-sample the hierarchical procedure „CLUSTER“ from SPSS with parameters „average linkage between groups“ and „squared Euclidean distance“ was accomplished. We observed the „clustering“ process of the sub-sample in the last iterations (from 20 to 1 cluster) and chose a lucid structure of ten clusters with a sufficient amount of individuals. The centroids of these clusters then became the „initial values“ of the procedure „QUICK CLUSTER“ which was applied in its classification mode to the samples as a whole („method = classify“). In this case, the empirical results achieved by the cross-tabulations of the typologies with many identifying variables also show that, in some respects, this method enables a deeper insight into the concrete social reality of our country, with its frequent and abrupt social and political shifts during the recent historical developments and, therefore, wide-spread status inconsistency.

All the techniques and methodological approaches mentioned serve in our article as a means of applying the main methodological instrument, this being, of course, the historical comparison of social structures of the same society at two significant points in its historical development. From the results of this comparison, conclusions are drawn about the changes that occurred in the first phase of the post-communist social transformation in the country investigated. We see the application of an approach parallel to the generally acknowledged cross-national comparison to be extremely important for the study of individual countries' specificities. It also introduces the question of continuity and discontinuity in the ongoing profound social changes.

3. Synthesising Approaches to the Comparison

3.1. Comparison of Basic Indicators

Before presenting the results of the more complex comparisons, we display a simple historical comparison of three elementary partial status dimensions (Table 1). It is apparent, with respect to education, that in spite of a justified critique concerning the slow progress of tertiary education under communism (with university studies lasting at

least four years, in some faculties even more), some changes towards a modernisation of educational levels have been achieved during the last decade. There is now a relatively large proportion of people with the highest secondary school qualification (including, in the Czech case, people with two or three subsequent years of specialised schooling replacing the formerly non-existent undergraduate studies). Moreover, a very broad group of people completing vocational school education both for manual and non-manual occupations is typical of the Czech Republic.

One cannot expect any substantial shifts in work complexity in one decade. In any case, it is useful to present this information because work complexity is the variable which we – continuing the Czech tradition from the 1960s – use as an appropriate operationalization of the vertical differentiation of occupations. This corresponds to the phenomenon of frequent incongruencies between actual work complexity, the achieved education level and earnings.

The comparison of managerial position distribution shows the results of the reconstruction of this variable for the year 1993, at which point some progress in the privatisation had already led to the emergence of self-employed, whose managerial position – in terms of an enlarged space for decision-making – is rightly conceived to be relatively higher than the position of employees. In this way, the introduction of private property, in accordance with reality, also intervenes in the construction of synthesising status variables. The managerial position thus to some extent becomes a characteristic of class apurtenance.

3.2. Factors Influencing Earnings Distribution

The increasing earnings differentiation that, particularly after 1991, began to develop on the basis of a moderate increase in real incomes, is a typical phenomenon of the post-communist social differentiation. Parallel to this, some increase in the differentiation of wealth (fortunes) and life-styles is also to be observed. However, only the factors influencing earnings can be compared on the basis of our samples.

Table 2 shows clearly the decline in the influence of traditional demographic factors mostly explaining the existing earnings differentiation in the egalitarian past. If we take education and work complexity as two variables operationalising the differentiation of people according to their qualification and performance, then their influence as a whole increased somewhat. However, the most remarkable change is the increase in the predictive force of managerial position distribution following from this variable's embodiment of self-employment. Thus, from the first steps of our analysis, two typical processes in the ongoing social differentiation are observable: the parallel assertion of meritocratic and class principles.

3.3. Class Differentiation

The modernised class classifications, particularly those based on rather neo-Weberian concepts such as the EGP scheme [Erikson, Goldthorpe 1972], represent one possibility of conceiving an *a priori* classification through a configuration of some partial social differentiations such as those in ownership, education, nature of work, management position, and work in different branches of the economy. We have used this scheme for the presentation of 1993 data. 1984 data are presented under a classification created by the authors of the survey on class and social structure in Czechoslovakia.

Table 2. Multiple regressions of individual earnings in 1984 and 1993
(Beta coefficients)*

	1984	1993
Gender	-0.53	-0.33
Age	0.17	-0.04**
Education	0.17	0.15
Managerial position	0.12	0.26
Work complexity	0.08	0.15

*) Earnings have been transformed to logarithmic values.

**) Statistical significance 0.02.

Table 3. Class position 1984 and 1993 (in %)

1984		1993	
Higher professionals	10.2	Higher professionals	9.7
Lower technicians	6.5	Lower professionals	14.5
Administrative workers	17.5	Routine non-manual	14.0
		Self-employed with employees	2.4
		Self-employed without employees	7.2
Highly qualified workers	3.0	Supervisors of manual	2.1
Skilled workers	25.3	Skilled workers	16.8
Unskilled workers	22.5	Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	28.5
Manual in agriculture	7.3	Manual in agriculture	4.8
Other manual	7.7		

Table 3 compares the identified class structures. The figures clearly show a continuing fall in the percentage of manual in agriculture, connected with a) the tendency to an abrupt and strict introduction of market principles to Czech agriculture in a much more severe form than within the European Union and b) a deterioration in the agricultural situation as a result of the privatisation processes (restitutions concerning mostly land ownership) and the rather chaotic privatisation of state-owned farms. A substantial fall in the share of skilled workers and a partial fall in the total of semi-skilled and unskilled workers (in 1984 unskilled workers plus the other manual), connected with the decline in excessive levels of industrial production (particularly in the big plants), can be observed. On the other hand, there has been a rise in the relative number of lower professionals, caused mainly by a growth in the service sector (administration) and partly by the demand for this category of workers in the private sector. If we consider that at least part of the self-employed participate in non-manual jobs, it will be clear that a gradual reduction in the abnormal (for Western countries) share of the manual labour-force, typical of Central Eastern Europe, has begun in the Czech Republic, although it remains relatively high among employees. All this reveals nuclei of the nascent modernisation of the national economy, with its manifold, significant social consequences.

The main change, however, is the emergence of a considerable group of self-employed, roughly divided between „medium-scale entrepreneurs“ with employees and small businessmen, craftsmen, and people without employees offering various services. (In practice, the percentage of real medium-scale entrepreneurs is likely less than 2.4%, since many of the entrepreneurs with employees have only one or two assistants and

belong rather to the group of small businessmen.) In addition, the formal registration of employees shows that at least the same percentage of self-employed from the total labour-force as given in the table (i.e. about another 10%), are developing private business activities on a part-time basis. The number of formally registered self-employed grew approximately 12-fold during the five year period after November 1989. A large portion of people are apparently engaged in private activities without official registration, that is, in the grey and black economies. These phenomena, combined with careful and pragmatic governmental policy concerning bankruptcies and wage regulation, have contributed significantly to the low unemployment rate.

In any case, in spite of the long-lasting tradition of a highly systematic suppression of private economic activities (even when compared with Poland and Hungary), at least one fifth of the economically active people in the Czech lands take part in private economic activities, either in full-time or part-time jobs, with or without official permission. This is an enormous social change directly influencing a substantial part of the population and, indirectly, the population as a whole. On the other hand, the possibilities for the development of small-scale proprietor are not yet fully exhausted. The development of the medium-scale entrepreneur is only in its initial phases, as is the likely joining of some employee groups to a gradually emerging middle class.

The complicated issue of large-scale privatisation has been discussed elsewhere [Machonin 1994: 74-75]. The data from large representative general surveys do not give a sufficient insight into this problem.

It is quite clear that the already described processes represent an analogy of the primary accumulation of capital and a renewed creation of classes and subclasses of large and medium-scale capitalists, small-scale proprietors and, eventually, of employees involved in private business on a part-time basis, as well as „rentiers“. While in general the process is moving quite rapidly, the crucial changes – the emergence of a relatively large middle class and that of a capitalist elite and, dependent on this, a new system of relationships among the new classes and of the employed people and rank and file members of co-operatives – are only in their initial phases. Thus, for the time being the future shape of the class society which will likely prevail in the Czech Republic remains unclear. Its creation and further development should, however, be carefully monitored.

3.4. The Internal Structure of Multi-Dimensional Social Status and Synthesising Status Indices

Another way (rather empirical and conceived *a posteriori*) of linking several social status dimensions in a synthesising construct is based on the multi-dimensional social status concept. Correlation matrices of partial indicators of individual social status for economically active persons presented in the upper part of table 4 primarily show the low correlations of earnings with all other 1984 status indicators. This seems to corroborate the hypothesis concerning the status inconsistency or destratification typical of the state socialist society at least in this concrete parameter. Furthermore, the role of the managerial position with self-employment included increased somewhat after four years of transformation. Of course, this variable already manifested a relatively close correlation with earnings in 1984. At that time, however, this was apparently caused by the connection of the differentiation in managerial positions with participation in official politics (functions or membership in the Communist party, eventually appurtenance to the nomenclature).

Table 4. Rank-correlation matrices and factor analyses of status forming variables*

Matrices									
1984					1993				
	CA	EA	MP	WC		CA	EA	MP	WC
ED	0.49	0.19	0.34	0.62	ED	0.49	0.28	0.31	0.65
WC	0.37	0.20	0.31		WC	0.42	0.32	0.35	
MP	0.16	0.30			MP	0.16	0.43		
EA	0.08				EA	0.14			

*) ED = education, WC = work complexity, MP = managerial position, EA = earnings, CA = cultural activities.

Factor analyses				
Before rotation				
	1984		1993	
Status forming variables	F1	F2	F1	F2
Education	0.84	-0.22	0.82	-0.28
Work complexity	0.80	-0.14	0.82	-0.17
Managerial position	0.59	0.49	0.61	0.56
Earnings	0.42	0.73	0.58	0.61
Cultural activities	0.64	-0.46	0.63	-0.52
Exhausted variation	46.0%	21.1%	49.2%	21.1%
After orthogonal rotation				
	1984		1993	
Status forming variables	F1	F2	F1	F2
Education	0.84	0.23	0.83	0.25
Work complexity	0.76	0.28	0.76	0.35
Managerial position	0.27	0.72	0.17	0.81
Earnings	-0.01	0.84	0.11	0.83
Cultural activities	0.79	-0.07	0.82	-0.05
Exhausted variation	39.7%	27.4%	37.1%	33.2%

On the basis of correlation matrices we obtained factor analyses described in the second part of table 4. The percentage of variance exhausted by the first factor before rotation in the 1993 data, is somewhat higher than in the 1984 data. The difference is, however, minimal, so that this kind of test can hardly be used as serious proof of a higher level of status consistency after four years of post-communist transformation. Status inconsistency continues to be relatively significant; we know that status consistency in 1993 has probably not yet reached the level identified on the eve of the Prague Spring, i.e. 1967. (Compare [Machonin et al. 1969]). At the beginning of 1993 the restratification process was still in an initial phase.

The structure of the two factors after rotation is surprisingly similar for the two cases analysed. In both years, the first and stronger factor represents the interdependence of education, work complexity and life-style, operating more or less in the same direction. This means that in spite of the incongruity between declared earnings and the attained educational and occupational status, people somehow managed (likely on the basis of extra occupational activities and/or undeclared incomes) to spend their leisure on a level roughly corresponding to the cultural niveau designated by their education and

occupation. In this sense, a certain degree of meritocracy was achieved in both analysed situations, although the apparent discrepancy between earnings and cultural activities in 1984 clearly reveals the increasing role of life in the unofficial „second society“. The second factor is characterised by the relatively close connection of managerial position and income distribution. This factor is even stronger in 1993 than in 1984, likely because of the inclusion of the ownership aspect into the variable measuring participation in management. On the other hand, the political power aspect (not operationalised in 1984 for conceptual difficulties) certainly was a source of the rigidity of the vertical social differentiation at that time. In both analysed historical situations, the second factor has something to do with the class aspect of the social differentiation. Only in 1984 was it connected with the typical „new class“ system [Djilas 1957], whereas in 1993 it was connected with the emerging differentiation according to private property, that is, with some return to the classical class differentiation. In 1993, its connection with work complexity was a little stronger. In any case, the significance of the meritocratic and class principle duality seems once again to have been corroborated for both analysed cases. It is particularly important for the present situation and for future developments, as the meritocratic and the class types of vertical social differentiation apparently both complement and compete with one another in the present social differentiation system.

For both historical cases, the procedure, described in part 2 of this article, created three synthesising social status indices: the general based on the first factor before rotation; the „cultural“ based on the first factors after rotation, in which education, work complexity and cultural level of life-style dominated; and the „material“, in which the managerial (power) position and material standard, in particular income, played decisive roles. See Table 5.

The final distribution of the general status based on this model does not show any substantial changes in the formal shape of the vertical social differentiation between 1984 and 1993. In both cases, it takes the „pear-like“ distribution. This way it is not possible to show the differences between a society based more on totalitarian and egalitarian principles and the society developing along the lines of the Western model of class differentiated society with meritocratic tendencies. However, the analogous operation with both the „cultural“ and „material“ statuses reveals some interesting features symptomatic of these two different distributions. First of all, in both cases the cultural differentiation, more corresponding to the meritocratic principles, is somewhat more gradual than the material differentiation: In accordance with the class principle, this is steeper. At the same time, the shape of the cultural distribution is more gradual in 1993 than in 1984. This could mean that when compared with the totalitarian and rather anti-meritocratic social system of the 1980s some progress in (meritocratic) stratification in the first phase of social transformation has occurred. The differences in the material statuses for 1984 and 1993 demonstrate some progress in overcoming egalitarianism.

Table 5. Multidimensional social status indices in 1984 and 1993 in %

General social status (6 = the highest, 1 = the lowest)

	1984	%	1993	%
6		3.0		3.2
5		9.0		8.9
4		14.1		16.0
3		26.9		26.6
2		32.3		30.7
1		14.7		14.7

„Cultural“ social status (6 = the highest, 1 = the lowest)

	1984	%	1993	%
6		3.6		7.4
5		11.2		12.5
4		16.8		19.0
3		19.9		26.5
2		33.7		23.6
1		14.8		11.0

„Material“ social status (6 = the highest, 1 = the lowest)

	1984	%	1993	%
6		2.7		3.2
5		5.9		3.8
4		10.0		9.4
3		22.5		20.4
2		41.8		34.5
1		17.1		28.3

3.5. Multi-Dimensional Social Status Typology

By means of procedures described in part 2 of this article, the typology of multidimensional social status patterns for both analysed historical points has been constructed. A first glance at Table 6 shows that the 1993 structure has a somewhat higher percentage of relatively consistent status patterns (clusters 10, 6, 3 and 1 in 1984 and 10, 7, 2 and 1 in 1984). In both cases, the lowest, status-consistent grouping is numerous, encompassing not only unskilled and semi-skilled workers but also some portion of other categories, including in 1993 some routine non-manual or self-employed without employees. At this point the typological approach, based on using unweighted status dimensions for cluster analysis, introduces a picture partly differing from that described in part 3.4. It stresses rather the bipolar class character of both the ancient and the emerging new structures. Besides that, many other analogies and similarities in the 1984 and 1993 typological structures are apparent. However, the analysis of this problem will be published in the connection with detailed social identifications of individual clusters at a later date.

Table 6. Typology of multidimensional social status patterns* in 1984 and 1993
(Partial status scales 1 = the lowest status, 6 = the highest status)

Number of cluster	%	Average value	ED	WC	MP	EA	CA
1984							
10	2.4	4.98	5.6	5.1	5.4	5.1	3.7
9	3.9	4.18	5.2	5.2	3.0	3.7	3.8
8	5.1	4.12	4.1	4.9	5.2	3.2	3.2
7	8.5	3.68	5.4	5.0	1.0	2.9	4.1
6	3.7	3.16	2.7	4.2	3.2	2.8	2.9
5	7.7	2.94	2.8	3.2	1.2	4.7	2.8
4	16.5	2.80	3.7	4.1	1.0	2.0	3.2
3	3.8	2.62	2.5	1.9	3.4	2.9	2.4
2	10.1	2.08	1.2	3.7	1.0	1.9	2.6
1	38.3	1.88	1.9	2.1	1.0	2.2	2.2
1993							
10	4.8	4.94	5.2	5.1	5.0	5.9	3.5
9	2.6	4.48	5.1	5.0	5.2	3.3	3.8
8	10.8	3.94	5.5	5.5	1.2	3.3	4.2
7	4.5	3.68	3.9	4.5	2.9	3.3	3.8
6	1.7	3.56	2.2	4.4	4.8	3.7	2.7
5	6.3	3.52	4.1	3.6	1.4	5.1	3.4
4	6.2	2.82	2.2	3.0	1.4	5.1	2.4
3	21.0	2.78	3.8	3.7	1.0	2.2	3.2
2	3.2	2.72	2.4	3.8	2.9	1.9	2.6
1	38.9	1.90	1.9	2.2	1.0	1.9	2.5

*) ED = education, WC = work complexity, MP = managerial position, EA = earnings, CA = cultural activities.

4. The Interdependencies of Status Indices and Other Variables

4.1. Mutual Interdependencies of Synthesising Status Constructs

The contingency and rank correlation coefficients presented in the upper parts of Tables 9 and 10 show that the linkages among the general status indices and the cultural and material statuses correspond to the method of their construction. Somewhat higher values of the correlation coefficients for relations between cultural and material statuses in 1993 testify to the progress of status consistency in this specific parameter – that is, to the assumption that the stratification and class principle of social differentiation thus far complement rather than contradict one another. (This was not the case in the totalitarian and anti-meritocratic society of the past.) Close associations of general status indices and status typologies (in both cases = 0.81) prove that, although technically independent, both these synthesising methods of multi-dimensional social status construction reflect two only slightly differing and closely related aspects of the same sphere of social reality.

The cross-tabulation of two conceptually and technically quite independent „measures“ of vertical social differentiation (class categorisation and general social status indices), and eventually multi-dimensional status typology, have in Tables 7 and 8 uncovered extremely important information. The contingency coefficient values equal or

overreaching 0.7 in all tables show that the three constructs in question represent different measures of distinct but mutually intertwining aspects of social reality.

Table 7. Crosstabulations of „class“ position and general social status in %
(6 = the highest, 1 = the lowest)

1984 Class position	Social status						Row Total
	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Higher professionals	24.1	49.7	23.5	2.7			10.2
	83.2	56.1	16.8	1.0			
Lower technicians	3.4	32.5	51.9	11.1	1.1		6.6
	7.7	24.0	24.3	2.7	0.2		
Administrative workers	1.4	8.7	31.7	46.7	10.3	1.1	17.5
	8.7	17.1	39.3	30.4	5.6	1.3	
Highly qualified workers		2.5	17.7	41.0	33.5	5.3	3.0
		0.9	3.8	4.6	3.1	1.1	
Skilled workers		0.2	4.7	43.0	44.6	7.5	25.8
		0.6	8.5	41.2	35.5	13.2	
Unskilled workers			0.5	12.6	47.6	39.4	22.1
			0.8	10.4	32.5	59.3	
Peasants			1.0	10.1	47.6	41.3	7.3
			0.5	2.7	10.8	20.5	
Other manual	0.2	1.5	11.3	25.2	52.7	9.1	7.5
	0.4	1.3	6.0	7.0	12.3	4.6	
Column total	2.9	9.0	14.1	26.9	32.4	14.7	100.0

Coefficient of contingency = 0.71

1993 Class position	Social status						Row total
	6	5	4	3	2	1	
Higher professionals	24.4	46.3	25.7	3.6			9.7
	74.6	50.1	15.6	1.3			
Lower professionals	0.9	19.6	43.4	29.9	6.2		15.1
	4.4	33.0	41.0	17.0	3.0		
Routine non-manual		0.2	10.5	47.4	34.4	7.5	14.1
		0.4	9.3	25.1	15.8	7.1	
Self-employed	16.4	24.2	39.5	17.0	2.9		2.3
with employees	11.9	6.2	5.7	1.5	0.2		
Self-employed	0.6	7.8	28.9	37.7	20.6	4.4	7.0
without employees	1.3	6.1	12.7	10.0	4.7	2.1	
Supervisors of manual	9.0	8.1	56.3	24.4	2.2		2.1
	5.8	1.9	7.2	1.9	0.1		
Skilled workers		0.2	3.9	40.7	51.8	3.4	16.7
		0.3	4.1	25.7	28.3	3.9	
Semi-skilled and	0.2	0.6	2.2	15.7	42.8	38.5	28.5
unskilled workers	2.1	2.0	4.0	16.8	39.8	74.7	
Manual in agriculture			1.4	4.8	54.7	39.1	4.5
			0.4	0.8	8.1	12.1	
Column total	3.2	9.0	15.9	26.6	30.6	14.7	100.0

Coefficient of contingency = 0.70

For both years under analysis, Table 7 shows that the class scheme, based in principle on strict limits between manual and non-manual occupations, does not fully correspond to both the past and present social situations in the Czech lands. In both cases, particularly in 1993, one can find many routine non-manual, eventually self-employed without employees who belong to the two lowest social status categories. On the other hand, many manual, especially skilled and semi-skilled workers, not to speak of highly qualified workers or supervisors, belong to the two middle status categories. The status positions of such important categories as higher professionals and qualified workers remained the same or very similar in 1993 and 1984, while that of lower professionals and routine non-manual fell somewhat. In the general status hierarchy the new category of self-employed with employees took the second best position after higher professionals, whereas self-employed without employees attained a place between lower professionals and routine non-manual.

Furthermore, semi-skilled and unskilled workers and manual in agriculture now also occupy a relatively lower position than in the mid-1980s, while the creation of a group of self-employed, divided into those with and those without employees, also contributed to a social differentiation corresponding to the class scheme. Analogically (see Table 8), the concentration of most semi-skilled, unskilled and manual in agriculture in the lowest type of multi-dimensional status patterns differentiation, of the self-employed with employees in the higher clusters and without employees in the middle lower ones, contributed to the assertion of class differentiation. The concentration of a number of higher professionals in cluster 8, of a part of lower professionals in cluster No. 3 and a large part of routine non-manual in clusters 3 and even 1 operates conversely. It seems that those differentiation processes which are bringing the Czech social structure closer to the Western type of class relationships are moderately prevalent. At the same time, the process has not yet advanced considerably. This circumstance helps explain the continuing maintenance of social peace in the country.

4.2. Identifications of Synthesising Status Constructs by Other Variables

Tables 9, 10 and 11 present an overview of normalised contingency coefficients, eventually of Spearman's rank correlations measuring the intensity of connection between synthesising status constructs, based on class categorisation, and on multi-dimensional social status hierarchies or typological status patterns and many other variables. On the basis of a definitive version of the international stratification and mobility sample, we could also add some information for 1993 on the coefficients measuring the explanatory power of the Standard International Socio-economic Index of Occupational Status ISEI [Ganzeboom 1992] and the International Occupational Prestige Scale IPS [Treiman 1977].

The mutual relations of different instruments measuring the class or status positions in both historical situations have been already discussed. Here we should add that both the ISEI and IPS (closely correlated with one another) have relatively more intense correlations, and, eventually, associations with the general and cultural status indices and with the status pattern typologies than with the material status indices. This is not surprising since they were constructed to measure the general status differentiation bound to the occupational status, which constitutes one of the axes for all our status constructs, the one exception being the so-called material status index.

Table 8. „Class“ position and typology of multidimensional social status in %

1984	Cluster										Row
Class position	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	total
Higher professionals	18.0	22.6	9.8	43.5	1.3	2.8	1.8			0.2	
	78.2	58.8	19.5	51.4	3.7	3.7	1.1			0.1	10.1
Lower technicians	4.4	8.8	33.9	27.6	5.5	0.3	17.3		2.2		
	12.6	15.0	44.1	21.4	9.9	0.2	6.9		1.4		6.6
Administrative workers	0.7	4.9	7.5	10.2	6.6	2.1	52.3	1.8	6.9	7.0	
	5.6	22.2	25.8	20.9	31.1	4.8	55.1	8.6	11.9	3.2	17.5
Highly qualified workers	0.9	2.0	3.0	4.7	4.7	13.4	13.6	20.7	2.9	34.1	
	1.1	1.6	1.8	1.7	3.9	5.2	2.5	16.5	0.9	2.7	3.0
Skilled workers	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.9	4.0	17.6	15.3	6.0	8.7	46.7	
	0.9	0.3	2.9	2.7	27.6	58.6	23.8	40.9	22.1	31.6	25.9
Unskilled workers			0.1	0.1	0.6	7.4	2.9	2.8	23.4	62.7	
			0.6	0.2	3.6	21.2	3.8	16.6	51.3	36.2	22.1
Peasants			0.3		0.4	4.7	2.4	2.5	3.3	86.4	
			0.4		0.7	4.5	1.0	4.9	2.4	16.5	7.3
Other manual	0.5	1.1	3.3	1.9	9.7	1.9	12.7	6.3	13.4	49.2	
	1.6	2.2	4.9	1.7	19.7	1.8	5.8	12.5	10.0	9.7	7.5
Column total	2.3	3.9	5.1	8.5	3.7	7.7	16.6	3.8	10.1	38.3	100.0

Coefficient of contingency = 0.73

1993	Cluster										Row
Class position	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Total
Higher professionals	32.3	18.8	36.2	3.4	5.7	2.1		0.4	1.1		
	64.7	68.9	32.5	7.4	33.2	3.2		0.2	3.4		9.7
Lower professionals	2.5	0.3	37.0	16.3	0.2	8.0	1.2	24.7	7.2	2.6	
	7.9	1.7	51.9	54.4	2.2	19.0	2.9	17.8	33.9	1.1	15.1
Routine non-manual			4.7			6.7	1.5	51.2		35.9	
			6.1			14.9	3.4	34.4		13.0	14.1
Self-employed with employees	37.0	14.1		13.3	14.4		7.3		13.9		
	17.4	12.2		6.7	19.7		2.7		9.9		2.3
Self-employed without employees			11.0	8.8		23.6	18.2	11.1	8.0	19.3	
			7.2	13.7		26.1	20.6	3.7	17.4	3.5	7.0
Supervisors	17.6	12.5	6.5	8.4	32.6	3.3	2.5	5.0	11.6		
	7.4	9.7	1.2	3.8	40.0	1.1	0.8	0.5	7.4		2.1
Skilled workers			0.4	1.4		7.6	10.1	37.7	3.1	39.6	
			0.6	5.2		20.1	27.4	30.2	16.4	17.0	16.7
Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	0.4	0.6	0.2	1.3	0.3	3.4	8.5	9.0	1.3	75.0	
	2.6	6.6	0.5	7.9	4.9	15.1	39.0	12.3	11.6	55.0	28.5
Manual in agriculture		0.5		0.9		0.7	4.3	4.2		89.4	
		0.9		0.9		0.5	3.2	0.9		10.4	4.5
Column total	4.8	2.6	10.8	4.5	1.7	6.3	6.2	20.9	3.2	39.0	100.0

Coefficient of contingency = 0.75

Table 9. Interdependence of synthesising status constructs and other variables in 1984
(Values of coefficients of contingency CN and rank correlations RC)*

	CP	GS		CS		MS		TS
	CN	CN	RC	CN	RC	CN	RC	RC
Class position (CP)	—	0.72		0.64		0.58		0.73
General status (GS)	0.72	—		0.85	0.93	0.73	0.75	0.81
„Cultural“ status (CS)	0.64	0.85	0.93	—		0.59	0.60	0.77
„Material“ status (MS)	0.58	0.73	0.75	0.59		—		0.81
Typology of status (TS)	0.73	0.81		0.77		0.81		—
Education	0.77	0.74	0.82	0.76	0.84	0.56	0.56	0.75
Work complexity	0.72	0.72	0.78	0.72	0.78	0.58	0.57	0.73
Managerial position	0.44	0.58	0.50	0.44	0.40	0.71	0.63	0.80
Earnings	0.43	0.49	0.44	0.33	0.26	0.72	0.78	0.66
Cultural activities	0.46	0.54	0.58	0.64	0.67	0.23	0.20	0.49
Gender	0.40	0.23	-0.20	0.15	-0.08	0.43	-0.46	0.35
Age	0.15	0.18		0.16		0.20		0.27
Locality**	0.37	0.31	0.31	0.33	0.32	0.24	0.17	0.30
Communist Party membership***	0.25	0.29	-0.24	0.22	-0.20	0.36	-0.28	0.34
Orientation to performance	0.30	0.30	-0.26	0.30	-0.25	0.26	-0.23	0.29

*) Here and in the following tables: CP = class position, GS = general social status, CS = „cultural“ social status, MS = „material“ social status, TS = typology of multi-dimensional social patterns (clusters).

**) Here and in the following tables: number of inhabitants in increasing order.

***) 1 = functionary, 2 = member, 3 = non-member.

The comparison of coefficients illustrating the relations of the status constructs and other variables for the years 1984 and 1993 raises some interesting points. In 1993, managerial position, operationalised with respect to the increased autonomy of the self-employed, is naturally more closely associated with class position than the same variable in 1984. Further, the data show the diminishing role of gender and age in determining status positions. It is interesting that the role of the (at present mostly former) Communist Party membership/non-membership sank only slightly. This fact points to the already described phenomenon of investment and/or conversion of social, cultural, political and economic capital accumulated by Communists in the former regime into various forms of actual capital, also enabling the maintenance or attainment of corresponding social status under the new conditions of the post-communist transformation. If in 1988 data from some of those former Communists who did not correctly answer the question concerning their membership could be included, the tendency to this kind of career would be even more distinct. The 1984 data do not provide sufficient material for a comparison of the explanatory force of our three synthesising status constructs. On the basis of 1991 data, we discussed a similar issue, concluding that both the EGP class scheme and the ISEI „gave slightly better results in relation to the variables derived from occupation. Meanwhile, the status-pattern groupings explain more concretely and objectively the whole social context of stratification, including the attitudes and forms of behaviour.“ [Machonin, Tuček 1992b: 665]

Table 10. Interdependence of synthesizing status constructs and other variables in 1993
(Values of coefficients of contingency CN and rank correlations RC)

	ISEI		CP	GS		CS		MS		TS	IPS	
	CN	RC	CN	CN	RC	CN	RC	CN	RC	CN	CN	RC
International socio-economic index (ISEI)	–		0.74	0.65	0.69	0.67	0.71	0.53	0.54	0.65	0.82	0.86
Class position (CP)	0.74		–	0.70		0.68		0.66		0.75	0.71	
General status (GS)	0.65	0.69	0.70	–		0.82	0.92	0.78	0.84	0.81	0.68	0.74
„Cultural“ status (CS)	0.67	0.71	0.67	0.82	0.92	–		0.65	0.71	0.77	0.69	0.75
„Material“ status (MS)	0.53	0.54	0.68	0.78	0.84	0.65	0.71	–		0.81	0.56	0.60
Typology of status = clusters (TS)	0.65		0.75	0.81		0.77		0.81		–	0.68	
International prestige scale (IPS)	0.82	0.86	0.71	0.68	0.74	0.69	0.75	0.56	0.60	0.68	–	
Education	0.63	0.62	0.65	0.75	0.81	0.78	0.82	0.58	0.60	0.73	0.63	0.62
Work complexity	0.72	0.71	0.70	0.73	0.82	0.75	0.82	0.62	0.68	0.73	0.77	0.80
Managerial position	0.38	0.32	0.84	0.62	0.52	0.43	0.39	0.71	0.63	0.78	0.44	0.35
Earnings	0.36	0.31	0.47	0.59	0.59	0.45	0.44	0.73	0.81	0.72	0.37	0.35
Cultural activities	0.42	0.41	0.42	0.53	0.55	0.63	0.67	0.32	0.31	0.52	0.43	0.41
Gender	0.25	-0.01	0.37	0.21	-0.18	0.19	-0.10	0.32	-0.33	0.29	0.14	0.05
Age	0.11		0.17	0.12		0.12		0.12		0.20	0.11	
Locality	0.29	0.27	0.35	0.32	0.31	0.32	0.31	0.27	0.26	0.32	0.28	0.25
Communist Party membership**	0.14	0.11	0.21	0.23		0.17		0.24		0.24	0.17	0.13
Self-employment: yes/no	0.13	-0.12	0.69	0.20	-0.20	0.16	-0.13	0.31	-0.29	0.31	0.17	-0.14
Industry (branch)	0.51		0.65	0.36		0.42		0.29		0.47	0.45	
Social capital	0.28	0.26	0.33	0.37	0.35	0.35	0.34	0.32	0.29	0.35	0.29	0.27
Household equipment	0.29	0.29	0.35	0.37	0.36	0.33	0.34	0.35	0.32	0.38	0.29	0.28
Self-ranking according to family income	0.23	0.20	0.30	0.33	0.28	0.28	0.24	0.36	0.30	0.34	0.24	0.20
Family social self-ranking	0.28	0.25	0.32	0.34	0.32	0.32	0.30	0.34	0.29	0.34	0.29	0.25
Evaluation of changes in quality of life since 1989: better/worse	0.26	-0.24	0.31	0.31	-0.30	0.30	-0.30	0.29	-0.27	0.32	0.26	-0.24

*) 1 = non-Communists, 2 = expelled after 1968, 3 = left after 1989, 4 = still Communists

This time, in 1993, we have used the EGP and ISEI and, in addition, both the IPS and our general social status index. Table 10 proves that the EGP scheme's associations with demographic variables and indicators connected with forms of ownership and the branch structure are still stronger than those of the other constructs. In relation to most other variables, it operates equally well as a general status or status typology, except with those partial status indicator variables used for the synthesising social status construction and some of the very important variables representing social and political attitudes and value orientations. In these cases, the status typology, as a rule, provides the most concrete explanation of the objective characteristics influencing the dependent variables. The differences in the explanatory power of EGP, on the one hand, and the multi-dimensional status typology, on the other, seem to have diminished somewhat over the last two years. This runs in accordance with our assumption as to the EGP's prospects of becoming more important in the future stages of the post-communist transformation. It will occur to the same extent to which the emerging class structure will assert itself in reality. In any case, the multi-dimensional typology provides a great deal of concrete and detailed information which is worthy of elaboration.

Table 11. Interdependence of synthesising status constructs and other variables in 1993 BB*
(Values of coefficients of contingency)

	CP	GS	CS	MS	TS
Evaluation of financial accessibility					
of goods and services	0.40	0.33	0.31	0.36	0.34
Individual social self-ranking	0.47	0.41	0.39	0.35	0.40
Preferred leisure activities	0.45	0.46	0.50	0.34	0.45
Conformity to the regime	0.26	0.27	0.26	0.25	0.26
Confidence in central state institutions	0.25	0.20	0.21	0.22	0.22
Attitude to the present social order	0.25	0.30	0.29	0.26	0.23
Evaluation of the transformation	0.21	0.20	0.20	0.24	0.21
General expectations for the future	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.28	
Satisfaction with social security	0.23	0.21	0.21	0.23	0.24
Individual responsibility					
for standard of living	0.35	0.36	0.36	0.36	0.35
Necessity of limitations on incomes					
and fortunes	0.34	0.27	0.28	0.30	0.29
Role of education in determining					
the reward	0.27	0.25	0.29	0.24	0.31
Parliamentary or participative democracy	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.26	0.30
Liberal orientation	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.23	0.26
Left-wing vs. right-wing orientation	0.36	0.29	0.28	0.27	0.26
Preferences for individual political parties	0.45	0.34	0.30	0.27	0.47

*) Due to the different data selection period (spring vs. autumn 1993), the status characteristics, although constructed in the same way as the 1993 data, are not fully identical with the characteristics in the preceding table. In the column TS, we even use contingency coefficients counted on the data from an un-reweighted sample. However, the survey 1993 BB offers a greater opportunity to analyse the interdependence of status constructs similar at least to „subjective“ phenomena such as attitudes and value orientations and, eventually, behaviour.

ISEI and IPS most noticeably enter into strong associations and, eventually, correlations with variables derived from occupational characteristics. On the other hand, their explanatory force is, as a rule, somewhat weaker than that of our social status indices and substantially weaker than that of our status typology. This is determined by their connection with the occupational status, on the one hand, and by their origin in international comparative data that could not be fully adapted to the specific conditions of our country or of other countries with similar conditions. Their indispensability for the cross-national comparative surveys is doubtless. However, for historical comparisons within one country, either the EGP scheme, or our synthesising status constructs seem more suitable. It is likely that after some years of transformation changes, the application of ISEI and IPS will be increasingly plausible.

Both Table 11 (1993 BB) and, to some degree, Table 10 provide an overview of the associations (and, in some cases, correlations) between global status constructs and some indicators of the population's attitudes, value orientations and subjective behaviour.

Table 12. Typology of social status and Communist Party membership

Number of cluster	1984		1993	
	Member 1984	Non-member 1984	Member 1988	Non-member 1988
10	63.0	37.0	31.3	68.7
9	30.2	89.8	33.1	66.9
8	46.1	53.9	15.4	84.6
7	18.3	81.7	18.6	81.4
6	26.8	73.2	22.3	77.7
5	24.9	75.1	15.0	85.0
4	10.6	89.4	8.7	91.3
3	22.4	77.6	10.1	89.9
2	7.1	92.9	13.1	86.9
1	10.3	89.7	8.7	91.3
Total	16.7	83.3	12.7	87.3
Coefficient of contingency	0.30		0.19	

Table 13. Evaluation of financial accessibility of goods and services among class-like groups (1993 BB)

Class position	Higher	Middle	Lower
Higher professionals	37.4	33.6	29.0
Lower professionals	27.2	43.7	29.1
Routine non-manual	17.5	41.6	40.9
Self-employed with employees	72.2	11.0	16.8
Self-employed without employees	32.6	33.8	33.6
Supervisors	24.0	36.6	39.4
Skilled workers	20.0	44.6	35.4
Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	12.7	36.9	50.4
Manual in agriculture	0.0	32.3	67.7
Total	23.0	38.9	38.1

Table 14. Should the amount of private property and income be limited?
(1993 BB)

Class position	Rather no	Neutral	Rather yes
Higher professionals	54.3	24.5	21.2
Lower professionals	45.2	32.4	22.4
Routine non-manual	37.3	37.1	25.6
Self-employed with employees	74.9	21.2	9.9
Self-employed without employees	65.7	26.5	7.8
Supervisors	50.0	22.4	27.6
Skilled workers	47.1	37.0	27.9
Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	27.0	42.7	30.3
Manual in agriculture	0.0	32.3	67.7
Total	42.7	34.1	23.2

Tables 12-14 demonstrate three examples of interesting cross-tabulations of that kind. We would like to direct the reader's special attention to the high value of the contingency coefficients for the relations of the EGP scheme and, particularly, of the status typology with voting preferences. In general, the interdependence of the status and class categorisations and of the indicators of subjective attitudes and forms of behaviour is distinctly growing as compared with our 1991 data. Our hypothesis that the loose associations identified in 1991 were a result of a) the population's lack of experience of the new social reality, and b) the fact that at the time we did not analyse the Czech and Slovak attitudes separately [Machonin, Tuček 1992c: 800-801], thus seems to be well-founded. For the future, we should probably reckon with a further differentiation in beliefs and behaviour and with their even closer interdependence with the indicators of vertical social differentiation. A process of increasingly precise reflection of the respondents own social positions and mobility movements by their social and political orientations and attitudes seems to be occurring even in the Czech Republic, where in all comparative surveys the pro-reform attitudes are represented by substantially higher percentages than in any other post-socialist Central Eastern country. [Tuček 1993; Machonin 1992b]

* * *

We believe that our analysis of the years 1984 and 1994 provides new information on the changes typical of the post-communist social transformation, at least in the Czech Republic. Brief conclusions summarising this information have been formulated in the abstract of this article.

Of course, we have further detailed social identifications of the typological multi-dimensional social-status patterns. They are highly interesting and will, in our opinion, contribute substantially to elucidating the question of the continuity and/or discontinuity of social structures in the 1980s and 1990s. However, due to limited space, we have not incorporated this empirical material in the present article.

PAVEL MACHONIN was the head of a team that in 1967 carried out the first representative survey on social stratification and mobility in Czechoslovakia. The results of the survey were published in 1969 in the book *Czechoslovak Society*. After an enforced break in research activities, he returned to his work at the Charles University in 1990. At present, he is working at the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences in Prague. He has published a new study *Czechoslovakia's Social Structure on the Eve of the Prague Spring 1968 (1992)* as well as a number of articles in the *Czech Sociological Review*. In the framework of an international project *Eastern Central Europe 1993* he elaborated the study *Post-Communist Transformation in the Social and Political sphere in the Czech Republic*. His research activities continue to focus on the ongoing social transformation in the Czech and Slovak Republics.

MILAN TUČEK is a researcher at the Institute of Sociology in Prague. By education, he is a mathematician, by scientific approbation, a sociologist. He is engaged in the methodology of representative sociological surveys and in the problems of class structure and social stratification as well as social and political attitudes in the former state socialist countries. In this field, he has published a number of articles in the *Czech Sociological Review* and continues systematic empirical research activities.

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Economic Change, Inequality and Distress in the Czech Republic

JOSEPH HRABA^{*}
FREDERICK LORENZ
GANG LEE

Iowa State University, Ames

ZDEŇKA PECHAČOVÁ^{**}
University of Agricultural, Prague

Abstract: Social scientists predict that inequality will surely grow during the economic and political restructuring of East Europe. This inequality will result in uneven distress in these societies, according to stress-distress researchers. Furthermore, the relations between inequality of position and distress (depression and anxiety) are mediated by mastery and appraisal; these two elaborated models were tested in this study.

The results generally supported both elaborated models. First, in the revised models only two indicators of position (education and gender) were directly related to distress. Regardless of mastery and economic coping, Czech women in 1990 reported increased levels of both depression and anxiety, findings consistent with previous research in the Czech Republic [Lee et al. 1994]. Respondents with higher education reported more depression. Secondly, the relations of the exogenous variables (social position) to both mediator variables (mastery and appraisal) were in the expected directions. For example, household size is significantly and positively related to economic coping, whereas age is significantly but negatively related to economic coping. Younger respondents and those from bigger households reported a greater need to make economic adjustments in 1990. Both mastery and economic coping were significantly related to depression and anxiety in the predicted directions. They also mediated the relations between exogenous variables (position) and distress outcome, with the exception of gender and education. These elaborated models, when empirically revised, were significant improvements over the theoretical models; the full models made no significant improvements to them.

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1. Introduction

Economic Change and Inequality

What concerns social scientists about the reforms in post-communist Europe are the likely distributive consequences [Szelényi and Manchin 1987; Nee 1989, 1991; Przeworski 1991; Staniszkis 1991; Burawoy and Krotov 1992; Musil 1992; Večerník 1992]. They suspect that inequality in life-chances will grow during the transition from state socialism to capitalism, and speculate over its consequences. One possible

^{*}) Direct all correspondence to Prof. Joseph Hrabá, Iowa State University, Ames, IA 50011, USA, phone (515) 294-7263, E-mail sl.jxh@isumvs.bitnet.

^{**}) Direct all correspondence to Doc. Ing. Mgr. Zdeňka Pechačová, CSc., Katedra psychologie, Vysoká škola zemědělská v Praze, phone + 42 2 338 23 19, E-mail pechacov@pef.vsz.cz

consequence of inequality has, however, been overlooked in these speculations. Inequality in life-chances results in unequal misery (stress and distress) in the United States; the purpose of this paper is to test for this possibility in the Czech Republic of 1990.

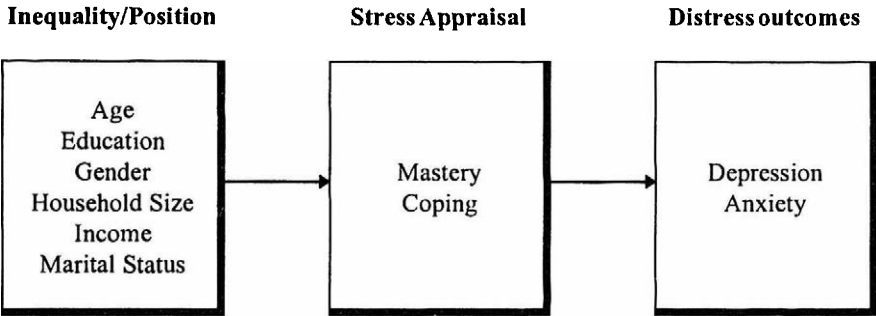
Inequality-Distress Model

Research shows that the lower-class in American society is more exposed and vulnerable to stress and manifests more symptoms of distress than the middle and upper classes [Aneshensel 1992; Catalano and Dooley 1983; Turner and Noh 1983; Cronkite and Moos 1984; Dooley and Catalano 1984; Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend 1969; Ross and Huber 1985; Cockerham, Lueschan, Kunz and Spaeth 1986; Pearlin 1989; McLeod and Kessler 1990]. Stress-distress research also shows that the people in the United States experiencing stress and distress have been disadvantaged by economic change, such as the Great Depression [Angell 1965; Bakke 1940; Elder 1974; Komarovsky 1940], as a consequence of plant closings [Buss and Redburn 1983; Hamilton, Broman, Hoffman and Renner 1990; Jahoda, Lazarsfeld and Zeisel 1971; Perucci and Targ 1988; Voydanhoff and Majka 1988], and during the farm crisis [Armstrong and Schulman 1990; Belyea and Lobao 1990; Hefferman and Hefferman 1986; Rosenblatt 1990]. Stress is defined as „...a state of arousal resulting either from the presence of socio-environmental demands that tax the ordinary adaptive capacity of the individual or from the absence of the means to attain sought-after ends“ [Anshensel 1992: 16]. Distress is defined as physical and/or psychological outcomes deleterious to well-being. Applied to the 1990 Czech Republic, these findings suggest that inequality will result in unequal misery (stress-distress) during the reforms.

Mirowsky and Ross [1989] summarised research in the United States into a hypothetical model, which can be tested in other societies. The unequal distribution of wealth, power and privilege in a society (inequality of position) results in the unequal experience of distress (inequality in misery). It is this „...inequality in misery that makes the other inequality (position) meaningful“ [Mirowsky and Ross 1989: 3]. Inequality of position is predicted to grow in East Europe, and this inequality is hypothesised in this paper to result in unequal stress and distress in the Czech Republic. It is our intent to specifically test the Mirowsky and Ross [1989] model of inequality and distress in the 1990 Czech Republic.

The exogenous variables on the left side of Figure 1 represent those indicators of social position that Mirowsky and Ross [1989] found to be correlated with distress in the United States. Education and income are indicators of inequality of position associated with stress and distress, as are age, gender and marital status [Mirowsky and Ross 1989]. The uneducated and the poor are more exposed and vulnerable to stress and show more signs of distress. Both young adults and the elderly show more signs of distress than the middle-aged [Ross and Huber 1985]. Women manifest more distress than men, although, with controls, this gender gap closes [McLanahan and Glass 1985; Haug and Folmar 1986; Verbrugge 1989; Bird and Fremont 1991]. The married (a happy marriage) report less distress than the unmarried [Mirowsky and Ross 1989; Sherbourne and Hays 1990]. Household size is also related to distress, particularly for people with many dependent children [Aneshensel, Frerichs and Clark 1981; Menaghan and Merves 1984; Ross and Huber 1985].

Figure 1. Hypothetical model of stress-distress in the Czech Republic (1990)



On the right side of Figure 1 are the distress outcomes of depression and anxiety that Mirowsky and Ross [1989] found to be related to inequality of social position in the United States. Depression has received much attention in the study of well-being in the United States, correlating with other symptoms of psychological distress and physical health [Aneshensel et al. 1991; Coyne and Downey 1991; Kennedy, Kiecolt-Glaser and Glaser 1990; Weisse 1992]. Symptoms of depression include withdrawal, lack of motivation and energy, and feelings of hopelessness. Anxiety includes symptoms of nervousness, trembling, and feelings of apprehension and dread [Derogatis 1983].

The Mirowsky and Ross [1989] model is an example of a broader model on social structure and psychological functioning. Kohn and Słomczyński [1990] found their model of social structure and psychological functioning, developed in the United States, applied to Poland. Both social class and stratification (i. e., education, occupational status and income) affected intellectual flexibility, and self-directness of American and Polish men on and off the job. There was an exception, however. Whereas social class and stratification were negatively related to distress in the United States, consistent with Mirowsky and Ross [1989], they were positively related to distress (e. g., anxiety, lack of self-confidence, and distrust) in 1978 Poland. This suggests that conclusions about stress-distress in the United States might not apply to the 1990 Czech Republic.

By the same token, conditions that might account for Polish-American differences over a decade ago have changed. Obviously, like Poland, the Czech Republic has undertaken a transformation towards capitalism and democracy, making a comparison today between the Czech Republic and United States fundamentally different to an earlier Polish-American comparison. Specifically, job protections for manual workers under socialism have changed and gone are the consumer shortages and political constraints that even the better-off classes had to face [Hraba 1985]. Nevertheless, Kohn and Słomczyński's [1990] failure to replicate American findings about inequality and distress in Poland make hypotheses from Mirowsky and Ross [1989] tentative and exploratory in this study.

The Inequality-Mediators-Distress Model

Inequality-mastery-distress. A mediation model posits that any relationship between inequality of position and distress is mediated/moderated by other variables [Coyne and Downey 1991]. The disadvantaged may be more exposed to stress because their lives are harder, but they may also be more vulnerable to stress holding constant life's hardships [Aneshensel 1992]. This second possibility is highlighted in Mirowsky

and Ross' [1989] mediation model. According to Mirowsky and Ross [1989] and Ross and Mirowsky [1992], a sense of mastery is a most psychological resource to cope with stress and its absence is the vulnerability that links social position to distress. Those in low social positions not only experience more stress, but are also more vulnerable to stress because of a low sense of mastery. This relationship is shown in Model A (Figure 1), denoted by the arrows that connect position to mastery and then mastery to distress.

Inequality-appraisal-distress. Another possible mediating process between social position and distress is appraising one's circumstances as stressful [Conger, Lorenz., Elder, Simons and Ge 1992; Lazarus and Folkman 1984; Pearlin, Lieberman, Menaghan and Mullan 1981]. Without appraisal there is no stress; in the words of Lazarus and Folkman [1984: 19] „*Psychological stress is a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangering his or her well-being.*“ To affect distress, one's social position must be seen as stressful. People in low social positions not only have harder lives, but are also more likely to appraise their lives as stressful, with this appraisal resulting in more distress. This is shown in Model B (Figure 1) by the arrows that link position to coping, an appraisal of current economic hardship, and then appraisal to distress. The hypothesis in this paper is that social position is associated with distress in the 1990 Czech Republic, but that this relationship is mediated by mastery, on the one hand, and coping, on the other.

2. Methods

Sample

294 households in the Czech Republic were randomly selected from a 4,000 household sampling frame by the Czech Statistical Bureau in 1990. Questionnaires were distributed in person to these households in October of the same year. Instructions were to mail completed questionnaires to the Agricultural University of Prague, at which time respondents would receive a stipend. 234 questionnaires were returned (an 80 % return rate). As a result of missing data, the actual cases analysed in this paper are slightly less than 234. 122 respondents worked in agriculture, 24 in non-agriculture manual labour, and 88 were in non-agriculture white-collar work. Obviously, people in agriculture were over manual labour, and 88 were in non-agriculture white-collar work. Obviously, people in agriculture were over sampled in this study because of our focus on economic changes in this sector of the economy.

Variable Measures

Age. Respondents indicated their age in years. The mean age of respondents was 39.1 years, with over 78 percent of the respondents between 26 and 50 years of age.

Education. Respondents indicated their highest level of education, and scores ranged from elementary to university education. 5.6 percent had only an elementary education, 10.3 percent completed training school, 47.6 percent finished practical high school, 5.1 percent completed gymnasium (highest level of high school education), and 21.8 percent were University graduates.

Gender. Respondents indicated their gender as male or female. 66.4 percent of the respondents are women (N = 154) and 33.6 percent are men (N = 78).

Household size. Respondents were asked how many grown-ups and children lived in their household. This variable is a sum of these two scores. 8.6 percent of the respondents lived alone, 5.7 percent lived with five or more people, and the remainder lived with two to four people.

Income. Respondents indicated their household income, including all benefits and extra income. A majority of the respondents ($N = 126$) reported a per person household income of 901 to 2,700 Czech Crowns (US\$ 32 to US\$ 96) per month. The total household income is used in this analysis.

Marital status. Respondents were asked about their spouse and were considered married if they answered the question. Ninety-one percent of the respondents were married and nine percent unmarried.

Mastery. Originally developed by Pearlin et al. [1981], mastery measures a sense of internal control over one's life. According to Mirowsky and Ross [1989], this represents the link between inequality of position and distress. Mastery is a six-item scale, measuring sense of control with statements such as „there is really no way I can solve some of the problems I have,“ „I feel that I'm being pushed around,“ „I have little control over the things that happen to me,“ „I can do just about anything that I set my mind to,“ „I often feel helpless, what happens to me in the future mostly depends on me,“ and „there is little I can do to change many of the important things in my life“. Response categories ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree, the scale is reliable ($\text{Alpha} = 0.69$).

Economic Coping. Respondents were asked if their families have made any adjustments due to financial problems in the last 12 months. There are 35 items in this scale, measuring adjustments such as taking on additional employment, postponing purchases, cutting back on food expenses, changing transportation and leisure activities, borrowing money, and falling behind in meeting financial obligations. The scale was reliable ($\text{Alpha} = 0.74$).

Depression. The measure of depression was developed by Derogatis [1983] and is part of the SCL-90-R (symptom checklist of 90 items for depression, anxiety, hostility and related psychological distress). The depression dimension of the SCL-90-R is comprised of 13 items, asking about depressive symptoms such as loss of sexual interest, crying easily, low energy levels, thoughts of suicide, feeling low in spirits and worried, hopelessness, and worthlessness. Responses to each item ranged from 0 to 4, the scale is reliable ($\text{Alpha} = 0.86$).

Anxiety. The anxiety measure is also part of the SCL-90-R. The anxiety dimension is comprised of 10 items, asking about anxiety symptoms such as feeling shaky inside, trembling, feeling suddenly scared for no reason, being fearful, a racing heart, feeling tense or keyed-up, having spells of terror or panic, feeling restless, feeling something bad will happen, and having thoughts of a frightening nature. Responses to each item ranged from 0 to 4, the scale is reliable ($\text{Alpha} = 0.81$).

Analysis Plan

Latent-variable structural equation analyses were used to test the theoretical model (Figure 1). Maximum likelihood estimates of the model coefficients were obtained using LISREL VII [Jöreskog and Sorbom 1989]. Due to the complexity of the theoretical model, we conducted the analysis in increments, separating the model into mastery and economic coping as mediators. Before testing the model, we estimated a null

measurement model to provide a basis of comparison for chi-square [Sobel and Bohrnstedt 1985]. This null model included no paths between any latent variables but specified how each measure contributed to the appropriate latent variable. A full model, which included all possible paths between latent variables, was used to estimate how much each measure contributed to the latent variables when all possible relationships between latent variables were taken into account.

3. Results

The ultimate dependent variables in the analyses are the distress outcomes of depression and anxiety. We will compare two path models toward these outcomes, one that emphasises mastery as a mediator and another that has appraisal of economic circumstances (economic coping) as the mediator. Variables regarding position are the same in both models.

Mastery (Model A)

In the theoretical model, three indicators of position are significantly related to mastery (Figure 2). The married reported higher levels of mastery (0.1666), although men (0.194) and the younger respondents (-0.248) reported lower mastery scores. Furthermore, mastery was significantly related to depression (-0.480) and anxiety (-0.434) in the expected direction, so that those with higher levels of mastery reported less distress (Figure 2). The theoretical model was an improvement over the null model, but the empirical model was an improvement over the theoretical model (Table 1). In the revised model, marital status and age remained significant paths to mastery in expected ways, but again education and gender had a direct affect on distress (Figure 3). Education was directly related to depression (0.142) and gender to both depression (0.222) and anxiety (0.200). Mastery was then inversely related to depression (-.420) and anxiety (-0.380). The results generally conform to the theoretical argument that mastery mediates the relation between social position and distress. The exceptions are that not all indicators of position are related to mastery, on the one hand, and that education and gender directly affect (without mediation) distress, on the other. The full model did not significantly improve the empirically revised model (Table 1).

Table 1. Comparing tested model

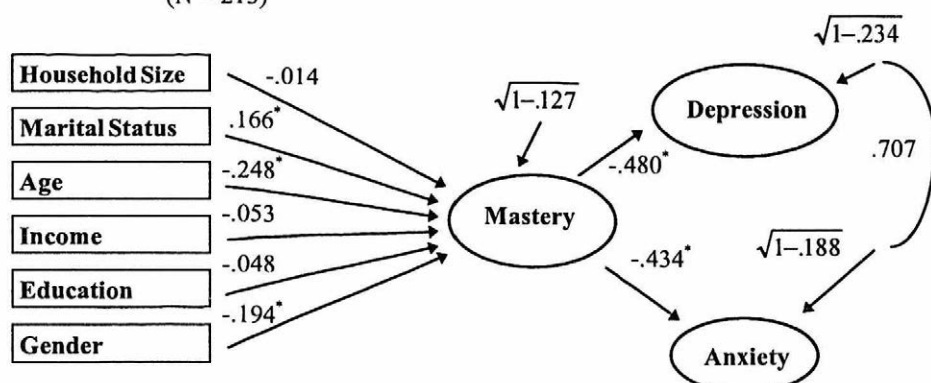
Economic coping and distress

	DF	Chi-Square	Changing Chi-Square
Null model	93	412.47	
Theoretical model (Figure 2)	84	188.63	223.84
Revised model (Figure 3)	80	163.57	25.06
Full model	72	151.36	12.21

Mastery and distress

	DF	Chi-Square	Changing Chi-Square
Null model	93	440.06	
Theoretical model (Figure 4)	84	201.05	239.01
Revised model (Figure 5)	80	181.72	19.33
Full model	72	176.84	4.88

Figure 2. Empirical test of the theoretical model: Mastery as mediator (N = 213)



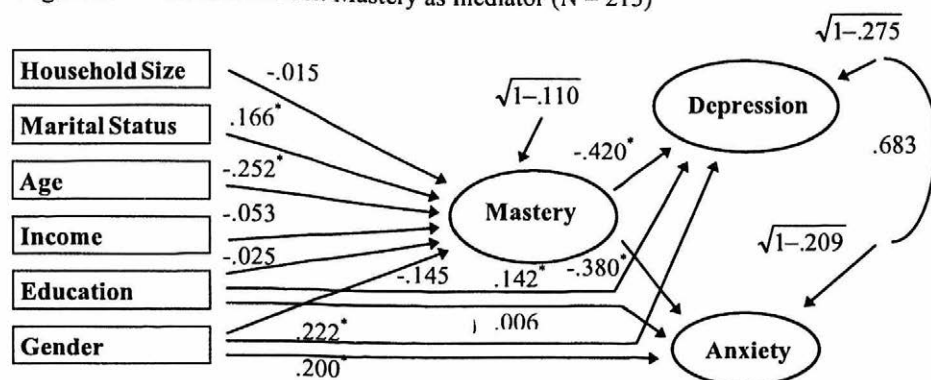
Chi-square (84) = 201.05

GFI = .901

AGFI = .859

* = $p < .05$

Figure 3. Revised model: Mastery as mediator (N = 213)



Chi-square (80) = 181.72

GFI = .910

AGFI = .864

* = $p < .05$

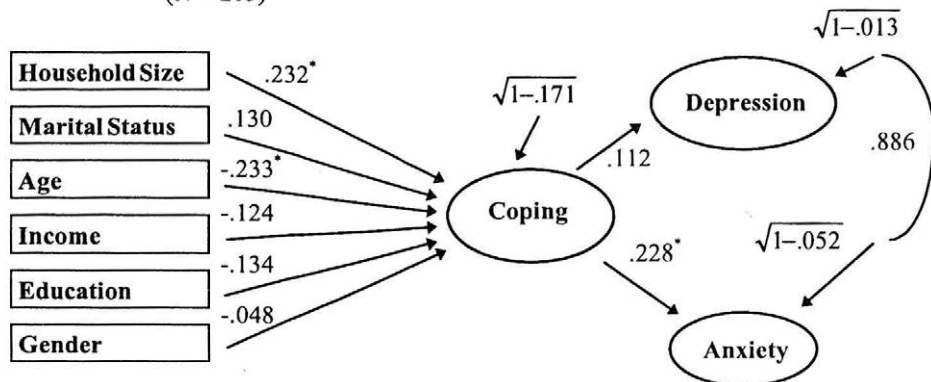
Economic Coping (Model B)

In the empirical model in Figure 4, indicators of social position were associated with economic coping; the latter impacted depression and anxiety. In this model, age (-0.233) and household size (0.232) were related to coping, and economic coping, in turn, predicted anxiety (0.228) but not depression (0.112). This model was compared to more restrictive and less restrictive alternatives (Table 1); the revised results are presented in Figure 5.

In Figure 5, we note that, as hypothesised, education and gender of respondents did directly predict depression and anxiety without the mediation of economic coping.

Overall, higher educated respondents remained more distressed than lower educated respondents (0.144), while women were more depressed (0.289) and anxious (0.280) than men. Income was not a source of distress, but variables relating to income and earning power – household size and age – were important in coping; education and gender, in addition to economic coping, predicted depression and anxiety. The full model did not significantly improve the empirically revised model (Table 1).

Figure 4. Empirical test of the theoretical model: Economic coping as mediator (N = 215)



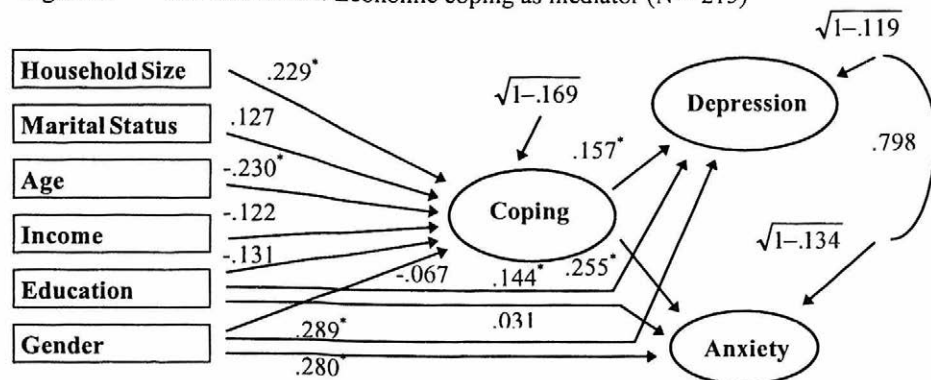
Chi-square (84) = 188.63

GFI = .906

AGFI = .866

* = $p < .05$

Figure 5. Revised model: Economic coping as mediator (N = 215)



Chi-square (80) = 163.57

GFI = .917

AGFI = .876

* = $p < .05$

4. Discussion

That newly introduced market forces will result in a widening gap between „haves“ and „havenots“ in post-communist Europe is widely anticipated in the social sciences.

Inequality in life chances can, in turn, result in inequality of misery, according to Mirowsky and Ross [1989]. From this perspective, we hypothesised that disadvantaged Czech respondents (social position) in 1990 were also more distressed. Several indicators of social position were included in the analysis and distress was measured by depression and anxiety, following the Mirowsky and Ross [1989] model.

Only two indicators of social position, gender and education, were directly related to distress in the revised models (Figures 3 and 5). Czech women in 1990 reported both more depression and anxiety than men, regardless of their mastery and economic coping, a finding consistent with previous research in the Czech Republic. Lee, Hraba, Lorenz, Pechačová [1994] found Czech women under economic strain internalised their stress into depression, while men externalised it as hostility; this pattern is commonly found in the United States as well. Respondents with higher education also reported more depression, regardless of their mastery and economic coping. This second finding is contrary to Mirowsky and Ross [1989] and findings in the United States but comparable to the findings of Kohn and Słomczyński [1990] in Poland. However, indicators of social position in study did not have much direct effect on depression and anxiety, except for gender and education.

According to Mirowsky and Ross [1989], the relation between social position and distress is mediated by mastery (Model A). This and the possible mediation of appraisal (economic coping) were tested in this paper (Model B). These models stem from the idea that the disadvantaged are not only exposed to more stress, but also have less mastery to cope with it and are more likely to see their lives as stressful. In this paper, this possible mediation was measured by mastery (or the lack of it) and economic coping.

With some exceptions, results supported the mediation models. According to Model A, mastery mediates between social position and distress [Mirowsky and Ross 1989]. Only marital status and age were significantly related to mastery, although all the indicators of social position were associated with mastery in the expected directions. Mastery was, in turn, negatively related to depression and anxiety as predicted. These results are generally consistent with the Mirowsky and Ross [1989] mediation model.

According to Model B, economic coping (appraisal) mediates between social position and distress. Only household size and age were significantly related to economic coping, although the other indicators of social position were associated with coping in the expected directions. Younger respondents and those from larger households reported a greater need to make economic adjustments in 1990, significant associations, as did women and those lower in education and income, although these latter associations were not significant. Economic coping predicted, in turn, anxiety and depression.

These results generally conform to research in the United States. First, only two indicators of social position, gender and education, were related directly (without mediation) to distress. Only gender can be taken as a measure of unequal social position, for it was the better educated who were more depressed. However, the indicators of unequal social position were related to both mastery and economic coping in the expected directions, although not all these relationships were significant. That is, the disadvantaged had less mastery and were more likely to engage in economic coping, results consistent with those in the United States. Lastly, both mastery and economic coping predicted depression and anxiety. Mastery was negatively related to depression

and anxiety, consistent with Mirowsky and Ross [1989], while economic coping was positively related to both, consistent with Lazarus and Folkman [1984].

JOSEPH HRABA is professor at Iowa State University in Ames Department of Sociology and Anthropology. His teaching topic is social psychology. He is concerned with social psychology, ethnic relations and stress-distress relations. He is the principal investigator of the grant project „Coping with Change in the Czech Republic“ which is being realised in co-operation with Zdeňka Pechačová. As a visiting professor, he has worked in many countries (China, Zambia, Poland, Netherlands). He has published 3 books, 32 scientific articles, 7 research reports, and delivered 50 presentations at meetings.

ZDEŇKA PECHAČOVÁ is chair of the Department of Psychology at the Faculty Economics and Management, University of Agriculture in Prague. Her specialist field is social psychology and management psychology. Since 1990, she has co-operated with J. Hrabá on the joint project „Coping with Change in the Czech Republic“ (grant USA 1993-1996).

FREDERICK LORENZ holds a research position at three departments of Iowa State University in Ames (statistics, sociology, Centre for family research). His specialist field is research emphases approaches to measuring family processes, methodological issues in modelling data and studies of the stress-distress process. Since 1993, he has been a member of the research team of the above-mentioned project.

GANG LEE is a postgraduate student at Iowa State University and has been a member of the project research team since 1993.

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The Legitimacy of Privatisation*

Two Case Studies of Privatised Enterprises

PETR MAREŠ

LIBOR MUSIL**

Faculty of Philosophy, Masaryk University, Brno

Abstract: Two case studies of privatised industrial enterprises provide information on employees' attitudes towards privatisation as recorded at the time of the survey in February 1993. The article considers the question: „What is the impact of the current privatisation of Czech industry on the legitimacy of private ownership?“

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Changes in ownership¹ are connected with the economic, political and social changes in Czech society. This article is an attempt to establish the legitimacy of these changes (and the legitimacy of enterprise ownership) as perceived by employees. As Berger and Luckmann [1985: 111] predicate: „Legitimation is the process of ‚explaining‘ and ‚justifying‘. Legitimation explains the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings. It justifies institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives“. What for both blue collar and white collar workers legitimates the new private ownership of enterprises in current Czech society? Our findings support the assumption that the crisis of the old Communist regime has formed the background to privatisation legitimacy in post-Communist Czech society.

Privatisation as a response to the crisis in society

The crisis of the Communist regime can be analogically related to Habermas' notion [1976] of a systemic crisis (a crisis of economics and a crisis of rationality) and an identity crisis (a crisis of motivation and a crisis of legitimacy²). From this point of view, the current privatisation constitutes one element of a broader attempt to resolve both the economic and rationality crises within Czech society. In this context, the privatisation of state-owned enterprises raises questions regarding the legitimacy of privatisation as a generally held belief that a given system of ownership can be valid and

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**) Direct all correspondence to PhDr. Petr Mareš, Department of Sociology or PhDr. Libor Musil, CSc., Department of Social Policy and Social Work respectively, Faculty of Philosophy of Masaryk University, Arne Nováka 1, 660 88 Brno.

1) State-owned enterprises were sold through direct sale, auction or in coupon privatisation. The buyers in coupon privatisation were represented by adult citizens of the Czech Republic, who had the option of buying a coupon booklet for the symbolic price of 1,000 Kč. The coupon booklet owners could invest their 1,000 Kč coupon in the purchase of stocks of „on sale“ enterprises themselves, or they could specially entrust newly appearing investment funds (PIFs) with the purchase. PIFs, which are mostly ruled by big financial capital, then became the real owners of many companies, by acquiring their controlling interest.

2) The legitimacy crisis is the failure of a political order to generate a sufficient level of commitment and involvement on the part of its citizens to be able to be properly given.

justified. In this respect, it is possible to analyse „the content of particular contributions of reproduction processes to maintaining the structural components of the lifeworld“.³ We will adhere to the legal-rational concept of authority where the position of basic social actors is legitimised by explicit rules and procedures defining both their rights and obligations.

The case studies of two privatised industrial enterprises (we will refer to them as „the *DOMUS* factory“ and „the *MECHANICA* corporation“) provide information on the employees' attitudes towards privatisation as recorded at the time of the survey in February-March 1993. We draw a concrete picture of the particular processes connected with specific features of both scrutinised enterprises undergoing privatisation. We have sought to avoid conceptual simplifications which can arise from any attempt to interpret the emergent processes of industrial reorganisation through the description of the specific histories of these enterprises. The goal of our theoretical interpretation is to elaborate some empirical suppositions contained within the question: „What is the impact of the current privatisation of Czech industry on the legitimacy of private ownership?“ We shall adopt these hypotheses in the proposed research of future steps in the privatisation.

Privatisation's legitimacy can be measured both in the context of public opinion and in the context of its contribution to the management of societal problems. Legitimacy can also be viewed from the perspective of its correspondence to the particular interests of various social actors. Here we will focus on regular employees'⁴ opinions on privatisation. Their ideas as to the privatisation's legitimacy are expressed at several levels, from the structure of regular spoken language to interpretative schemes. In this article, these modes of expression are not ordered according to abstract concepts: in employing them, we have followed the logic of the industrial companies' culture in the two sections devoted to the description of the specific processes which have occurred in both the *DOMUS* factory and the *MECHANICA* corporation. In the conclusion to this article, we have sought to summarise the rationality of employees' attitudes towards privatisation as well as some important differences between both enterprises⁵.

The Method

To study regular employees' views on privatisation we have adopted the „case study“ method. We understand „the case study“ to be an attempt to describe and understand

³) This means:

- Interpretative schemes susceptible to consensus, legitimations and behavioural patterns influential in self formations in the cultural reproduction process;
- Obligations, legitimately ordered interpersonal relations and social membership in the process of social integration;
- Interpretative accomplishments, motivation for non-conformist actions and capability to interact in the socialisation process.

⁴) We use the word „regular employees“ to designate those people who hold a position in the selected companies.

⁵) The different traditions and corporative cultures of the both enterprises implied different privatisation methods. The *DOMUS* factory was privatised through sale of the enterprise to a small group of individuals. The privatisation of the *MECHANICA* corporation through coupon privatisation led to the concentration of the decisive portion of enterprise's stock issues in the hands of several PIFs.

regular employees, attitudes towards social change (i.e. the privatisation of Czech industry in the 1990s) in the context of the selected industrial companies' culture.⁶ Both the sample selection and the data collection were organised in accordance with the „case study“ method.

We identified two „cases“ – two industrial enterprises⁷ formally privatised a few months before our visit to them in February 1993. In both cases, we divided the lists of the enterprises' employees into four partial samples: 1. „top managers“ (the general director and directors of specific sections), 2. „middle-level managers“ (employees – excepting the members of top management – with a varying number of employees under them), 3. „the labour union representatives“, and 4. „blue collar workers“. The members of these four groups were selected separately and systematically.⁸

The findings were collected by means of „semistructured interviews“, the specific typology of data collection illustrated in this approach by the distinction between two „ideal types“ of interviewing: „catechising“, and „talking“. The principle of statistical representativeness and the questionnaire are employed in the first case. Interviewing is oriented by the logic of the researcher's hypotheses, such that the researcher is able to „catechise“ the interviewed person according to his or her own intentions. To understand the respondent's „way of thinking“ is the main principle of „talking“. So-called „free“ or „open“ questions are posed and the interview follows the logic of the communication between the researcher and the interviewed person. The researcher tries to understand the respondents' answers by applying examples of their own life experience.

The „semistructured interview“ used to collect our data is – typologically speaking – something between „catechising“ and „talking“. We respected the principle of statistical representativeness (see the mode of selection), posing a standard set of „open“ questions derived from carefully formulated hypotheses. We posed „open“ questions in order to understand the ideas and concepts stated by interviewed employees more fully. We „catechised“ our respondents to use representative, reliable, and valid data. We „talked“ with them to understand the meaning of their customs, their preconceptions, prejudices, and concepts as stated by them. Our intention was to understand the significance of the „survey findings“.

The *DOMUS* Factory – the Emergence of „Manager-Owners“

Attitudes toward privatisation are influenced by the manner in which the company is privatised. In contrast to the corporation *MECHANICA*, which was privatised under the coupon method (see later), the *DOMUS* factory was privatised through the direct sale of the majority of the stock to a small group of owners. The members of this group had been top managers or external collaborators of the company establishment from the 1960s through to the 1980s. They took part in the development of its investment policy

⁶) By „culture“ we mean values, goals and rules shared by the industrial company's community.

⁷) The first case, „the *DOMUS* factory“, manufactures household furniture. There were about 1,300 employees in this industrial factory at the time of our „survey“. The second case, „the *MECHANICA* corporation“, is a machine-tool company which, as of February 1993, had about 3,000 employees.

⁸) The number of selected employees: in *DOMUS* – top managers 5, middle-level managers 10, labour unionists 5, blue-collar workers 15; in *MECHANICA* – top managers 7, middle-level managers 17, labour unionists 5, blue collar workers 20.

and were strongly identified with its strategy. As a well-informed group, they were able to compete successfully with other latent proprietors. Hence, the company became the possession of a section of the top managers.

The continuity of the previous leadership and the present owners has strengthened the employees' reliance on the new owners. The fact that the new owners have a thorough knowledge of the enterprise makes people feel that the owners understand the problems of the enterprise, feel responsible for its fate, and will have an interest in keeping its traditional production strategy along with the work opportunities for the professions currently represented.

The personal union of the management and the new owners means the concentration of power is in the hands of a few people. Employees' attitudes towards this power centre is ambiguous. On the one hand, they would like the owners to be enlightened and wise „rulers“ who will solve the problems left by the former „despots“. On the other hand, they are afraid of their almost unrestricted power over the enterprise and the people involved. Both the respect and the fear towards the „enlightened rulers“ limits openness in the interaction between the owners and the employees. It also negatively influences the frankness between employees and management. *„People are afraid that they would have to leave if they spoke the truth.“*

What is the attitude towards privatisation under these conditions? Two thirds of the enterprise staff prefer the company's full independence from government decisions. Managers prefer the company's full independence from the government more often than workers. The workers' attitude towards the privatisation is influenced by fears of the new owners' wilfulness and social insensitivity. Hence, two thirds of them recommend that the government guarantee the possibility of correcting the social consequences of owners' decisions. The fear that company owners would make irreversible decisions is counterbalanced by the belief that the privatisation would strengthen the owners' and management's responsibility for the company's fate, its market stability and ensure improvement in work organisation.

Employees expect innovation to come from „above“. According to them, the „redress of the issues“ is to be secured by the owner and manager elite. According to the people „from the bottom“, top managers should apply „pressure“ to improve work quality and labour discipline. Employees continue to wait for the above-mentioned pressure to „descend“ on their workshop or division. Rather, they see themselves as passive recipients of external impulses toward change.⁹ Respondents do not ask themselves whether the enterprise should or should not be privatised. They ask whether the new employers will be able to lead the company towards prosperity and secure sales, work and wage growth. They hope that the new owners will develop an organisational pressure which will bring about strengthened responsibility, an improvement in both morale and the quality of work. Three months after the transfer of the enterprise into the hands of its new owners, most of the respondents claimed that the expected changes had not taken place. Most of the employees said that the expected changes could not be fully

⁹) The circumstances underlying the rise in the tradition of „innovation from above“, characteristic of societies of the so-called German cultural area, are analysed by for instance the Czech historian Urban [1978] and the social philosopher, Střítecký [1990]. See also [Mareš et al. 1994].

implemented in such a short time. However, their responses often contained an unvoiced doubt rooted in a form of historical scepticism specific to the Czech nation.¹⁰

From the perspective of enterprise's organisation, the respondents can be divided into three broad groups. The first believes that the enterprise is capable of withstanding competition with its organisational structure unchanged; the second assumes that it is possible after certain improvements have been implemented; while the remaining third is sceptical.

When evaluating the status of separate groups within the enterprise, the employees interviewed seemed to apply two criteria: the stability of the group's work opportunities and wage increases. With respect to the first criterion, most respondents believed that hardly anyone had lost out under the recent developments in the economic transformation and privatisation. The enterprise had overcome the 1991 sale crisis without extensive dismissals.

The assessment is more diverse if income changes are taken into account. About 40 percent of the respondents stated that nothing had changed, with nobody having gained nor lost anything. One fifth draws attention to the fact that workers in the production departments received a wage increase. In the support service department there was no comparative raise, such that this situation has become a source of uncertainty. One third of the respondents assume that the new owners and management have gained financially. This attitude is evenly distributed at all levels of the enterprise's organisational hierarchy.

The employees see investment in modern technology as an optimal way of stabilising work opportunities and bringing about wage increases. About three quarters of respondents reasoned that the best way to use the firm's profits is to reinvest in modern technical equipment. Only 10 percent of respondents considered it a priority to use profits as means of increasing wages. Employees seemed to be oriented toward job security. They therefore prefer the long-term stability of work opportunities ensured by the enterprise's increasing capacity to withstand competition. This strategy is compatible with the leadership's orientation toward efficiency. The problem is that the leadership has not discussed this topic with the employees so that mutual accommodation has become difficult.

The extent to which different groups are mutually informed about their problems is manifested by the emphasis they place on different dimensions of the company organisation and operation. With the exception of the top management, employees see two problematic issues: the stability of their employment and the guarantee of production regularity as a precondition for a good income. The top management is fully focused on the reorganisation of the wage system as a means of increasing labour productivity. By

¹⁰) Several times this century the Czech nation supported radical changes. In all cases, expectations were disappointed. This experience is present in the attitude of *DOMUS* employees towards the economic transformation. Historical scepticism is clearly expressed in the statements of those who find the reasons for the „delay“ either in the owners' almost unfathomable postponement of the changes or the middle management's inability to transfer the expected organisational pressure of the company leadership „down“ to the workshops. A small percentage of the employees explain the absence of the expected pressure as a result of personal continuity between the former communist leadership and the present group of owners. Such statements were usually accompanied by complaints about the unchangeability of old habits.

blocking strategic information and introducing stricter procedures to personnel management, they increase employee insecurity. Interviews with the top managers show that the leadership is not aware of this split in priorities.

There is poor mutual familiarity with the problems and objectives of the top management, on the one hand, and blue-collar workers and middle-level managers on the other. Different notions as to what the enterprise should accomplish, and the relative closeness of communication channels between the „top“ and the „bottom“ have created the potential for conflict. This conflict is for the moment suppressed by the *DOMUS* factory's ability to sell its products. Hence, respondents do not expect relations to flare up into open conflict. They do, however, describe relations as tense. Almost one half of the respondents mention increased dissatisfaction, nervousness, tension, uncertainty and fear. Respondents expect that the mentioned signs of instability will culminate in distrust among people in the workplace, the departure of capable workers, a decline in labour productivity, the search for alternatives outside the enterprise, increasing doubts as to the abilities of the leadership, and a distrust of the managers. Employees presuppose that their colleagues would preferably seek an individual solution in the case of an emergence economic problems for the enterprise. As yet, they do not expect any rupture in the relations between the groups and consider the possibility of collective action quite improbable.

The *MECHANICA* corporation – „the Owners as a Burden to Managers“

In one respect at least the process of privatisation is understood by managers and workers analogically, namely as a widening of the space for the economic manoeuvring of enterprises, a widening which will guarantee a rise in employees' living standards. Employees share their understanding of privatisation with the top management, although they loathe the large and uncontrolled power that has concentrated in the hands of the top management. The privatisation process is understood by white collar workers as a non-political process of great societal reorganisation, aimed at the enterprise's effective functioning. Privatisation legitimacy is derived from this notion of effectiveness that is expected to be a consequence of privatisation by white collar workers. Blue collar workers base privatisation legitimacy on an exchange of the hitherto guaranteed „security for all“ for the future „welfare for those who will prove themselves“ [Možný 1991]. This exchange indicates the collapse of the idea of „common gain compensated by the renunciation of effort to maximise individual gain“. It is also, perhaps temporarily, an expression of a certain individualisation of blue workers as a social class. This is also indicated by the widely shared hope among workers that each reduction in the company work force increases the job security of those who retain their positions.

Managers and workers alike perceive factory owners (PIFs as large stockholders) as burdensome, inscrutable elements which threaten rather than facilitate the expected gain. The dilemma between the responsibility toward stock owners, on the one hand, or employees, on the other, is currently being resolved by a majority of managers who put the interests of the employees before those of the stock owners. „*We only hold 20 percent of the stock*“ is how one member of the middle management formulated a commonly shared opinion when speaking about the stock of employees and the association of small stockholders organised by the labour union. „*The association of small stockholders should support the interest of employers so that the PIFs do not intervene in the strategy of the enterprise*“, is how one blue collar worker expressed the

same notion. „*The main thing for the company is to maintain its influence*“ (that is to say, against the owners' decision-making), demanded another. The members of the top management realise that they will have to manage the company on behalf of the owners, but hope that the owners will give them free reign. Both white and blue collar workers hope that the owners will identify with the management, rather than that the management will have to accommodate the owners. Workers think that the owners should not intervene at all in company management. The reason seems to be the employees' fear that stockowners' behaviour and their „blind interest in high dividends“ will threaten the „interests of the company“ which are thus seen in contrast with stockholder interests. The survival strategies of both companies and large stockholders (stockholder funds) are perceived by the majority of respondents as mutually contradictory. This leads to the paradoxical support of the privatisation and the perception of owners as mere predators („*because they privatised the company in to order to profit from it rather to than help it*“). In general, the company's interests are legitimate provided that they support the employees' interests (managers as well as workers). One of the employees gave explicit expression to this, stating that it is necessary that „*the gains from privatisation are not exploited by people outside the company who have made no contribution to it*“. This conviction allows for the creation of large social coalitions within the factory.

In contrast to those companies privatised through direct sale, the apparent efforts are aimed at the creation of social coalitions across the entire vertical structure of the enterprise and even outside it. There are attempts to create coalitions with small stockholders organised by the trade union into an interest association. One of the admitted goals of this coalition is to strengthen the position of the management vis-à-vis the PIFs.

As far as the duties of owners are concerned, all company workers expect the owners to limit their claims on dividends and, instead, to invest in the enterprise, that is to say, in the future of its employees and their job security. All employees prefer investment in their future to the present distribution of profits through wages and benefits. Among workers, this orientation towards the future is, of course, weaker than among managers and white collar employees. Workers demand greater investment in the present¹¹ (through partaking in profits). As far as investments are concerned, the opinion is undivided: both workers and managers are unanimously convinced of the necessity to invest in new machinery. Even workers associate this investment with the preservation of their social certainties (i.e. job security, a secure and growing income, family living standards etc.)

The managers are intoxicated with the new opportunities arising from the collapsed centralised state controls and do not yet feel the owners' control. „*Above us, there is only God*“, claims one of the top managers, understanding this both as an obligation and a potentiality. In this situation, management has its own concept of the rational functioning of the company. This notion is modernist and economically oriented. When confronted with the choice of authoritarian, bargaining or community democracy as the three conceptual models available for the design of organisational structures, the

¹¹) Workers may understand their possible gains from company profits according to their past experience – hence either in the paternalist sense („*we all have the same stomachs*“ and therefore our shares in profits should not be too different) or in the sense of the arbitrary distribution of the management based on arbitrariness or according to principles of clientelism.

authoritarian model is preferred. This is true even in areas where the management strives to introduce elements of direct participation to the company. During the transformation toward the market economy, the enterprise pursues the modernist concept of rationality; any criticism of this type of rationality can only be perceived as a legitimization of irrationality. Managers take for granted that they form the most competent representatives of „rationality and economic effectiveness“ against both workers¹² and owners.

Workers today do not grasp the notion of privatisation as a restratification of society (or they do not consider it substantial). Through the prism of their limited personal experience, they understand the restratification as connected to the privatisation as the restratification of their company. In agreement with Dahrendorf's conception [1959] they perceive privatisation as the rise of a new dominant social class from out of the management. It is evident from the whole context of interviews held with workers that they understand the contradiction of „workers“ versus „management“ as more real and antagonistic than the contradiction of „employees“ (workers) versus „owners“. They perceive the whole process as an expansion of management's position, as a game in which workers lose what management gains. They have a feeling of relative loss despite proclamations that the changes really have not touched them. They feel that their previous status lost legitimacy in the process of change (physical performance within a given time is no longer the key criterion of „good work“) and themselves have not yet found grounds for the legitimacy of the new situation.

The growing feeling among workers that a new dominant class is emerging before their eyes¹³ is associated with the conviction that it is happening primarily at their cost. This is a very painful and complicated situation because, in a sense, workers perceive the management as their own representatives and understand that the expansion of its power and income, which establishes a distance between the two groups, as an excessive exploitation of privatisation by the management. The notion that the top management uses the privatisation for its own benefit is widespread throughout the company. Top managers are seen as people who are gaining possessions both inside and outside the company. Workers see this as an undue security that managers seek should the company go bankrupt. In the workers' opinion, the managers then lose interest in the company and invest their energies in external activities. It is as if they have tried to secure for themselves what the workers see vanishing from their reach, that is to say, job security. Workers are more sensitive to this than to the managers' growing income. With regard to the centrality of their job security, they understand this phenomenon as a threat to their own existence.

Most of the workers understand the rise of the new class merely as the transformation of an old political elite. In their opinion, the old bosses are simply transforming their old political and social capital in response to the new conditions. Management sees the situation analogically, but less emotionally and without bitterness. Managers emphasise human and cultural capital which is, of course, based on the

¹²) According to the management, workers have not lost their rights but are losing those excessive privileges accorded them by the previous political powers.

¹³) Part of the management actively participates in this process by taking positions in the boardrooms and advisory bodies of new daughter companies which guarantee the distribution of profits and other rewards to themselves.

previous political and social capital (Hence, we often heard: „*Managers who have accomplished something manage to keep their posts despite their communist past.*“).

The legitimacy of management is newly understood as a duty to guarantee work. (Under the past regime, this had meant guarantees of wages comparable to wages in other enterprises.) Workers are willing to first blame the management for the potential failure of their company, only rarely the owners, and never themselves. They still associate a substantial part of managers' legitimacy not with their market activities (to control the sales) but with inside activities (namely to control the production). This means that work should be organised in such a way that workers would not have to accept any other obligations than those that can be expressed in terms of performance. While in the eyes of management (and part of the blue collar workers) their own status, as well as that of the workers, is legitimised by company production sales, in the eyes of the blue collar workers it is the production itself, irrespective of the demand for what they produce.

Conclusion

There are two levels to employees' ideas about privatisation – conceptions concerning the „right“ pattern for the privatisation of the whole economy and notions and evaluations concerning the privatisation of the individual enterprise.

The interviews we conducted suggest that, in general, trust in the current privatisation goes unquestioned. However, acceptance of the design of this process as proposed by the Czech government does not seem to be so unequivocal. Almost without exception, all persons interviewed expressed their agreement with the transfer of state enterprises into private hands. Nevertheless they often required a certain state influence that would facilitate the role of the company in the market (according to the white collar workers) or the preservation of previous employment advantages by the state (according to the blue collar workers) at the same time. This indicates an inner conflict between the economic effectiveness ascribed to private ownership and the social security related to state ownership.

Why, under these circumstances, privatisation is not rejected as illegitimate probably depends on workers' aspirations to higher living standards than the privatisation is expected to fulfil. It may also be related to the fact that, thus far, workers have not associated their loss of job security with their company's fall in position on the market. They derive the legitimacy of their own status (the right to work created by the fulfilment of their duties), as they did in the past: from their performance and the time taken to accomplish their task. They ask: „*Why should we lose jobs when we work hard and well?*“ „*Why should our products not sell if they are good and if the workers toiled hard to make them?*“¹⁴ As long as they do not sell, the government or the top management is considered responsible. According to some respondents, the problems exist because the

¹⁴) Workers often voice the conviction that „*those who have worked honestly will not be touched*“. This notion can appear to be a construction purposefully preserving the integrity of the threatened personality („*I cannot lose out because I am a good worker*“). It can also signal the notion of a certain continuity of life that can be preserved even within the transformation process („*If I work honestly, everything that I have been used to will be guaranteed*“). In their opinion, wages continue to constitute a social category derived from the cost of living rather than labour productivity and product demand.

government has not honoured its „duties“ to the workers. „*Large companies with thousands of workers are going under and the government is not dealing with it, cares nothing about the people and simply shuts the business down,*“ summarised one of the workers as to how he and his companions understand the situation. Thus the legitimacy of privatisation can be thrown into doubt at that moment when the unemployment rate rises to the level where job insecurity, until then latent, becomes real.

The employees' perception of individual enterprise privatisation depends on the manner in which the enterprise was privatised. The experience from the two examined enterprises signposts the decisive impact of the top management's efforts to maintain their strategic influence through the manner in which the enterprises were privatised. Top managers who had gained their influence in the second half of the 1980s and retained it after 1989 have chosen those privatisation methods that suit their economic possibilities and have enabled them to keep their power. This was probably possible because in the early 1990s, top managers had access to the best information concerning their enterprises. They therefore became the designers of the privatisation projects chosen by the government.

In both enterprises, employees perceived the top managers as the guarantors of the production programme's continuity, of the traditional job structure and of job security. The direct sale of the *DOMUS* factory led to the personal union of top managers and the new owners. Therefore, the continuity of power as well as the legitimacy of the new ownership were realised. The continuity of managerial status, perceived as the guarantee of social stability, have helped gain employees' trust in the new owners.

The top managers of the *MECHANICA* corporation were not able to buy „their“ enterprise. In accordance with their privatisation project, their corporation was privatised through the voucher method and managers have relied on their ability to unite their interests with the interests of those employees who became small shareholders in the enterprise. The employees' distrust – the fear of the social consequences of decisions „from outside“ – of the new external owners (the privatisation funds) helped the managers to reach their goal. The group of small shareholders, united with top managerial interests, has created a sufficiently influential share package, thus achieving the continuity of power as well as the legitimacy of the new ownership structure. Unlike the *DOMUS* factory, this has been done independent of the legitimacy of „real owners“ (PIFs).

Employees' attitudes towards privatisation – both in general and on the level of individual enterprise – have been influenced by the employees' aspirations concerning their „entitlement“ to a secure job. This aspiration has influenced the structure of the new ownership as well as the authority of the new owners in both enterprises under scrutiny. The emergent relationship structures among new owners, managers and workers have been influenced by two factors: first, by the managers' effort to secure the workers' loyalty, second, by the workers' claims to absolute job security and low level work intensity. This seems to be an unintended effect of the managers' effort to retain their power during the privatisation. In the next stage of the economic transformation the management will probably privilege economic goals. Managers' preference of economic effectiveness to employees' job security being a factor which will potentially shake workers' confidence in privatisation.

PETR MAREŠ graduated from the Department of Sociology of Masaryk University (formerly J. A. Purkyně University) in Brno. He is currently a lecturer at the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University. His main focus is social development, social politics and privatisation. He recently published a new study *Unemployment as a Social Problem* (1994).

LIBOR MUSIL graduated in 1982 from the Department of Sociology of the Masaryk University in Brno. Since 1990 he has taught at the Institute of Sociology of Charles University in Prague. His primary focus is the social consequences of privatisation.

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Vested Interests Versus Systemic Transformation Strategies in Poland

WŁADYSŁAW ADAMSKI*

Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

Abstract: The article consists of five parts: (1) the claim that a sociological definition of systemic transformation (ST) should include not only structural but also cultural dimensions; (2) the author's concept of the structural-generational model of systemic conflict as a background to the collapse of the socialist system in Poland; (3) an analysis on the basis of Polish data of the achieved level of ST, as well as group interests opposing the process of further change; (4) a discussion and evaluation of the prospects for applying neo-liberal vs. social-democratic strategies of ST; (5) finally, the presentation of six hypotheses on the role of group interest conflicts and possible strategies for their accommodation.

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1. The sociological notion and dimensions of „systemic transformation“ (ST)

It is assumed that approached as an historically unique sequence of cumulative processes of radical social and political change neither the adequate theories nor research methodologies are available for our understanding of the present course of ST in Poland, let alone for its future development. The relative abundance of political science literature on the Latin American experience of the „transition“ from authoritarianism to democracy is usually taken as a source of inspiration in this field [Przeworski 1986, DiPalma 1993]. However, these historical precedents are hardly comparable with the East-European, and especially Polish, problems and challenges posed by the collapse of totalitarianism and the new creed of liberalism.

What makes such comparisons difficult, or even scientifically unacceptable, is first and foremost linked with the structural/cultural uniqueness of our „state-socialist“ legacy, which stems from the prolonged absence of a real market economy. Under these circumstances, the envisaged scale of systemic transformation and, subordinated to it, strategies of action, should address the following crucial points: not only (a) how the inherited system of ownership and, related to it, social class and social-professional structures are to be changed, but also (b) how most of the technologically and structurally obsolete industries, as well as traditional peasant agriculture and public service institutions are to be modernised, and (c) how the need for a basic reorientation of people's mainstream value preferences and group interests is to be met.

Sociology's contribution to the understanding and management of the ongoing transformations, as well as of the challenges they pose to the prospects of European integration, should be evaluated as rather one-sided and quite often misleading. Such is the fate of those sociologists who perceive Polish society as either „totally amorphous“ or characterised by „the lack of clear class and group interests“ [Jałowicki 1992], or as a society stigmatised by so-called „learned powerlessness“ and a „sociological vacuum“. In

*) Direct all correspondence to Prof. Władysław Adamski, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii Polskiej akademii nauk, Nowy Świat 72 (Pałac Staszica), 00-330 Warszawa, Poland.

this respect, the soundest, most influential and, unfortunately, also most frequently misinterpreted, appears to have been Stefan Nowak's thesis on the „sociological vacuum“. It was originally formulated by the author at the end of 1980s with the aim of re-establishing the disrupted social ties between the family and the state, as a precondition of the possible renaissance of civil society. Contemporary critics of the literary interpretation of this thesis rightly claim that „social ties in real socialism have by no means disappeared“, but have merely changed their contents and ways of functioning.

Nevertheless, to voice this point and stress the importance of informal privileges as a structural basis for social ties in „real socialism“ does not explain how these ties or, broadly speaking, social actors at the grass-root level actually contributed to the collapse of the system and why they are now supposed to play a „conservative“ role in the course of further systemic transformation.

An opportunity to clarify such contradictory statements is offered by those sociologists who believe that the enterprise is a crucial institution in the on-going processes of modernisation and systemic change [Sainsaulieu 1992, Morawski 1993, Pańków 1993]. The enterprise level, primarily the one represented by large firms in heavy and metal industries, did gain a lot publicity as a stronghold of the Solidarity movement. Unfortunately, it has been not analysed seriously enough (only management specialists having thus far dealt with it), and has been wholly omitted from the mainstream sociological concepts of transformation. The Polish discussions on enterprise as a place of social self-organisation at the time of industrial restructurisation is, however, quite promising in this respect, although what is still lacking here is an attempt to link the present position of industrial employees with their broader, structural legacy of state-run, socialist enterprise and its unique social and political functions.

2. The structural-generational model of conflicting socialisation at the socialist work-place

Three methods of isolating the potential Polish conflict are proposed. The first refers to the social-political system and its function as a distributor of scarce resources. This orientation enables us to differentiate people either according to their closeness to the power centres or according to their bargaining potential in relation to these centres. The second means of tracing the sources of conflict involves traditional class stratification, which stipulate that the relationship of a given social category both to distributive power and to the means of production constitutes the basic structural dimension of group interests. However, any of these methods applied in isolation may well prove to be a failure if it ignores generational divisions. These divisions run „across“ basic structural categories, and proved to be highly effective in detecting conflict-producing factors in the initial stage of conflict. This approach permits the distinction of the conflicting socialisation model created by socialist enterprise, the structure of which was founded on skilled workers and specialists (especially those employed in crucial industries) – social groups which were in a privileged enough position to influence state policy. However, their strategic position in the economic system, and even their concentration in large factories, offers only a partial explanation of this phenomenon. What was crucial from this point of view for the Polish industrial scene in the late 1970s and early 1980s is that the needs, aspirations, and interests of younger generation employees were in strong structural conflict with the needs, aspirations, and interests of the older generation employees [Adamski 1990].

This structural-generational model of social conflict distinguishes those generations jointly creating the conflictual situation. Viewed in the light of the 1970's, they can be defined as the younger or „ascendant“ generation, including those born after World War II, and the older or „stabilised“ generation, the most representative among the latter being those whose social and political maturation took place in the first decade of People's Poland. The sources of generational conflict are strongly differentiated by social-occupational and class categories. The majority of industrial employees form part of the „ascendant“ generation and a minority, occupying relatively higher positions, form the older, stabilised generation. Since state social policy did not take into account the problems attendant upon the entrance of this group into the workplace, their primary deprivations and their economic status demands were transformed into a sense of deprivation aimed at the political system.

The younger generation of industrial workers and specialists proved to be disproportionately active in triggering the Polish conflict, and this not only because they have been structurally blocked in the fulfilment of their basic needs: their distinct values and life orientations constitute an equally important factor. Higher levels of non-conformity, more pronounced feelings of independence vis-à-vis power, and stronger antagonistic attitudes, are features specific to this generation.

The higher conformity found in the stabilised generations can be attributed to the adaptive model of socialisation in operation during their youth. The social structure and political institutions dominating the first two post-war decades as well as the social policies and the ideological influence of the state, contributed to a model of socialisation favouring the formation of attitudes and behaviour that were adaptive with regard to the system of power. It was connected with the composition of the first generation of working class, being characterised by both peasant origin, low levels of education and social aspiration and high levels of conformity.

The interplay of structural, political, and ideological components constituting a model of socialisation in the 1970s was completely different. The model's basic components contradicted one another, producing the potential for conflict on a massive scale. If we accept this premise, then the first step in locating the source of the younger generation's rebelliousness should be to identify and analyse those factors responsible for the transition from a basically adaptive to an inherently contentious model of political socialisation under state socialism.

Among the factors generating the societal conflict in Polish society, the role played by the generation shift and the specific features of young skilled workers and specialists continues to be underestimated. As shown by comparative analyses on the basis of Polish and Czechoslovak experience, the younger generation of Poles achieved a relatively higher level of schooling and an extremely heightened level of aspiration for both further education and social promotion. [Adamski 1985] However, in contrast to their Czech and Slovak counterparts, they were, on average, assigned to relatively lower ranks and positions. This holds true, above all, for secondary general vocational school graduates. While their Czech colleagues of equal educational levels nearly always enjoyed the prestigious status of „white-collar workers with professional qualifications“, the majority of Poles with either of these educational credentials had good reason to consider themselves downgraded or underemployed. The lot of graduates with basic vocational education demands special attention. While in Czechoslovakia a substantial percentage of these graduates were placed as white-collar workers, in Poland almost all of them

entered the ranks of blue-collar workers, thus creating a separate generational stratum within the working class.

The structural determinants of the socialisation process of the post-war generations and of their integration into Polish society at large must also be considered conducive to the development of specific attitudes in these generations. These attitudes constituted a sense of independence and of certainty about the imminent fulfilment of their social aspirations, later to be followed by an evolving sense of being thwarted in the realisation of their expectations. It was evident that both promoted generational self-consciousness. In this respect, wide circles of young industrial workers and employees, especially those who were placed in the large, newly built industries, exhibited a pronounced tendency to form a separate generation. Both the fact that access to the social-vocational and political roles corresponding to their educational achievements and career aspirations was on the whole barred to them, as well as the fact that in their general life-orientations these age classes had developed rebellious rather than passively adaptive attitudes, could not but be strongly felt in a crisis situation.

Another factor behind this is the fact that since the late 1960s the Polish intelligentsia had been gradually losing its privileged economic position, being downgraded to the level of skilled workers. This process of proletarianization applies mostly to those university graduates who were deprived of any power position. In spite of the fact that skilled workers rather improved their income position, their heightened aspirations nevertheless rendered them no less aware of their deprivation as specialists and, therefore, rebellious. Hence, the alliance of proletarianised intelligentsia and the new working class has contributed to an enduring structural background to the conflict.

3. The achieved level of ST in Poland and vested interests as a barrier for its further development

What has been achieved in Poland since 1989 centres mostly on provisions for a political democracy, the smooth expansion of small business and visibly efficient privatisation methods in the field of commerce. The consecutive governments' attempts to find the „real owners“ for the bulk of large enterprises are much less concerning. Combined with the crisis-stricken peasantry, state employees proved to be increasingly resistant to the restructuration programs offered them. The President's decision to dissolve the first democratically elected Parliament marks the end of the first stage of ST. It means that no longer will there be an opportunity to continue the policy of economic restructuration without solving a basic structural contradiction generated by state socialism. This well-defined and relatively sustained conflict between the basic social groups' heightened needs and aspirations as opposed to their decreasing or stagnant satisfaction levels, has not actually been as disruptive as it was in the early 1980s, although it continues to exist. To find a solution to this conflict requires either a clear increase in economic efficacy or an equal curbing of peoples' expectations. Nothing of the like has yet occurred in Poland. Thus the crucial problem challenging the newly elected Parliament and government is whether or not they are able to generate more comprehensive systemic transformation strategies.

Let us then examine this problem through the prism of Poles' changing attitudes and preferences to privatisation [Adamski, Rychard, Wnuk-Lipiński 1991]. If considered on the scale of liberal versus social-democratic orientation vis-à-vis various forms of privatisation, the clear majority of Poles choose the middle-of-the-road position. But this general picture differs when the focus changes to specific issues.

The liberal orientation, which aims at unrestricted privatisation, has gained the prevailing support with regard to commerce and state farms. In contrast, support for the maintenance of state property, i.e. the socialist solution, prevails only in the case of hospital services. On the other hand, support for limited privatisation is predominantly connected to large-scale industry and building maintenance.

In spite of a minority base of social support, the liberal orientation is losing its opponents and gaining adherents, mainly where the press, publishing and banking are concerned. However, the number of supporters of the unlimited privatisation of large enterprises remains at the same low level, although the fraction of those who are against any privatisation in this sphere is decreasing.

Socio-demographic factors such as the level of education (the higher level, the stronger the support) and the respondents' age (the reverse dependence) positively correlate to liberal and moderate attitudes towards privatisation. On the other hand, a lower than average income and, in particular, a respondent's negative estimation of his or her family's material standard have proven to be important reasons for holding some reservations or opposition toward privatisation.

State-sector employees' support for or opposition to the privatisation of large industrial enterprises has proved to be interdependent on mainly social and occupational status as well as access to positions of authority and, to a lesser degree, on membership to Solidarity or to other unions. Relatively speaking, the strongest support for the privatisation of industry, especially its moderate variant, is expressed by university graduate specialists and skilled workers. Opposition to any kind of privatisation, however, is clearly stronger among those who hold positions of authority, i.e., the higher and mid-level bureaucracy.

The differentiation of attitudes towards privatisation in the Polish economy are of a structural character, such that support for or opposition to each of the three orientations – liberal, moderate, and socialist – is determined by existential and statutory group interests rather than by these groups' fundamental ideas and guiding values. However, the primacy of group interests must not overshadow the fact that in a situation of stagnating or regressive living standards, these interests tend to be perceived by state employees as threats rather than as opportunities.

As observed in the years 1988-1992, the liberal orientation towards privatisation has clearly gained support among specialists, while workers have withdrawn their support somewhat.

Given the picture of preferences presented above, one must look carefully for those social actors who might emerge from the inherited social structure as supporters or rebels vis-à-vis the economic restructuring and democratic institution-building strategies. There is enough evidence to show that societal support for an extremely liberal structural change strategy in the Polish economy is too weak to balance the opposition on the part of the firm supporters of socialised property. However, support for the state privatisation policy is particularly strong among specialists and employees in the non-agricultural private sector. On the other hand, abandonment of the privatisation policy is most often championed by the peasantry, and next by intermediate workers and by both categories of blue-collar workers.

Among all employees in the state-controlled economy, the category of specialists in non-supervisory posts is distinct. Their support for state policy is similar to that of

managers in the non-agricultural private sector. On the other hand, specialists in supervisory posts are clearly more reserved in their support for the privatisation policy, a stance which may be connected with what is, relatively speaking, a more pronounced fear of losing their positions. The strongest opposition to and the weakest support for the privatisation policy has turned out to be most characteristic of employees from the lower levels of bureaucracy, especially managers from the category of intermediate workers employed within the state service. Skilled workers as well as technicians and white-collar workers are usually positioned on the middle level of support for privatisation. In contrast to the case of specialists, being in a position of authority in these categories clearly strengthens this support. However, the resistance to radical forms of privatisation should be interpreted not only as an expression of the threatened interests of most of the intelligentsia and skilled workers in the state-run economy, or merely as their sense of responsibility for the fate of the work-places: they continue to view themselves as „co-owners“ of the national economy.

4. The relevance of strategies and human agency in the ST process

In spite of the popular concern for the crisis related to economic hardship (as measured by unemployment and drops in individual and family living standards), it is assumed that the success of the envisaged transformations would primarily depend on the quality of strategies applied. The crucial problem is whether or not the applied privatisation and modernisation strategies – both on the level of government policy, and regional and community action – are founded on the real economic and political interests of the social groups concerned, or whether they are rather a product of the ideologies, interests and value preferences represented by those political leaders who have actually remained in power.

When stressing the importance of policies and strategies offered by the power elites, we are not solely approaching the processes of transformation as a „revolution from above“. On the contrary, it is assumed that to achieve a real systemic change would be somewhat impossible without constant pressure being exerted by those „from below“ on those „from above“. At least such is the message one can draw from the Polish experience.

Hence, the need for an unbiased perception of the structural legacy of the past regime. Of special importance here is the dynamic of both spontaneous, as well as institutionalised, group interests (i.e. their articulation, aggregation and satisfaction), as more and more independent agents of systemic transformations. Contrary to neo-liberal politicians and economists, we dare to claim, however, that in any attempt at constructing a viable transformation strategy, this legacy should not necessarily be approached as a barrier or a negative phenomenon [Balcerowicz 1993]. An equally dubious assumption in the light of the specifically Polish legacy of the past, is the one claiming that any opportunity for the emergence of political interests (to be able to contribute to „the general consolidation“ of democracy) would not arise „until the twin shocks of marketisation and privatisation produce more substantial, and more stable class, and sectoral differences.“ [Schmitter and Karl 1992].

There is enough evidence that in Poland we have increasingly clear „class and sectoral“ divisions. The most pronounced among them are still the ones deeply rooted within the state dominated economy. [Rychard 1993] With the exception of the industrial workers and, allied with them, specialists deprived of power, Polish peasants in the

1990s should also be seriously considered as partners in the political game. Unfortunately, in the transformation period, both social classes have proved ineffective in elaborating their strategies for establishing a place within the newly-emerging system. [Kozek and Frieske 1992] Hence the great challenge to the power elites, intellectuals and educationalists: how to make use of the human capital accumulated by these agents and transform their contentious attitudes and social experience into the potential for constructive participation in transforming both the economy, and the social and political institutions.

To face this challenge, one has to teach those affected by the restructuring of the economy how to articulate and realise their interests by going beyond strikes and other protest behaviour, i.e. through negotiations, participation in decision-making processes, and the utilisation of political procedures which characterise the democratic system. Without a doubt, meeting such expectations requires considerable creativity on the part of leaders at all levels of social activity. It also requires the profound reorientation of the role of trade-unions as representative group interests. Hence, the real problem facing the unions is – as expressed by Renaud Sainsaulieu – „How to pass from a stage of collective bargaining to a kind of partnership in co-managing the social issues....“ [Sainsaulieu 1992]. If this is really the most promising option for accommodating the Polish conflict, then it would open the door for a model of democracy which relies not only on „electoralist“ but also on „consociational“ procedures, to use Philip Schmitter's classification [Wiatr 1993].

5. Hypotheses on the role of group interests in the process of systemic change in Poland

1) In spite of the slow pace of economic recovery, the level of individual and family needs and aspirations reached before the crisis (and this applies above all to state employees and, among them, to skilled workers and professionals of the post-war generation) tends to have become consolidated and autonomous, i.e. unrelated both to the real options available to the State and to the employees' efficiency, both individual and collective, in the workplace. Consequently, regardless of the crisis, people still expect the government, if not to improve their living standards, then at least to satisfy the achieved levels of needs and aspiration. The emergence of strongly autonomous needs and aspirations not only adds to the emotionally loaded rejection of any State attempts to bring employees' expectations into line with what the economy can produce, but it also helps to translate unmet economic demands into feelings of deprivation and rebellion.

2) The feelings of economic and political deprivation especially prevalent among the skilled workers and specialists who count among the first in the People's Poland baby-boom generation, makes them extremely sensitive to any existing social inequalities and, in particular, to perceive those in power and new businessmen as undeservedly privileged. This psycho-sociological mechanism of transforming deprivation into aggressive collective protest actions based on group interests in the workplace seems to be facilitated by the propensity of deprived individuals and social groups to perceive the people in power, as well as the representatives of better-off businessmen, as their main reference groups.

3) Under state socialism, needs and aspirations were blocked for so long that they reached the level of „obligation“, hence contributing to a growing awareness of separate group interests among the basis social categories of industrial enterprise employees. When the hidden conflict evolves into an open protest movement, the phenomenon of

group awareness also embraces the people in power – especially bureaucrats and managers who increasingly feel threatened and inclined to behave as if they were a „quasi-class“ (in Dahrendorf's term) or an interest group.

4) Whether the gap between people's heightened and autonomous aspirations and the striking inefficiency of the system can be bridged will depend on the central authorities' strategies in tackling the process of systemic transformation. The prospects for avoiding conflicts or chances for conflict resolution through social consensus will be greater if the strategy of participation and power-sharing is used.

5) The greater the strength of potential interest conflicts among the employees of major state industries in particular, the greater the chance that the process of political and economic restructuring will be pursued at a deliberate pace and that the idea of power and ownership-sharing will have to accommodate the threatened group interests of the politicians, state bureaucrats and managers who would likely tend to preserve their control over the dominant state resources.

6) The success of industrial workers and, allied with them, the intelligentsia, deprived of power in the common fight against the ancient regime, was achieved due to their solidarity in organising the protest actions. However, they seem to be ineffective in adapting their individual and group strategies to the requirements of the newly emerging system. Hence the great challenge facing the elites and society is how to transform the contentious and vindictive attitudes of basic social groups and, secondly, the inherited work and career aspirations, into a workable potential in the process of systemic transformation.

WŁADYSŁAW ADAMSKI is professor of sociology at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, head of the Sociology of Group Interests research team. He is also founder and editor-in-chief of *Sisyphus*, Sociological Studies. Among his recent publications include: *Societal Conflict and Systemic Change. The Case of Poland 1980-1992*, Warsaw, 1993: IFiS PAN Publishers (Editor and co-author); *Edukacja w okresie transformacji (Education in Poland in the Period of Systemic Transformation)*, Warsaw, 1993: IFiS PAN Publishers (Co-author); *Strukturalno-kulturowe i edukacyjne przesłanki transformacji systemowej (The Structural, Cultural and Educational Background of Systemic Transformation)*, *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, XXXVIII, No. 1, 1994.

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Economic, Social and Historical Determinants of Voting Patterns

In the 1990 and 1992 Parliamentary Elections in the Czech Republic

TOMÁŠ KOSTELECKÝ*

Institute of Sociology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague

Abstract: The transition from a centralised authoritative communist state to a pluralistic, liberal-democratic civic society is a global process consisting of a variety of individual changes. The common feature of these „transitions of sub-systems“ is the growth in differences between individuals, groups of people, localities and different regions. The article focuses on the geography of the voting patterns in their mutual relationships with the geographies of the underlying explanatory factors. Special emphasis is placed on the examination of social, economic and historical factors. The differences between the 1990 and 1992 parliamentary election results are sought out in order to evaluate the changing significance of the individual explanatory factors.

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Introduction

The transition from a centralised authoritative communist state to a pluralistic, liberal-democratic civic society is a global process consisting of a variety of different individual changes. A common feature of these ‚transitions of sub-systems‘ is the growth in the differences between individuals, groups, localities and different regions. The breakdown of the Communist rule in 1989 and the subsequent 1990 and 1992 parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic have provided Czech geographers with their first opportunity to view the relationships between space and politics in the country. It was hardly surprising that recent studies of voting patterns in the Czech Republic revealed substantial differences in the voting behaviour of the different regions (for more detailed information, see [Kostecký and Blažek 1991; Jehlička and Sýkora 1991; Pavlínek 1991; Kostecký and Jehlička 1992; Jehlička, Kostecký and Sýkora 1993; Kostecký 1994a, 1994b]).

The most common questions arising from a consideration of the spatial variation of political preferences are: What factors influence the spatial variation of voting preferences? How important are the various kinds of explanatory factors? Are the voting patterns temporally stable or do they change substantially after each election? Some of these questions have been at least partially answered in the above cited literature. In this chapter, the primary focus will be the study of changes in voting patterns between the 1990 and 1992 parliamentary elections in relation to the geography of potentially underlying factors. The hypotheses to be tested can be expressed thus: there are changes in the importance of the different ‚underlying factors‘ explaining the spatial variation in electoral preferences during the initial (and most dramatic) phases of the transformation

*) Direct all correspondence to RNDr. Tomáš Kostecký, CSc., Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Jilská 1, 110 00 Praha 1, phone +42 2 24 22 09 79, ext. 235, fax +42 2 24 22 02 78, E-mail local@earn.cvut.cz.

process. The importance of the local economy's situation, the socio-economic status of the inhabitants and similar factors will increase while, on the other hand, political traditions and cultural factors will lose their impact.

Theoretical approaches to electoral studies

Any researcher seeking to study and evaluate the impact of the different factors determining people's voting choices, generally have to two possible methodologies at their disposal. The first possibility is to use the survey data and then analyse this information collected on the basis of individual respondent's answers. This method is usually considered safer and more convenient since it avoids the problem of ecological fallacy, which constitutes the erroneous substitution of the ecological (aggregate) correlation between voting preferences and socio-economic characteristics for the same type of correlation on an individual level [Robinson 1950; Taylor and Johnston 1979]. It is worthy of note that in this type of analysis, the 'units of observation' are individuals, (data are collected on the level of individuals): the investigator seeks to recognise the influence of various personal characteristics on the individual's voting decision. Some commentators, however, draw attention to the fact that in some localities or regions electoral results are not the simple sum of the individual votes which can be 'predicted' according to the individual voters' personal characteristics: the voter's social and political environment is sometimes considered of equal importance to his or her personal characteristics [Miller 1977, 1982; Johnston 1986; Agnew 1987].

If we had sought to incorporate 'the community dimension' into our study and to analyse the electoral results using the local or regional communities as the units of observation instead of individuals, the survey would still constitute a very good tool for collecting the basic data [Havighurst and Jansen 1967; Vajdová 1992]. Unfortunately, such large data sets that permit a detailed view of the relationships between the electoral preferences and the individual voters' other personal characteristics (such as occupation, age, church membership etc.) living in different localities and regions (and being thus members of different communities), are not usually available. This was also true of post-communist Czechoslovakia. Researchers interested in the regional variations of party preferences and/or contextual factors influencing the 'community of voters' voting decisions usually have to adopt the second available approach – ecological analysis – in spite of its inherent difficulties. After years of decline in the popularity of ecological analyses (mainly owing to the development and number of large-scale election surveys) these methods are now being advocated by a growing number of researchers [Johnston 1986; Johnston, Pattie and Johnston 1988; Berglund and Thomsen 1990] and rather widely used. Besides the fact that ecological analyses are often the only possible method, their adoption can have some advantages which usually go unmentioned in the literature. Some of the contextual factors influencing voters' decisions can be meaningfully operationalised and measured on the level of region or locality alone (the regional or local community). Criminality represents a typical example of this, often being an important political issue during electoral campaigns. The criminality rate is, however, far more characteristic of the locality or region than of the voters living there (at least in some places the majority or a substantial part of criminal acts are 'imported' by individuals coming from outside). A further typical political issue, which is not a personal characteristic, is environmental damage. Voters living in highly polluted regions tend to evaluate the various parties' political programmes with 'different eyes' than other

voters, even though substantial differences in their social and economic status may not be revealed.

Since political geography did not actually exist in Czechoslovakia under the Communist rule – hence providing nothing to follow (both in theory and empirical studies) – we chose to adopt the theory of electoral cleavages developed by Lipset and Rokkan [1967] as the basic theoretical framework for our analysis. According to the electoral cleavage theory, political parties generate mobilised support within the society by focusing their activities on those social groups reflecting the dominant social conflicts at the time of mass suffrage's introduction. According to Lipset and Rokkan, four major conflicts with electoral implications can be identified: conflict between dominant and subject cultures, between church and state, between agriculture and industry and between labour and capital. Each conflict may produce a social cleavage within any country. The unique combination of cleavages in the individual European countries, which is a consequence of different histories, has resulted in a variety of political party systems within Europe as a whole. The decision to adopt the cleavage theory can, of course, be criticised, due to the fact that the social and political situation in the Czech Republic, as in other post-communist states, is in many aspects incomparable with long-term Western European liberal democracies. We hope, however, that it will help us to interpret the results of analyses, at least since, as a part of the Austrian Monarchy (till 1918) and the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938), the Czech Lands underwent a social and political development very similar to Western European countries.

Lipset's and Rokkan's theory is, however, sometimes criticised for omitting the importance of the contextual factors influencing the voter's decision and differences in various regional sub-cultures. Even compositional categories such as occupation or church affiliation „may not mean the same in every place within the state's territory“ [Johnston, Pattie and Johnston 1988]. Moreover, several studies indicate other important 'explanatory factors' not included in the original cleavage theory – the state versus private sector cleavage, the rise of localism, regions' and localities' different political histories etc. [Dunleavy 1979; Archer and Shelley 1986; Agnew 1987, Johnston and Pattie 1990 and others]. We have tried to include all possible explanatory factors within our conceptual schemes in order not only to indicate the most influential factors but also to evaluate their relative importance and its development in the period between the 1990 and 1992 parliamentary elections.

Methods employed and explanatory variables

The most common approach of ecological methods is to locate the aggregate (ecological) correlation between the share of votes received by the individual political parties in a given spatial unit (dependent variable) and the different characteristics describing the population as well as the social and political milieu within the observed spatial units (independent variables). Regression analyses are usually the most frequently adopted methods for doing so.

The first practical problem of these methods is to determine the scale of the spatial units to be used in the analysis. The electoral system operating both in the 1990 and 1992 parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic was the proportional representation system, with the eight multi-member 'electoral regions' (for more information about electoral law, see [Jehlička, Kostecký and Sýkora 1993]). Electoral regions with an average population size of about 1.3 million are too large and too few to serve as

observation units. On the other hand, the more than 4,000 municipalities in 1990 and the more than 6,000 municipalities in 1992 seem too numerous to form a basic spatial unit for the analysis. Moreover, a substantial amount of statistical data are not available on the municipal level. Mainly for the practical reasons mentioned above, we have chosen the districts (and the capital city of Prague as one spatial unit), which represent a compromise between regions and municipalities. There are 75 districts in the Czech Republic (including the city districts Brno, Ostrava and Plzeň), each with an average population of approximately 120 thousand inhabitants. The capital city of Prague has a special status and more than 1.2 million inhabitants. The population size of the districts ranks from 46 thousand (Rokycany in Western Bohemia) to 284 thousand (Karviná in Northern Moravia), the city districts not included. The modal interval of the population size is 100-125 thousand.

The second necessary step after determining the appropriate spatial units for the analysis, is to choose independent variables representing potentially explanatory factors. We decided to use as many independent variables as possible. In the first phase, about 40 variables were collected on the district level. The initial set of data included almost every available structural characteristic of district population (age, gender, occupation, education, housing ownership, income level, ethnic and religious structure, nationality etc.), characteristics of regional and/or local milieu (rate of urbanisation, environmental pollution, criminality, divorces, abortions...), as well as the variables incorporating political traditions and some aspects of the historical development of the districts. This enormous number of independent variables was then reduced by eliminating the mutually highly inter-correlated variables, after which a cluster analysis was used to choose variables representing groups of variables with similar spatial patterns.

The final set of independent variables consisted of the following:

UNIV - university educated people per 100 inhabitants (1991). This variable indicates the educational level. It has a high positive correlation with the share of inhabitants educated at the intermediate middle level (secondary schools) and, on the other hand, a high negative correlation with the share of people with only primary education.

WORK - the % of workers in the population (1991). This is one of the very low number of available occupational structure indicators. Typical class categories such as white-collar versus blue-collar or working-class versus middle-class were either not included in the official statistics during the Communist rule or did not exist at all (employees versus employed, for example).

AGRI - the % of people working in agriculture (1991). This figure reflects one of Rokkan's classical cleavages: The national average of the agricultural population was about 12 %, that of the industrial sector more than 50 % while about 35 % working in services.

OLD - age index = the number of retired people/number of children under 15 (1991). The higher the age index, the older the population in the district.

SAL80 - the average salary in 1980. This variable was incorporated as an indicator of relative wealth during the last decade of the communist rule, the intention being to test the possibility of retrospective voting, consisting of voting responding to perceptions of economic conditions in the recent past.

URB - the % of urban population in the districts (1991). The set of cities was determined by the Czech Statistical Office and is similar to the set of municipalities with more than 5,000 inhabitants.

CRIME - the number of criminal acts per thousand inhabitants (1991). Figures are taken from police statistics and indicate the level of criminality which, after the 1989 upheaval, has become an increasingly important issue.

ABORT - the number of abortions/number of new-born children (average 1988-1990). This variable has an almost identical spatial pattern to the divorce rate, the relative number of illegitimate children and similar characteristics. The ABORT variable can thus represent the group of family destruction indicators.

MORSI - the % of inhabitants declaring themselves to be ethnic Moravians or Silesians in the 1991 census (13.5 % of the population live mostly in the region of Brno – the former capital of the historic Land of Moravia). Moravians and Silesians speak Czech (as do the majority of inhabitants declaring Czech ethnicity) such that their classification within the ethnic groups is rather problematic. Declaration of Moravian (or Silesian) ethnicity can be understood as a characteristic of both ethnic and regional identity [see Daněk 1993]. 81 % of the population in the Czech Republic declared themselves to be ethnic Czechs.

ENVI - the aggregate index of environmental damage (1987). This is an aggregate of observed individual indicators of various types (including emissions of SO₂, NO_x, fly-ash, noise levels, quality of water, damage to the natural landscape etc.).

ROMCAT - the % of inhabitants declaring themselves to be Roman-Catholics in the 1991 census (national average 39 %).

NONCAT - the % of inhabitants declaring themselves to be non-Catholic Christians (national average 4 %). The group of non-Catholic Christian churches includes two larger – the Czechoslovak Hussite Church (similar to the Church of England) and the Czech Brethren's Evangelic Church – and several smaller Protestant churches. 40 % of the population declared themselves to be atheists, while 16 % of the population refused to answer this question during the census.

GYPSY - the number of Gypsies per thousand inhabitants. Figures are based on information collected by the municipal governments in 1989.

NEW - the share of newly settled (not original) inhabitants in the border region after the transfer of Germans and the first resettlement wave in 1945-1947. These figures were estimated by comparing data from the last pre-war regular census in 1930 with data from the first post-war unofficial census conducted in 1947, and serve as an approximate measurement of population changes since World War II.

NSP46 - the % of votes received by the centrist Czechoslovak National-Social Party in current districts territory during the last pre-communist elections in 1946 (national average 24 %).

SD46 - the % of votes received by the Czechoslovak Social Democracy in the current district territory during the last pre-communist elections in 1946 (national average 16 %).

CP46 - the % of votes received by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the current district territory during the last pre-communist elections in 1946 (national average

40 %). The last three variables serve as indicators of district political traditions. Theoretically, it would be more convenient to use other indicators to characterise political traditions (ideally based on a longer time-series of electoral results), but the 1946 parliamentary election results constitute the only available information concerning voting patterns after the transfer of Germans (representing about 30 % of the pre-war population of the Czech Lands) and prior to the 1989 upheaval. Moreover, with the exception of the Communist Party, the voting patterns for political parties competing in 1946 were quite similar to pre-war ones.

A note about those independent variables not included in the list should be added. During the period between 1990 and 1992, there were some rapid changes influencing social structures, the most important of these being the process of economic transformation, which includes privatisation, the creation of a managerial class and employees, a rise in the number of self-employed, unemployed and poor people. During 1991 and later, the statistical data documenting this process was gradually included into official statistical outputs. It was thus impossible to include these figures in an analysis of the 1990 parliamentary election results and, of course, in the comparative study. Nevertheless, we do not consider this to be an omission of crucial factors influencing voting decisions. The share of private sector was not so substantial in June 1992, at the time of the parliamentary elections, because the first wave of so-called 'large-scale privatisation' had not then been completed (only about 10 % of the working population was employed in the private sector in June 1992, compared with about 40-50 % in mid-1994). At this time, the unemployment rate was also extraordinarily low (about 2.5 %) and even on the decrease. Furthermore, some earlier studies failed to confirm any statistical relationship between the unemployment rate and the voting for specific parties on the district level [Tomeš 1992; Kostecký 1993]. It is clear, however, that the indicators mentioned above will have to be taken into account in any future analyses. A variable indicating the share of votes received by the pro-Catholic Czechoslovak People's Party on current district territory in the last pre-communist elections in 1946 (national average 20 %) also had to be excluded from the set of independent variables due to the extremely high intercorrelation with the other independent variable, ROMCAT (the share of Roman-Catholics in 1991). Used thus, the variable ROMCAT to some extent indicates both the contemporary religious structure of the population and the specific political tradition of the pro-Catholic vote, because of the significant time-space stability of the politically specific Catholic population.

After having chosen both units of observation and the independent variables, the problem of determining important variables remained. We used a multiple regression analysis in order to build the statistical models with a stepwise selection of independent variables in order to identify the subsets of variables which form good predictors of the individual dependent variables. In order to assess the relative importance of each independent variable we used two statistics commonly available in regression analysis procedures: the first indicator is the standardised regression coefficient (sometimes referred to as the Beta coefficient) which is the coefficient of the independent variables when all variables are expressed in standardised (Z-score) form; the second possible indicator assessing the relative importance of independent variables is an increase in variability explained by the regression equation (change of R), whereby a variable is entered into an equation already containing the other independent variables. A significant change in R indicates that a variable provides unique information on the dependent

variable that is not available from the other independent variables in the equation (for a more detailed discussion on the statistics used, see [SPSS/PC+ Statistics 1990]).

Electoral results of the main political parties, voting patterns and underlying factors

The development of political parties in the Czech Republic since the breakdown of Communist rule in 1989 has been a rather complicated process. Several historical parties have been restored, while a number of new parties were created during the first months following the upheaval. Seventeen parties met the criteria of electoral law and competed for votes in the 1990 parliamentary elections. Between 1990 and 1992, the number of contesting political parties even increased, so that 21 political parties took part in the 1992 parliamentary elections. (For further information on political parties and politics in Czechoslovakia see [Wolchik 1991; Wightman 1990a, 1990b; Brokl and Mansfeldová 1993; Olson 1993]. The following table provides basic information on the most successful parties in the 1990 and 1992 parliamentary elections, with the percentages of total votes received by the party in brackets.

Table 1. The most successful parties in the 1990 and 1992 parliamentary elections. The number in brackets represents the average percentages of votes received by the parties in the elections to the Chamber of Representatives and the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Parliament.

1990	1992
Civic Forum (51.6)	Civic Democratic Party + Christian Democratic Party (33.7) Civic Democratic Alliance (4.5) Civic Movement (4.6)
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (13.7)	Left Bloc (14.4)
Christian and Democratic Union (8.7)	Christian and Democratic Union -Czechoslovak People's Party (6.0)
Movement for the Self-Governing Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia (8.5)	Movement for the Self-Governing Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia (4.6)
Czechoslovak Social Democracy (4.0)	Czechoslovak Social Democracy (7.2)
Agricultural Party (3.9)	
Green Party (3.3)	Liberal Social Union (5.9)
Czechoslovak Socialist Party (2.8)	Association for the Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (6.4)

Source: Federal Statistical Office

The 1990 parliamentary elections in the Czech Republic were characterised by the Civic Forum's dominance – a broad movement founded by the dissident, Václav Havel, and his co-operators at the time of the November 'Velvet Revolution' in 1989. The Civic Forum's electoral programme was rather general, proposing the restoration of a democratic society with a market-based economy. Discussions concerning the realisation

strategy for the programme targets led rather quickly to the split of the winning movement and the subsequent foundation of three main successor parties with much clearer political profiles. The most successful was the right-oriented Civic Democratic Party led by the economist, Václav Klaus, which won the 1992 election in coalition with the small, conservative Christian Democratic Party. The right liberal Civic Democratic Alliance proposed a very similar political programme. The third successor of the Civic Forum – the Civic Movement – claimed to be a liberal party but, in the eyes of voters, had rather the image of a centre-left party. In spite of the personal popularity of some of the Civic Movement leaders as expressed in the opinion polls, this party failed to win a parliamentary seat in 1992.

The basic outputs of the regression equations constructed for the percentage of votes for the Civic Forum in 1990 and for its three successor parties in the 1992 parliamentary elections are presented in Tables 2-5.

Table 2. Basic outputs of stepwise regression analysis for the Civic Forum in the 1990 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
MORSI	-0.82	76.2
NSP46	0.17	5.2
AGRI	-0.26	2.1
SAL80	0.15	1.5

Goodness of fit - $R = 85.0$

The quality of the regression equation is very high – 85 % of the total variation was explained by the model. By far the best predictor of Civic Forum electoral support in the 1990 parliamentary elections is the share of people declaring themselves to be ethnic Moravians or Silesians. The more members of these ethnic groups, the less votes for the Civic Forum. The independent variable MORSI is quite dominant in the equation as to the relative importance and alone accounts for more than 76 % of the total variation, all the others independent variables combined forming less than 9 %. The positive statistical relationship between political support for the urban, middle-class oriented Czechoslovak National-Social Party in 1946 and support for the Civic Forum in 1990, together with the negative statistical influence of the share of people working in agriculture, indicate the more urban than rural character of the Civic Forum. Simply put, the Civic Forum was much more successful in Bohemia than in Moravia (and Silesia) and much more in urban centres than in the rural areas.

What have become of the voting patterns of the Civic Forum successors? Most of the Civic Forum voters voted for the Civic Democratic Party in 1992. The basic outputs of the regression analysis for this party are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the coalition of the Civic Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Party in the 1992 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
MORSI	-0.74	36.1
UNIV	0.32	22.0
NONCAT	0.12	5.2
ENVI	-0.22	3.5
AGRI	-0.39	2.8
CP46	-0.19	1.8

Goodness of fit - R = 71.4

The most relevant independent variable remains the same. The MORSI variable, however, accounted for less than half of the total variation compared with the previous equation. The share of university educated people (UNIV) adds more than 20 %, while the share of non-Catholic Christians adds another 5 %. People living in badly polluted areas, agricultural districts and in regions traditionally supporting the Communist Party were less willing to support the right-oriented Civic Democratic Party. The goodness of fit of the model was also high – 71.4 %.

Independent variables indicating the ethnic structure of the society are not present in the regression equation predicting the electoral support for the Civic Democratic Alliance, a right-liberal party with a political programme similar to the previous party. The main reason for this is probably the presence of the most popular Czech politician, Vladimír Dlouhý (co-author of the economic reform strategy and current Czech Minister of Industry and Trade), on the list of candidates in the South Moravia, where most ethnic Moravians live.

Table 4. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Civic Democratic Alliance in the 1992 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
UNIV	0.71	39.9
ENVI	0.40	4.3
SAL80	-0.39	3.8
SD46	0.35	3.7
AGRI	-0.42	3.0
URB	-0.26	3.0
ABORT	-0.18	2.5

Goodness of fit - R = 60.1

The best predictor of the Civic Democratic Alliance's success thus remained the education of the population, which explained most of the variance (almost 40 %). Of the other variables entering the equation, several are worthy of mention: namely the greater the environmental pollution and the greater the traditional support for Social Democrats, the better the Civic Democratic Alliance's performance. On the other hand, people living

in agricultural regions as well as the inhabitants of the districts with above average incomes in the eighties (mostly workers working in heavy industry) tended to vote for this party less than the others. The equation's determination coefficient (R^2) is over 60 %.

The regression model ($R = 56.3$) ,explaining' the voting pattern of the third Civic Forum successor – the liberal Civic Movement – proved only minimally less successful.

Table 5. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Civic Movement in the 1992 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
MORSI	-0.46	25.5
AGRI	-0.53	15.6
SAL80	-0.45	11.3
SD46	0.22	3.9

Goodness of fit - $R = 56.3$

The independent variables which entered the equation were the same as those occurring in the previous two tables. The ethnic structure indicator (MORSI) is the most relevant predictor of the Civic Movement electoral results in the individual districts. Both the share of people working in agriculture and the income level in the eighties have an important negative influence on support for the Civic Movement and, in combination, contribute significantly of the explained variation of the model. Comparing the regression equation which predicts Civic Forum electoral support in the 1990 parliamentary election with the equations for the three successor parties, rather logic results are observable. Most of the Civic Forum supporters remained loyal to some of the new parties. All of these parties continued to have less success in agricultural districts. While two of them were again less successful in Moravia, the third – the Civic Democratic Alliance – enjoyed relative success there. The new variable (UNIV – the share of university educated people) became an important predictor. While the Civic Forum voting pattern is similar to the usual spatial patterns of diffusion of any innovation (rejected much more in the peripheries and rural areas and easily accepted in the cities and centres), the voting patterns of at least both right-oriented successor parties can be explained more by structural characteristics. Educated people (who for the most part constitute the ,winners' of the transformation process) seemed more willing to support the more right-oriented parties springing from the Civic Forum. The relevance of historical political traditions were not of extraordinary importance in either the 1990 or the 1992 elections.

The second strongest political party both in 1990 and 1992 remained the Communists. There was nothing dramatic in the development of the Communist Party in this period. The only visible change was the creation of the coalition called the Left Bloc, together with the very small and wholly insignificant party, the Democratic Left, before the 1992 elections. The probable reason was to make a compromise between the party leaders and most of the membership. The leaders thus avoided presenting themselves to the public under a discredited name, while orthodox Communists retained the name connected with revolutionary traditions. The Communist political programme stressed the „danger of wild capitalism“ and the need to maintain the „social securities“ of the

Communist state. The parameters of the regression equation for the Communist Party electoral results in the 1990 parliamentary elections are presented in the following table.

Table 6. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia in 1990 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
CP46	0.99	31.6
NEW	-0.42	6.9
MORSI	0.32	5.8

Goodness of fit - R = 44.3

The model's goodness of fit was not very high in comparison with the previous cases. It was rather interesting that after more than 40 years of unrestrained communist rule, perceived by the overwhelming majority of the population as a time of cross-the-board social devastation, the Communist Party did relatively well in regions where the party had been successful in the last free elections in 1946. The independent variable CP46 was by far the most important predictor of post-revolutionary Communist Party success. In other words, more than anything else the Communists can still count on the influence of old partisan traditions. The figures in Table 7 seem to support this hypothesis, even for the 1992 electoral results.

Table 7. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Left Bloc (Communists) in the 1992 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
CP46	0.84	21.8
SAL80	0.46	11.0
MORSI	0.44	9.5
AGRI	0.59	6.9
NEW	-0.24	5.5
SD46	0.30	4.4

Goodness of fit - R = 59.2

The Communist Party popularity in 1946 remained the best predictor of the pro-Communist vote in the most recent parliamentary elections – the variable CP46 accounting for 21.8 % of the total variation. But the importance of other (mainly structural) variables have grown. The Communists picked up relatively more votes in district, where the income levels in the eighties were higher, this being a standard indication of retrospective voting. It should be noted here that in the eighties, people working in heavy industry were, for the most part, better paid. The higher percentage of votes in regions settled by Moravians and/or in agricultural districts can be explained as an anti-government vote, since both Moravians and agriculturists expressed the least satisfaction with government activity. The vote for the Communist Party thus remains historically grounded in the growing importance of structural cleavages.

The Christian and Democratic Union (renamed between 1990 and 1992 to the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party) represented the centre-

right conservative party with a declared strong commitment to the Christian (mainly catholic) population. The party grew from the Czechoslovak People's Party which survived the Communist rule as a satellite of the Communist Party, claiming itself to be the successor of the pre-war People's Party and the defender of traditions and Christian values.

Table 8. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Christian and Democratic Union in the 1990 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
ROMCAT	0.55	81.2
ABORT	-0.22	2.6
CP46	-0.34	2.2
SD46	-0.29	1.5
ENVI	0.16	1.0
WORK	0.13	1.0

Goodness of fit - R = 89.5

As Table 8 shows, the percent of variability explained by the model for the 1990 parliamentary election results is extraordinary high – 89.5. The majority of the variation (81.2) can be explained by using the share of the Catholic population (ROMCAT) as the only predictor in the model. The influence of other factors was incomparably lower. Table 9, which illustrates the situation two years later, reveals an almost identical picture.

Table 9. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party in the 1992 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
ROMCAT	0.68	80.1
ABORT	-0.18	4.1
MORSI	0.24	1.9
NONCAT	0.17	1.2
SD46	-0.15	1.2
ENVI	0.21	0.9
SAL80	-0.18	0.9

Goodness of fit - R = 90.4

The model's goodness of fit remained very high, explaining approximately 90 percent of the total variation. The structure of the independent variables entering the equation, as well as their relative importance, also remained about the same. This is of no surprise if the extraordinary stability of the voting pattern for this party is taken into consideration (Pearson's correlation coefficient that measured the interrelations between the voting patterns in 1990 and 1992 being $r = 0.97!$). The relative decrease in the Christian Democratic Union electoral gains (from 8.7 to 6.0 %) had the form of a uniform swing while the relationships between the catholic population (and/or the party traditions) and party's recent voting patterns remained unchanged.

Another party with an historical predecessor – the Social Democrats – have undergone quite a different development. Re-founded shortly after November 1989 with a slightly more left-oriented programme than is usual for social democratic parties in Western Europe, the party was not very successful in the 1990 elections and had no parliamentary representation until 1992. As some of the more painful consequences of the economic transformation process gradually became more evident, the Social Democrats became stronger, almost doubled their popular support and with more than 7 percent of the votes took third place in the election. The regression equation for the 1990 electoral results for the Social Democracy was quite successful, explaining almost 80 percent of the total variability (Table 10).

Table 10. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Czechoslovak Social Democracy in the 1990 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
MORSI	-0.40	56.4
ROMCAT	-0.28	10.1
ENVI	0.40	8.5
UNIV	-0.39	2.8
NONCAT	-0.13	1.6

Goodness of fit - R = 79.4

As the structure of independent variables entering the model shows, the Social Democrats were least popular in the districts with a large share of Moravians, a substantial religious population (mainly Catholics) and university educated people. On the other hand, the party did relatively well in badly polluted areas. By far the most important predictor was the variable MORSI, itself explaining more than 56 % of the variation. The output of analysis is substantially different when the 1992 elections (Table 11) are taken into consideration.

Table 11. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Czechoslovak Social Democracy in the 1992 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
CP46	0.47	22.7

Goodness of fit - R = 22.7

The goodness of fit is the worst of all the other regression equations. The only independent variable to meet the criteria for entering the regression equation was the share of votes for the Communist Party in 1946 (CP46). It is virtually impossible to identify any respectable relationship between the regions of pro-Communist political traditions and electoral support for the Social Democrats in 1992 beyond the simple fact that both Communists and Social Democrats are located on the left side of the political spectrum. Moreover, no similar connection of these variables occurred in the previous equation. Social Democrat electoral support seems to be based less on the cleavage structure of the society or political traditions than any other party under observation. This

hypothesis coincides with the Social Democrats having relatively the lowest voting pattern stability between 1990 and 1992 ($r = 0.59$).

Substantial electoral support for separatist and/or autonomist parties was somewhat unexpected before the first free elections in 1990. The Movement for Self-Governing Democracy – Society for Moravia and Silesia declared itself the defender of Moravian interests. (The mutual interconnection between the political interests of the inhabitants of the historical Moravian Land and the declaration of Moravian ethnicity in the 1991 population census is itself an interesting process – see [Daněk 1993]). The most important point of their political programme (indeed almost the only one) was the demand for the restoration of the historical Moravian-Silesian Land abolished by the Communist government in the course of the 1949 administrative reform. In economic terms, the party belongs to the centre-left. Turning to the regression model for the 1990 parliamentary elections (Table 12), the predictive power of the equation was high, explaining 92.7 % of the total variation.

Table 12. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy – Society for Moravia and Silesia in the 1990 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
MORSI	0.90	86.5
SD46	0.25	2.7
ENVI	-0.20	2.0
SAL80	0.18	0.7
URB	0.09	0.5

Goodness of fit - $R = 92.5$

The positive relationship between party success and the share of the population of Moravian and Silesian ethnicity is quite dominant in the equation, accounting for most of the variability (more than 86 % on its own). All other independent variables entering the equation combined to form less than 6 %. The simple interpretation of the regression equation parameters is that the pro-Moravian autonomist party was accepted by ethnic Moravians. The figures do not change substantially when we examine Table 13.

Table 13. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy – Society for Moravia and Silesia in the 1992 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised Regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
MORSI	0.79	89.8
SD46	0.16	2.2
ROMCAT	0.16	1.6
SAL80	0.15	1.1
ENVI	-0.12	0.8
PROTEST	0.07	0.4
OLD	-0.07	0.4

Goodness of fit - $R = 96.3$

The regression equation presented in Table 13 was the best, with a fit of 96.3 (!). The share of people declaring themselves to be ethnic Moravians or Silesians (variable MORSI) itself explains almost 90 percent of the variability. It is interesting to note that about 13.5 % of the population declared Moravian and Silesian ethnicity while the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy – Society for Moravia and Silesia received only 4.6 % of the total votes in the 1992 parliamentary elections. Only about one third of Moravians voted for the party claiming itself to be the defender of Moravians interests. This proved to be the case on both the national and district levels. The Movement for Self-Governing Democracy – Society for Moravia and Silesia represented a pure type of ethnic party.

In order to reach the legal threshold, three smaller parties with different political programmes (but all without any parliamentary representation after the 1990 elections) created a political movement called the Liberal Social Union several weeks before the 1992 parliamentary elections. This 'operation' was successful and the alliance of these political parties won several seats in the Czech Parliament, in spite of the significant political differences among them. The strongest left-wing Agricultural Party stressed the necessity of maintaining extensive state subsidies for agricultural co-operatives, the centrist Czechoslovak Socialist Party with pre-war historical roots traditionally concentrated on the urban middle class the Green Party emphasised environmental protection. The basic outputs of the regression analysis for these three parties' electoral results in 1990 as well as for the Liberal Social Union two years later are presented in the following tables.

Table 14. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Agricultural Party in the 1990 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient change	R square (in %)
AGRI	0.79	57.4
MORSI	-0.41	24.6
OLD	0.14	1.0
CP46	0.13	1.0

Goodness of fit - R = 83.9

The model's goodness of fit is high, the regression equation explaining more than 80 percent of the total variation. The most important predictor of the Agricultural Party voting support is, not surprisingly, the share of the agricultural population in the district. The influence of the share of ethnic Moravians and Silesians (variable MORSI), which contributed a further 24.6 %, is also rather significant.

The model explaining the spatial variations in the popular support for the Czechoslovak Socialist Party is based on quite a different set of independent variables (see Table 15). The most influential predictor is the variable NSP46, indicating the traditional vote for the National Social Party – the historical predecessor of the current socialists. In the 1990 elections the Czechoslovak Socialist Party also picked up relatively more votes in those districts with a low share of catholic population, or environmentally damaged districts with an older population.

Table 15. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in the 1990 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
NSP46	0.08	43.1
ROMCAT	-0.62	12.6
ENVI	0.36	5.5
OLD	0.53	5.4
NEW	0.40	3.6
SD46	-0.49	3.5
CP46	-0.39	1.7

Goodness of fit - $R = 75.4$

The structure of the independent variables entering the regression equation for the Green Party (Table 16) was quite surprising.

Table 16. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Green Party in the 1990 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
CP46	0.43	59.6
MORSI	-0.27	5.5
ENVI	0.39	4.5
OLD	-0.24	3.8
SAL80	-0.25	3.3

Goodness of fit - $R = 76.8$

The most influential variable, itself explaining almost 60 % of the total variation, is CP46 – the share of pro-Communist voters in the 1946 elections. This variable was far more important than the share of Moravians or environmental damage in the districts. The later independent variable was expected to be particularly dominant in the equation.

The percent of the total variability explained by the model for the popular support of the Liberal Social Union (the amalgam of the three above-mentioned parties) in 1992 was also quite high - more than 75 percent (Table 17).

Table 17. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Liberal Social Union in the 1992 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
AGRI	0.69	56.5
MORSI	-0.39	12.2
OLD	0.22	4.8
ABORT	-0.15	1.7

Goodness of fit - $R = 75.2$

The most influential independent variable, itself accounting for 56.5 % of the total variation, is the same as in the case of the Agrarian Party in 1990. This affirms previous

studies [Kostecký 1993; Kostecký 1994a] pointing to the dominant position of the Agrarian Party in the Liberal Social Union.

The last party to reach the threshold in at least one of the observed elections was the Association for the Republic – the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, an anti-system, extreme-right party with a political programme stressing the maintenance of public order, xenophobic and racist attitudes. This party, with a voters' support of about 1 % in 1990, has undergone a rather vehement increase in popularity in some parts of the country, entering parliament with more than 6 % of the votes.

Table 18. Basic outputs of the stepwise regression analysis for the Association for the Republic – the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia in the 1992 parliamentary elections

Independent variables	Standardised regression coefficient	R square change (in %)
GYPSY	0.57	35.0
NONCAT	-0.19	3.5
Goodness of fit - R = 38.5		

The regression analysis result shows that the Republicans were relatively more successful in districts with a substantial Gypsy population. This, of course, does not mean that the Republicans were supported by the Gypsies: quite the opposite. Anti-Gypsy attitudes announced more or less openly by the charismatic party leader, together with proposals to solve the 'Gypsy question definitively', was probably the most important feature of the party's image, which attracted some popular support.

Conclusions

This article provides a basic insight into the relationships between the voting patterns of the most important political parties and the underlying factors explaining spatial variation. The population's structural characteristics as well as the district's contextual characteristics were used as independent variables in a set of regression models that elucidated the situation in both the 1990 and 1992 parliamentary elections. Table 19 summarised, in a somewhat more general form, the outputs of the regression analyses. The table contains frequencies in which independent variables of different types occurred in regression equations. We computed the frequencies of all the variables which entered equations separately and then frequencies for the 'most important variables' individually. The most important variables were defined in two different ways: in the first variant, only those variables contributing more than 5 % of the explained variability (R square) were counted, while in the second variant, only variables with a standard regression coefficient higher than 0.30 were tallied. The final figure is an average of these two procedure results.

Although the simple frequencies of the independent variables in the regression equations do not exactly reflect the importance of the various types of independent variables (and cannot be used as anything more than ordinal measurement), their presentation contributes to the interpretation of the results. Generally, the most frequent independent variables in the equations are the variables indicating a district's political traditions, ethnicity/regionalism, the population's religious and occupational structure, retrospective voting and environmental damage. On the other hand, the population's

educational and age structure, the level of urbanisation, social pathology and the long-term stability of the population were not very effective predictors of the spatial variation of the electoral outcomes in either 1990 and 1992. Turning to the question of the change in the relative importance of individual factors, the results are interesting. The first group of independent variables consists of the indicators of political traditions both of the district and ethnicity/regionalism, which have retained a strong stable influence on voting patterns. The occupational and educational structure as well as the average personal incomes in the eighties (retrospective voting) are growing in importance. On the other hand, age structure, the long-term stability of the district population and the level of environmental damage were weakening in terms of their predictive powers. The other factors do not seem to have been very important in either the 1990 or the 1992 elections.

Table 19. Occurrence frequencies of the independent variables characterising the different types of underlying factors in the regression equations

Independent variables characterising	frequency in equations			
	all variables		most important variables	
	1990	1992	1990	1992
ethnicity/regionalism	6	6	5.5	5
religiousness	4	6	2.5	2
occupation	3	5	1	4
education	1	2	0.5	2
age	3	2	1	0
urbanisation	1	1	0	0
environmental damage	5	4	2.5	0.5
social pathology	1	3	0	0
criminality	0	0	0	0
political traditions	10	9	4.5	4
population change after W. War II	2	1	1.5	0.5
retrospective voting	3	5	0.5	2.5

Note: the term 'most important variables' is defined in the text above the table

As to the hypotheses laid forth in the introduction, their validity can be established as follows: Generally, there have been changes in the importance of different kinds of 'underlying factors' explaining the spatial variation of electoral preferences during the initial phases of the transformation process. But, somewhat surprisingly, the observed changes are rather moderate in comparison with the vast scope of the social transformation as a whole. The second hypothesis can only be partly confirmed: while the importance of some socio-economic factors linked with the process of replacing of the egalitarian social stratification type with a new social hierarchy (occupational structure, educational structure, retrospective voting) is evidently growing, political traditions and ethnicity/regionalism remain extremely important in determining political behaviour. It seems that the political behaviour of local and regional communities is not simply a reflection of the contemporary economic and social changes, however revolutionary they are, but has a „life of its own“.

This conclusion seems to be in accordance with the findings presented by Robert Putnam in his work, „Making Democracy Work“ [1993]. In spite of the fact that Putnam concentrates on the problem of the effectiveness of regional governments' performance

in Italy while this article focuses on explaining the electoral behaviour of various „regional communities“ in the post-communist Czech Republic, the underlying principles are the same: traditions (civic or political), however are they created, remain one of the most important influences on the contemporary „political and social life of the regions“. The validity of this notion is evidently not restricted to the two above-mentioned countries: after the break-up of the Communist regimes in Central and East Europe and a series of free elections in these countries, several articles on this topic were published [e.g. Jehlička and Sýkora 1991; Kovács 1993; Surazska 1994] in which the same conclusions were drawn. From a scientific point of view, the time-space stability of voting patterns not only remains an important feature of the Czech Republic's political map, but also a significant topic for future research.

TOMÁŠ KOSTECKÝ graduated in social geography in 1988, and in 1993 received his Ph.D. in political geography from Charles University in Prague. Now, working at the Institute of Sociology in Prague, he deals with regional aspects of transition processes, including politics and social problems. He has published several articles in both the Czech Republic and abroad.

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The Relatively Minimal-Anomic Czech Transition

The Case of Prague

JÍŘÍ BURIÁNEK*

Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University, Prague

Abstract: The paper focuses on data from a 1993 international comparative study of post-communist metropolises (Prague, N = 486). The general and „anomic“ trend of increasing criminality in the Czech Republic (with a growth index of 3.3 between 1989 and 1993) is now slowing down. Beside the considerable amount of property crimes, some new features are appearing – an increasing proportion of first-time and young offenders and various, new forms (drugs, economic and organised crime). The level of victimisation in the Czech Republic is at least on an average level with western Europe; the increase (in Prague) is, nonetheless, not as dramatic as in Eastern Europe. Our Prague survey confirms the deepening awareness of crime and as well as an increasing contact with it. Signs of xenophobic, aggressive reactions have, however, not been observed. The changes in value orientation are rather insignificant, with the velvet revolution and the social transformation bringing increased satisfaction for one half of the population. The explanation of this trend is ambiguous: there are some signs of „ongoing modernisation“, in regard for the positive changes in the society it is possible to evaluate this modest, unexcessive reaction of public opinion as a (temporary?) low-anomic change.

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I. Introduction

Revolutions are usually followed by a wave of crime and violence, which very often escapes any form of effective social control, be it public opinion morality, the legal system, police attention, or the like. Societies in transition are characterised by a continuing, all-pervasive, fundamental change in the value system. The repressive system disappears, and a feeling of freedom dominates. Routine rules of practical behaviour lose their function and influence. This process could be classified as a text-book example of social anomie, whereby E. Durkheim assumes the role of a classic *redivivus*. Two points should, however, be kept in mind: at least two variations of this concept as outlined by Durkheim, and also the risk of simplifications: any radical social change (including a „velvet-revolution“) brings with it elements of social anomie. This, however, does not offer an adequate explanation of the differences between post-communist countries in relation to statistical data on crime, victimisation, attitudes towards crime, security and deviant behaviour.

In combination, the above mentioned factors often give rise to unclear life orientations and attitudes. In the political scene, we have empirically established that a handful of the many political parties are fully supported by a very small part of the voting public. Public opinion, however, is not lacking in a clear basic orientation: an example being the significant, long-term support of right-wing orientation in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, some degree of uncertainty and conceptual confusion is to be

*) Direct all correspondence to Doc. PhDr. Jiří Buriánek, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University, Celetná 20, 116 36 Praha 1, phone + 42 2 24 49 15 30.

anticipated. Although people's interest in political life (and the level of participation in the 1992 elections is surprisingly high), a gradual fall in the value of active participation in political life is to be observed in value orientation research.

For I. Horowitz,¹ alienation is an organic element of critical thinking, a condition for democracy, and a human right. Thus deviation seems to be a component of modernity. In contemporary criminological discourse, this question is apparently somewhat less fashionable. The question is if this modernisation would sustain the ideological transition from socialism to psychoanalysis...

The problem of „re-constituting society“ in the Czech Republic (in spite of the split of Czechoslovakia) does not have as its cause the loss of social identity, the attempt to return to the past, or the absence of basic social consensus: The society has agreed upon the acceptance of economic reform. The unanimous general acceptance of certain strategic (cultural) value patterns, on the other hand, does not necessarily guarantee that the social system will accomodate their easy and unquestioning fulfillment (as expressed by R. K. Merton). This contradiction of goals and means is potentially even more dramatic if the greater part of the population defines its goals for a „better future“ within the horizons of a wealthy consumer society rather than within the dimensions of human freedom.

The „super-risks“ of modern society are not, according to R. Münch, the results of an uncontrolled economy, but rather those of widespread ideas and values. „The control of its risks and superdangers cannot be completely accomplished by the simple recoupling of so-called autopoietic systems to cultural discourse as Habermas would like to have it or to some other form of cultural, public, political or legal control as others like Willke or Beck would like to have it.“ [Münch 1993: 60] It is necessary to combine economic growth with cultural discourse, societal inclusion and political decision-making.

When lingering social nivelisation (on the level of the lower classes) clashes with growing social distances, there is both an increasing risk of tensions, frustrations and a widening space for anomic problem-solving methods. The general validity of new values is not necessarily extremely advantageous if new disposable means have not been offered to social actors: conformity without reward cannot last for long.

Innovative action (with regard to, for example, the new strata of entrepreneurs) does not necessarily have a positive effect, because neither „the rules of the game“ nor the boundaries formed by the legitimacy of the various business activities are always clear. Even the problem of „dirty money“ or the transformation of social capital may be the source of a certain tension (rather from the perspective of public opinion). The valorisation of social capital by former communist leaders is one such problem. Research on public opinion towards criminality and social deviance thus far has revealed that society is highly sensitive to these questions. Indeed, for most inhabitants criminality and security are social problem number one (as of March 1993, 98 % of respondents declared it as rather urgent).

The sociological analysis (and contemporary political discourse) of this process constitutes a never-ending story: although we presented some information on the problems of social anomie in the thematic issue of *Czech Journal of Sociology*,

¹) At the XIIIth World Congress of Sociology, Bielefeld 1994.

No. 2/1994, it is still impossible to check and evaluate these changes in the legal system (changes in the sense of classification, the penal code, etc.). The influence of an extensive amnesty declared in 1990 by president V. Havel is one further specific feature.

II. Data

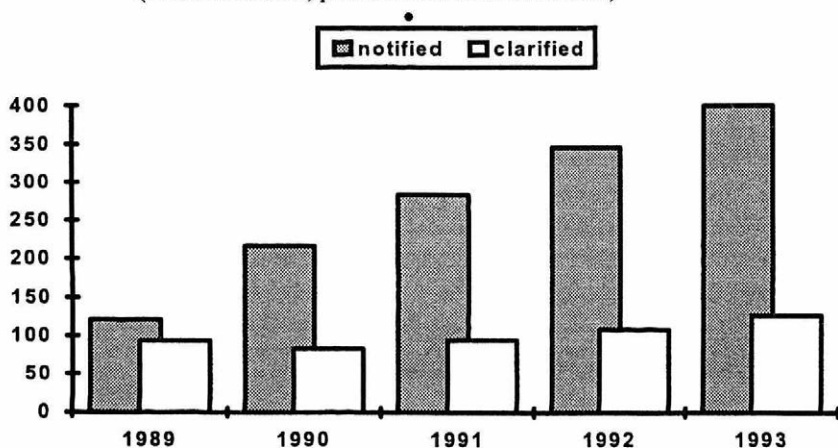
The present article sums up primarily the first results of a survey conducted in Prague in June 1993 on a sample of 484 inhabitants (over 16 years) selected on the quota sampling basis. It forms part of a more extensive international research project on criminological aspects of the social environment in post-communist metropolises (co-ordinator U. Ewald, Kriminologische Forschungsstelle HU Berlin).

Here, we will first sketch a general outline of problems as indicated by the official statistics, with critical respect to concrete methodological problems due to changes in the law (the latent criminality), for example.

1. Statistical Trends

The prevalence rate of notified criminal acts in the Czech Republic in 1993 is 3.3 times higher than in 1989. This trend could be evaluated as a relatively dramatic rise; in fact, the curve is declining and – perhaps – stabilising on the new level (see Graph 1). Some problems characteristic of police work should be pointed out: while the proportion of criminality is diminishing, a efficiency is slowly increasing (due to reorganisation and personal exchange). There are some instances of obstruction in the legal system: the emphasis on human rights, on the protection of personality (including operations with money). Meanwhile the police's new image, public co-operation and public ignorance are all problem areas.

Graph 1. Criminality in the Czech Republic
(Police statistics, prevalence rate in thousands)



Source: [Marešová, Scheinost 1994]

On the other hand, some changes to the penal code have „improved“ the statistics. Politically motivated penalties and other forms of criminality (for example, so-called „parasitism“, the lack of regular work or income, interconnected with prostitution, etc.) have disappeared.

The different forms of robbery dominate in the criminality structure (see Table 1), with standard robbery (street) and burglary (of the home) at the top of the list. We could add about 85 per cent of this criminality against ownership to the economic crime (5 %). The proportion of violence is only 5 %. Officially, the rate of moral delicts is nowadays very low (0.5 %), although motorway prostitution (in the North-West, combining with dwarf-shops) offers a picturesque image of transition and the grounds for discussion on the regulation at the regional and even central levels.

New features of the crime field

Experts have summed up some of the new experiences (especially concerning drugs and organised crime) as follows [*Organizovaný* 1994: 77]:

1. Crime will be better organised; on an international level, however, the participation of Czech citizens is on the rise.
2. Acts of violence are hard, brutal and more conspirative.
3. The tendency to penetrate the system, including elites, has arisen.
4. The rapid „economization“ of crime, the increasingly pivotal role played by money, as well as some special results (the fall in the price of some drugs).

Czech drug producers display an interesting influence with their high skilled trade or „qualifications“. It is also a question of an experimentation period, a fashion. School surveys hold some surprises: the highest incidence of drug use was identified in secondary schools (oriented towards higher education), and not in the area of vocational training [Kuchař 1993].

Table 1. Structure of Crime – Czech Republic 1993
(classification of the police)

robbery	45.1
burglary	31.2
other ownership crime	8.2
violence	4.9
economic crime	4.6
other	5.5
morals	0.5

Criminal statistics reveal other features: namely, that the age of offenders is on the decrease, the rate of first-attempt offences is increasing, the proportion of Gypsies is estimated as relatively higher. The total victimisation level for 1991 corresponded to the European standard (average). [Marešová, Scheinost 1994]

2. Personal Experience of Crime in Prague: Victimisation

Returning to the data from our survey, one extensive part of the interview/questionnaire reveals both victims' and – when confessed – of offenders' experiences. In this paper, we will consider the former, focussing on the victimisation of Prague inhabitants. Since it concerns the extension of contact with the reality of committed crimes, we are not only establishing the nature of personal experience, but also that of the close social environment. The respondents positively answered the question, as to their acquaintance with anybody with experience of the following situations, as follows (see Table 2).

Table 2. Respondents' or their friends' experience of crime (%)

They were troubled by adolescents	35
They were beaten up and injured	32
They had their house or flat burgled	68
They were attacked and robbed	31
They were robbed	55
They were cheated (in the sphere of insurance, investments, travel, etc.)	27
They were affected by other people illegally gaining their disputed ownership using unjust ways (harrassment, blackmail, threats)	12
As tenants they were the victims of the illegal practices of a landlord, seeking to evict for financial gain	15
When looking for a flat they were victims of a speculator	14
They were the victims of sexual harrassment	31
They were the victims of sexual attack and were injured	13
They were raped	8
They were murdered	7

The influence of age is reflected most in sexual affairs (45 % of young women under 20 or their friends were harrassed, of that, 20 % were sexually attacked and injured).

Education levels negatively only reflect on one type of crime – breaking into flats (73 % of university graduates have their own or mediated experience). Naturally, this is in keeping with the robber's strategy (the interesting general image of „winners“).

With only one exception, the individually declared incidence of the above mentioned crimes has increased since 1989. The greatest growth was registered in the theft of car equipment and shop-lifting (by 9 %). A small growth in violent robbery, petty theft, physical threats and sexual harrassment was evident. The only sphere showing some decline was the theft of motorbikes, mopeds, and should be seen in connection with the above-mentioned overall tendencies.

As is suggested by the term „low-anomic“ in the title of our paper, in comparison with other metropolises of the Eastern Block (made by [Ewald 1994]), the level of violence in Prague is the lowest in almost every sphere.

A comparison of the incidence of the given offences with their frequency reveals people's often repeated experience with them. This concerns namely sexual offences as well as car-theft or shop-lifting, suggesting that a part of the population does not acknowledge the risk factors and therefore takes no precautions in response to them.

The final question in this set concerned the respondents' most unpleasant or worst offences. Clearly, these offences were connected with car, motorbike, and bicycle ownership and differed in gender. Irrespective of these connections, burglary was the most frequently mentioned crime (4.5 %).

3. The reaction: The Awareness of Crime

Public opinion surveys dealing with perceptions of the basic problems people face nowadays, arrived at the same results: the main problems do not evolve in the economic or political spheres, but are security problems. Obviously, it is a big city problem, especially in Prague, which has become of late not only a business centre, but also a haven for criminal elements of every variety (including drug-trafficking and organised crime).

This was clearly recorded in our interviews. About one third of the interviewees feel safe on the streets in the evening, 39 % feel somewhat insecure, while 26 % of the Prague population is afraid. Women fear more.

Unlike the conditions prior to 1990, the situation since then has rapidly worsened: at that time only one tenth of people felt scared, while the same number of people felt secure. A feeling of safety prevailed (46 % felt very secure, 35 % somewhat insecure).

The growth in feelings of insecurity in public places has not however shifted to a similar feeling at home. In comparison with the past, there has only been a slight decrease in the feeling of safety: today most people still feel safe at home (31 % very secure, 43 % enough – in the past 37 % and 44 % respectively). 23 % of respondents feel somewhat insecure at home and 4 % very insecure (in the past 17 %, 3 %).

A general epistemological note should be added to this rating: if contemporary problems are perceived as overwhelming, the tendency is to rate the present situation as much worse than in the past, although an objective comparison of the situations then and now (where possible) would probably not uncover such marked differences.

The most often stated reasons for feelings of insecurity are property crimes (theft, robbery, burglary). Breaking into flats seems to be the most frequent cause of fear (25 % are very scared, 38 % are scared). More than a half of the population fears attacks (21 % very, 31 % rather) and theft (19 %, 31 %). The percentage of women who are scared of sexually motivated assault (25 %, 21 %), of molestation (21 %, 26 %) and of rape (27 %, 18 %) is quite high.

The answers to the question as to risk probability (one's district at night) establish a similar order (drawn up by means of rating on a four-degree scale where 1 = not at all, 4 = very probable). The possibility of breaking into a flat was admitted (variant 3 = quite probable) by 58 %, for another 13 % it is even very probable.

It is certainly a positive discovery that anxiety concerning personal security is deeply rooted in the general consciousness. People have to adapt to the new conditions, to be more responsible for their well-being. On the other hand, it is obvious that in most particular offences the possibility of personal danger is perceived as less probable (with the exception of theft and harassment by adolescents). Another question is whether the possible dangers are underestimated.

Table 3. The extent of anxiety and the probability of being the victim of violent offences (Mean, 4 = maximum)

	scale of anxiety	scale of probability
1. To have one's flat/house broken into	2.800	2.786
2. To be attacked and robbed	2.638	2.573
3. To be robbed (other than cases 1. or 2.)	2.588	2.598
4. To be sexually molested – only women	2.516	2.441
5. To be sexually assaulted and injured – only women	2.516	2.320
6. To be raped – only women	2.494	2.251
7. To be attacked and injured	2.313	2.290
8. To be killed	2.113	1.956
9. To be molested by adolescents	2.031	2.342

Behavioural Aspects

The above-mentioned risks necessitate some form of self-protective behaviour. The following summary shows that the avoidance of empty streets is the most frequently employed defence (26 % always, 28 % often) against possible danger. Only a few people implement some form of self-defence (11 % always, 7 % often). Given that 76 % of respondents never avoid public transport, we can assume that it is used as the means of protection.

Table 4. Forms of protection against crime (Mean)

1. Do you avoid empty streets, spaces and parks?	2.644
2. Do you avoid adolescents on the streets?	2.253
3. Do you avoid foreigners on the streets?	2.027
4. Do you use a car, a bicycle or taxi?	1.905
5. Do you let somebody walk you home in the evening	1.869
6. Do you carry tear gas, a stick, a knife, a gun or something similar with you?	1.666
7. Do you avoid public transport?	1.359
8. Are you learning a martial art?	1.269

With regard to specific problems of age groups old people's fear of some adolescent groups (35 % frequently fear them, 21 % always) is worth nothing.

Attitudes to safety are, among other things, also formed by massmedia. Crime is now a component of the massmedial landscape: 36 % of people very often and 45 % often read, hear or see news reports on crime.

The situation in this field requires every individual to assume greater responsibility for his/her own safety. Half of those questioned had introduced additional safety measures (locks, chains, and so on) in their homes as a protection against growing criminality.

Trust in an Institution: new experience or expectation?

The public's trust is a necessary pre-requisite for the success of state institutions. The order was established only for those who answered within the scale „1 = full trust, 4 = no trust“. Those who answered „cannot say“ are not included.

Table 5. Public trust in selected institutions (Mean)

1. Schools	2.130
2. Police	2.340
3. Psychiatric hospitals	2.376
4. State prosecution	2.457
5. Criminal justice	2.462
6. Institution for the protection of the constitution	2.513
7. Social institutions	2.553
8. Institutions for the care of the young	2.589
9. Arbitrary institutions/commissions	2.757
10. National Property Fund	2.764
11. Prisons	2.787
12. Clearance commission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs	3.013

We naturally posed a question concerning the extent to which the shown rating reflects a real knowledge of the institutions' function and how far this rating reflects more general feelings.

In the resulting order, trust in courts is roughly on the average level. Attitudes to some aspects of current judicial practice is obvious from the next table. The displayed order was established solely on the basis of those who answered on the four-grade scale (1 = absolutely agree, 4 = absolutely disagree; those who chose the variant „cannot judge, do not know“ not being incorporated).

Table 6. Evaluation of local court actions (Mean, 1 = ++)

1. It is good that you can go to the court with every dispute	2.161
2. The accused are judged correctly, such that the innocent are not charged	2.288
3. The sentences are lawfully correct	2.412
4. Under the present system it is possible for the innocent to be convicted	2.414
5. It is decided so that a conflict is really solved	2.526

The rating concerning the possibility of charging and convicting the innocent is, however, ambiguous. Most of the negative reactions were based upon recollections of the local authorities' so-called committees for offences, as existed in the Czech Republic before 1990, as well as the suggestion of a certain imperfection in the administrative procedure of courts. Indeed, there is a indirect risk inherent within the arena of legal regulation. It is also important to note at this juncture that the protracted procedure of solving of cases often runs contrary to the normal functioning of market forces. The typical solution for debts is then a violent one (threats, attacks).

Indeed, the population places more trust in the police than the courts. In this case study, Prague inhabitants rated some aspects of police practice. The order was established in the same way as before.

Table 7. Evaluation of police actions (Mean, 1 = ++, 4 = --)

1. The police respond to crime lawfully	2.225
2. The police tend to peace and order effectively/adequately	2.407
3. The police take the victims of crimes seriously and help them	2.425
4. The police behave justly toward suspects, so that the innocent are not charged	2.430
5. The police is the public's „friend and helper“	2.455
6. There has only been a minor change in police behaviour since before the Velvet Revolution	2.533
7. The impression left by police behaviour contributes to repeated violent skirmishes with police during demonstrations	2.662
8. The police treats lower class people unjustly	2.964

Unlike the results of other public opinion studies, the police rated quite well. This shift can be explained as follows: if the rating is put into a thematically delineated block, it incorporates the criminological context of police work, such that results are more favourable than when a general expression satisfaction or unsatisfaction is registered.

4. Social problems and problematic social groups

The investigation of people's opinions concerning actual social problems is doubly important: on the one hand, it reflects the state of the social environment and its possible anomic features; on the other hand, it can signal sources of personal tension, which are potential triggers of deviant behaviour.

Table 8. Attitudes toward essential social problems (% , means)

	(3)		(4)
	rather anxious	very anxious	Mean
1. Price increases	34	32	2.91
2. Gender-Inequality	8	2	1.45
3. AIDS	29	39	2.99
4. Fall in standard of living	34	23	2.68
5. State of health care	35	33	2.91
6. Unemployment	24	15	2.26
7. State of environment	27	60	3.44
8. Economic situation of some individuals	30	19	2.50
9. Drug addiction	26	31	2.69
10. Old-age pension scheme	25	18	2.31
11. Former communist officials keeping their posts	28	37	2.86
12. Aggression and violence	25	67	3.57
13. Possibility of being evicted from one's flat	20	20	2.30
14. Inflow of immigrants and foreigners	29	17	2.48
15. War and danger of war	26	35	2.84
16. Political right-wing radicalism	26	15	2.30
17. Loss of family ties	19	23	2.29
18. General loss of social identity/individualization of life	29	15	2.33
19. Frauds, illegal financial and foreign-exchange businesses during the transformation period	30	32	2.81
20. Manipulation of former state-owned property under the privatization process (e.g. low cost)	28	30	2.76
21. Organized crime – such as organised car theft, drug sale, arms sale, blackmail	29	59	3.45
22. Mortgage and economic transaction frauds	25	32	2.74

The following question sought to identify those social problems connected more with the individual. The order of problems labels the following as „almost unsolvable“:

Table 9. Scarcely solvable problems in order of difficulty (%)

1. Organised crime	31
2. Former officials/elites	21
3. Bureaucracy	19
4. Privatisation frauds	16
5. Rehabilitation of victims	10
6. Financial problems	10
7. Living/housing	9

The proportion of „unsolvable“ problems within the entire group of problems rarely exceeded 5 %. We therefore combined categories 4 („unsolvable“) and 3 („significant, solvable“).

In these data a relatively harmonious picture of the („post-anomic“?) development of society, as reflected by public opinion, materialises. Our survey confirms respondents', relatively stable life-condition. The general employment/occupational prospects were rated as good or even very good. Gender (women), unsuitable qualifications and old age were, however, the most frequent reasons for less favourable prospects. The unemployment analysis (J. Večerník, P. Kuchař) did not confirm that young people in particular have problems securing jobs and utilising qualifications has been as identified in research abroad.

Reflections on „social“ pollution

The occurrence of concrete negative phenomena in the respondent's dwelling place (social environment) is limited to certain areas identified earlier. Some phenomena were not very well known, with some respondents being unable to comment on them (squatting apartment houses, political radicalism).

According to the mathematical mean (the scale of the extent of problems 1 to 4) the following ladder was made (see Table 10). Since in this scale, level 2 showed „only small problems“, the situation appears almost idyllic. Political radicalism and demonstrations are rare in the Prague of today.

Table 10. Evaluation of negative phenomena (Mean)

	Mean	Mentioned more often by
1. Pollution, smog	3.07	
2. Dirt, waste	3.00	Women
3. Reckless drivers	2.67	People with higher secondary & university education
4. Faulty telephones	2.58	
5. Gypsies	2.50	
6. Drunkards	2.41	Women (highest – 23 %)
7. Bored youth	2.35	Women
8. Graffiti	2.23	
9. Dilapidated buildings	1.98	
10. Closing down public institutions	1.94	People with higher secondary & university education
11. Car collisions	1.89	
12. Immigrants	1.84	People with vocational training
13. Drug addicts	1.80	
14. Squatting	1.70	
15. Prostitution	1.64	
16. Illegal business	1.56	
17. Behaviour of neighbours	1.56	
18. Beggary	1.55	
19. Political radicalism	1.54	
20. Sex-shops	1.31	
21. Demonstrations	1.24	

The above demonstrates that minor social differences (e.g. sex and education) play no role here. The perception of social problems generally continues to reveal a tendency toward a homogeneity of opinions. We have not succeeded in proving the influence of more considerable social barriers (e.g. the respondent's level of education).

Aversion to radicalism is typical of public opinion. Most Prague inhabitants show no tendency towards such behaviour, especially when it implies infringing the law. Even relatively harmless graffiti, for example (and here we do not mean the destruction of an historic object) was approved by a mere 8 % of respondents.

The following group of questions aims to identify the tendency to actively respond to life situations. Only 28 % of respondents stated that their lives are almost fully influenced by external forces, that is, other people and circumstances. The statement that although equally qualified, Czech people have less opportunities than Western inhabitants reveals more pessimistic sentiments: 53 % of those questioned agreed (40 % of university graduates).

5. Xenophobic reactions?

Attitudes to some social groups may be connected with political radicalism. Xenophobia, stereotype and prejudice can be seen in this sphere, sometimes initiating the tendency towards deviant behaviour.

The predominantly positive attitudes towards policemen is highly interesting from a criminological point of view. The protective attitude toward Jews and the aversion toward anti-Semitism is also worthy of note. With those groups rating below the index 2.5 we can talk about explicitly negative attitudes, which shows the Czech population's clearly negative stance toward Neo-nazism and Fascism.

The influence of education was registered in many variables. Generally, we can conclude that university graduates are characterised by higher levels of tolerance and enlightened liberalism – as is evident, for example, in their attitudes toward both homosexuals and Jews. They express a stronger aversion toward skinheads, Neo-nazis and illegal moneychangers. A higher proportion of xenophobic reactions, primarily in connection with ethnic groups or refugees, can be observed among working class people.

The question is whether we could prove a correlation between public opinion and the number of violent attacks against foreigners, as T. Ohlemacher [1994: 222] has demonstrated in Germany. Such „great cases“ are fortunately not present in the contemporary Czech Republic. Nevertheless, the most recent police report states that 94 race-motivated attacks occurred in the Czech Republic from January to July 1994 (as compared with 55 cases in the whole of 1993). There were also serious conflicts between skinheads and Gypsies.

Latent tendencies and inclinations

We sought to identify the attitudes towards some problematic types of behaviour (F3), battery F4 then asked about the possibility of such behaviour. In the third column of the following table we placed the percentage of those who admitted to the possibility of such behaviour in their own lives.

Table 11. Attitudes toward social groups (% , mean)
Scale: 1 = not likeable, 7 = likeable

	Not likable	Mean
1. Prostitutes	36	2.5
2. Homeless	24	2.8
3. Gypsies	43	2.2
4. Refugees	13	3.2
5. Independent („alternative unconventional groups“)	14	3.3
6. Members of Republican Party	37	2.4
7. AIDS sufferers	7	3.8
8. Immigrants	8	3.7
9. Skinheads	43	2.2
10. Homosexuals	20	3.2
11. Communists	40	2.4
12. Drug-addicts	29	2.5
13. Members of religious sects	27	2.7
14. Jews	3	4.5
15. Palestinians	8	3.8
16. Neo-nazis	60	1.8
17. Israelites	5	4.1
18. Turks	7	3.7
19. Blacks	6	4.0
20. East Germans	11	3.5
21. West Germans	5	4.1
22. Poles	6	3.8
23. Russians	9	3.6
24. Hungarians	5	4.0
25. Czechs	1	5.3
26. Slovaks	5	4.4
27. Rumanians	11	3.5
28. Bulgarians	7	3.8
29. Vietnamese	12	3.4
30. Antisemites	35	2.4
31. Members of peace movements	1	4.8
32. Feminists	21	3.1
33. Policemen	4	4.2
34. Americans	1	4.7
35. Blackmarket moneychangers	41	2.2
36. Tourists	3	4,6

Table 12. Evaluation of selected modes of behaviour (% - F3, F4)
Scale: 1 = wrong 4 = not at all wrong

		F3	F4
	wrong	rather wrong	probability of doing it
1. Not paying for public transport	10	32	75
2. Tax evasion (individual)	28	47	34
3. Shoplifting	57	36	10
4. Prostitution in „public houses“	23	15	17
5. Violence against foreigners	72	23	4
6. Car theft or breaking into cars	74	22	4
7. Illegal employment (without paying social insurance)	22	48	x
8. Selling drugs on streets	76	18	3
9. Drug consumption	68	22	11
10. Environmental pollution by individuals	61	34	24
11. Street prostitution	52	31	4
12. Abortion within the first twelve weeks of pregnancy	13	16	62
13. Squatting	13	39	21

It seems that Prague dwellers are strictly against drugs, car theft and violence against foreigners. There is an obvious tendency to tolerate prostitution in „public houses“ somewhat and travelling „black“ on public transport. The attitude towards abortion is very liberal.

The added column F4 shows a marked latency to not pay for public transport (81 % among people without university education) and 62 % of women as pro-abortion. The problems of tax evasion (39 % of people with higher secondary education) and environmental pollution can be seen to pose a certain threat, while 11 % of respondents condoned drug consumption (23 % of people with only primary education) should be noted. The tendency to bribe officials, which was confessed by 36 % of people questioned.

The influence of education was only very selective: people with only primary education more frequently tolerated (and admitted in their own cases) theft and violence against foreigners (this being more typical of men). Women more often rejected prostitution. On the contrary prostitution was not rejected so much by people with primary education.

6. Individual dispositions to deviant behaviour

The individual disposition to deviant behaviour is dependent on certain reactions to life problems. The attitude toward certain forms of problematic behaviour is also important. The questions in block F pertain to these points.

Table 13. The most frequent modes of behaviour (%)

	Yes	Women
1. I am trying to solve the situation by planning concrete steps, which I will then try to implement	90	
2. I am looking for help from other people	59	
3. A glass of alcohol usually helps me	15	
4. Pills usually help me	6	8
5. I am looking for a change (sport, music, travel)	70	
6. I am waiting for help from somebody	25	30
7. I think about moving to a Western country	9	

Respondents explicitly declared an active approach, while positive compensation reactions (change of environment or activity) were also wide-spread. The importance of social background and the support of friends were also confirmed. We can therefore expect a transfer to passive reaction from one fourth of the respondents.

Table 14. Approaches to problem-solving (%)
Scale: 1 = fully agree 5 = do not agree at all

	agree	
	fully	rather
1. I would personally try to keep my distance	34	36
2. Alcohol would help me	2	7
3. I would get some drugs	2	2
4. I would not give up	59	30
5. I would seek social assistance	11	37
6. I might commit suicide	4	3
7. I would spend more time on my political activities	3	6
8. I would try to solve my problems differently: perhaps through theft, illegal business, inflicting my anger on somebody else	3	4
9. I would go to the streets (prostitution)	2	2
10. I would seek comfort in religion	7	12
(Only for working people:)		
11. I would concentrate more on my work	25	31

In this highly hypothetical situation, respondents also showed positive reactions. Even in Prague, it is still uncommon to seek help from specialised institutions (social assistance). The influence of religion is not particularly strong. Maladaptive reactions are not common, except a certain tolerance to alcohol consumption. The greatest resistance to deviation was declared by university graduates (drugs, suicides), who more frequently declared they would choose concentration on their work.

7. Selected social determinants of attitudes

The influence of the respondent's sex is apparently only proved in some questions, and when so, then in an highly typical manner. This factor would only acquire greater powers of distinction in combination with other factors (especially age, and partly with education). The factors connected with economic activity and its results are of greater importance, while it should be noted that the present changes are more positively

reflected in the social position of university graduates. Among those people with lower secondary education we can see symptoms of a certain sublimation of partial frustrations (see e.g. employment prospects) in the sphere of ethnic prejudice. A latent tendency to crime (theft, aggressive behaviour) was more directly displayed among people with the lowest educations. We believe, however, that the people of Prague evaluate the crime situation in a relatively homogeneous manner. Most of the registered differences are admittedly of statistical significance, but it cannot be interpreted as an absolutely different trend in each social group. This opinion was confirmed by other previous analyses.

Social contacts survive...

We shall focus on changes which have occurred in the interviewees' most intimate social background, i.e. family ties, friendship, community. Due to the high value placed on them, it is necessary to identify any tensions, frustrations, loss of identity, and so on.

Table 15. Changes in social contacts (%)

Social contacts have:

1. lessened	13	With vocational training	22
2. remained the same	65	University graduates	80
3. increased	22	With primary education	35

The possibility of gaining support from other people has not decreased. It is interesting to note that respondents with the lowest education more often revealed a positive change (35 %). The general opinion on the quality of social relations shows, among other things, that the social climate at work places has improved.

The changes also created a new situation in the exploitation of disposable time. Free time has logically lessened (for family – 37 % lessened, 13 % enlarged). The burden of work has grown, especially for some groups (university graduates, entrepreneurs); nevertheless, a part of those people questioned also experienced a positive change.

8. Some Contextual Characteristics of the Investigated Population

We have connected some additional characteristics concerning the economic and political context. We take it as a pre-condition for the adequate evaluation of the observed trends.

41 % of Prague inhabitants have experienced an improvement in their financial situation since 1990, while for 21 % it has worsened. However, there is an age-correlation here: (56 % of the youngest but only 14 % of the oldest group claimed an improvement).

The prevailing satisfaction is reflected in political attitudes. One fifth situates themselves to the right while a further 34 % incline to it. The centre is occupied by 34 %. It is therefore, possible to speak of a relatively clear orientation in Prague inhabitants' political attitudes.

We should add that one fourth of respondents are followers of some religious group or adhere to some denomination – most of them being Roman-Catholics (71 %). For almost half of them, their commitment to a religious group is, however, purely symbolic. Only about one tenth of Prague inhabitants may be considered to have real religious convictions. The age correlation was confirmed.

Changes of Attitudes and Values

The so-called „velvet revolution“ did not cause any dramatic, open social conflicts, but did signify a total social change with many consequences. The pace of cultural change is slowing down, and the adoption of new (sometimes rather former) values is sometimes difficult. Efforts to accommodate opinions within the new conditions as well as a certain rigidity of attitudes are both identifiable. Special studies have revealed that value orientations are only slowly changing. The importance of some achievement orientation variables is rising slightly [see Matějů, Tuček 1992] while, on the other hand, the importance of political activity variables has decreased rapidly.

From this perspective, it is not surprising that in our research only a part of those questioned see their previous life in the socialistic republic as constituting a certain burden (12 % definitely agree, 26 % rather agree). A larger group of the population displays a somewhat indifferent distance to their past and no strict rejection: three quarters of respondents more or less identified with what they did in the past. In general, people are unwilling to wholly discount their experience and memories of their past life in socialistic Czechoslovakia.

The effectiveness of the totalitarian ideology of the „corruptible majority“ is, to a certain degree, reflected in answers concerning general life satisfaction before and after November 1989 (see Table 16). It is, however, important to specify each type of attitude change. One fourth of respondents maintained their position on the rating scale. The rest of the population have experienced a change in feelings of satisfaction. For half of the respondents it is a positive change, while for a quarter of them it is a negative change. This may account for the certain stability, confidence and optimism we discovered.

Table 16. Level of global life-satisfaction before and after November 1989 (%)

	fully dissatisfied				fully satisfied	
	1-3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Formerly	35	22	24	16	4	4.13
Today	21	14	30	27	8	4.74

We investigated in detail whether dissatisfaction with one's life can be reflected in radicalism or intolerance. We discovered that dissatisfaction is in fact reflected in people's political attitudes, especially in an individual's identification with the state social order, and is even related to their evaluation of employment prospects. However, we have not found any significant correlation in the sphere of attitudes towards various social groups.

Privatization enlarged into value-orientation

The research-design accommodates the reconstruction of the actually declared and the former value system. The first stratum of highly preferred values is now represented by health and family. The second stratum involves the values of environment, living standards and friends („social environment“). The third, relatively important group of values consists of occupational and economic values: money, social security, free time and work. Only then do the values of active self-assertion occur (success in occupation, possibility of political influence, travel, sexual life). A life without restraints was not considered an important value, thus signifying a certain reservation towards voluntarism.

Religion was the least represented value (only being an important factor for about every eighth respondent).

The two latter mentioned values can be considered „saturated“ where satisfaction predominates over importance. Indeed, the greatest tensions (in the sense of the difference between declared importance and actual satisfaction) can be viewed in connection with the value of money and, mainly, in the value of the environment and social security. In the case of social security, the anxiety is probably not specific (for some time there has been almost no unemployment in Prague!), but in the case of the environment, Prague inhabitants' highly realistic assessment of the present situation is to be noted.

Many of the observed changes may be understood as the necessary consequences of the totalitarian regime's collapse. In general, a considerable stability of attitudes is predominant, although the mean values cannot provide a complex picture of all the changes in individuals' conditions and reflections.

III. Discussion

It is difficult to create a wholly reliable picture of the special features of the Czech situation from a comparative analysis. Nevertheless, it is clearly possible to expect some differences in future developments in connection with those relatively favourable economic, social and political conditions which create a specific cultural context. Obviously, this would, however, require a deeper and more detailed analysis.

When the social differentiation of value orientations is not sufficiently clear (and has not succumbed to some „anomic“ change), then people's relatively homogeneous attitudes towards the criminological aspects of the social environment may also be explained by this circumstance. As yet, the coming social differentiation has found no adequate reflection in the sphere of public opinion and specific attitudes to particular issues. An explanation of the relative stability in society can also be located in the fact that the changes have brought increased life satisfaction to a greater part of the population; this fact represents important social (and in this specific period naturally also political) capital. It seems that as a result of the velvet revolution, the comfortable transition has begun.

Naturally, this patient, flexible and non-excessive identification with the system change could be interpreted as „blind“. The prospective identity crisis [see Ewald 1994] operates rather on the individual level or within some social group. The modernisation of society as a whole tends to „standard consequences“ in the criminality rate and victimisation. As discussed, the actual statistics show an easing off in the growth of criminality in the Czech Republic (Table 17).

Table 17. Comparison of Criminality in the Czech Republic
(I.-VI. 1993 – I.-VI. 1994)

	1993		1994	
	notified in thous.	clarified %	notified in thous.	clarified %
ownership	160.7	20.0	144.1	19.8
petty robbery	83.9	16.8	76.9	16.5
burglary	65.4	18.1	58.2	19.1
violence	9.4	70.8	9.4	72.8
morals	1.0	80.9	1.1	85.5
economy	9.1	79.6	8.5	82.7
Total	194.8	30.4	177.1	31.2

Source: Lidové noviny, Vol. VII, No. 211, 8. 9. 1994

Although in the past, the growth in the crime rate was reflected narrowly as a pathological deviation, and the threat to civilisation, it is now increasingly the trend to explain criminality in terms of modernisation. Should we, however, accept this new level of criminality as the anomic by-product of modernisation or even as a simple measure of modernity, of progress?

On the other hand, the post-modernistic approach offers a relativistic solution based on the pluralism of norms, on the dynamics of everyday discourse. It also carries with it a number of methodological and practical obstructions.

Some difficulties in the use of fashionable terms of transition and/or modernisation were demonstrated by J. C. Alexander [1994]. From his point of view, there is an alternative to post-modern concepts, one which is based on the principle of reconstruction and which, historically, could attain the form of neo-modernism. The key role is being played by the world-wide changes demanding new approaches of intellectual reflection.

The classical Parsonsian concept of ongoing modernisation is still used today in the interpretation of the transformation of post-communist countries. It is an implementation of modern institutions, the innovative capacity of which stands out doubtless as being to initiate modern social integration. However, I. Srubar prefers to pursue the question of whether the modernisation mechanisms postulated by the theory really do operate in a post-socialist reality with the „directional constancy“ and „structural improvements“ [Srubar 1994: 199]. He emphasises the time-factor in the ongoing changes, in the formation of the new institutions. „If we wish to clarify what happens during the U-curve of the transformation process itself, we have to view the effect of the implemented institutions in the context of the social structure of the post-socialist countries, and examine the „interaction“ of this effect with the semantic inventory of the societies concerned“ [Srubar 1994: 199].

Finally, we could abstract some proposed explanations of the increase and stabilisation of the observed prevalence violence and criminality rate. We should therefore emphasize:

- the concept of social anomie (E. Durkheim, R. K. Merton), the cultural lag concept (F.Ogburn);

- the problem of identity, the conflict between social de-nivelisation (inequality) and the need for universalistic individual participation [Ewald 1994];
- the correlation between acts of violence and reactions of public opinion [Ohlemacher 1994], which could be treated as the homeostatic, self-regulating mechanism (in terms of system theory) or as the collective looking-glass-self (in terms of interactionism);
- the by-product and/or sign of modernisation, or, on the contrary;
- the signs of societal crisis, of social pathology, of disintegration.

We would not like to overestimate the weight of actual anomic features: nevertheless, the past regime was not really „normal“ („nomos“ sui generis). The dualism of value orientation in the previous period [see Možný 1991] found opportunity to change some latent or unofficial ideas and forms of behaviour to manifest ones. For Czechs it means no drama, no problems...

JIRÍ BURIÁNEK is an Associate Professor, Head of the Department of Sociology at the Philosophical Faculty, Charles University, Prague and president of the Masaryk Czech Sociological Association. He is author of monographs *System Sociology? Assumptions, Problems, Perspectives*, Prague 1984 and *System Sociology: The Problem of Operationalisation*, Prague 1994, and of textbooks *Methods and Technics of Sociological Research I, II, etc.*. He lectures in sociological methodology, with his research interests being industrial relations, public opinion (value orientation, social anomie, image of politicians) and organisational sociology.

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**Jan Keller: Až na dno blahobytu.
K společenským kořenům ekologické krize
[To the Bottom of Affluence. The Social
Origins of the Environmental Crisis]**

Brno, Ekocentrum 1993, 127 p.

Jan Keller's *Až na dno blahobytu* presents the environmental movement's desire to move beyond the simple protection of the environment and to become a prominent spokesperson on the subject. This book could well play an initiatory role similar to that of N. Gruh's *Ein Planet wird geplündert*, Frankfurt 1975, or E. Goldsmith's series of articles, *Blueprint for Survival* (Ecologist 1972). It is distinctly different from those publications on environmental themes which address either an expert or a wider audience (Hadač, Moldan, Vavroušek, etc.).

Keller's second noteworthy collection of articles and essays, which describe the critical state of the late modern world is divided into six main parts: *The Market, Economic Growth and Nature, Needs, Consumption and Nature, Real Communism as a Natural Disaster and the Crisis of the State of Affluence, An Obstructed Solution: The Hypnotised Society, An Appeal to Survival: Decentralisation*, an introduction entitled *The Products of Affluence and a Conclusion*.

The author knows his subject well. He also knows how to engage it effectively, with both irony and sarcasm. He lets us enter into dialogue on the future without letting us lose the sense of being mid-crisis. He does not merely list the problems, but rather tries to diagnose them. He links economic growth with the mechanisms of the market economy, passive democracy and consumerism within conditions of excessive centralisation („centralisation stands in the way of the possibility of survival“, p. 119).

The degree of universality in which Keller is so much at home and the radical conclusions he draws have their own inspirational strength and intellectual attraction, despite the misgivings aroused by their consequences and by certain oversimplifications. The radical aspect comes from the author's having moved beyond the theoretical paradigms of the industrial society which are directed towards the production

of goods (cf. A. Gorz, *Wege ins Paradies*, Berlin 1985). Keller's diagnosis has as its source a distinctively heterogeneous group of authors and thinkers, including R. Douthwaite, R. Collins, M. Crozier, R. Boudon, M. Weber, M. Ostrogorski, R. Aron, H. Marcuse, D. Riesman, E. Fromm, N. Elias, R. K. Merton and A. Durning. It is difficult to dispute the original fundamental „green alloy“ (O. Maquard) of such diverse intellectual concepts.

While there is some agreement in the description, perhaps even in the recognition as to the extent of the danger, differences begin to appear in the diagnosis of the sources of the environmental crisis. It is Keller's concentration on the question of why the extent of the danger does not correspond to the precautions taken against it, mercilessly uncovering the self-destructive mechanisms („the developed society is also distinctive in that if it does not radically change the way it functions, it must be destroyed by the results of those principles on which it was founded“, p. 13), that distinguishes this book from other publications to date.

Keller is a radical environmentalist and is not trapped in the paradigms of the industrial society, such that his critique is one of more or less distinct irrational strength of rationalist forms to date. He draws from Max Weber in his analysis of the modern, from Eric Fromm in his critique of the consumer society, from M. Ostrogorski as a political scientist, from Herbert Marcuse as a philosopher, and from post-modernist ideas. It is therefore not a simple reconstruction of the idea of progress or of mass democracy, of mere protection of the environment, but concentrates on raising new and promising goals on the basis of a new understanding of the fundamental elements. According to Keller, the choice that faces us is a life-and-death one: „if we do not renounce affluence, we ourselves may have some hope of survival but future generations will not. If we stand up against such affluence, it may destroy the market system in its current likeness, it will certainly lead to a crisis of the legitimacy of passive democracy and it will, of course, eradicate the possibility of consumerism on a mass scale.“ (pp. 13-14). It is this fundamental ecological imperative (the destruction of the un-

sustainable system before it reaches its agonising collapse) that is the basis for both argument and terminology.

Keller's work is thus an exceptionally rich dictionary of themes which, in a limited space, collects and radicalises those subjects which form the discussion of the modern crisis, of the post-modern society in crisis. At the same time, however, it moves them towards a solution under the bulwark of the ecological imperative. The number of consenting or dissenting voices does not seem to have any particular relevance. The reader, however, not deprived of the alternative to decide for him or herself: a decision which by no means lacks significance.

This also invites a comparison with writers who adopt a subtler approach and a more liberal orientation, as for example with some works by B. Moldan and V. Bělohradský. Keller moves the debate between the adherents of the degree and form of regulation and control, of corrective measures, to the point where we should be interested in „the environmental links and the environmental outcomes of both points of view alone. How does the position of the official differ from that of nature?“ (Keller, p. 87) B. Moldan sums this up: „As long as the rules of the market economy themselves comprise criteria and principles they (i.e. the rules of the market economy) are the only functioning example of continuing sustainable development at the present time.“ (B. Moldan, *Ekologie, demokracie, trh* [The Environment, Democracy and the Market], Prague 1992, p. 51) The „as long as“ is, of course, crucial, as is the maintenance of fundamentals: „Environmental rules must be constructed so that they take the mechanisms and strengths of the market into account and do not work against them. If they did so, they would be doomed to failure from the outset.“ (Ibid., p. 50) Moldan considers that since the situation in which „neither market nor administration endows nature with its own status, a status which would be distinctively different from other commercial and administrative matters“ (Keller, p. 87) does not accommodate the radical extension of economic-environmental accounting („natural phenomenon also acquire financial value“), it must become enmeshed in

the overall system, defined as the market economy (B. Moldan, *ibid.*, p. 57).

Keller, on the other hand, concentrates on revealing those mechanisms which lie in the way of a solution: „Nor is bureaucracy capable of recognising the particularity of nature or of distinguishing it from the other factors in its deliberations. Bureaucracy is therefore a completely inappropriate instrument for resolving environmental problems which, if not solved, will not bring lasting safeguards and status, but the collapse of the whole system.“ (Keller, pp. 88-89)

Both with a leaning towards political science, Keller, the sociologist and historian, and V. Bělohradský, the philosophical sociologist, produce diametrically opposed analyses of the company, McDonald's. For the former, McDonald's is a place in which irrationality and those mechanisms which bring us closer to planetary disaster can be seen *in nucleo* (Keller, p. 48-49). For the latter, McDonald's is on the contrary a place in which the world-wide civil society appears. (V. Bělohradský, *Hamburger, džiny a demokracie. Chvála mcdonaldizace světa*. [Hamburgers, Jeans and Democracy. All Hail the McDonaldisation of the World], Respekt, 24-30 January, 1994, p. 14). Both authors use the triviality of this example to demonstrate something far from trivial. Keller shows the relative nature of needs, the unnatural nature of consumption and the suffering of nature. The concrete example of McDonald's becomes part of the all-embracing strategy of unification, the concentration of production and the demands on energy when production technology is based on „the absolute disregard for the value of anything that does not concern the greasy hamburger“ (Keller, p. 48), and hence ultimately on the principle according to which the modern, centralised state functions. For Bělohradský, this „example“ is not simply destruction (the traditions destroyed are moreover very uniform), but also the „promotion of the democratic style of life: the neutral zone of McDonald's is a place in which the world-wide civil society is formed by people who have been deprived of their traditions and the context of their life“ (Bělohradský, *ibid.*).

The difference does not lie in the degree of radicality in their approach to the environment, since Bělohradský „wants to make people conscious that they are standing on the edge of a precipice on this most ordinary of days“ (V. Bělohradský, *Myslet zeleň světa* [Thinking is the Greening of the World], Mladá fronta, Prague 1991, p. 109). The comparison of the works of Moldan, Bělohradský and Keller confronts readers, particularly active environmentalists, with the well-known *Hic Rhodus, hic salta!* The answer to this problem gives rise to inner tensions and clashes between fundamentalists, realists and the neo-liberal stream in the range of environmental parties and movements in western Europe today.

In a time of „ideological reprise“ (O. Maquard) Keller's *Až na dno blahobytu* is a noteworthy exemplar of the attempt both to develop principles of change which offer hope for the future and to translate the effective mobilisation of the environmental movement's concepts. The fundamental environmental discussion raises major questions in the daily life of the average citizen, stimulates responsibility for the self and the whole. It is virtually becoming a religion – the medium of a new understanding and new foundations of human society – wherein lies its strength, as well as more than a few pitfalls.

Jan Kamaryt, Oldřich Ševčík

Hana Librova: Pestří a zelení. Kapitoly o dobrovolné skromnosti [Bright and Green. Chapters on voluntary modesty]

Brno, Veronica 1994, 218 p.

Hana Librova has long focused on ecological issues (for example in two inspiring monographs on people's relationships towards the country). For this highly topical and sophisticated issue she possesses a highly favourable combination of professional biological preparation and moreover – a sensitive soul and a virtually unscientific character, which is indispensable for studies of this kind. She drew upon this potential in the reviewed monograph, which is ostensibly the result of one whole stage of research.

The central topic of „voluntary modesty“ is placed in a very factual and broad field which features the main problems of the contemporary ecological crisis, the scale of theoretical analysis it reflects, and the possibilities, weight and borders of different attitudes to social intervention which contributes, at least, to the alleviation of impact of this crisis or to a deceleration in its advance. I do not consider myself a professional in the field of ecology, I only count myself amongst those people who are extremely disturbed by this situation. Nevertheless I am convinced that even if Librova were not to write another thing, her work numbers among the extremely enriching experi-

ences and essential sources of knowledge for everybody seeking to formulate a strong picture of the state of things. I also appreciate her continual regard to philosophical and historically cultural aspects which cast light on the specificity of ecological consciousness in our European context.

In the framework of this broad overview, Librova turns her attention to an almost marginal topic. After considering the anthropological and cultural determinants of social behaviour and their consequences for man's relationship to the natural world, she constructs a balance sheet of the significance of economic, technological and legislative measures, an understandably rather pessimistic balance. The author considers such measures as ineffectual (as states and other power centres fail to accompany their promises with sufficiently radical action) and looking to far horizons, such that any evaluation must conclude: yesterday was too late.

Librova states this factually, with sorrow but without hysteria. Her attitude is reminiscent of Patočka's „angel of night“ and his „solidarity of the shocked“. She is looking for the „niche in ecological hopelessness“ and analyses „voluntary modesty“ as one possible way of learning to live with the ecological crisis. The author not only returns to early antique wisdom (if we cannot change things, we must change our relationship to them) while main-

taining a highly contemporary standpoint, close to so-called anthropological medicine: an illness (or like „breakdown“) is not only a disturbance (the doctor is not repairman), but is a part of everyday life and a stimulus for the re-definition of its sense (the effort to learn to live with illness or handicap). In no case is there a passivity (shocked is not shaken), but an attempt to do as much as lies within one's power. Being upset provides the impulse „great measures“ can only be a cheap transfer of responsibility to others if unaccompanied by changes, which we can initiate now of ourselves. It is not by chance that Librová does not sympathise with aggressive ecological attitudes.

As a sociologist, she employed the informal interview method (a series of case studies), in my opinion, a highly appropriate method, because it is grounded upon individual or small groups and especially on the problems of the deep and fragile change in personal life attempts and values, which can only with difficulty be inserted into the straight-jacket which is statistical survey. The results of her enquiry are very interesting and an inspiring example of the practical search for and realisation of other qualities of life. It is not of great importance, that such attempts are to be found in a statistically insignificant part of the population. Librová presents an analysis of the individual components of these changes: cars, tourist travel, boarding, housing, fashion, consumption of water and electric power, waste management, male and female roles etc. Each of them demands specific commentary.

From a perspective approaching my own orientation, I am very much interested in the controversy surrounding ecological ethics, with its important theoretical and practical aspects, which touch upon what seems to be the problem: how to draft ecologically favourable social norms and what effects the pressure they exert can have on social behaviour. It is for this very reason (as the author often and rightly emphasises) that for effective changes to be made, these norms should be adopted by a wide range of society.

The work raised the question of anthropocentric and unanthropocentric wrestling with ecological ethics, which brought me to formu-

late several observations, which do not adopt a critical distance from the author's opinions, but rather attempt an answer to the challenge of managing the given problem (connected, as it is, with one of the essential features of „western“ philosophical thinking as a whole).

I accept the criticism of anthropocentrism (the manorial and instrumental relationship to nature, the reduction of its importance to a utilitarian employment measured exclusively by the values, interests and needs of humans as privileged beings) and understand ecological ethics' anxious desire to build new relations of humans to nature based on an unanthropocentric perspective (the independent internal value of nature, independent of human needs, experiences and evaluations, the priority of protecting the integrity, stability and beauty of biological union, or law and legal subjectivity of natural beings before claims of the human component to this entity).

I am never able to free myself from the conception (deeply influenced by traditional culture) that we are incapable of achieving an unanthropocentric vision of the world, that anthropocentrism (panhuman, generic) remains our lot, and I ask myself whether it would not be more adequate to identify the unanthropocentric position as an attempt to redefine humanity, and therefore as a new, more profound or deeper anthropocentrism. This point appears in an interesting discussion between A. Naess and P. Reed, as well as in the author's own dilemma (and in those of further proponents of ecological ethics) with extreme postulations of a „self-identification with nature“, which, after accurate analysis, reveals itself to be hidden in a different form of anthropocentrism (p. 174).

I do not consider the conception of nature as a value of self, as a subject of law etc., as an expression of non-anthropocentrism but rather as a developed anthropocentrism of human beings – or anthropomorphism. It is merely an illusion that we have cast aside notions of the human being's privileged position at the top of the natural order and its specific internal value; however, in reality, by this we draw the nature (deeply, more culturally) into the understood order, which is specifically human. Only this is able to formulate the semantic oppositions of

good and evil, law and injury, value and worthlessness.

On the other hand I think that we find instrumental accesses not only in the human race's relation to nature, but also in interpersonal relations. Moreover, it would be possible to hypothesise that an escalation of the manorial relationship to nature is accompanied by an escalation in manorial interhuman relationships. In every case, there is a close bond between the cultivation of the human race's relationship to nature and the cultivation of interpersonal relationships.

From here, it seems to me that the question of deep ecology should not stand as an advancement in „-centrism“, but as the consequential consideration of humanity's unsovereignty and limits, as a redefinition of humanity (even paradigms of science, scientificity, rationality, technicity etc.). Otherwise, the impression might arise that the „human“ attitude is only similar to one spiritually civilisational attitude, with the certain continual generic disease, treatable only by underclassing humanity within an extrahuman order; in reality, how-

ever, it treats one of the possible (deformed) forms of humanity. Possible steps towards a remedy to the human-nature relationship are signs of another concept of humanity (e.g. contemporary voluntary modesty, compassion for every living thing, the cultivation of the Me-You relationship); such attitudes are purely human, nature being incapable of them.

Consequently: whoever puts natural integrity out of order must correct it (by correcting themselves first, this constituting a further „anthropocentrism“). Things may already be advanced so far that nature cannot save itself without our responsible engagement. If we have to alleviate the damage caused to nature, we have to begin by amending human things.

I am persuaded that in this I do not disagree with Hana Librová's work, the publication also appealing format. That a consideration of one of the open problems lead me to this short text, may serve to endorse the inspiration in this thought-provoking, culturally written, well-considered and very necessary book.

Lubomír Nový

Vladimíra Dvořáková, Jiří Kunc:

O přechodech k demokracii

[On Transitions to Democracy]

Praha, SLON (Sociologické nakladatelství)
1994, 150 p.

The work constitutes a survey of knowledge of transitology – a nascent discipline within comparative politics (in particular Linz: *Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown and Re-equilibration* and O'Donnell, Schmitter, Whiteland: *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*). This survey is introduced by more general reflections on democracy and its origin. There is also a reflection on the application of Luhmann's systematic theory – which deals with the problem of anomie's emergence during the transition. A further initial reflection of the problems of dealing with the totalitarian past and an outline of utilisation of presented evaluation theories for the Czechoslovakian transition to democracy are included. A survey of the organisation of transitology is not only the main emphasis of the work, but its most

valuable part. The authors sought to avoid writing a classical survey paper with its inevitable insufficient explanatory component. Indeed, the text is basically divided and compiled in a way allowing the particular parts to carry a rather low number of selected, relatively elaborately developed ideas from several key works. Although including many additional quotations from other works, the book maintains the systematic ordering of the original papers by their authors. The range of complementary literature is wide, due, among other reasons, to the authors' language skills allowing them to study Spanish, French and Italian literature (the history of South Europe and America often being compared). However, the stressed explanatory character of the book necessarily reduces its critical dimension, as is common to survey studies. This may not disturb the reader, but does the reviewer, who is uncertain whether to address the authors of the survey or the authors of the original papers.

The introductory chapter „How Democracy is being Born“ serves two purposes: (1) it

legitimises the chosen attitude within comparative politics and (2) presents a historical reconstruction of the evolution of the relevant political literature, the term „transition“ as well as the book's essential topics. As a topic, the transition to democracy becomes interesting when we stop concentrating on what makes democracy possible and take into consideration those procedures which are successful in its establishment and defence (Rustow). Such an approach turns its attention to political actors and „gives importance and dignity back to the realm of politics without stopping to examine relations to other spheres in the human course of events“ (Rustow, Poulantzas, Furet).

The first important focus in the dynamic concept of change based on a method of comparative politics was Chile in 1973. As a pioneering study in this field, a work by Linz *Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown and Re-equilibration* – is considered, which also provides a probabilistic paradigm of the theory of strategic games to studies on transitology: „Certain types of individuals and institutional actors, placed in similar situations, react with high probability such that, they contribute to the breakdown of regimes“.

The work *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Outlooks for Democracy* is a collection of twenty monographic studies of various kinds of „transitions to democracy“ and a whole ranges of synthesising articles this time motivated by success of emerging democracies in Southern Europe (especially in Spain) and extended to the whole world, particularly South America. As such, it lays down some of the foundations to theories of transition to democracy.

Przeworski provides the most important summary of the problem, his interpretation being presented as follows: „Transition is defined as a form of change from an authoritarian regime to another, indefinite one. This aspect of indefiniteness may mean a real political democracy or still only an even more authoritarian regime or simply a chaos, violent confrontation or a revolution. The related terms liberalisation and democratisation are analytically distinguishable within the transition. Liberalisation lies in the opening of authoritarian system on the basis of the present rulers' initiative

and leads to a form of *limited authoritarianism and a moderate dictatorship* (dictablanca), democratisation on the other hand may also involve moments up to which considerable restrictions concerning the free conduct of actors are enforced and which may end in (*strict*) *limited democracy* (demokradura). The statement that the best way possible and desirable of achieving democracy is without the dramatic interruption of continuity and without any violence is common to the majority of the authors and possibly stands even as their normative postulate“.

To my mind, the chapter named „The Nature of a Regime in Displacement“ exhausts itself somewhat in an end itself sorting of various classifications of nondemocratic regimes. The basic information the reader may get from it (except that he/she may accept or reject the vocabulary employed) is the fact that what is characteristic of nondemocratic systems is a limited pluralism in the field of government and all other forms of social life control, and that the term „totality“ is related to a myth diabolising the completeness and the violent character of its mastery over people's thought and behaviour. Therefore it deserves to be rejected in favour of a more realistic term – authoritarian regime. In terms of the theory of transition to democracy it is, in my opinion, more important to speculate over formal and informal sources and the internal conditions of relative stability of such authoritarian regimes, since they themselves subsequently become essential factors affecting transitions.

The chapters „End of the Old Regime“ and „Stages of Transition to Democracy“ consist mainly of a recapitulation of the outcome of the four-part-book „Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Outlooks for Democracy“ and works drawing upon them (e.g. Przeworsky's monograph). They have taken the main notions about transitions to democracy from the workshop of comparative politics:

- Stepan's typology of redemocratisation and its various openings;
- Przeworsky's defence of analysis of strategies and signals;
- Linz's and Schmitter's typology of transitions (by making a pact, by thrusting upon, by reform and revolution) combining leading

actors (elite and masses) and chief strategies (compromise, force) and their apology for arranged transitions;

- Przeworsky's classification of initial positions in terms of conflict structure and decision-making branches of liberalisation;
- the conception of the origin or re-establishment of democracy as an outcome of an authoritarian regime (a broad antiauthoritarian front) and the building of democracy (differentiating between moderate and radical members of both political camps).

The chapter „What to do with the Past“ also seems a bit heterogeneous to me. As long as the authors stick to the transitological paradigm of comparative politics (speculations about the personification of the past in form of persons or its identification with nondemocratic institutions in connection with the typology of the end of authoritarian regimes caused by the revolutionary overthrow of the sultanic type, by a collapse or arranged transition) they tend to be subject to their own priority of consociate democracy and appeasement strategy: they ask for pardon, which would not challenge the whole political community in which everybody is willing to live together with others, i.e. not even to deduce normative conclusions for the present and for the future from the past. However, the problem is that such generosity poses a threat when power is taken over by a new elite. For many supporters and opponents of democracy it represents proof of the weak will to win the fight which, in a certain sense, recurs: the matter is whether the regeneration anomie will or will not be coped with. Apart from other things, this fight is fought on the level of description of the old regime and the history of the overthrow. Incidentally, the authors themselves mention that „the problem of dealing with the past is actually the same thing as pushing through one's own account and one's own story as generally applicable and consequently binding the present and the future, only with different words.“

The last chapter, „Question Mark instead of a Full Stop (Czecho-Slovakian)“, is itself a big question mark for me. It represents a rough reconstruction sketch of a Czecho-Slovakian transition, in places involving statements which seem to me quite unrelated. Each transi-

tion is, however, described in more than one way in a spirit of narrative attitude to which I am well disposed and which the authors applied to the end of the chapter on dealing with the past. The mistake probably was that their reconstruction is only superficially treated. Despite this fact, it seems to reveal one thing very convincingly, that being that in our case, it was not only a transition to democracy; the single focus on the political dimension, without respect to other spheres (in particular economics), leads to doubtful conclusions. This takes us back to the introductory postulates of the work, which will be discussed. Dvořáková and Kunc's book has to be welcomed as an introductory contribution to commencing such professional discussion.

As well as transitology, the key postulate of this work is that all studied transformations form part of a field of study of „transitions to democracy“; hence the essential and sufficient thing in studying them is the political actors' behaviour. Instead of this conception, which is founded on the presumption that these changes are primarily occurring in the political sphere and should therefore be studied only as political processes, I prefer an alternative, confronting the political „transformation“ with changes in other spheres of life in the society and distinguishing whether at the same time it is also a transformation of the society which then encroaches not only on politics but on all other spheres of social life, law, economics, ethics and the like. Since socialism originated as a result of nationalisation, the denial of economic subjectivity, the problem of its re-establishment and the aversion of an economic collapse may be a key to understanding the transformations in East European countries, i.e. even to the contents of political negotiations. It is not entirely possible to view the transformations which took place in Czechoslovak society after November 1989 merely as a transition to democracy in the sense upheld by the discussed work.

The second problem, closely connected with the former, is the question of the transition's direction. The authors of the initial study found, as the title of their work shows, a smart solution to the problem: „Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Outlooks for Democracy“.

They were more careful than the authors of the reviewed work. Nevertheless, in the same surreptitious way they actually build their conclusions on a normative idea of the transition to democracy, as we can see in the differentiation of each stage of these transitions: liberalisation and democratisation. I myself would prefer a more neutral indication of a regime's (system) erosion and the origin of the new regime (system). At the same time, an essential part of the „game“ is, of course, the question of direction – post hoc acknowledged by the authors themselves in a chapter named „What to do with the past“.

The third problem is the justification for constituting a probabilistic model on the basis of comparison of various transitions.

With Luhmann (the problem of anomie in transition) and Furet (symbolic dimension of politics and narrative approach) drawn upon for support, it shows that the authors themselves are aware of the limitations of this approach. I personally think that these models

emerge mainly thanks to the retrospective determinism of the quoted Benedix: in principally narrative reconstructions of transitions, mutual determinations are consequently being found and may be generalised according to the described regularity. The important thing here is not the statistical probability but the mimetic representation of probability, its general features to be found in Propp's analysis of fairy-tales about witches. A story line appears here, which starts with power's disruption of a stable situation. This causes an imbalanced state which must be returned to stability by another power with opposite potential during the performance of tasks. Indeed, to talk about the probabilistic model of dragon extinction in fairy-tales would seem to us somewhat ridiculous, despite the fact that on a statistical basis, the comparative ethnography could easily show that, globally, dragons' outlook for survival are bad.

Jiří Kabele

The Sociology of Industrial Relations: A Question of Continuing or Renewed Importance?

Our goal is to provide information on a new study program at the Department of Sociology, Philosophical Faculty, Charles University and to promote discussion on the topicality of industrial relations both within the transformation of Czech society, and at an international level.

In the spring semester of 1994 the Department of Sociology, Philosophical Faculty, enlarged its study program to include a new optional one-semester course on „Industrial Relations“. This interdisciplinary course, especially firmly established in Western Europe, concerns the institutionalisation of industrial relations on the state level, as well as on level of organisations, the labour market, collective bargaining, worker participation and labour conflicts. A necessary part of the program is the study of the ways in which individual actors – employees, employers and government – develop their own norms and rules for the regulation of labour spheres in the framework of mutual relations.

Our course, „Industrial Relations“, aims to provide students with an introductory review of the relevant issues which are in many respects broader than sociology and which, at the same time, show significant perspectives in their application. This new specialisation also increases the possibilities of our graduates securing good jobs, the Czech Republic lacking qualified specialists due to the directive stagnation of industrial relations over the last forty years. With respect to the European tradition, it is, moreover, hard to imagine a modern capitalist economy without institutionalised labour relations.

Our department has gained a decisive impulse as well as professional and financial support for the establishment of this applied discipline through participation in a TEMPUS project. The goal of this TEMPUS project, „Study of Industrial Relations 1992/94“, was to develop an educational programme and a coursebook, and to initiate the regular study of industrial relations at five universities in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Bulgaria,

with the assistance of three universities in England, Germany and the Netherlands, coordinated by Dr. H. Moerel from the Institute for Applied Social Sciences in the Netherlands. The role of the Western partners consisted in providing help in the creation of a study program and teacher training in the form of three one-week-seminars at the above mentioned universities.

A single-semester students' course was started at our Department of Sociology in the Spring of 1994, including two guest lectures on „Changing Industrial Relations in Britain and Germany“. The students are trained in subjects such as economic and social transition, labour relations actors, labour relations systems, labour market policies, industrial democracy, worker participation, conflict (resolution), consultation, co-operation and collective bargaining.

A coursebook written by the participants on „Industrial Relations“, has been prepared and published in each of the countries involved. The Czech version should appear by the end of 1994. Apart from a general introduction to the study of industrial relations (they deal mostly with labour relations, and employee relations in the Western countries in response to the decreasing importance of industry), the subjects discussed in the textbook are:

- National labour relations frameworks (in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, the Netherlands and Poland)
- The construction of parties
- Economic transformation
- The labour market
- Labour conflicts
- Collective bargaining
- Worker participation

A comparative approach with international and historical perspectives was used in elaborating all the issues.

As radical changes have occurred in the sphere of industrial relations and these have thus far not been studied systematically in post-communist countries, this approach has required research on the current situation (the

situation is much better in Poland and Hungary).

It has therefore been necessary to broaden the purely pedagogical orientation of the TEMPUS projects and introduce a research component in order to gain and elaborate recent data. In this connection, our Department was able to use grants from both the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and Charles University focused on industrial relations in the transformation of Czech enterprises (head of the research project is Dr. J. Buriánek). The following individuals deserve special mention: Dr. Kuchař from the Institute of Sociological Studies, School of Social Sciences, Charles University, and Dr. Hradecká and Dr. Vlášil from the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, who have also been investigating recent industrial relations.

We intend to launch a new postgraduate course on „Industrial Relations“ next year. This course should provide especially for the needs of employees from the Trade Unions, Labour Offices, Employers' and Entrepreneurs' Associations and Administration. Moreover, the feedback from course participants will provide material which will allow comparison of our academic interpretation with the reality of Czech industrial relations.

Besides the TEMPUS program, we would like to maintain the exchange of international experience within the framework of the activities of the „European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions“ in Dublin, as well as bilateral co-operation with our TEMPUS partners. The fact that European industrial relations have gained a publishing basis in the form of own journal with the title „European Journal of Industrial Relations“ this year emphasises not only the topicality of the theme but especially the im-

portance of the European tradition of „Industrial Relations“ (created among others to establish social peace). The fact that labour relations in Western countries are also undergoing radical changes requiring the reaction of experts was stressed in a lecture by Prof. R. Hyman from the University of Warwick and Dr. E. Dietrich from Universität Bielefeld at our Department in May 1994. These lectures by leading experts should help in the introduction to the problems of industrial relations particular to our conditions. The mere comparison of two quite different systems of industrial relations in Germany (a legally based dual system of work councils and trade unions) and Great Britain (free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers) demonstrated the necessity of understanding national systems and cultural specifics as a prerequisite for explaining the substance of their differences. There seem to be two main tasks for sociology, which in the 50's was already defending the legitimacy of its approach to the problems of Industrial Relations against that of economists („Industrial Relations“ are taken in this case as a field of study and analysis and not as an individual scientific discipline), in co-operation with lawyers, economists, social psychologists, politologists and historians under the Czech conditions:

- 1) the establishment of the system of categories and terms and the development of education in this field,
- 2) research on economic processes and the labour market, tripartity and its functioning in our political system, labour law, collective bargaining in the sense of the strategy of actors' behaviour (Labour Code, Collective Bargaining Law, Strike Law).

Ivana Mazálková

Short-term Labour Migration from the Czech Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany

The pilot study on short-term labour migration from the Czech Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany has been conducted with the support of the Commission of the European Communities for Co-operation with Central and Eastern European Countries within the framework of the „Go East – Go West“ programme in co-operation with the Berlin Institute for Comparative Social Research.

Temporary labour migration from the Czech Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany is a product of the political, economic and social changes taking place after the collapse of the communist regime in the CR. Due to the tremendous difference between the wages in both countries, a certain portion of the labour force of the CR started the out-flow, primarily to the neighbouring FRG lands. Substantial economic profitability gives temporary labour migration a remarkable competitive edge as far as income sources are concerned. It also makes it interesting for an ever growing number of persons. As a behaviour pattern, seasonal labour migration spreads quickly. Within the transformation of the Czech economy, it is much more profitable and much less risky than creating a professional career at home, small private businesses included. The labour force out-flow to the FRG primary involves the skilled labour force which not always works on corresponding qualification level. Thus, well-paid professional degradation occurs. The same degradation, however, occurs in the course of transformation of the economy at home, the only difference being, that it is often accompanied by wage degradation. Since interest in seasonal work is higher than in official institutions, whose jurisdiction is to coordinate the jobs; their operations effect the prohibition syndrome. This leads to the formation of the unofficial but functioning labour market, working in spite of all legisla-

tive barriers according to the principle of supply and demand. The effort to control the compliance with the labour and wage regulations identical with those valid for the domestic labour force also for foreigners employed in the FRG actually leads to a paradoxical situation, whereby such an effort encourages the infringement of these regulations and conditions. All conditions set forth in work contracts may be infringed upon in practice it often happens. Seasonal workers usually do not protest against a breach of contract by their employers. First, their knowledge of particular corrective procedures and of the German language are limited. Second, even in the case that the conditions of the work contracts are not observed seasonal jobs are financially very lucrative for them. The free, unregulated migration of the labour force could bring more balance into seasonal migration than the legislative instrument „Agreement on procedures during job mediation in the FRG for Czech applicants for the job to last maximum three months during one year“ signed between the Federal Institute for Labour in Nürnberg and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic. Seasonal labour migration does not threaten to change into permanent migration. The economic profitability of the seasonal work lies in its temporary character. The wage can only be transformed into profit upon the workers return home. When the exchange rate DM/Kč changes substantially, the economic profitability of the seasonal work will diminish, and leading in turn to a decreased interest in seasonal work in the FRG. The same would be the effect of the increase of the CR wages in real terms. At the same time, the pressure on the out-flow of the labour force westwards not only brings about migration movements (in-flow) of the labour force from the East but also promotes migration movements within the ČR territory, thus far limited by the real barriers of work mobility.

Milada Horáková



Two Conferences on the Development in East Central Europe

In 1993 the European Union Commission sponsored the project, „East Central Europe 2000“, in four countries of East Central Europe – the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and the Slovak Republic, the aim of which was to assess and compare the potential future development of the economy, society, politics, technology, education and research. The project was completed in early 1994 with a series of studies in each of the four countries as well as with a summary report covering them in a comparative perspective (for more information, also see the *Czech Sociological Review* No. 1/1994). The project has been followed up with four seminars discussing the individual target areas of the project in greater detail and assessing its results at almost a year's distance. A workshop on the technology-research complex took place in Poland in May 1994 (its proceedings already published in: A. Kuklinski (ed.), *Science-Technology-Economy. The Experience and Prospects in Central Europe*. Warsaw: The Council of Scientific Research of the Polish Republic, 1994). A further two follow-up seminars were organised in fall 1994 in Praha and in Smolenice near Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, and which are the subject of the present report. (The fourth seminar on economic development has been planned for Budapest in early 1995).

The second seminar on the turn-of-the-century socio-political development in the four countries of East Central Europe was organised in Prague by the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic on October 22-23. Scientists from the Czech Republic, France, Hungary, Poland and the Slovak Republic participated. The agenda was structured into four sections. Prospective changes in social structure and stratification were the subject of the first, with *Pavel Machonin*, Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, as the keynote speaker. He considered the contingent and alternative prognostication as the only viable method in futurologist studies of socio-political development in transforming societies. The changes in post-communist countries

have to be analysed as qualitative, structural changes rather than as mere transitions to liberal capitalism. A new social structure, with new social classes and a new stratification is emerging in contemporary Czech society. Wise policies will be necessary to prevent the emergence of disruptive class conflicts. A synoptical overview of the potential future social development in Hungary was given by *Rudolf Andorka*, The Budapest University of Economics. He covered a wide range of problems – from demographic development, social structure and mobility, income, housing, education, health to values and institutions. *Ján Bunčák*, from the Institute of Sociology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, presented findings on research on elites in Slovakia and *Karel Müller*, Charles University, discussed the modernisation aspect of the post-communist transformation. The „Czech wonder“ – the socially viable transformation of Czech economy – was the main subject of discussion.

The second panel dealt with emerging social problems and issues of social policy. In his keynote paper, *István György Tóth* from TÁRKI discussed challenges to social policy in the countries of East Central Europe, posing several bold questions: should there be any reforms of social policy at all in these countries? Can such reforms be successfully accomplished? If so, what directions should the reforms take? He was followed by *Jiří Večerník*, Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, whose presentation focused on social problems, policies and structures in the Czech Republic. Social problems in statistics and people's perceptions were discussed as well as alternative doctrines and models of social policy. The role of corporatism in social policy was frequently mentioned in the discussion.

The population's attitudes and value orientations were the focus of the third panel. *Janusz Hryniewicz*, University of Warsaw, was keynote speaker. Drawing upon national background studies of the East Central Europe 2000 project, he presented a comprehensive comparison of the four countries as far as the population's attitudes toward principal capitalist institutions, income inequalities, privatisation, democratic institutions are concerned,

juxtaposing them to western countries' attitudes toward similar issues. *Milan Tuček* from the Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, presented more comparative material along a similar line.

The fourth panel on the political system was opened by *Soňa Szomolányi*, Institute of Sociology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, as the keynote speaker. Her presentation on the tendencies of political development in the Slovak Republic certainly was one of the highlights of the conference. It drew much attention and was extensively discussed, partly because of the recent parliamentary elections in the country. The importance of interpreting recent developments in the East Central European countries within a broader civilisational perspective was mentioned in the discussion. *Lubomír Brokl*, Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, presented the results of an analysis of value profiles of Czech political party functionaries, providing some comparison with similar findings in other post-communist countries. In the last contribution, *Michal Illner* from the same institute summarised some of the main findings of a comparative study of new local democracies in four East Central European countries. The „Local Democracy and Innovation“ project, co-ordinated by Norwegian political scientists, analysed different aspects of the first democratic local governments elected in 1990.

The third seminar, organised by the Institute of Sociology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, took place on November 12-13, 1994 in Smolenice near Bratislava. There were participants from the Czech Republic, France, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Slovenia and the Slovak Republic. Issues of internal territorial differentiation, inter-regional contacts and territorial administration in the countries of East Central Europe were discussed. Several important problems seem to be outstanding as far as internal territorial differentiation is concerned: territorial differences in all the four countries have been deepening as result of economic transformation and geopolitical change, attaining, in some cases, critical dimensions. Only some regions – typically the national capitals with their hinterlands, other large cities, and regions adjacent to the western

borders, show adaptability to new socio-economic conditions. Others, like the peripheral regions of north-east Hungary, south-east Slovakia and south-east Poland and the predominantly agricultural regions in the Czech Lands have been impaired and suffer many social handicaps. Contributions by *Milan Rajčák* – Centre for Strategic Studies of the Slovak Republic – , *Lubomír Faltán*, *Peter Gajdoš* and *Ján Paštak* – all from The Institute of Sociology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences – and *Michal Illner* – The Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic – dealt with regional aspects of the transformation. An efficient policy to stimulate regional development may become establishing innovation centres. The first experience with such centres in the Slovak Republic has been reported by *Štefan Zajac*, Institute of Forecasting, Slovak Academy of Sciences. Old industrial regions – typically those in the Silesian basin, both on its Polish and the Czech side – constitute a special case, facing, as they are, the conversion of their traditional industrial structure based on coal mining and steel production. *Grzegorz Gorzelak* from the Institute for Local and Regional Development, Warsaw University, argued that a slow and socially costly conversion of industrial regions may jeopardise Central European reforms. In this context, developments in the Czech Republic were discussed which were considered by several speakers as inspiring because of their success in controlling the negative social impacts of restructuring. The low unemployment rate in Czech regions was viewed as a puzzle for which there is no satisfactory explanation.

Cross-border interregional contacts, were discussed within the next thematic block. Different modalities need be distinguished: „Euroregions“ established along the western, northern and southern border of Bohemia (in the Czech Republic) are vehicles of co-operation between transforming regions and their neighbours in developed western countries – Germany and Austria (the contribution from *Václav Houžvička*, Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic). They have to cope with the problems stemming from the asymmetry of resources, institutional systems and, perhaps, motivations. However,

they function on a terrain where cross-border links have a tradition and some resources are available. On the other hand, the Carpathian „Euroregion“ formed in the contact area of Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania and Hungary (contribution by *Iván Illés*, Centre for Regional Research, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) represents the joint effort of marginal territories to mobilise their own resources and to attract external support. It faces the problem of the region's considerable political and cultural heterogeneity and its economic weakness. Not all the cross-border contacts discussed have been institutionalised as „Euroregions“. *Zdenek Štastný*, Institute of Sociology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, reported on relations developing between citizens, social and civic organisations, firms, local governments etc. along the border separating the Bratislava region in Slovakia from Austria and Hungary. An increasingly relevant form of interregional processes in East Central Europe is international migration. *Dušan Drbohlav*, Dept. of Social Geography, Faculty of Sciences of the Charles University, presented generally inaccessible statistical data on the structure of foreign immigration in the Czech Republic. Loosely linked to this the-

matic block was the contribution by *Jan Makarov*, University of Ljubljana, on regional factors influencing nations' creativity.

The final set of contributions discussed issues of local government and local politics. *Audun Offerdal*, Dept. of Administration and Organisation Theory, University of Bergen, presented an overview of the different problems facing the design of local government in west Europe, in which he professed his faith in politics as a way of reaching decisions within collectivities. The relevance of local and regional culture for shaping the political behaviour of local society was analysed by *Zdena Vajdová*, Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. *Ilona Palné Kovács*, Transdanubian Research Institute, characterised the present state of the local and regional government systems in Hungary and the reform tendencies in regional policy and regional administration since the 1994 elections. It seems that the status of counties and their responsibilities are at stake.

The organisers of both seminars announced their intentions to publish the proceedings.

Michal Illner

A Successful International Conference on Relation between Ecology and Democracy

„The Conference Ecology and Democracy. The Challenge of the 21st Century“ took place in České Budějovice on September 6-9. It was organised by the local biology and ecology institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. The conference took place in the pleasant environment of the new Biological Centre lecture-rooms and buildings. Due to the care of the international preparatory and organisational committee of the Institute of Landscape Ecology, headed by Dr. Irena Hanousková, the event was well-organised.

Even before the conference opening a comprehensive file of abstracts in English (the official language of the conference) was published. I. Hanousková, M. Lapka and E. Cudlínová, eds., *Proceedings of the First International Conference. Ecology and Democ-*

racy. The Challenge of the 21st Century, Full Abstracts. September 6-9, 1994, České Budějovice. The availability of the abstracts and the directory of conference participants facilitated all communications given the considerable attendance by foreign participants. The only drawback of the conference was the relatively small presence of people from the Czech specialist institutes, as well as the absence of several well-known ecologists who merely forwarded their abstracts (H. Skolimowski, H. Henderson).

Presentations were thoughtfully divided into several larger units, and were mostly presented at plenary sessions and followed by discussion. Only on the third day were the proceedings divided into three sections: 1) The influence of international institutions on environmental protection, 2) The ecological and economic issues and education in ecology, 3) Ecology and culture, ecology and agricul-

ture. Some of these pressing topics, especially the relation between ecology and economy, had already arisen earlier in presentations and discussions on the first day of the conference.

The first day of the conference was dedicated to pluralistic views on the relations between ecology and democracy, ecology and politics and ecology and democracy. K. Bayer (USA, of Czech origin) emphasised the need for the integration of ecology and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, and rejected the reverence for material values which have survived in this region. A. J. Dahl, an American working with the United Nations Environmental Program in Geneva, compared the specifics and analogies between ecosystems and social systems. The presentation of a leading Japanese economist Kaoru Yamaguchi, a UNESCO adviser and professor at the Faculty of International Economy Nagoya University of Economics, focused upon the antinomy between the industrial and information eras in the development of local Japanese communities. His presentation, in addition to a deep analysis of the relation between the market economy and economy of sustainable growth, summarises new views on regional sociology and ecology in Japan (given the novelty and high quality of the analysis, translated, it would be definitely recommendable as a contribution to the *Sociologický časopis*). Yamaguchi's presentation stimulated a broad discussion in which a number of Czech (V. Stoklasa, V. Zátka, etc.) as well as foreign experts (T. N. Jenkins, S. Miller, G. Borrelli, etc.) participated.

This was followed by two presentations from Czech authors: – P. Gandalovič from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and S. Mlčoch, a lawyer – the former pointed out the discrepancies between the short-term planning of politics in electoral cycles, and the long-term character of ecological cycles and changes, while the latter emphasised the need for institutional co-operation in securing ecological optimisation. He included not only the establishment of ecological legislature, but also its control over institutions and participative democracy.

The morning of the second day was also mostly dedicated to theoretical topics such as analyses of ecological and democratic princi-

ples, the development of various kinds and types of ecology, and the problematic relation between democracy and risks, and of ecology and economy – the most frequently discussed topic of the conference. The afternoon sessions dealt mostly with topics such as practical achievements in the application of environmental protection measures in industry and agriculture, the analysis of some particular areas of heavy pollution, occasionally also case studies of specific industrial factories and mining areas.

Two Czech presentations contributed to the comparative analysis of ecological and social systems (P. Kovář and J. Květ). According to A. Maurinsh from Lithuania, the most important role in humanist ecology is played by the domestication of space and time, and by the harmonisation of temporal rhythms – thus forming the premise of the peaceful coexistence among human as well as between human race and nature. The Greek philosopher R. Witt, questioned whether the democracy is worth preserving even at the very brink of ecological collapse. He answers in the negative, therefore concluding that we should use the great adaptability of democracy, of which we have been aware ever since the development of democratic systems, to prevent this collapse while there is still time. The Roman professor G. Borrelli presented an original analysis of the relation of risk and democracy from the viewpoint of the history of human knowledge, the perception and acceptance of the risk. Risks are accepted more readily if they are freely and consciously chosen, and, further, when their acceptance guarantees an attractive profit or their advantages are shared with others. J. Stoklasa, a Czech economist and ecologist, delivered a well-grounded presentation on the role of an economist among ecologists. It was mostly based on results from the work of an interdisciplinary committee founded in the 70s by the Institute of Landscape Ecology of the former Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

As to the case studies, detailed analyses of the development of extensive ecological measures have been carried out in the nickel mines on Ontario, Canada, by an international trust INCO Ltd. (V. J. Zátka). In Athabasca, north

Alberta, the public participation which lead to the effective protection of the environment around a paper-producing factory was the main interest of a group of Canadian experts who produced a comprehensive case study. Of this only the section dealing with the effectiveness and success of participation of public in the spirit of the sustainable growth (M. Richardson, M. Gismondi, J. Sherman) was presented. A document about the development and contemporary state of the controversy surrounding Libkovice was presented by an independent environmentalist working with Zelený kruh (Green Circle) H. Reeve. A. Alexandrova from the Federal Ministry of Economy in Moscow gave a thorough presentation of the problems of ecological security and ecological catastrophes in the former Soviet Union (Aral Lake, Chernobyl). The contributions from Bielorusian, Ukrainian and Russian conference participants were of a similar nature. A detailed presentation on the devastation of the natural environment in the former Soviet Union was given by D. A. Krivolutski from the Institute of Evolution Morphology and Ecology in Moscow. He emphasised that information about ecological catastrophes were kept secret for many years, such that this ecocide was only documented and made public after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

On the third day, the proceedings continued in the three already mentioned sections. In the first, F. von Ketelhodt of the European Parliament, pointed out that the influence of the Rio conference (1994) had lead to a change in the ecological climate of the EC states. D. A. Paine dealt with the history of democratic thinking and, within it, the place of ecology. The ecological crisis, science and the public sphere was the theme of a speech delivered by a Dutch philosopher, M. Korthals. He thoroughly analysed the European discussion on the philosophy of ecological crisis. The question whether democracy can survive the ecological crisis is wrongly presented. The opposite is true: only if a substantial part of modern democracy – the weak politics – will indeed function, can we survive an ecological crisis. Another Dutchman, R. van Schomberg, spoke about ethics, the public sphere and political decision-making mechanisms. J. Laessoe from

Denmark summarised the results of his three-year research project: Ecological crisis, subjectivity, and civil participation. He gave a detailed analysis of both the socio-psychological and the sociological conditions of successful civil participation in permanently sustainable growth.

In the second section, there was a well documented introductory presentation by T. M. Jenkins, from Great Britain, on the ecologisation of economics and the democratisation of the global economy. It was followed by critical remarks from the well-known South Bohemian ecologist, N. Johanisová. She rejected the one-sidedness of certain economic theories which conceal economic premises: Economy-enhanced consumerism is one cause of the world ecological crisis. In his brief commentary on theses dealing with the risk-bearing society and ecological modernisation J. Kamaryt emphasised certain absurd consequences of the uneven development of various phases of ecological modernisation in the contemporary world. E. Cudlínová, from the Institute of Landscape Ecology, gave a philosophically interesting presentation of an alternative-suggestive name: Democracy or the Green society. She criticised some flaws in the contemporary model of parliamentary democracy and values of the post-industrial society, which has shown itself incapable of solving a number of ecological problems. V. Mejstřík of the same institute called the anthropocentric principles of our educational systems fossil's: they should be changed to the advantage of biocentrism and humanistic values.

In the third section, two basic theoretical presentations were given by S. Miller, from Great Britain, and S. Rikoon, from the USA. The former dealt with the sociological and ecological discrepancy in the developing relations and conflicts between British agricultural and industrial regions. The latter was rooted in the phenomenological description of the cultural constructions of landscape and nature, and their influence on the mediation of the relation between ecology and democracy. (This philosophically stimulating presentation would provide an excellent contribution to our *Journal of Philosophy*.) P. J. Howard, from Great Britain, analysed some controversial notions

arising amongst the experts as well as the general public with regard to the formation of the landscape and architecture.

A number of painted and photographic posters, on for example ecological agriculture based on the principle of permanently sustainable growth, Southern Bohemian ecology, Temelín... were also presented at the conference. The engaging features of this south Bohemian conference without doubt contributed to the

unusual regard for both Czech and foreign participants (well-organised meals, an efficient refreshment stand, information service, two receptions, visits to the Hluboká chateau and Český Krumlov), and, last but not least, a considerable attendance and participation of women in today's ecological and political problems.

Jan Kamaryt

Both in Honor of the Photographs of Jindřich Štreit and a Plea for Sociology

The catalogue texts on Jindřich Štreit's exhibitions lay emphasis on the content of his photographs – the „altogetherness“ of his view. Naturally, only quite a superficial observer would suppose Štreit's photographs to be reportage, or assume that no compact life stance is adopted, no underlying philosophical statement by the author. Some writers, however, contrast this quality of Štreit's photographs with their sociological value. In their opinion, Štreit is not one of those photographers „concentrating on a certain social phenomenon or some aspect of social being“. This I can no longer agree with, since it seems to me the greatness of Štreit's photography consists in the very „altogether“ life attitude bound with the precise recording of certain social phenomena and with some aspects of social being.

It is probably a question of a misunderstanding, the question of what sociology in fact is. With this question I will move to sociology's defense: sociology is not sociography, it is not a science which *describes* social reality; nor is sociology public opinion research, as the editors of Czech Television would have it. Sociology is the beautiful sister of philosophy. Recently, one of my colleagues, Mr. Petrusek, wrote that „social problems worth their name carry an immense and profound humanitarian dimension“. In this context, sociology discusses cultural universalia, sociocultural or sometimes anthropological constants. Hence sociology's objective cannot reside in the simple description of people's behavior. Its intention and its goal is to critically reflect the

human being's place in the world by means of concrete observation.

Does not Jindřich Štreit do the same? My conviction is he does exactly the same. Like a sociologist, his starting point is concrete social situations. His camera is not familiar with those artistic somersaults, picture infiltration, collage, it knows no color either, it does not prop itself up with names – elements to communicate the mood and the view backgrounding the photograph. In the first plan of Štreit's phrasing is a bare statement of social reality: televisions, „typified“ new grocery stores, potatoes in commercial packaging meandering to the rural housing block, the party surrounding the pig's slaughter in front of a concrete-slab house, artificial materials wherever one casts one's eye, women in „male“ work situations, „knickers“ as the universal summer home dress of „modern“ men: all this comes to our minds, such frequently recurring motives in Štreit's photos, that they have to be recognized as the concrete indicators of something more general and more fundamental. In the given examples, it is the sad fact of the „merging town and country life styles“ or the question of the social consequences of civilization in general, that constitutes the common denominator. And here the matter has serious roots and results, the question nobody doubts being: what for country people is this attraction of city objects, city dwellings, city clothing and behavior hold? Is it something which brings greater happiness? And further: this inconsistent and sometimes picturesque acceptance of city patterns draws attention to the value of the socio-cultural constants of the country.

As well as the given example (the relationship city – country) we can identify in

Štreit's work a number of other concrete sociological subjects with a serious philosophical core: the weakness and glory of our church, the monstrous silent militarization of the nation, the senseless industrialization of agriculture, the vain attempts at brain-washing during the countless „trainings“... We would have to discard a great deal and fear calling things by their names (the way sociologists do) to let ourselves to be swept off our feet by the mere experience of „authenticity“ or „existentiality“ when visiting Štreit's exhibitions. The philosophical implication of Štreit's pictures is so strong we cannot overlook it.

I am wholly convinced that with a thorough understanding of sociology, we could take Jindřich Štreit to be an outstanding spontaneous sociologist. (I would like to point out, that for those interested in methods of sociological research, a photograph being the one of them, Mr. Štreit's access to the heart of Sovinec households, the people's acceptance of his camera will remain the subject of everlasting envy. At the same time, I know this cannot be the cause of envy, for the unprecedented situational possibilities open to his camera are the result of years of dedication on the part its master and his trusty co-existence with inhabitants of Sovinec.) Is Jindřich Štreit a sociologist then? I do not think it is possible to bestow upon him the rank of scientist, the reason being that he has some weaknesses in this respect. His is still an artist: he lacks, thank God, the implacable objectivity of science. This is what constitutes, in my eyes, the heights of his creation. In this context, his „consideration“ for the people is of primary importance. Nobody can tell me that the photographer seeking sensation will not find dramatic or naturalistic situations in Sovinec. Of course I haven't forgotten that Mr. Štreit belongs to the Sovinec community, they very body which controls the publication of his photographs. But on the other hand, would not the photographer with such an interest and intention find a way? In addition, we should note Jindřich Štreit's compassion for women – for which he is the fair opposite of Milan Kundera or Vladimír Páral. And his camera refuses to see the suffering of animals (I have seen one drab exception in a catalogue from Cheb). Let's have a look at how happy

dogs and other animals are in Sovinec - if only it were the same in reality! However, I'm afraid it's not the same in reality, it is the sign of the noble inobjectivity of Štreit's camera: Jindřich Štreit is too much of a knight too much to show unfortunate beings in his pictures (be it women or animals). Hence this photographer could be characterized in many ways, not only as a so-called merciless critic.

There is one more point in which I see the glory of his photography and the selection of photographs for his exhibitions: it is the almost Victorian austerity taboo of so-called delicate themes with a suspicion of the erotic. I believe even here, if one felt the need, one could identify a crack in fellow-citizens' control. Yet Štreit presents the relationships between men and women with the purity of last century's rural life.

How could we fail to take delight in it today?

In conclusion, let me – as a sociologist used to thinking of life concreteness – draw your attention to the environment the author of our exhibition lives in, photographs in and works in. Life among the inhabitants of Sovinec ultimately brought Mr. Štreit national and international glory. But none of us should think Mr. Štreit could have foreseen such an outcome when he decided to become a teacher in Sovinec's „combined class“, when he settled in the village and chose the life style they used to call „alternative“ in the West.

His life choice was one of the more difficult alternatives - he stepped into handicapped and handicapping conditions. However, it would be an oversimplification to evaluate it only as an act speaking out against last regime and as an act of opposition against totality. Indeed, it was this very decision which comes from the category of „socio-cultural constants“ already mentioned. It was a decision of such universal import, that it is not less eloquent and critical even in contemporary terms. Štreit's work in handicapped conditions, in a region historically and socially disadvantaged as in other ways, is in fact quite contrary to the current orientation to human success, to competition between the efficient and the less capable, to economic activity at any price.

Hana Librová



The Photographer Jindřich Štreit

Jindřich Štreit (born in Vsetín on September 5, 1946) is one of the so-called „strong four“ of Czech documentary photographers who have become world-famous.

While Josef Koudelka gained recognition through his images of Gypsy life, Markéta Koudelková with her Wanderers, and Dagmar Hočová captured the spontaneous behaviour of children, Jindřich Štreit received well deserved recognition for his pictures of village life.

Jindřich Štreit has acquired an intimate knowledge of the village world – until 1981 he worked as an art teacher and headmaster at schools in Sovinec and Jiřikov. Falling into disfavour the establishment for his realistic pictures, he was, one year later, imprisoned and forbidden to teach any more. During the period 1982-1990 he was employed by the State Agricultural Co-operative in Ryžoviště, and continued his photography despite an official ban.

Jindřich Štreit currently teaches part-time at the photography department of the Film Academy of Musical Arts of Prague, at the

University of Fine Arts in Bratislava and at the Silesian University in Opava. A free-lance photographer, he works mostly on long-term artistic projects of a sociological character in the Czech Republic (for example the people of the Olomouc District) as well as in other countries (Austria, France, England). Next year he will begin yet another project in Japan.

Jindřich Štreit has had solo exhibitions in the Czech Republic since 1967; in 1985, he exhibited his works in London, Newcastle (SIDE Gallery), Houston (Fotofest), Cologne (Ludwig Museum); in 1991 he had 6 exhibitions in the Czech Republic, one in Poland and one in France (Photographical May); in 1992 he presented his work in Prague's House of Photography, and in France (in Saint-Quentin); in 1993 he had 13 exhibitions in the Czech Republic, one in Michigan, and he participated in Saint Remy sur Busy. Last year he was shown in Japan (Metropolitan Museum of Photography in Tokyo), Austria (Graz – Forum Stadtpark, Weitzenkirchen), Hungary (Budapest and Kécskemet), Germany (Wertingen), France (Lorient), and had 28 exhibitions in the Czech Republic.



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