

Czech and Slovak Society

Outline of a Comparative Study

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Abstract: According to data on social, demographic and, to some extent, on urban structures at the beginning of the nineties, the Czech and Slovak societies had become very similar. This was the result of economic policies as well as the application of the unifying Soviet model. Nevertheless, at the very time when they appear most similar from a macrostructural point of view, they are moving apart. The processes leading to the resemblance between Czech and Slovak societies are an interesting example of asynchronical modernization. The process components of modernization, e.g. economic transformation, demographic revolution, urbanization, the growth of literacy and democratization, were going on in each part of Czechoslovakia at different times, i.e. also in different political and societal contexts and at differing paces. The study contains basic information of this asynchronicity and points out the effects of Slovakia's modernization during the socialist regime. The model of asynchronous modernization is, however, not able to explain the division of Czechoslovakia. Two other explanatory models must be added: a model of internal economic dependency and a model of mobilization. Without the existence of a mobilizing Slovak elite, the division would not have happened.

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The following study is concentrated on comparative structural analysis and deliberately does not pay attention to the definition of situation in its sociological meaning. The study explicitly assumes that in Czechoslovakia there have existed two societies and tries to clarify the differences and the analogies between them. The hypothesis scrutinized in the text assumes that the division of Czechoslovakia has occurred, in particular, because of the fact the "Czechoslovak society" has not been established thus far, even though from the structural point of view both societies were, at the moment of splitting up, substantially more similar than at the time of Czechoslovakia's formation. There exists the view, which we want to verify, that during the decline of the federation the following participated in concrete terms:

1. The differences in economic, social, cultural and dispositional structures;
2. The asynchronous and differing processes of modernization in both societies;

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3. The different consequences of the formation of societies of Soviet type in the Czech Lands and in Slovakia;
4. The differing processes for rectification of political, economic and cultural institutions in both republics after November, 1989.

The methodological approach used in our study is based on the concept proposed by Anthony Giddens in the preamble of his contribution to the first Conference of European Sociologists in Vienna, in August 1992. He stressed the fact that to understand the evolution of Europe in the future it is necessary to perform *structural analysis* of the main socio-cultural changes of European societies.

The methodological starting points of the following outline emphasize that we may speak, in the 19th and 20th centuries, of "the society" not only from a macrosocial point of view demonstrated by the evolutionary typologies of K. Marx, H. Spencer, E. Durkheim, F. Tönnies and of contemporary authors such as R. Aron, E. Gellner, D. Bell, G. Lenski and numerous others, but also in the narrower sense of the word. An example of this narrower conceptual sense of a society is, e.g., Gellner's concept of "the Muslim's society." An even more strict concept of society was used by, e.g., Johan Goldsblom in his book "The Dutch Society" when he wanted to describe one of the sub-types of contemporary industrial societies based on the principle of "pillarization." Historical literature that deals with nations without a state sometimes uses conceptual interpretation of society as well, such as our authors, e.g., O. Urban, Jan Křen, Jiří Kořalka.

This outline summarizes the results of the comparison of the population's demographic and nationality structure according to their relationship to economic sectors, to social structure, to education, to the population structure, to the size of their settlements and forms of living, and finally to some indicators of the living standard. A part of this outline is a summary of data comparisons on the development of the national economies in both parts of Czechoslovakia, an all-inclusive view of the main economic divisions and of the overall economic structure of both republics and of their mutual relationship. The essay will evaluate, too, the development of migration between both parts of Czechoslovakia and the degree of their mutual openness and closedness, respectively.

All these structural cuts will be analyzed, where data permits, *in term of evolution* so that it will be obvious that both examined societies become:

1. more alike or more different or...
2. the interaction in between them is getting more intensive or they mutually are getting more separated.

The Applied Comparative Models of Structural Changes

Most of the present studies on the division of Czechoslovakia are principally descriptive. Historical methods for identifying particular *events* that led to the decline of the federation appear to prevail in them. In some socio-political studies, more general facts which do not depict only the character of events and which are labelled by terms such as "Czech paternalism" and "Slovak separatism," etc., are assumed to be the cause of the Czechoslovak failure. But even in this instance, the

sociological and long-standing causes of this separation, with exceptions, are not investigated. Even though the historical analysis and the socio-political interpretations are essential, they are not sufficient to explain the impossibility of maintaining a common state. This is not, under any circumstances, to underestimate the importance of explicit single events or even of accidental events. It would be inappropriate, just as well, not to state the role of certain political attitudes and movements. An interpretation of Czechoslovakia's division can not avoid an analysis of the role of social structures and of cultures and, in particular, of their differing nature in the Czech and Slovak society. It is not enough, either, to do sociological comparisons of both societies. Such a comparison has its meaning if it is carried out within the context of *theory of modernization*, which we now understand as a change of whole societies caused by the long-standing impact of what Eric Hobsbawm called "the double revolution" i.e. the combination of industrial and political revolutions.

The theory of modernization as it has been defined by T. Parsons, A. Inkeles, W. Moore, W. W. Rostow and by other authors, on the one hand, deals with the changes in particular social institutions, the size and structure of particular social groups, the nature of mutual social relations (types of social bonds) and, on the other hand, the change of values, of ways of behavior. The first group of changes can be labelled as *social structural* features of modernization and the second one then as *social cultural* modernization.

One of the basic hypotheses of our study is the view that processes of modernization in the Czech and Slovak societies proceeded not only asynchronously but also, in some respect, differently. Modernization of the Czech society has been implemented, to a considerable extent, within the frame of the capitalist system and had, except for some specific features as, e.g., a low degree of urbanization along with a relatively high degree of industrialization, standard features of modernization processes in Western Europe. The overall process of modernization in Slovakia started later than in the Czech Lands. The main parts of modernization processes in Slovakia took place not only later than in Czech lands, i.e. practically after 1918 with a rapid growth of the educational system, but mainly during the socialist era and according to a Soviet model. This different systemic context was not without significance.

In this context it is necessary to stress the fact (compare also [Amersfoort 1991]) that the theory of modernization applied to questions of ethnic relationships existing in the one common state assumes that the interaction and communication amongst inhabitants of a territory once controlled by some state administration is going to have positive impact. Their interaction, caused by economic development, urbanization, literacy, etc., would lead towards cultural homogeneity which, apart from other things, implies that the differences decrease and as a consequence, would lead to a kind of amalgamation of ethnically different societies. Both in their Marxist and non-Marxist form, modernization theories have their own latent optimistic evolutionist hidden meaning. There is no doubt that the theory of modernization is one of the bases for a policy of integration in Western Europe. It is expected that a certain extent of economic and social similarities is the necessary

condition for political integration. From this point of view, high-quality sociological analysis of the Czechoslovak experiences might have even more of a common significance.

The Economic Transition in the Czech Lands and in Slovakia

A simple way to describe economic transition processes is to analyze the population structure according to three general economic sectors [Clark 1940; Fourastié 1949; Friedrichs 1985], i.e.:

- 1) agriculture, forestry, fishery;
- 2) industry and building industry;
- 3) services.

If we are to follow up on Friedrichs [1985] three economic transition periods we may distinguish:

- 1) *A period before the transition* during which more than 50% of the population belongs to the primary sector and during which proportions of secondary and tertiary sectors increase;
- 2) *A period of actual economic transition* during which the proportion of the primary sector decreases, the secondary sector reaches its maximum and the proportion of the tertiary sector increases;
- 3) *A post-transitional period* during which proportions of both primary and secondary sectors decrease and the proportion of the tertiary sector exceeds 50% and continues to increase.

Table 1. The beginning and the end of economic transition in chosen European Countries

| Country | year of the beginning of the transition | year of the end of the transition | duration of the transition (in years) |
|--------------|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| England | 1841* | 1932 | 91* |
| France | 1869 | 1974 | 105 |
| Germany | 1876 | 1981 | 105 |
| Austria | 1884 | 1980 | 96 |
| Czech Lands | 1900 | 1991* | 91* |
| Soviet Union | 1946 | 1980* | 34* |
| Slovakia | 1950 | 1991* | 41* |
| Hungary | 1951 | 1980* | 29* |
| Poland | 1957 | 1980* | 23* |

*) The time series is not closed.

Data regarding the Czech Lands and Slovakia have been taken from the Handbook of Demography. For other countries, they are taken from [Friedrichs 1985].

Table 2. The peak of the industrial period and indexes of the economic transition intensity

| Country | Maximum of the secondary sector | | Intensity of the transition | | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|-----|------|
| | year | share in % | I. | II. | III. |
| England | 1880 | 52.5 | .16 | .12 | .22 |
| France | 1970 | 40.6 | .38 | .13 | .26 |
| Germany | 1971 | 49.0 | .42 | .16 | .29 |
| Austria | 1961 | 43.5 | .42 | .19 | .29 |
| Czech Lands | 1980 | 55.9 | .45 | .28 | .32 |
| Soviet Union | 1980 | 39.0 | .88 | .40 | .48 |
| Slovakia | 1980 | 51.4 | .97 | .87 | .55 |
| Hungary | 1974 | 44.0 | 1.07 | .88 | .44 |
| Poland | 1980 | 39.9 | 1.00 | .48 | .44 |

Sources: see Table 1.

Indexes of transition intensity have been calculated in the following manner: The index for the primary sector is defined as the difference between the proportion of the primary sector at the beginning and at the end of the transition divided by the number of years for the transition. The indexes for the tertiary sector are calculated similarly. The indexes for the secondary sector are defined as the difference between the greatest proportion of the secondary sector and its proportion in the last year of the transition. This difference is then divided by the number of years between the height and the end of the transition. This means, in general, the higher the index value, the faster the transition.

Data for the Czech and Slovak territories based upon data about an economically active population testify to the fact that the Czech Lands finished the first period soon after the year 1900, while Slovakia finished only after 1950. In other words, the Czech lands ceased to be an agricultural society by early in the 20th century, whereas Slovakia did so only in the middle of this century. Both societies, however, are now in the second period of economic transition according to the results of the 1991 census. Still the proportion of the tertiary sector has not yet exceeded 50% (CR - 43.5%; SR - 43.7%). (compare tables 1 and 2).

From data on the development of the economically active population in regard to their division into the three sectors, we can deduce further differences within the process of the economic transition:

1. While Slovakia, before the First World War, belonged to the category of agrarian countries, the Czech Lands, by that time, ranked amongst considerably industrialized territories and the differences between both parts of Czechoslovakia during the interwar period of 1918-1939 increased even more in this respect.
2. The years of socialism caused a swift loss of the primary sector in Slovakia, and similar yet more moderate processes occurred in the Czech Lands.
3. Socialism experienced an unusual phenomenon: a loss of the tertiary sector. This was somewhat more dramatic in the Czech part of the state, and the Czech

Republic did not reach its standard of 1930 even in the year 1980. Slovakia, on the contrary, achieved already in 1961 a higher proportion of the tertiary sector than it had in 1930.

4. The Slovak economic transition proceeded substantially faster compared to the Czech Lands and was accomplished during the years of socialism.
5. Considering its sector structure, Slovakia caught up with the Czech Lands in 1991 retaining, at the same time, a slightly higher proportion in agriculture. The swiftness of such "levelling" between both parts of the state is, in the modern history of Europe, something of quite special significance (see [Mihailovič 1973]).

Slovak industrialization proceeded not only unusually fast but also with further features that we can mention just in a brief outline. Typical for this process was the establishment of rather large industrial plants placed, in numerous cases, in relatively small localities (Detva, Senica, Turzovka). The location of these plants depended upon the large resources of labour in each particular place, according to the labour precincts' survey. These enterprises often have a position as sole employers in those locations. The settlements' dependance upon such a monopoly industry, both in the economic sense and in the social and political sense, appears to be a considerable one. The structure of Slovak industry has been, most probably, designed according to the economic as well as strategic targets of the Federation and, likely, of the Soviet bloc. This has led to a well-known one-sidedness of the new Slovak industry and today, consequently, to a high rate of unemployment in many of its branches. On the contrary, Czech industry, characterized from its very origin in the 19th century by its notoriously widespread network and relatively diversified structure and proportionally high contribution from the consumer-goods industry, has maintained, despite the fact of radical interferences from 1945 up to the middle of the fifties, its *network* character of many enterprises located in small and middle-sized towns with relatively short distances in between them. (This applies particularly to East and North Bohemia and partially to West Bohemia.) The bond of workplace and residence was in those old structures of settlements with old industries much more flexible than in regions that have been industrialized or re-industrialized (Ostrava region, the North Bohemia coal basin).

In conclusion, it is necessary to add that the concept of Slovak industrialization being implemented on the basis of new large enterprises, upon a network of surviving agrarian settlements with limited sources for building houses and for the technical and social components of urban infrastructure, has led to a phenomenon which Iván Szelenyi calls "*insufficient urbanization*." This is the situation when the state opens many working opportunities but has not got enough resources for house building close to the work locations and thus, in fact, forces new industrial employees to commute from the surrounding municipalities and, further, forces them to build private housing themselves in the localities of their residence. In Slovakia, the statistics on proportions of the construction of private houses and on commuters prove that hypothesis. Both these phenomena have occurred more frequently in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic. Out of the total number of apartments built during the period 1946-1985, in Slovakia,

40% of them were located in private family houses while in Bohemia and Moravia only 22.7% of them were.

Demographic Transition and Family Changes

Changes in a population's reproductive behavior which are, in summary, depicted by the concept of "demographic revolution" [Landry 1934] or "demographic transition" [Notestein 1945], see also [Thompson 1930] belong to an important component of modernization in European communities. Demographic transition is a process caused by reduced mortality, namely of children, to which a population reacts, in shorter or longer intervals, by deliberate fertility restriction.

The demographic transition began, in the Czech Lands, sometime around 1870, and its first phase ended around the year 1900. The second phase ended around the year 1930. According to some studies [Fialová, Pavlík, Vereš 1990], in the Czech Republic (CR) the gross fertility index had been declining already after the year 1820 (from 42 births down to 38 per 1000 inhabitants). This change was the result of postponing marriages to an older age and of fertility changes. A notable fertility decline came about after the year 1890, and then a radical change came after 1900. In the year 1900, the general fertility index showed that 140 out of 1000 married women were at a reproductive age and, within a period of 10 years, it declined down to 117. It then kept falling until the forties. In the Czech Lands, the demographic transition therefore proceeded relatively slowly and recalled the Anglo-French type. In Slovakia, first signs of declining fertility were registered after the year 1900. Its index decreased considerably during the First World War, then afterwards increased substantially only to considerably fall again after the year 1930. In Slovakia, the demographic transition was completed after the year 1950. The interesting moment, however, is evident by the fact that during the period of Czech and Slovak rapprochement, i.e. during the decade of 1920-1929, the fertility differences between both parts of the new state appeared larger than at the beginning of the century and appeared even larger in subsequent stages.

As result of a late coming of the demographic transition, and the sustaining of a relatively high fertility level, the Slovak society, in comparison with the Czech one, is younger from the demographic point of view. In the year 1991, the average age of a woman in the CR was 38.0, of a man, 34.6; in Slovakia of a woman, 34.9, of a man, 32.1. These differences are quite considerable.

A consequence of differing population processes i.e. of natural exchange and migration is the fact that from 1921 to 1991, the percentage of those living in Slovakia out of the total number of Czechoslovak inhabitants has increased from 23% to 34%. This is even from the point of view of European regional changes, an extraordinarily fast growth, which indicates dynamic economic and social development in Slovakia.

In a historical context as well, the Slovak society differed structurally from the Czech society according to family models and property relations. This regards primarily agricultural families in which some basic features of social organization of both societies took form in the past. The Slovak family belonged in the past, according to the Hajnal's [1982] classification, to the so-called "East European"

type. In such families a high correlation between a low marriage age, a low number of domestic staff and a higher fertility index (contrary to the West European type) is distinctive. This all is connected with the fact that the inheritance of a father's land was universally enjoyed by the majority of brothers and sisters while no primogeniture had been applied. This led to the splitting of agricultural land and to the origin of very small farming units and therefore to stagnant technical progress in agriculture and, at the same time, to limited industrial exchanges to and from towns (comp. [Švecová 1989] and bibliography). In Western Europe and in the Czech lands, the property was acquired by one sole heir who postponed his marriage until he would receive the respective farmstead. This directly causes a minor breaking up of lands and a higher male migration from villages to towns. In Slovakia extended families and patriarchal families prevailed while Czech families, on the contrary, were smaller, the father's position not being so strong, yet even there prevailed the patriarchal type. These traditions changed swiftly as a result of Slovak industrialization and urbanization, yet they remained although reduced and modified in the country with a new migration' movement to towns up to the present time. They led to different types of social cohesion in both societies, to differing interpretations of roles, of social status and of relations between individuals and groups. There is no doubt that legal, political and economic unification launched by the First Republic and the hard line of processes of homogenization and of "leveling" pursued by the centralized communist regime and industrialization and urbanization processes, as well, started to wipe out the differences between both parts of the Federation. Nevertheless, all the sociological research regarding family relations, the importance of neighborhoods and localities, social structure, household structure, etc., (compare, etc., [Roško, Podolákova, Jančovičová 1969] and, the latest, [Machonin 1992]) refer to the variances in structuration and in the functioning of both societies.

Urbanization as the Change of the Socio-Spatial System of Society

Processes of urbanization have led, since the beginning of this century, towards the gradual assimilation of both parts of Czechoslovakia, yet this rapprochement started during a phase of considerable difference between the two lands. It is necessary to stress that the rate of urbanization in Slovakia has been, in the last decades, constantly higher than in the Czech Lands. This applies even to the last decade when the percentage of people living in cities of more than 10,000 inhabitants (according to preliminary and not quite accurate estimations) has increased only by 2% in the Czech Republic whereas in Slovakia by 22%. This corresponds with the fact that the Czech Republic is already in a phase of a slow urbanization, whereas Slovakia was just in the middle of a steady and rapid process of population concentration in cities during the eighties. A whole range of inevitable and correlated phenomena corresponds to the fact that the Slovak Republic was still in the middle of a fast urbanization process. With respect to the living standard, to the rate of industrialization and urbanization and to the way of life, the regional differences within Slovakia are larger than in the Czech Republic, which is in the final phase of its urbanization transition and is, as a whole, socially

more homogeneous. From what has been said so far, the conclusion is that the geographic mobility of the Slovak population should theoretically have been higher during the period of socialism and particularly in its last decade than the mobility of the Czech population. Statistical data, however, say that this holds only for daily commuting, while from the point of view of migration, the Slovak population is less mobile than the Czech one.

We can not afford to dwell in detail on problems that cities in both republic will have to face. We may only concisely point out the fact that many Czech towns, and especially those with unique historical centers and relatively extensive quarters from the 19th century, face the problem of dilapidated and desolate old parts, which I have already referred to in a different context as "atrophy of inner parts of town" [Musil 1989]. The problem of Slovak towns, including Bratislava, remains paradoxically their swift expansion and the devastation of many of their old parts under Slovakia's uncontrolled expansion. From the sociological point of view, serious problems pertain to the ruralization of cities, including Bratislava and, on the contrary, to swift suburbanization by numerous municipal agglomerations.

Literacy and Change of the Structure of Education

The high level of literacy of the Czech population under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has been described in detail many times in the literature. Similarly, the descriptions of the state of the Slovak educational system by the end of 19th, and at the beginning of 20th century and of the relatively high proportion of illiterates in Slovakia abound. All this still existed during the taking of a census in 1921. Amongst the population over 14 years of age, 15% of them were illiterate. It is necessary to mention the fact that by the end of the 1860's there were in Slovakia 1,800 primary schools which until the beginning of the war in 1914 declined to 250, out of which 233 were just single-class schools. Only 17% of 256,000 children whose mother language was Slovak were able to visit primary schools [Štefánek 1944]. Much worse was the situation from the point of view of secondary education. After the year 1874/75 when three existing grammar schools were closed, anybody wanting to acquire secondary education had to visit a Hungarian secondary school. There Slovak students formed only 3.2% out of the total number of all students. At university or at other educational institutions in Hungary, Slovak students represented just 1.4% of students at the Hungarian universities or colleges. The social and professional consequences of such a situation have been described many times (comp. e.g., [Holotík 1980] and the respective bibliography). In regard to our hypothesis on the fast process of Slovak modernization, a more important fact is that during the existence of the First Republic illiteracy in Slovakia had been virtually eliminated and the foundations for a secondary and higher educational system had been laid down. The dynamic process of modernization in the field of education continued even during the period of the Communist regime. Nowadays, indexes of educational structure are even slightly superior to those in the Czech Republic. It is necessary to note, in the background of educational dynamics, numerous tensions within contemporary Slovak society. This issue requires

painstaking research which would show how the new elites have formed and how the national goals of Slovakia have been formulated.

Democratization of Society

The differentiation of political movements and the formation of political parties is an element of the modernization process as well. The creation of a pluralist structure of political interests may be considered an integral aspect of modernization.

More favorable political settings, highly developed capitalism (even though of Austrian type) and the differentiated structure of the Czech Lands towards the end of 19th century (comp. [Urban 1982]) in comparison with the Slovak situation after the year 1867 became evident also within the political structures. During the 1890's and during the years before the First World War when in the Czech Lands there was already a widely developed structure of political parties, in Slovakia there existed quite a different situation. A. Štefánek [1933] has characterized it as follows:

In Slovakia, political activity before the formation of Czechoslovakia did not show any deeper differentiation. Since the beginning of a national consciousness it is nationalist and, more or less, autonomistic, otherwise conservative and panslavistic. Slovaks actually had, until the upheaval, just one single party, the so-called Slovak National Party.

Štefánek emphasizes the fact that there existed considerable differences among the nationalists, but during elections and any political action, the particular trends act together and unified.

The Czech situation, as is generally known, was quite different, for political parties had already entered into completely open competition, which turned gradually into serious conflicts. The political life of the First Republic in the Czech area of the new state was, in regard to the parties' structure and to a certain extent to political culture, a resumption of prewar life. Radicalization occurred both of the Left and of the Right. Eight political parties took part in the first Slovak elections in 1920. By 1925, there were already 18 of them. Slovakia unusually swiftly took advantage of the structure of political parties in Czech Lands and completed it with the Hlinka's People's Party, the Slovak National Party and with Hungarian parties. The transition from a simple prewar structure to a complicated one was realized in a relatively short period of time. In this respect, the integration of both sections of the Republic proceeded quickly, and from a structural point of view there were not any substantial differences between the Czech Lands and Slovakia. The political pluralism both of the Czech Lands and of Slovakia was, afterwards, suspended during the war and then, obviously, during the period 1948 - 1989. The political culture of both areas, however, remained traditionally different.

Sociocultural Modernization

Modernization has not got only structural features. In theories of modernization, there is also heavy emphasis on the importance of changed attitudes towards work, towards labouring motivation, towards the restriction of tradition's influence,

towards strengthening of the importance of individual determination, towards a rational orientation for behavior, towards a strengthening of secondary motives in treating people and a whole range of sociopsychological and sociocultural elements of behavior. The study comparing the Czech Lands and Slovakia in these aspects, which would grasp the mutual relations between both societies, has not been carried out yet. (For our purposes, we utilize knowledge provided by P. Machonin's [1992] research on the transformation of the Czechoslovak social structure carried out by the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and by the Institute of Social and Political Sciences of the Faculty of Social Sciences of Charles University.

The Slovak population, contrary to the Czech, was less satisfied with political, economic and social changes that came after November, 1989 and had a "qualitatively a lower degree of confidence in the proceeding social transformation" [Machonin 1992]. Partial dissatisfaction of the Slovak population is, according to Machonin, tied with the idea of excessive deepening of the social differences and of the growth of social injustice. The Czech population attaches a considerably greater importance to efficient and effective circumstances for success such as one's own education, one's own endeavors, talent, diligence and willingness to risk. The Slovak population, on the contrary, attaches greater importance to ascriptive circumstances such as extraction, family, coincidence, but never to the efficiency of an individual. Those factors also include the parents' wealth and education, social contacts, political connections, national and racial origin, one's religion, place of birth, etc. The Slovak population, when evaluating itself on the left-to-right scale, aligns itself more to the left. Slovaks, often substantially less than Czechs, rank themselves as "Liberals" (18.1% to 40.4%) and as "Conservatives" (13.1% to 25.4%).

From the quoted research results, one can see that a lower degree of urbanization, the way of living in Slovakia and other circumstances led to the divergent life styles of both populations. In Slovakia evidently there is greater population sociability, a greater emphasis on family and on neighborhoods. This corresponds with older surveys of R. Roško [1986], who stressed the great importance of "a local working radius" in Slovakia. To use the known differentiations and classifications for populations designated either as "locals" or as "cosmopolitans," thus introduced by M. Stacey [1960], Slovaks are more as "locals" whereas Czechs, on the contrary, are more as "cosmopolitans." Slovak society is more solidaristic and more communal (*Gemeinschaft*), the Czech society is a more associative one (*Gesellschaft*).

It is necessary to add to this observation that Slovak society consists of a population that is not secularized to such a degree as the Czech population and Bohemia in particular. It is a well-known fact that the Czech population, along with the Swedish one and some others, belongs to the most secularized populations in Europe.

Therefore, it is possible to claim, without risking a mistake, that the Czech Lands, from the sociocultural points of view, may be seen in a more developed phase of modernization than Slovakia. It is possible to state, too, that in this

respect the difference between both parts of the past Federation is larger than simply the chief structural characteristics such as the stage of industrialization, of urbanization, of educational advancement, of the standard of living, of the gross national income, etc. This fact, of course, has important sociological as well as political consequences.

Some Features of Social Interaction Between Both Societies

The rate of integration among societies and their components depends on the exchange of people, information, capital, commodities and other mobile elements between societies. There exists a whole range of indicators that measure those features of integration. Among the indirect ones, we may also find migration: the number of students studying in the "foreign" Czech Lands, then the number of graduates returning to their land or, on the contrary, remaining in the "foreign" land.

The majority of such sociological indicators, aside from the economic ones such as exchange of goods, enterprises' cooperation, capital flow, etc., indicate the fact of a mutual long-term closure of the Federation by both parts. Migration movements between Slovakia and the Czech Lands appear to be a very important symptom of this closure.

At the beginning of the fifties, 37,000 to 40,000 people migrated annually from Slovakia to the Czech regions. A great migration at that time was caused, apart from other things, by the additional settlement of Bohemian and Moravian border areas. This number started to decrease already in the second half of the fifties and ranged around 21,000 on average. The relatively high index of migration from Slovakia to the Czech Lands was connected with the expansion of the mining industry, the metallurgy in the Ostrava region and in other Czech regions. In the sixties, migration decreased further down to the level of 13,000 to 19,000. The decline continued further and in the eighties the annual number of migrants decreased below the level of 10,000. A similar trend is found when regarding migration from the Czech Lands to Slovakia. Both parts of the Republic became more withdrawn and their interaction continuously declined. The political decision of the Slovak administration to restrict migration into the Czech Republic appears to be one of the factors of this development. But there were other causes, too. The decline in the volume of migration from Slovakia into the Czech Lands appears to be a reflection of the industrial development and, in general, of the economy of Slovakia. The more developed Slovakia became and the more labour opportunities arose there, the less necessary it was to migrate to Bohemia and Moravia. Considering the migration from the Czech Lands to Slovakia, the leverage worked there too. The migration from the Czech Lands also declined rapidly, especially that of more qualified workers. The greater the number of Slovak technical as well as humanitarian intelligentsia, the less the number of people from Bohemia and Moravia where needed to cover the demand of the Slovak developing industry and other sectors. The important thing in interpreting the mutual relationship of both parts of the state is the fact that the degree of qualification of the migrating population from Slovakia into Czech regions was, especially before the formation

of the Federation, lower than the degree of qualification of the Czech migrants moving to Slovakia. From Slovakia unskilled workers and agricultural workers moved to the Czech regions at greater volume than vice versa.

The process of withdrawing of both parts of the state is described also by an analysis of data about persons mentioned in the publication called "Who's who in Czechoslovakia," the first volume of which was published by Václav Brož in 1969. The number of Slovaks who acquired their education in Bohemia from the time of the First Republic up to the formation of the Federation was gradually decreasing. Further, the number of young Slovaks working in Slovakia while acquiring their education at Czech schools had decreased. On the contrary, the proportion of Slovaks acquiring their education in Slovakia and working there at the same time was gradually growing (comp. [Skalnik Leff 1988: 289-291]). It is obvious from this analysis that along with the development of the Slovak educational system, which proceeded simultaneously with the growth of labour opportunities, the population's circulation between both parts of the state continuously declined. It is possible to agree then with the opinion of the geographer K. Kühnl [1982] when he says that Czechoslovakia consists of two "relatively closed" migratory subsystems: the Czech Lands and Slovakia.

The penetration or the closing of both societies should also be investigated with the help of further data on: the number of concluded Czecho-Slovak marriages, tourism, the allocation of soldiers in military service, the volume of cultural contacts, and the mutual knowledge of language, culture and history. From the structural point of view, the alienation of both societies from each other seems to be quite plausible.

Summary, Discussion and Alternative Interpretation

There is no doubt that for the whole period of the common state there existed two relatively separated societies. A similar historical development, starting points and courses of their perspective processes of modernization resulted in strong social differences. Both societies, from certain points of view, converged and from other standpoints, however, remained permanently different.

A great part of the modernization processes proceeded in Slovakia more quickly although at a later time than in the Czech Lands. This obviously did not follow only from the analysis of industrialization, urbanization and from the demographic transition but also from the pace of education and democratization. In addition to that, processes of Czech modernization based on Austrian capitalism were imposed on a system full of feudal elements and attained the form of liberal democratic capitalism only in the First Republic. A considerable part of Slovakia's swiftly realized modernization, however, proceeded in the context of socialism. To a certain extent, it should be stressed that Slovakia modernized with such speed because of external pressures. It was not the so called "organic growth" as in the case of the Czech Lands.

In addition to that, some processes in Slovakia were split and they did not proceed simultaneously. This is true, in particular, for the relationship between industrialization and urbanization. Slovakia is probably the case that has confirmed

the Szelenyi theory of insufficient urbanization. The process of concentrating labour opportunities in towns proceeded essentially faster than the concentration of inhabitants in towns. This insufficient urbanization meant, at the same time, indirect exploitation of the newly originating social stratum of workers and minor service staff, which consisted of a country population who were forced to build up their homes in the country and to commute to towns. In Slovakia there also existed, to a lesser extent, time interval between industrial processes and changes in demographic behavior. Slovak demographic behavior kept, for quite a long time, features of reproduction in agrarian-industrial or even in agrarian societies.

What this analysis implies so far is the fact that, unlike in the Czech society, within the process of Slovak social modernization a wide gap existed between technical and economic features of modernization, on the one hand, and cultural and social processes of modernization, on the other.

Slovakia, unlike the Czech Lands, secularized itself more slowly, and it is well known that religion remained an important component of the life of the whole society. Some historically conditioned facts such as family structure, the great importance of neighborhoods and communal bonds, living in the country with a small home farming for a relatively high number of households and finally, great emphasis placed on socialist society and on collective forms of life (the transition from non-industrial and late pre-industrial living evolved straight into socialist collectivism) caused a situation in which new industry and even towns existed in a society that lacked the standard features of modern industrial societies.

The fact that the speed with which technical as well as economic modernization proceeded was swift while the social and cultural structures of the Slovak society moved at a much slower pace, created tension and discordance among subsystems of the Slovak society. The Czech society, on the contrary, suffered from a syndrome of social stagnation, from a certain introversion and from self-satisfaction. Here numerous features of anomie and of disintegration of social cohesion also appeared. This was, in any case, a different form of anomie from that found in Slovakia.

Despite the variance in the respective courses of modernization processes, from the macrostructural point of view, both societies became more and more alike. The analysis of our data points to the fact that Czechoslovakia had originated during a period in which these macrostructural differences, differences in demographic behavior and a whole range of other parameters, were the largest ones. Czechoslovakia split up during the period in which the mentioned differences were the smallest.

In the post-war period, the Czech Lands, along with Slovakia, developed, despite the growing technical and economic integration, towards the formation of two separate geo-demographic and migratory regions. They were more and more alien to each other. This was caused essentially by the leveling of the dissimilarities between the Czech Lands and Slovakia and by the industrial and economic development in Slovakia. The development of Czecho-Slovak relations challenged the modernization theory, which emphasized that similar standards of living,

similar socioeconomic structure of population and similar or identical systems of social security and law were the most reliable factors to suppress ethnic tensions and lead to social integration.

In order to interpret the sociological separation of both societies and the failure of the Federation, it is not even enough to refer to the Slovak society as unsteady because of its internal tension caused by the asynchronous processes of modernization of the respective Slovak social subsystems. This asynchronicity probably resulted from societal disruptions experienced by the Slovaks and from the fact that the Czechs have not been able to interpret correctly social and cultural processes occurring in Slovakia. However, it is obvious that traditional modernization theory tries to explain the separation of Czechs and Slovaks by pointing to the fact that Slovakia has been a "retarded" society, which has not been easily able to converge with the more developed Czech society. This implies a certain degree of sociological arrogance. The modified modernization theory refers to an internal asynchronism of Slovak modernization and to an unsteady and indefinite element of Slovak society. Both theories have not been able to explain what has really happened.

It is obvious that even a modified form of modernization theory should be complemented with other interpretive theories. We should apply to our passing history a model of "internal dependence," which was formulated by M. Hechter [1975] while analyzing the development of Celtic territories in Great Britain. This theory, in essence, refers to a more sophisticated structural analysis, which pays attention not only to macrosocial quantities such as GNP or the substitution of the big Fourastié's sectors of a national economy, etc., but also to concrete relations within the industry in various parts of the same state inhabited, however, by various ethnic groups. For example, it addresses the effects of enterprises producing industrial semifinished products concentrated in one part of the country while in other part of the country there are enterprises processing those semifinished products, as in the sphere of mechanical engineering or the food industry, etc. With such an arrangement, hierarchic integration may be spoken of. The social structure of migration is important as well. The migration of a less qualified labour force from one part of the state to another also appears to be an indicator of "internal dependence."

The development of such a dependence may come either deliberately or unintentionally. This may also be the consequence of an external influence as has happened, according to our opinion, in the case of Czechoslovakia. Only a detailed history of the allocation of industry and other economic activities, of the role of military strategic views related to industry's allocation and analysis of the role of other factors may show whether these external influences have played any decisive part. Simplified socioeconomic analyses that have been carried out from both the Czech and Slovak sides can not stand the test when it comes to more sophisticated and profound interpretive principles of the unsuccessful attempt to create a common Czecho-Slovak state.

Apart from the internal dependence theory, it is still necessary to point out the fact that modernization theories must be complemented both by the theory of

ethnic socialization and, in particular, by the *elite mobilization* theory. In conclusion, the author would like to voice his opinion that this theory, connected today with the name of J. McKay [1982], in combination with the internal dependence theory may explain, to a considerable extent, the separation of the Czechoslovak Federation. The theory of the mobilization of the elite assumes that a movement leading towards the separation of ethnic groups from a common state must have some mobilized elite to interpret both ethnic background, i.e. essentially cultural background such as language, cultural patterns of behavior, etc., and various forms of economic inequalities, possibly dependence, through politics. Without the existence of such an elite, which connects ethnic background with a political interpretation of internal dependence, the separation could not have come. The connection of all those factors comes, however, only after some great systemic shock, as happened in our case with the collapse of the communist regime.

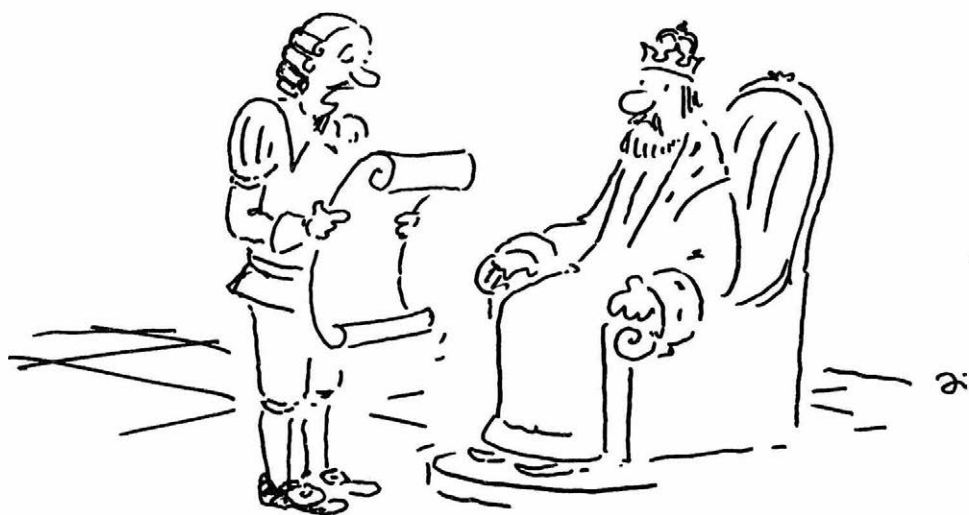
The test of this multifactorial theory on the division of the state will require, of course, other forms of information than we have at our disposal. That which we have used in our attempt to explain the decline with the help of the asynchronous modernization theory has enabled us, nevertheless, to at least refute a simple interpretation based only on the theory of modernization. This has opened the door to the more sophisticated interpretations resulting from the connection of the internal dependence theory with elite mobilization theory.

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**I THINK THE MOMENT HAS ARRIVED, YOUR MAJESTY: THE MAJORITY OF OUR CITIZENS BELIEVE THAT
DEMOCRACY IS A KIND OF RUBBISH.**