

Changing Values

Lecturer:

Jakub Dostál



Content

- How did **comunism/ socialism** appear in **Czechoslovakia**
- Post-communist **transformation process** in the **Czech Republic**
- **Main characteristics** of the Czech political system
- **Changing the attitudes of the People**
- **Summary**



Introduction

- A **size** and a **structure** of the public sector is given mainly by:
 - Ideological **assumptions** and **values**
 - prevailing **public opinion**
 - Really?

- In the beginning of Communism in Czechoslovakia were election!
- **1946 – Winner - Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with 38 % votes**
 - 40 % votes in Czech
 - more than 30 % in Slovakia (in Slovakia won – Democratic party 62 % votes)
- People freely **vote** for communism
 - why?



- Wild years
 - 1914 – 1918 World War I
 - 1930s Great depression
 - 1939 – 1945 Nazi occupation and World War II



- **Poor economic situation**
- Communism – not a bad idea?
- **Giving the land** after Sudeten Germans to the people (pushed by communists)
 - Very cheap or free
 - **1/2 of villagers** voted for Communist party
- Influence of Soviet union

- Communist win the elections with **38 % votes** in Czechoslovakia and **40 % votes** in Czech
 - Was it **less** or **many**?
- Elections after the Velvet revolution:
- 1990 – winner Civic forum **53, 15 %** (98 % eligible voters!)
- 1992
 - winner Civic democratic party and Christian democratic party
 - **29, 73 %** (Czech) **33, 90 %** (Czechoslovakia)
- 1996 – winner Civic democratic party **29, 62 %**
- 1998 – winner Social democratic party **32, 31 %**
- 2002 – winner Social democratic party **30, 20 %**
- 2006 – winner Civic democratic party **35, 38 %**
- 2010 – winner Social democratic party **22,08 %**

- A **size** and a **structure** of the public sector is given mainly by:
 - prevailing **public opinion**
 - In totalitarian regimes mainly **before establishing**
 - But **exceptions**:
 - Annexation, occupation, war economy, disaster, etc.
 - Ideological **assumptions** and **values**
 - A **political scene** (as a designer of Public Policies) more or less **reflects** above-mentioned
 - Understanding these aspects is an **important condition** for
 - a **rational** and **correct evaluation** of economic roles of government

- **Changing values and beliefs**
 - **Basic condition** for any macro-structural transformation
 - Czech republic **is not** an exception
- 1989 - After 40 years of Communism
 - Public opinion – **not this way!**
 - **Demonstrations**
 - **Hundreds of thousands** people in the streets
 - **General strike**
 - **75 % citizens**, most of companies and institutions

- **Not this way** – what did it mean?

- Communism x Democracy
- Socialism x Market Economy

- **classless, egalitarian** and **stateless** society
- private ownership is **not allowed**
- power has a **group of people** who decide the course of action
- democratic principles
- private ownership is **allowed**
- governance **carried out by the people** directly or by elected representatives



Post-communist transformation process in the Czech Republic

Post-communist transformation process in the Czech Republic

1) „Velvet Revolution“

- November 1989
- Fall of **communism totalitarian regime**

2) November 1989 - summer of 1990

- New political representation appears
- Constitution of the new **pluralistic parliament system**
 - Mainly its **institutional framework**



- 1989 Privatization
- **Voucher privatization**



- citizens are given or can inexpensively buy a **book of vouchers** that represent potential shares in any **state-owned company**
- mainly been used in the early-to-mid 1990s in the **transition economies of Central and Eastern Europe**
 - Such as Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Czechoslovakia

- Summary of privatization in CZ
 - Privatisation pass over formally **quickly and simply**
 - But lot of **money was stolen** during the privatization
 - **50 bilions CZK** - proved
 - **Hundreds of bilions CZK** was stolen according the law or without proving
 - According some opinions it was still **cheaper that slower form of privatisation**



3) The **first half** of the „**nineties**“

- Establishing **administrative settings** of the complex market systém
 - Rule of Czech **ring wing**
- Reformulation of **social policy**
 - Away from universalism and target benefit **targeting**
- **Czech and Slovak partnership** problem
 - It led to split up in 1992 (officially 1.1.1993)

4) The period between **1996** and the early elections of **1998**

- **Economic crisis** and growing **social differentiation**

- Rise of **social tension** between those who:
 - Felt they **gained** on transformation
 - Felt they **lost** on transformation

Clash between:

- Increasing influence of the **democratic left wing** parties
 - Winner of the election in 1998
- Decreasing influence of the **right wing parties**



5) 2nd half of **1998** - beginning of **2001**

- „**The opposition pact**“

- The main rivals – **the left wing** and **the right wing party**

- **Strongly criticized** by other parties and also by society

- stabilisation of **political condition** enabled:

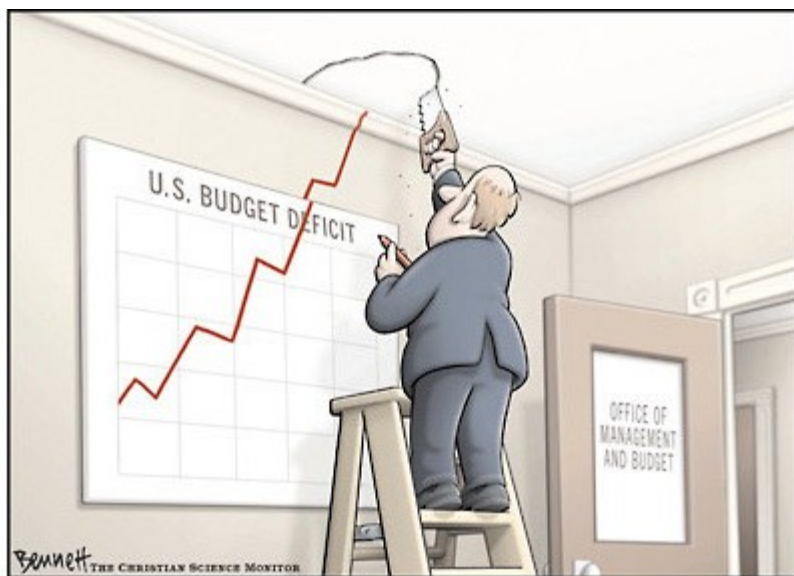
- the completeness of **institutional changes** in **the economic and political realm**

- Revival of **economic investment**



● BUT

- Raised expenditures led to **marked deficits**
- Communist preferences **started raising**



Two side-by-side images. The left image shows a doctor in a white coat examining a baby lying on a table. The right image is a close-up of a baby's face, smiling. Below the images are two red banners with white text. The left banner says "ZDRAVÍ NENÍ ZBOŽÍ" and the right banner says "DÍTĚ = PŘEPYCH?". Below the banners are two logos for "MÁME ŘEŠENÍ" (We have a solution) with the text "S LEON PRO LIDI / Vědy do Poslanecké sněmovny Parlamentu ČR 2006" and the website "www.kscm.cz". The right logo also includes the "HALO" logo.

6) Recent years, since 2001

- Conflict between **rapid changes and trends**
- Constant **lack of funds**, especially for
 - **research and science**
 - **university education**
 - for improving the **salaries of teachers and health care workers**
 - **old age pensions**



- **Younger population** (minority) are facing the **elder population** (majority)
- The importance of **solving the relation** between:
 - **Generation**
 - **Regions**
 - **Ethincal groups**
 - **Gender related problems**
- Classical **left-right wing system** often **loses its function** in respect of there function



- Development of the **political spectrum** in the Czech Republic
 - Changing **priorities** and values
 - Sources of **possible conflicts** of interests and values



Czech public opinion in these days

- In many respect **relatively liberal**
 - It is shown by declarative attitude to:
 - Abortions
 - Divorces
 - Registred partnership of homosexuals
 - etc.
- But there is some **fear in the society** of:
 - **Immigrants**
 - **Minorities**
 - Arabs, Romani...

- Concerning the **satisfaction** with the post 1989 development
 - 1st **position** for a years between CEE countries
 - 1st years of transformation:
 - did not raise such visible feelings of **social uncertainty** and **poverty**
 - Did not lead to such a dramatic lack of **standard of living**

- Subsequent worsening of economic condition from the half on 90s
 - Led to the **left-wing orientation** in the Czech republic
- About 1996
 - Satisfaction with democracy has begun **decreasing**
- „democracy is the worst form of government“
 - except all those other forms that **have been tried** from time to time

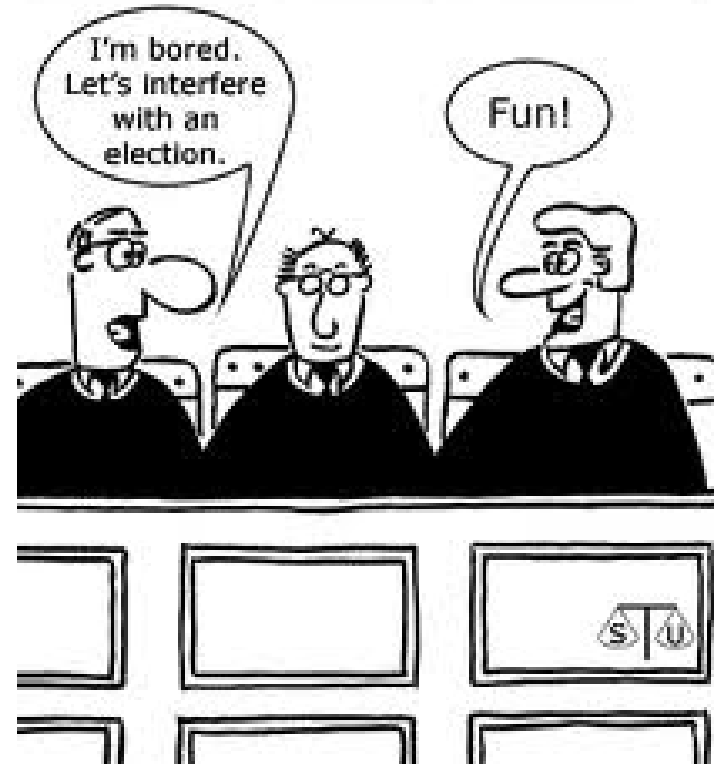


Main characteristics of the Czech political system

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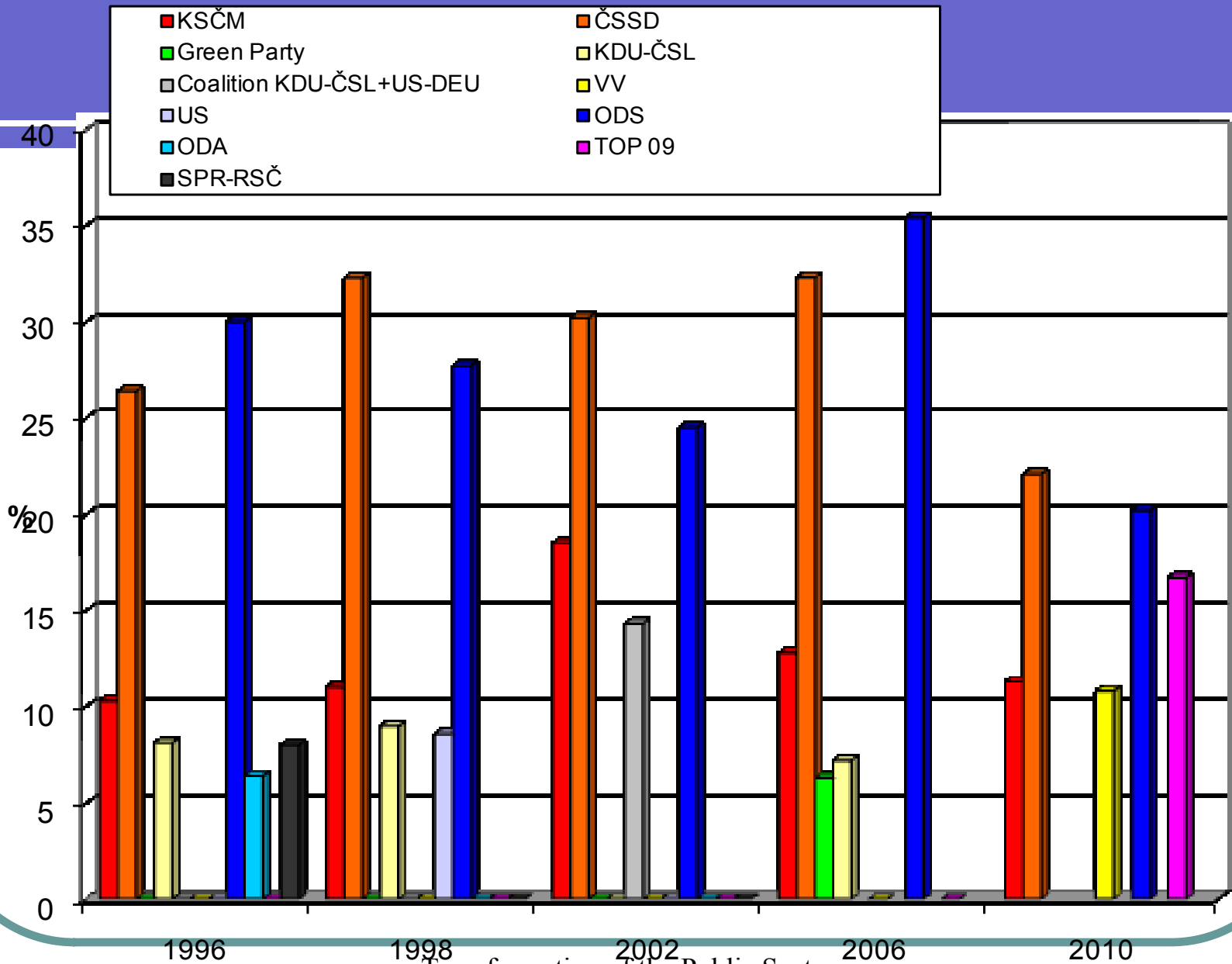
- **Pluralist democracy**
- **Multiparty system**
- **Lot of elections**
 - **Borough** representatives
 - **Municipality** representatives
 - **Region** representatives
 - **National** representatives
 - Chamber of Deputies
 - Senate
 - **President**
 - **EU** representatives

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Main characteristics of the Czech political system

- The most important election – **Chamber of Deputies** of the Parliament of the Czech Republic
 - **2010 election** to the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of Czech Republic:
 - **27 parties** went to the elections
 - **5 parties got** to the Chamber of Deputies
 - 5 % and more



Transformation of the Public Sector
Political parties

Source: Czech Statistical Office

Contemporary parliament
parties ranked in order from
left to the right

left

right

KSČM – ČSSD – VV – ODS – TOP09

Communist
party

„Socdem“
party

„Public
affairs“

Civil
democratic
party

Results of elections 2010 (2006) for the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of CR:

poll = 62,60% (in 2006: 64,47%)

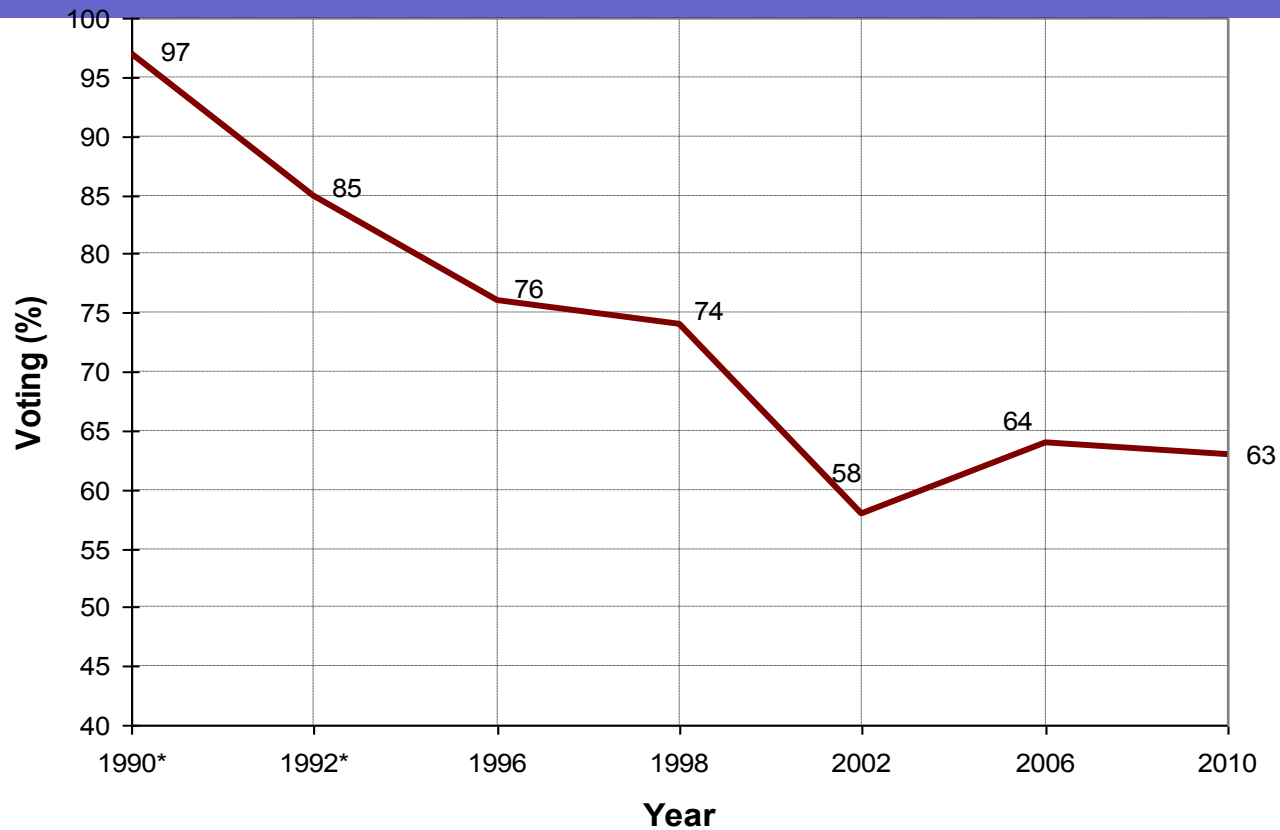
ODS (Conservative Party)	20,2 %	(35,4 %)
ČSSD (Social Democrats)	22,08 %	(32,3 %)
KSČM (Communist Party)	11,27 %	(12,8 %)
TOP 09 (Conservative Party)	16,7 %	(new)
VV (right-centre party)	10,8 %	(new)

Newly out of the Parliament:

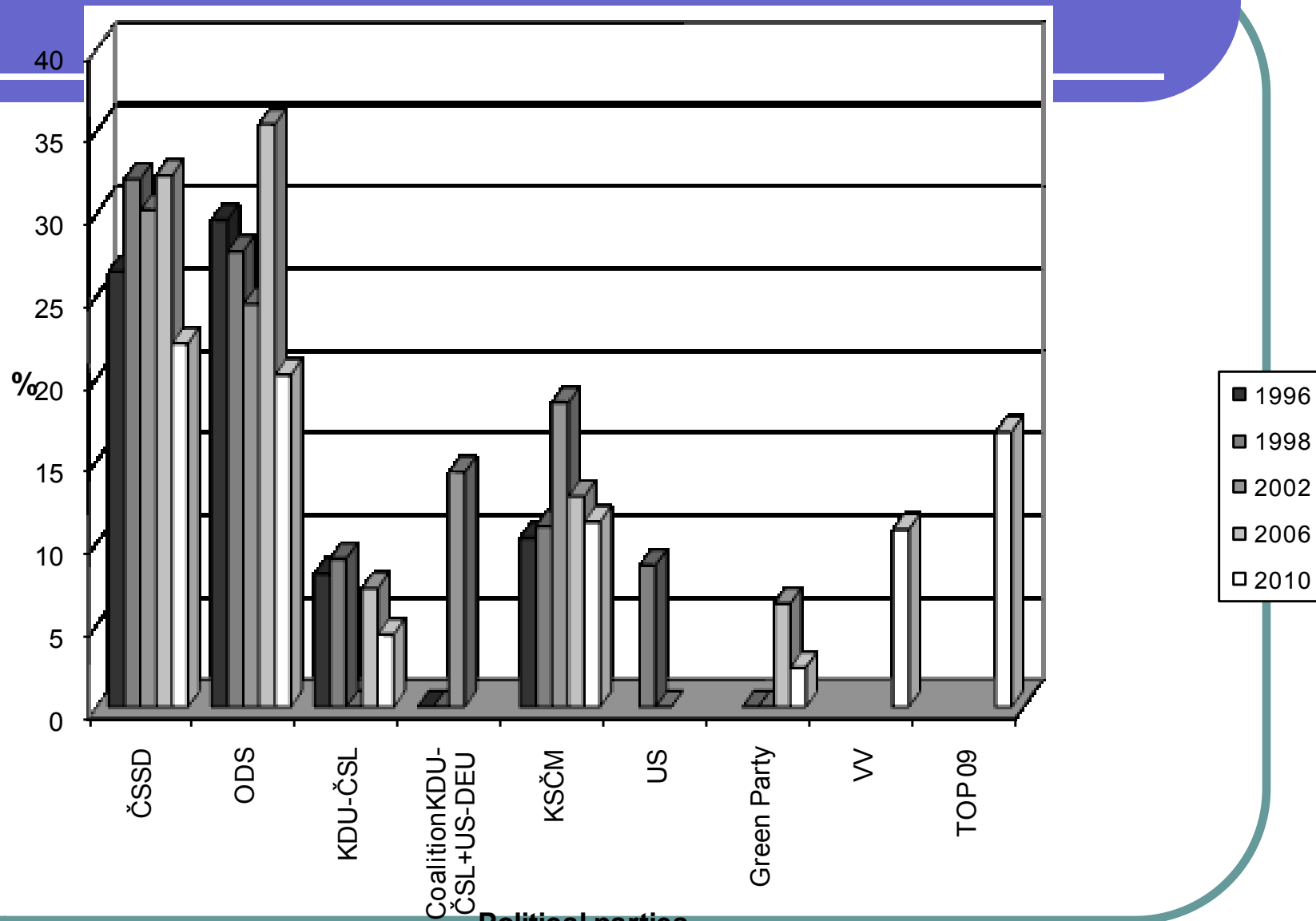
KDU-ČSL (Christian Democrats)	4,4%	(7,2 %)
SZ (Green Party)	2,4%	(6,3 %)

Source: CZSO's election server <http://www.volby.cz>

Percentage of Population Voting in the Czech Republic



Source: CZSO's election server
<http://www.volby.cz>



Political parties
Transformation of the Public Sector

Source: Czech Statistical Office

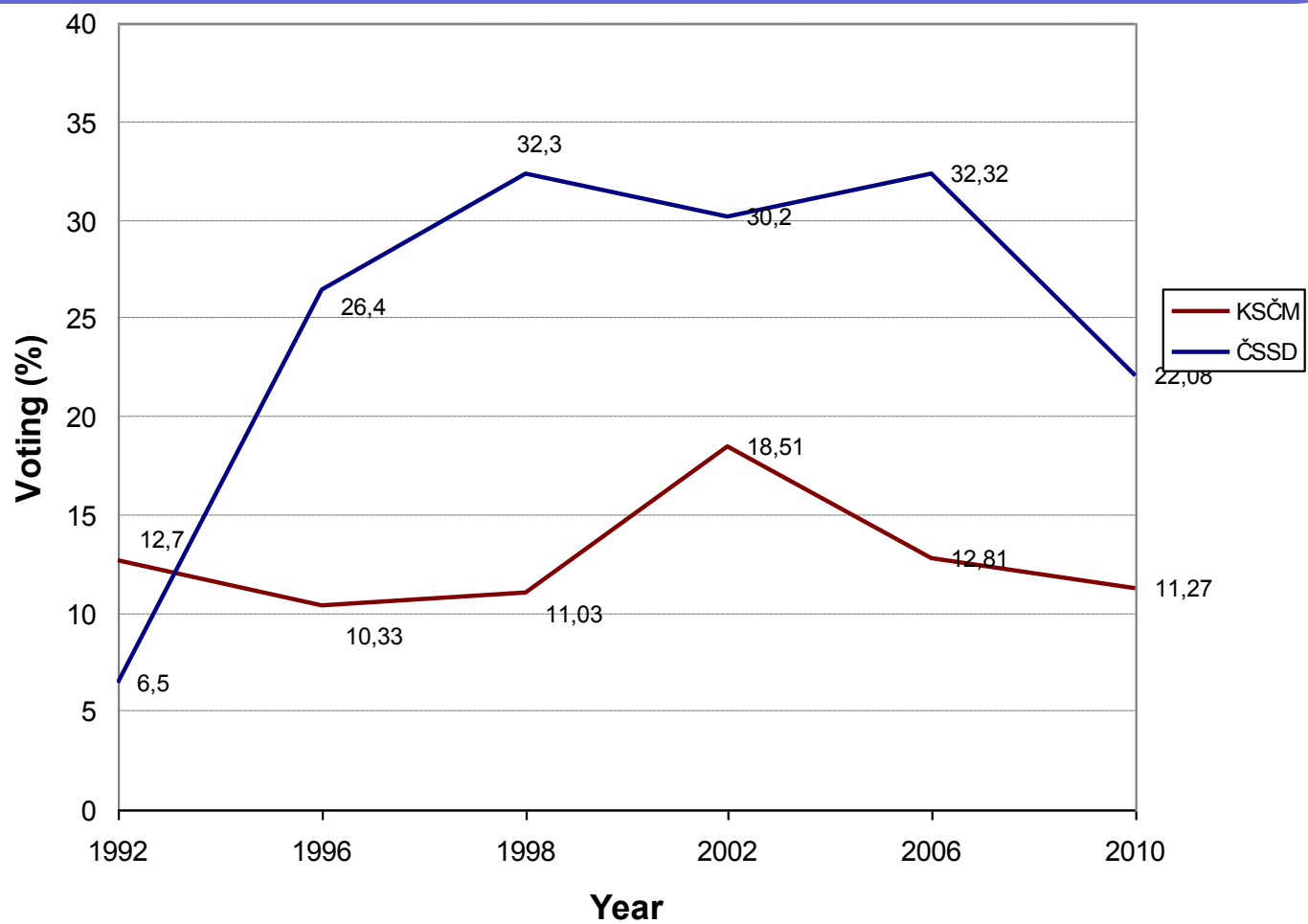
Current composition of the Senate of the CR (according actual political membership)

Party	Rep.	%
ČSSD (social democratic party)	36	45,00
ODS (conservative party)	23	28,75
Bez politické příslušnosti (independent)	13	16,25
KDU-ČSL (christian democratic party)	4	5,00
KSČM (communist party)	2	2,50
Severočeši.cz (local north boheamia party)	1	1,25
TOP 09 (tradition, responsibility, prosperity – conservative party)	1	1,25

Source: CZSO's election server

<http://www.volby.cz>

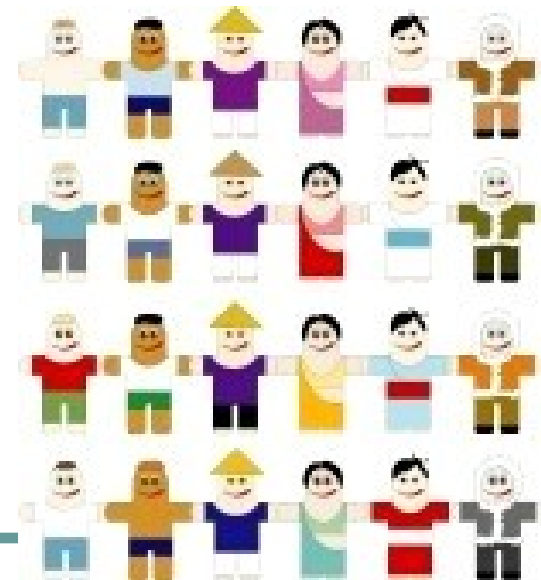
Comparing the election's results of left wing parties in the Czech Republic



Changing the attitudes of the People

Foreigners in the Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia)

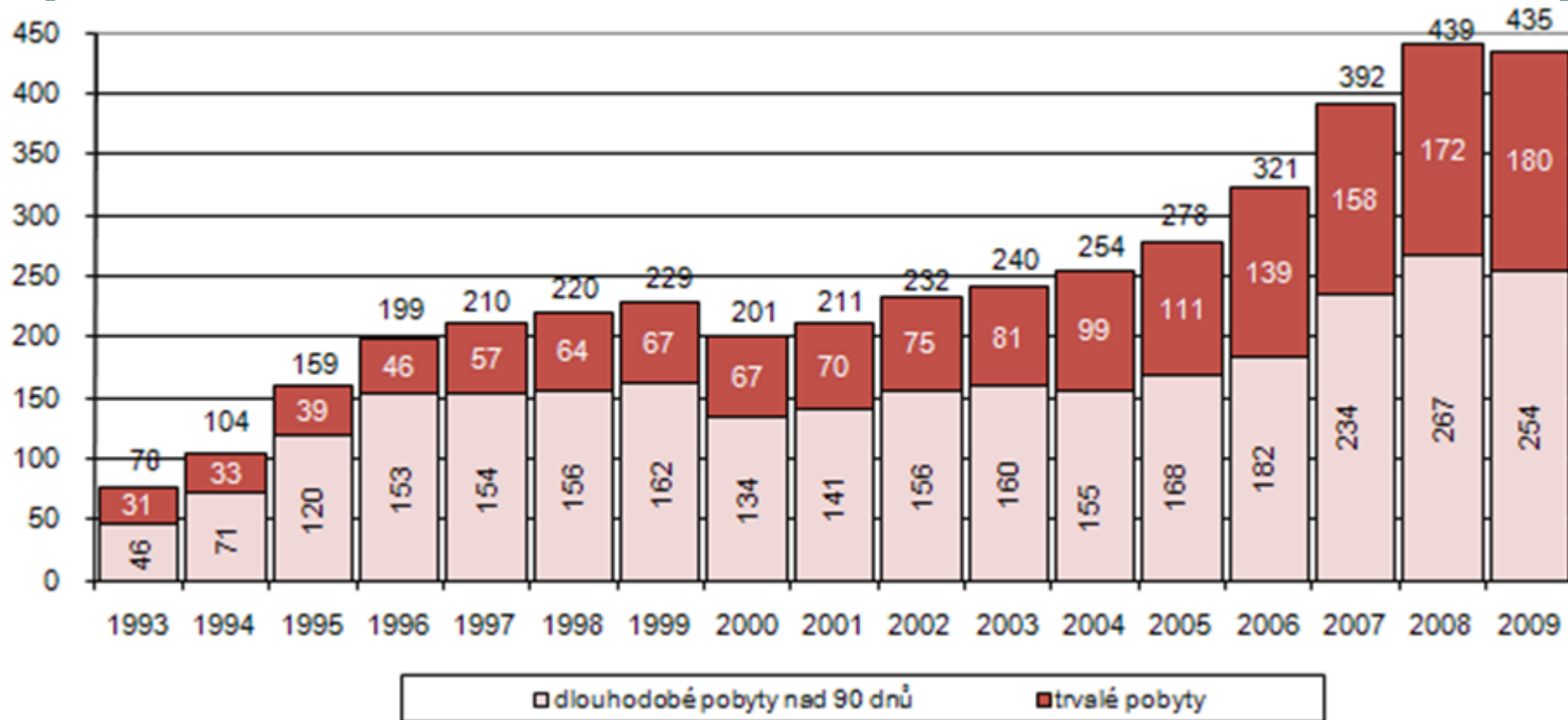
- During the communism: limited migration
 - Czechoslovakian citizen **to other countries**
 - Especially western but not only!
 - Foreign citizens **to Czechoslovakia**
 - Huge place for:
 - **fear** from the unknown
 - **prejudices**



After the end of the communism

- Foreigners in the Czechoslovakia in half of the 1980's
 - 34–37 thousands of people
- From 1991 this number become significantly increasing
 - **220 187** in 1999
 - **406 2011** in 2011
 - More than **200 000** foreigners only in Prague!

Number of foreigners in the Czech Republic



Number of foreigners in 2011

● Ukraine	106 040	● Kazakhstan	3 727
● Slovakia	80 967	● Austria	3 256
● Vietnam	55 585	● Italy	2 925
● Russia	27 321	● France	2 703
● Poland	19 048	● Netherlands	2 672
● Germany	15 702	● Croatia	2 382
● Bulgaria	7 387	● Serbia	2 144
● Moldavia	6 732	● Bosnia and H.	2 023
● USA	6 385	● Armenia	1 896
● Mongolia	4 882	● Macedonia	1 665
● Romania	4 805	● Montenegro	1 467
● Belorussia	4 072	● Other	30 487

Attitudes towards preferred income inequalities

- Comparing 1991 and 1999:
 - Inequalities are considered to be **higher** and **less fair**
 - **Larger support** for an opinion, the government should reduce it
 - Stronger tendency towards **egalitarianism** within general public



Source: Řeháková, 2000

Income inequalities are:

	1991	1995	1999
Too large	30,3	44,4	48,8
Rather large	39,0	37,1	40,1
Accurate	11,7	13,9	9,6
Rather small	15,0	3,9	1,4
Too small	4,0	0,7	0,1

Source: ISSP (1992, 1999), ISJP (1995), in Řeháková, 2000

Are you personally gaining or losing as a result of the social policy? (in %)

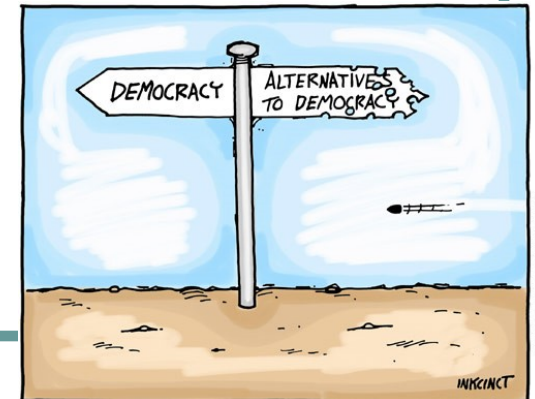
	(Definitely) Gaining	Neither gaining nor losing	(Definitely) Losing
Czech Rep. 1999	9	23	46
Netherlands 1995	21	37	29

Note: The answer undecided, I cannot tell represents the % remaining to reach 100%.

Source: Sirovátka, 2002

Two dimensions of attitudes towards democracy

- Variables:
 - **Democracy** (with all its problems) is the **best possible form of government**
(↑ *implies principial support for this political regime*)
 - **Are you satisfied with the development of democracy in our country?**
(*assessment of the real functioning*)



„Democracy may have problems but it`s better than any other form of government“ (in %)

	Definitely agree	Agree	Disagree	Definitely disagree
Denmark	71,8	26,8	1,1	0,3
France	61,3	32,0	5,3	1,4
Germany	52,5	42,8	4,1	0,7
NL	48,1	48,2	3,3	0,3
Spain	41,7	52,1	5,1	1,2
Czech R.	40,5	52,2	6,7	0,6
Slovakia	31,9	52,5	12,6	3,0
Lithuania	22,3	66,6	10,2	0,9
Russia	11,9	50,5	31,8	5,8

Are you satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is developing in our country? (in %)

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
NL	73,5	26,5
Germany	70,8	29,2
Spain	60,5	39,5
France	49,4	50,6
Czech R.	37,7	62,3
Lithuania	30,3	69,7
Slovakia	23,4	76,6
Russia	6,9	93,1

Source: EVS 1999 in Vlachová, 2001

Main findings concerning the evaluation of democracy

- In both cases the level of satisfaction and support
 - is **lower** than in the **consolidated democracies** of Western Europe.
- A majority of the Czech public still have **pro-democratic orientations**
- At the same time, the former „euphoria“
 - was replaced by **considerable criticism**
 - and discontent with the way the democracy in the CR works



- After the refusal of communist regime
 - Citizens declared sympathies with the **liberal way of thinking**
 - expressed **huge support for reforms**
 - Immediate **social consequences** of this reforms was **minimal**
- Long-run **social tension**
 - Connected with **other problems**
 - Lack of finance **in health system**
 - Strong need to improve **old-age pension system**

- Middle of 90s
 - Large part of population turn to **social democratic** or **socialistic** way of solving the problems
 - correlation between subjective feeling of economic uncertainty and left-wing orientation has markedly increased
- Public has adopted a quite critical view of the current social policy
- The Czech public strongly emphasised
 - reciprocity between **social security contribution** and **social benefits**
 - When real reciprocity between **contribution** and **benefits** was declining



Summary

Summary

- Communism did not appear from nothing in Czechoslovakia – there was the **election** in 1946
- New political representation in 1989 appear after the **election**
 - Changing the values and beliefs played the **significant role**

- Values and beliefs of citizens **keep changing** even after 1989
 - Different results in election
 - It is often reflecting **current problems** in society
 - It is possible that they will change also in future!
 - F. i. economic crisis, war have potential to change overall political orientation of citizens

- Moreover the political system could even in future **reflect changes** of citizens' values and beliefs
 - In **both directions**

Basic sources:

- Večerník, J., Matějů, P. (eds): Ten Years of Rebuilding Capitalism. Czech Society after 1989. Praha: Academia, 1999.
- Večerník, J.: Czech society in the 2000s. Part 4. Prague: Academia, 2009.
- Sirovátka, T.: Opinions of Czechs about the Welfare State. *Sociologický časopis/Czech Sociological Review*, 2002 38 (3): 327-344.
- The thematic issue of the Czech Sociological Review, Spring 2001, dealing with *Czech Values in the 1990s*.
The server of the The Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the CR <http://www.soc.cas.cz>