

Attitudes of Czech and Slovak Local Elite towards the Transformation of Society

One of the most controversial questions, for a long time, is going to be on whether the splitting of Czechoslovakia has occurred more as a play of politicians or as a logical result of natural divergence of these two acting peoples, under the democratic circumstances.

Statistical data as well as the results of sociological surveys have long before 1989 documented differences in demographic, socioeconomic and cultural development in both republics. The public opinion polls continuously indicated, and the last elections definitively confirmed, the fact that within the last three years the divergence has acquired political dimensions, as well.

Apart from longitudinal studies of the population's attitudes and analyses of a political elite's behavior, this observation is also supported by the result of an investigation of the actors in a special group of political events, i.e. of the people engaged in local politics. This regards a stratum of politicians who would certainly deserve more attention than what they have so far received. From the point of view of chosen attitudes, this stratum represents both citizens as voters and as members of political parties much more than political notables. The following information is based on data from investigations of members of local as well as town councils, conducted at the turn of 1991/1992 in the Czech Republic (1183 respondents) and in Slovakia (330 respondents). In the Czech Republic, the investigation has been conducted within the framework of a research program called "Sociological Aspects of Local Democracy: Survey of Local Self-Administration," which was carried out by the Institute of Sociology during the years 1991/1992. The survey followed an international comparative project "Local Democracy and Innovation". Financially this was sponsored by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sci-

ences, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway and by the Norwegian Research Council for Applied Social Sciences. Members of the research team were then Daniel Hanšpach, Ondřej Hubáček, Michal Illner (co-ordinator of the project), Jiří Patočka and Zdena Vajdová. Dušan Drbohlav and Lenka Pitrová also cooperated. This is a contribution to the widening spectrum of views on the causes of the Czechoslovak disintegration.

The mentioned survey has tried to determine, apart from other things, attitudes towards the actual solutions to problems and towards the cause of the society's transformation. Some of the attitudes clearly portray values or backgrounds of the respondents' political orientation:

1. A question was originally used for the identification of a post-materialistic value orientation. Respondents chose, according to the degree of importance, from four possibilities: (a) "To keep order in the country," (b) "To give the people a greater possibility to contribute to important political decisions," (c) "To stand up to increased prices," (d) "To protect the freedom of speech." In our circumstances, this question, however, rather outlines the preference of either a stabilized democratic system (and only then to follow-up with solutions for contemporary problems by appropriate measures) or an immediate problems' solution by means of the state's administrative intervention. The variable *Paternalism* has been established for this question, and it indicates a possible paternalistic orientation of the respondents in two categories: 1. "No" (either both or just one of the choices b or d) and 2. "Yes" (either both or one of the choices a or c).
2. A question on whether it is right for more wealthy areas to contribute to poorer ones indicates opinions on resource redistribution within the society. From this question the variable *Egalitarianism* has been established in 2 categories: 1. "Yes" (the ap-

- proval of redistribution) or 2. "No" (the refusal of redistribution).
3. Questions relating to whether sexual education should be included in a school's curriculum and whether abortion should be legal indicates the variable *Conservatism*. Social conservatism is recorded in categories: 1. "No" (the approval with both of them) and 2. "Yes" (the refusal of at least one of those).
4. A question on the significance of being well-connected with important people in

order to reach life success indicates the role of connections within the society. The question has been used to find the variable *Clientelism* in 2 categories: 1. "No" (a little importance of connections) and 2. "Yes" (a great importance of connections). As the first step of analysis, a comparison of those attitudes is given according to the members of the Czech Republic's and Slovakia's councils.

Table 1. Chosen Attitudes of Councils' Members in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia. (A ratio of respondents who have stated the respective answer, in%)

	Paternalism Yes*	Egalitarianism Yes	Conservatism Yes*	Clientelism Yes*
Czech Republic	59	29	9	58
Slovakia	75	33	25	75

*) Level of significance of $\chi^2 = 0.00$

The table shows that Slovak council members are more paternalistic, egalitarian and conservative. It also characterizes the society as more clientelistic. Their political orientation is thus distinctively profiled by a combination of the left-wing (paternalism, egalitarianism), Christian (conservatism, paternalism) and traditional and national (clientelism) elements.

What causes this specific combination of attitudes in Slovakia? The fact that there are more members or sympathizers of left-wing, Christian and national parties among them, or the fact that in Slovak culture, in the value system of the Slovak society as a whole, the quoted features are more distinct and strongly influence the opinions of the people regardless of their political convictions?

The answer is implied when comparing attitudes of Czech and Slovak council members inclining to similar political parties. Inclinations towards political parties are de-

icted by asking the respondent which political party he would vote for in case of parliamentary elections. The respondent is placed into one of five groups: 1. "Civic right-wing parties" (the Civic Democratic Party, the Civic Democratic Alliance, the Democratic Party); 2. "Christian parties" (the Christian Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union - the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Christian Democratic Movement); 3. "Parties of the center" (The Civic Forum, the Civic Movement, the Civic Democratic Union - the Public Against Violence); 4. "Left-wing parties" (the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, the Czechoslovak Social Democracy, the Movement for Democratic Slovakia, the Party of the Democratic Left, the Green Party); 5. "National parties" (The Movement for Local Authority-Society for Moravia and Silesia, the Slovak National Party, Co-existence Party).

Table 2. Chosen attitudes of council members in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, according to their inclination. (A ratio of respondents that have stated the respective answer, in%)

	Paternalism Yes*	Egalitarianism Yes*	Conservatism Yes*	Clientelism Yes*
ČR - right-wing	53	28	8	52
SR - right-wing	67	38	8	77
ČR - Christian	61	35	41	59
SR - Christian	80	36	75	72
ČR - center	55	38	4	57
SR - center	81	18	17	79
ČR - left-wing	63	34	4	56
SR - left-wing	80	45	9	79
ČR - national	66	48	7	79
SR - national	60	23	15	81

*) Level of significance of $\chi^2 = 0.00$

In some cases political inclination and specific attitudes are doubtlessly strongly connected as, e.g., the conservatism of Christian parties in both republics. The differences are, however, in general and with few exceptions, between Czech and Slovak representatives of similar orientations are quite large.

Looking at the four indicators, attitudes towards paternalism display the greatest divergence of opinions on political and economic reform. The remaining three are less related to the basic principles of a newly formed social system and grasp rather its secondary and derived parameters. The analysis of various factors influencing attitudes towards paternalism thus may testify, above all, about the context which encourages different approaches toward the formation of a new political system and towards the economic reform in both republics. If these resources occur rather in contemporary political orientations of the Czech and Slovak populations or in its cultural specificities, the influence of a political inclination and of the republic's citizenship must be, first of all, investigated.

The results confirm the influence of different political power settings in local Czech and Slovak councils. There is greater support for right-wing parties in the Czech Republic whereas in Slovakia, Christian and national parties are stronger. Data from the

investigation, nevertheless, do not correspond entirely with the contemporary political orientation of the Slovak population which has changed since the communal elections and since the time of investigation. Christian parties lost support and the Movement for Democratic Slovakia has grown with the stronger support for left-wing parties. It shows generally but not fully accurately that the Czech population has a right-wing orientation while the Slovak population is left-wing. The population's non-coexistence, political parties' divergent programs, and non-crystallization of the political scene mean that the application of a standard scale of political orientation used in stabilized democracies would not be reliable here. It is obvious that a political differentiation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia is a bit more complicated and can not be presented on such a simple scale. More interesting is the second analysis done during the creation of important attitudes towards political and economic reform. The republic's citizenship plays a more important role than political inclinations. And this particular research supports a hypothesis that the political dimension of the Czech and Slovak population variance is not based only on political orientations but has its deeper cultural roots. Not the present popularity of particular politicians and positioning of political parties in

the parliaments but a different situation and a different climate caused the development of separate Czech and Slovak Republics.

It is thus confirmed that if the introductory question is relieved of its propagandistic touch, the answer remains to be found

primarily in the analysis of long-term existing differences between the Czech and the Slovak Republics. Only afterwards can we begin interpretations of the nature of their political actions.

Table 3. Log-linear model of relations between a republic's citizenship (REP), a political inclination (PARTY) and an attitude towards paternalism (PATERN)

	df	L2	p
<i>Tests of interactions' zero effects</i>			
1	6	937.929	0.0000
2	9	247.679	0.0000
3	4	5.312	0.2567
<i>Tests of partial associations</i>			
REP*PARTY	4	198.477	0.0000
REP*PATERN	1	16.896	0.0000
PARTY*PATERN	4	11.302	0.0234
<i>Estimations of parameters</i>			
ČR - Civic right-wing			1.13*
ČR - Christian			-0.30*
ČR - Center			0.06
ČR - Left-wing			-0.05
ČR - National			-0.84*
ČR - Paternalism			-0.16*
Civic right-wing - Paternalism			-0.17
Christian - Paternalism			0.10
Center - Paternalism			0.04
Left-wing - Paternalism			0.12
National - Paternalism			-0.09

*) Standardized value of coefficient > 1.96

Ondřej Hubáček

What Type of Capitalism Is Expected In the Czech Republic?

In July, 1992, the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, together with the Center for Empirical Research (STEM), carried out the fifth part of the serial empirical survey "Economic Expectations and Attitudes". It investigates the growing attitudes toward passing economic reform and their consequences.

From the various issues covered by the survey, here we focus our attention on the population's perception of the relationships between the state and the market. These relationships can be defined in terms of whether they are liberal, favor a relatively free economy or are social market oriented. The controversial issue shaping peoples' attitudes appears to be; "to what degree should the state directly intervene in the economic and social spheres of life?" "When do people