

Společenská změna po roce 1989: reforma, přechod (tranzice), transformace

Současná česká společnost

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Transformace – tranzice - reforma

Transformace:

celková proměna společnosti (ekonomiky, politiky, kultury, hodnotových orientací atd.) ve smyslu *modernizace*

Přechod / tranzice (k demokracii, tržnímu hospodářství):

Řízený vývoj k předem danému modelu (západní liberální demokracie a kapitalismus)

Reforma:

Komplexní politicky řízená změna v dílčí oblasti státní politiky nebo v řadě takových oblastí.

Teorie postkomunistické transformace

1. generace
(1989-1999)

teorie modernizace

důraz na systémy

x evolucionismus

teorie tranzice (přechodu)

důraz na aktéry a instituce

path-dependencies, stateness, politická kultura

2. generace
(2000-2010 ...)

(1) Postcommunism approach

a) theory of totalitarianism

b) Eastern European area studies

b1) shared legacy x b2) diversity

c) global perspective

(2) Governance approaches

(3) Historical institutionalism, theories of path-dependency, disciplined contextualism

(4) Social mechanism approach

(5) Interpretatively oriented approaches in the tradition of action theories, cultural theories or network analyses

(6) Post-colonialism, ethnography, social anthropology

(7) Discourse analysis

(8) Approaches of exogenous promotion of democratisation and transformation

(9) Approaches of theoretical combining

+ (10) Europeanisation

Teorie transformace

Greskovits, Béla. "The path-dependence of transitology." In Bönker, Frank, Klaus Muller, and Andreas Pickel, eds. *Postcommunist transformation and the social sciences: Cross-disciplinary approaches*. Rowman & Littlefield (2002): 219-246.

	pozitivní účinky	negativní účinky
důraz na současný rozvoj kapitalismu	cesta ke svobodě přes volný trh <i>neoliberální ekonomie, Washingtonský konsensus</i>	teorém nemožnosti <i>Jon Elster, David Ost, (Claus Offe)</i>
důraz na dědictví komunistického systému	kladné prvky v odkazu komunismu <i>David Stark, László Bruszt, Valerie Bunce</i>	dědictví leninismu <i>Ken Jowitt, Amitai Etzioni, Claus Offe</i>

Transformace/tranzice v české sociologii

Pavel Machonin, Milan Tuček

Jan Keller

Miloslav Petrusek

Ivo Možný, Ladislav Rabušic

Petr Matějů, Jiří Večerník

Modrá osa přibližně odpovídá
politické dimenzi levice
(nahore) – pravý střed (dole).

ekonomie: Jan Švejnar, CERGE, Lubomír Mlčoch, FSV, Milan Sojka, VŠE

Tituly k transformaci 90. let

Ivo Možný: *Proč tak snadno?*

Pavel Machonin: *Česká společnost a sociologické poznání*

Vladimíra Dvořáková, Jiří Kunc: *O přechodech k demokracii*

Petr Matějů, Jiří Večerník: *Ten years of rebuilding capitalism*

Jiří Kabele: *Přerody*

SOUČASNÝ AMERICKÝ POHLED NA TRANSFORMACI

Ghodsee, Kristen

- americká antropoložka, zkoumá státní socialismus a postsocialismus, také genderové otázky, výzkum v Bulharsku
- česky vyšla její kniha *Proč mají ženy za socialismu lepší sex: A další argumenty pro ekonomickou nezávislost* (2020)

Mitchell Orenstein

- americký politolog
- zkoumá sociální politiky, hybridní válku aj.
- v 90. letech prováděl výzkum v zemích Visegrádu vč. ČR.

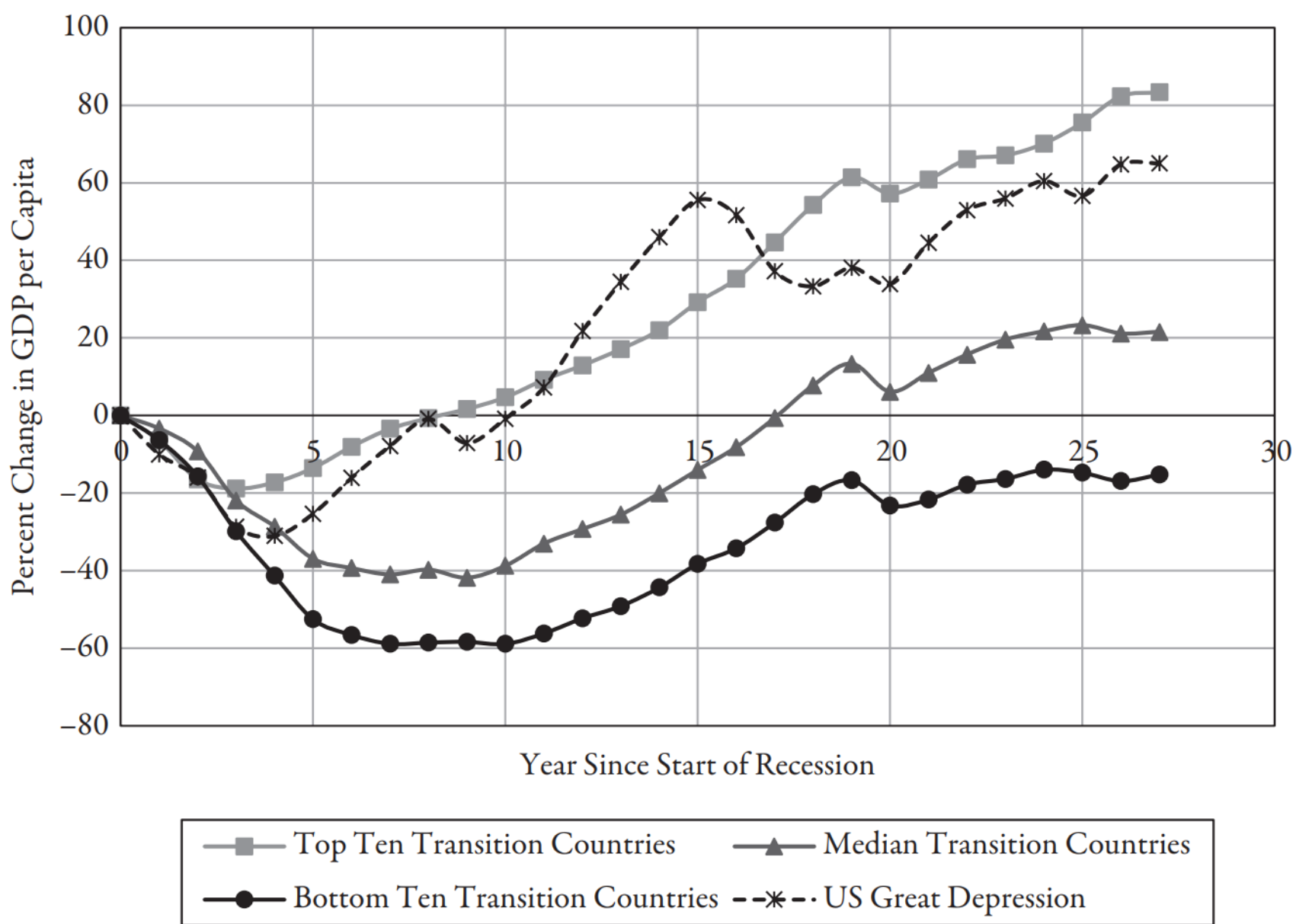


FIGURE 2.2. Postcommunist Transitions Compared to the US Great Depression (percent change in GDP per capita).

Source: Maddison Project Database, version 2018.

Ghodsee, Kristen and Mitchell Orenstein. 2021. *Taking Stock of Shock: Social Consequences of the 1989 Revolutions*. Oxford University Press, p. 33.

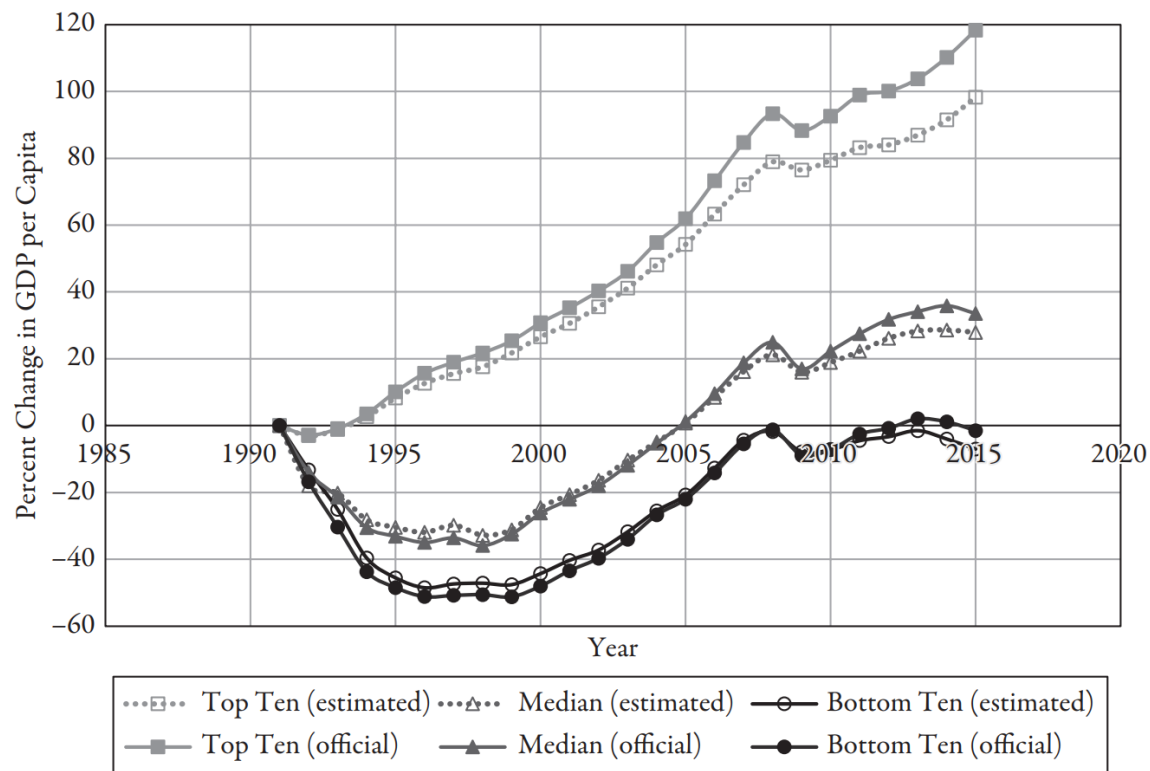


FIGURE 2.3. Estimated and Official Economic Performance (MIMIC). Countries are grouped by economic performance during transition. “Official” curves represent the growth rate in real GDP per capita. “Estimated” lines represent the growth rate in the economy as measured by both official GDP data and estimates of the unofficial economy. Note that the MIMIC database starts in 1991 and excludes six countries for lack of data: Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, which accounts for any discrepancies with Figure 2.2.

Source: Maddison Project Database, version 2018, Medina and Schneider (2015).

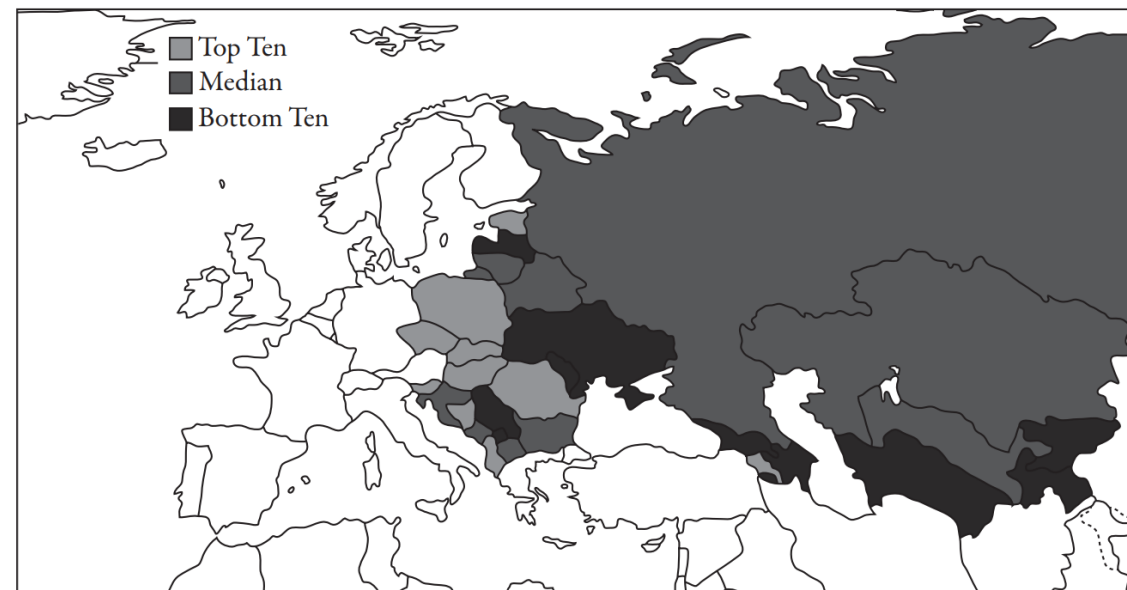


FIGURE 3.1. Drop in GDP per Capita by Country. In order to calculate countries’ ranking, first we rank them by % decrease from 1989 to the lowest level of GDP per capita, length of time from 1989 to the lowest level, and % increase from 1989 to 2016. The overall ranking is an unweighted average of these three rankings. Top ten are best performing economies. Bottom ten are worst performing economies.

Source: Real Per Capita GDP in 2010 US dollars (US Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service and World Bank 2018).

Nerovnost příjmového rozdělení

TABLE 2.4 Percent of National Income Flowing to the Top 1% before Taxes and Transfers

	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015									
<i>SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE</i>	4.72	5.67	8.24	8.51	8.80	8.57	9.66	<i>VISEGRAD</i>	3.27	4.94	8.50	8.87	10.64	10.21	10.30	
<i>Slovenia</i>			6.49	7.33	7.69	7.05	7.03	<i>Slovakia</i>	3.93	4.83	6.06	6.61	7.58	6.94	5.16	
<i>Montenegro</i>	5.66	5.12	7.56	7.66	6.86	7.02	7.49	<i>Czechia</i>	2.38	4.45	9.45	9.65	10.40	9.80	10.24	
<i>Kosovo</i>					7.09	6.82	7.96	<i>Hungary</i>	2.63	5.08	7.13	9.07	11.69	11.40	11.83	
<i>Albania</i>				8.31	8.34	7.64	8.06	<i>Poland</i>	4.16	5.41	11.36	10.16	12.90	12.69	13.98	
<i>Croatia</i>	4.24	4.89	6.92	7.56	8.81	7.96	8.16	<i>BALTICS</i>	4.70	6.74	11.58	11.49	13.47	9.41	10.33	
<i>Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	5.52	5.03	7.45	8.63	8.59	8.16	8.80	<i>Lithuania</i>		6.14	8.34	7.73	9.16	8.87	10.18	
<i>Macedonia</i>		6.74	8.93	9.06	9.53	9.27	9.51	<i>Latvia</i>		5.47	11.15	11.27	11.10	7.99	10.27	
<i>Bulgaria</i>	3.46	5.07	12.82	9.14	10.41	9.97	12.10	<i>Estonia</i>	4.70	8.60	15.26	15.47	20.14	11.36	10.54	
<i>Serbia</i>		8.50	9.25	10.50	11.28	11.30	12.78	<i>EUROPEAN FORMER SOVIET UNION</i>	4.38	7.04	11.48	14.87	17.22	14.65	14.88	
<i>Romania</i>		5.43	8.23	9.50	11.39	11.95	15.88	<i>Moldova</i>		5.62	7.23	7.96	7.55	7.83	8.35	
								<i>Russia</i>	4.38	7.34	14.03	20.69	24.91	20.03	20.24	

Note: In order of low to high percentage by region in 2015.

Source: World Inequality Database (2020). (<https://wid.world/>).

Srovnání střední a východní Evropy s Čínou a Vietnamem

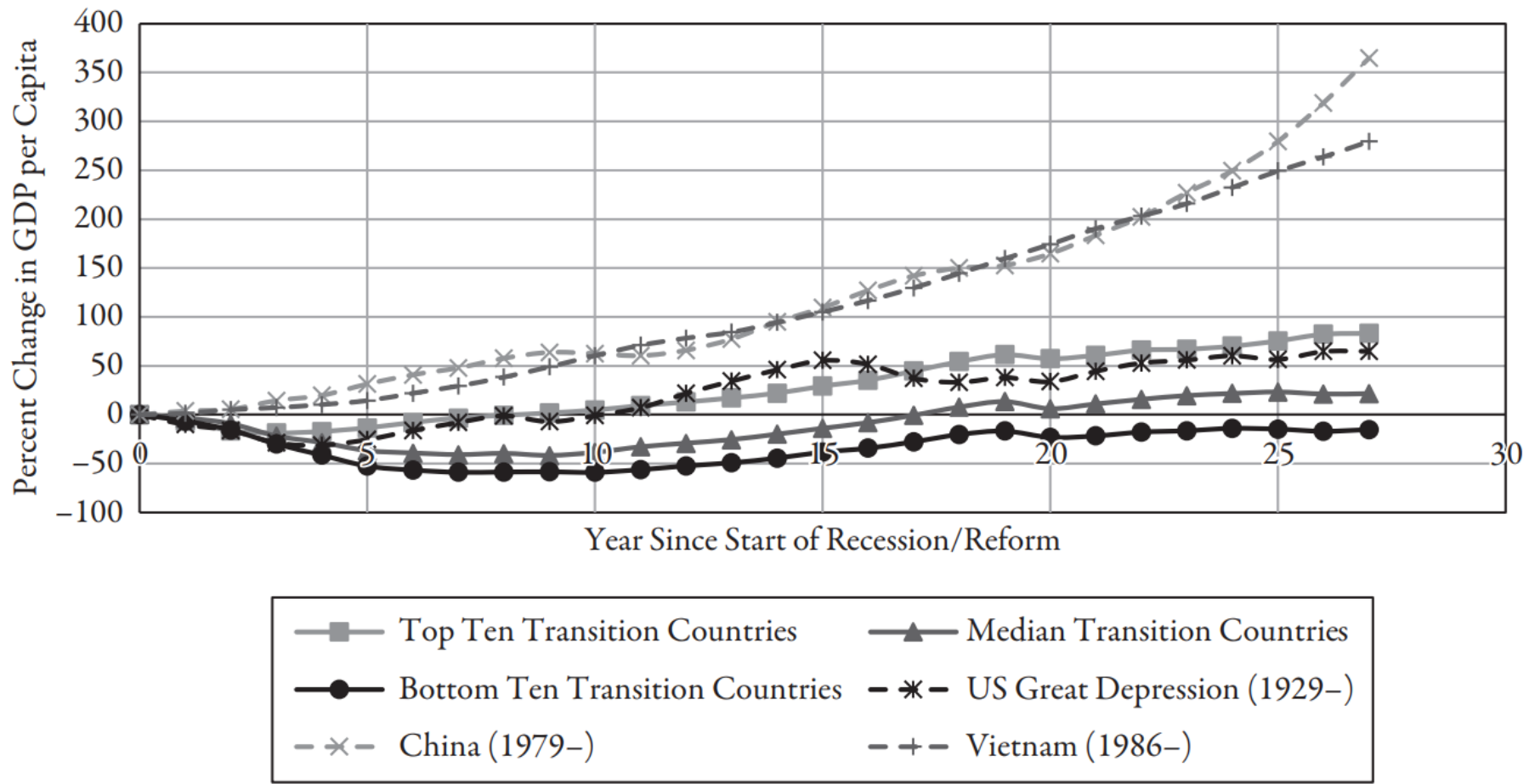


FIGURE 4.1. Postcommunist Transitions and Chinese and Vietnamese Miracles Compared.

Source: Maddison Project Database, version 2018.

Mortalita a naděje dožití

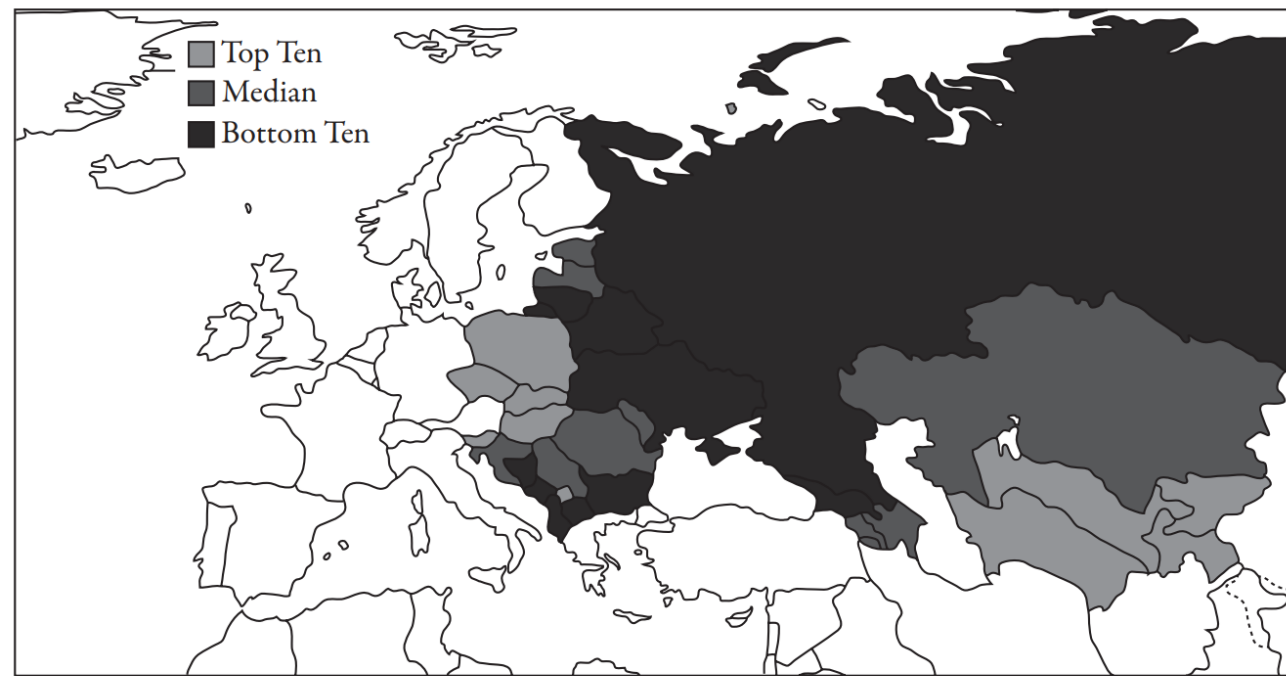


FIGURE 5.1. Crude Death Rate: Best and Worst Performing Postcommunist Countries. In order to calculate countries' ranking, first we rank them by % increase from 1989 to the highest death rate, length of time from 1989 to the highest level, and % decrease from 1989 to 2016. The overall ranking is calculated as an unweighted average of these three rankings. *Source:* Crude death rate (per 1,000 people) (World Bank 2018).

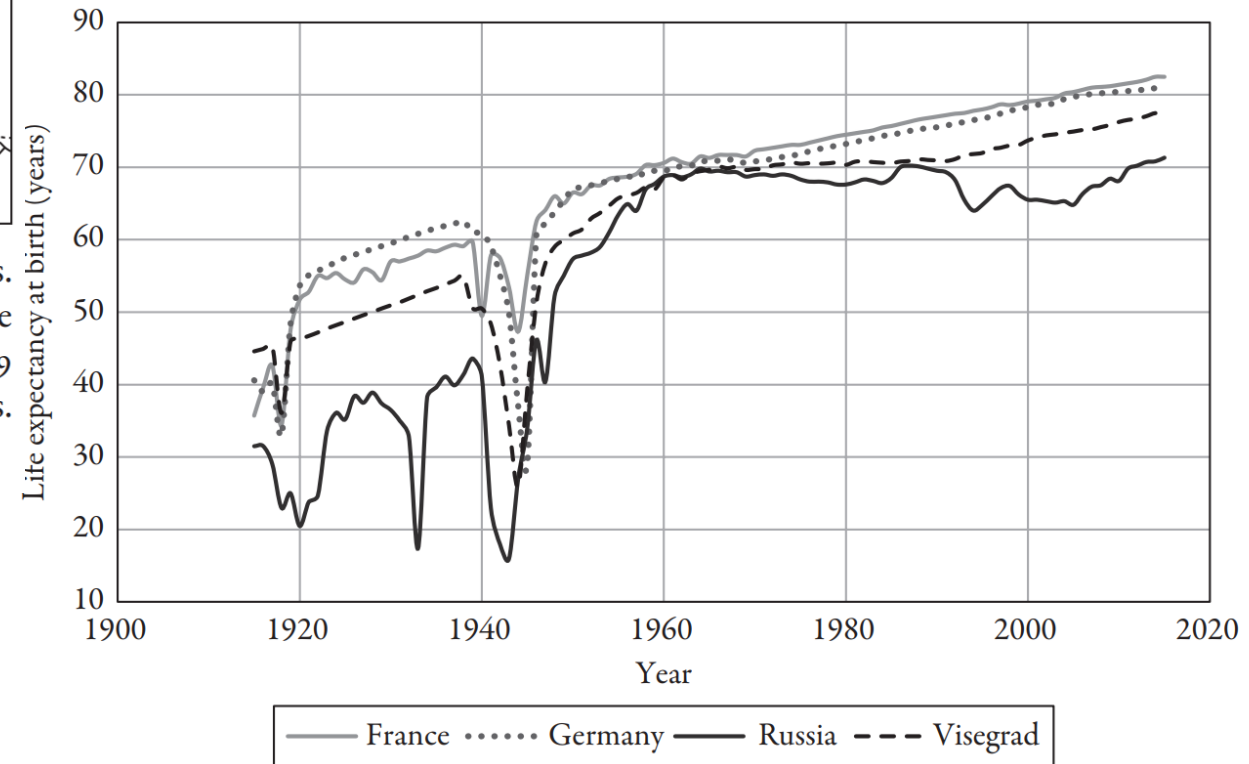


FIGURE 6.1. Life Expectancy in Russia, Germany, France and Visegrad Countries, 1915–2015.

Source: Gapminder (2020).

Migrační saldo

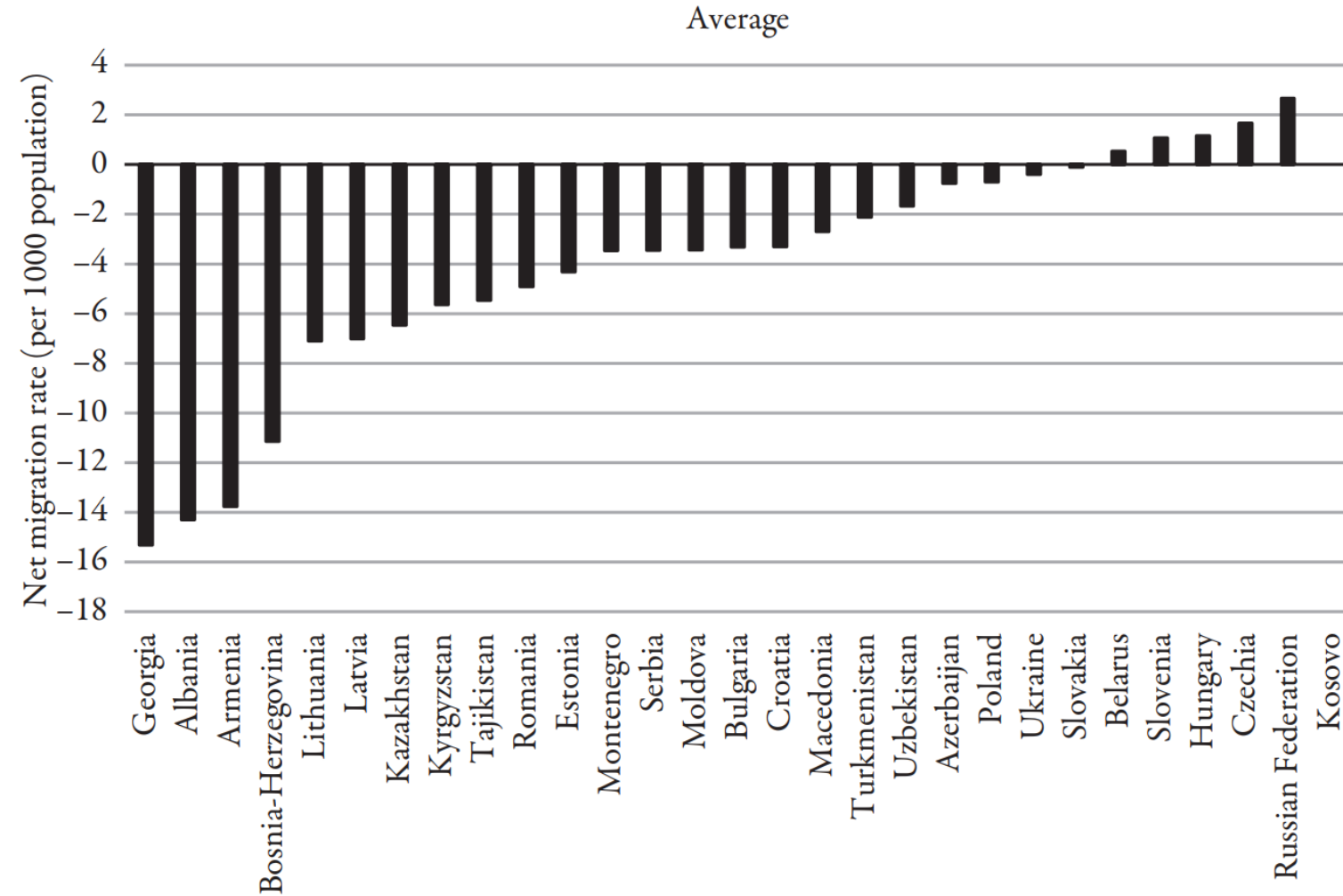


FIGURE 8.2. Average Net Migration Rate (per 1,000), 1992–2012.

Source: United Nations (2017).

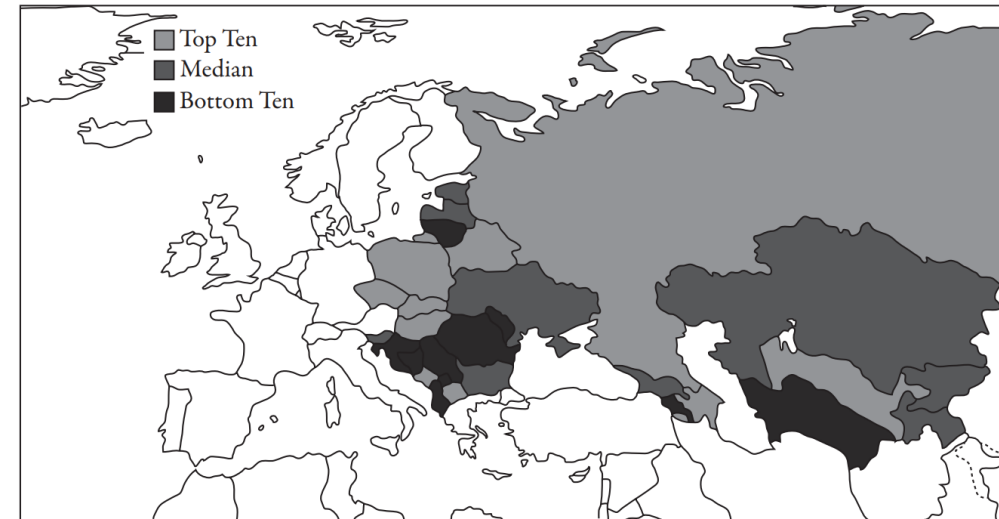


FIGURE 5.3. Net Migration Rate: Best and Worst Performing Postcommunist Countries. In order to calculate countries' ranking, first we rank them by percent decreases in net immigration rate from 1989 to the lowest level, length of time from 1989 to the lowest level, and percent increase from 1989 to 2016. The overall ranking is calculated as an unweighted average of these three rankings.

Source: Net migration rate (per 1,000 population) (UN 2017).

1990's: decade of transformation

- transition to democracy (new political parties, democratic elections, new constitution)
- economic transformation (privatization, restitution to original owners, price liberalization)
- social transformation (new social inequalities, rise of unemployment, new cultural and consumption patterns)

Ralf Dahrendorf's three hours metaphor

- The hour of the lawyer 6 months
new constitution (and most important legal norms)
- The hour of the economist and the politician..... 6 years
institutions of democratic polity and market economy
- The hour of the citizen 60 years
values and attitudes, ways of thinking, habits

Forms of capital (Pierre Bourdieu):

v 90. letech navázali Iván Szelényi, u nás I. Možný, P. Matějů

Economic

Objectivized

(objects, material possessions

Cultural

Embodied

(knowledge, skills

Social

Institutionalized

(academic titles, club memberships

Symbolic

Theorizing transition: Juan J.Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996)

Types of political regimes in CEE

Post-totalitarianism:

- mature: **Hungary**
- frozen: **Czechoslovakia**
- early: **GDR, Bulgaria**

Communist authoritarianism: **Poland**

Totalitarianism-and-sultanism: **Romania**

Areas of democratic consolidation

- Civil society
- Political society
- Economic society
- State apparatus
- Rule of law (Linz, Stepan. 1996)

Problem of **stateness**: clear definition of the polity prerequisite for democratization

Triple transition in CEE (Claus Offe, „Capitalism by Democratic Design?“, 1991):

- who we are? = identity, citizenship, territorial boundaries of **nation-state**, *the territorial issue*
- **constitution** = rules, procedures, rights, institutions, the regime, *the issue of democracy*
- who gets what, when, how? = decisions about distribution of **political power** and **economic resources**, *the issue of economic and property order*

“Without exaggerating too much, we can describe an easy division of roles between economic theory, political science and sociology: **neoclassic economists** argue by functional requirements of efficient markets; **political scientists** stress the imperatives of Western-style democracy; **sociology** relates to the **institutional prerequisites of the functional market**. All of this makes sense as far as we declare what Eastern European societies do not have. In any case, an interesting question is, how rudimentary markets can cooperate with unsecured democracy in a time of a loosening social orientation and in an environment of delegitimated institutions, and which dynamics are liberated by this” [Klaus Müller 1995: 42 citováno ve Večerník 1995: 173].

Zdroj: Sixta, Jaroslav, et al. "Czech GDP between 1970 and 1989 Based on ESA 2010." STATISTIKA-STATISTICS AND ECONOMY JOURNAL 96.1 (2016): 4-12.

Sixta et al Czech Gdp between 1970 and 1989 ESA 2010 Statistika 2016.pdf - Adobe Acrobat Reader DC

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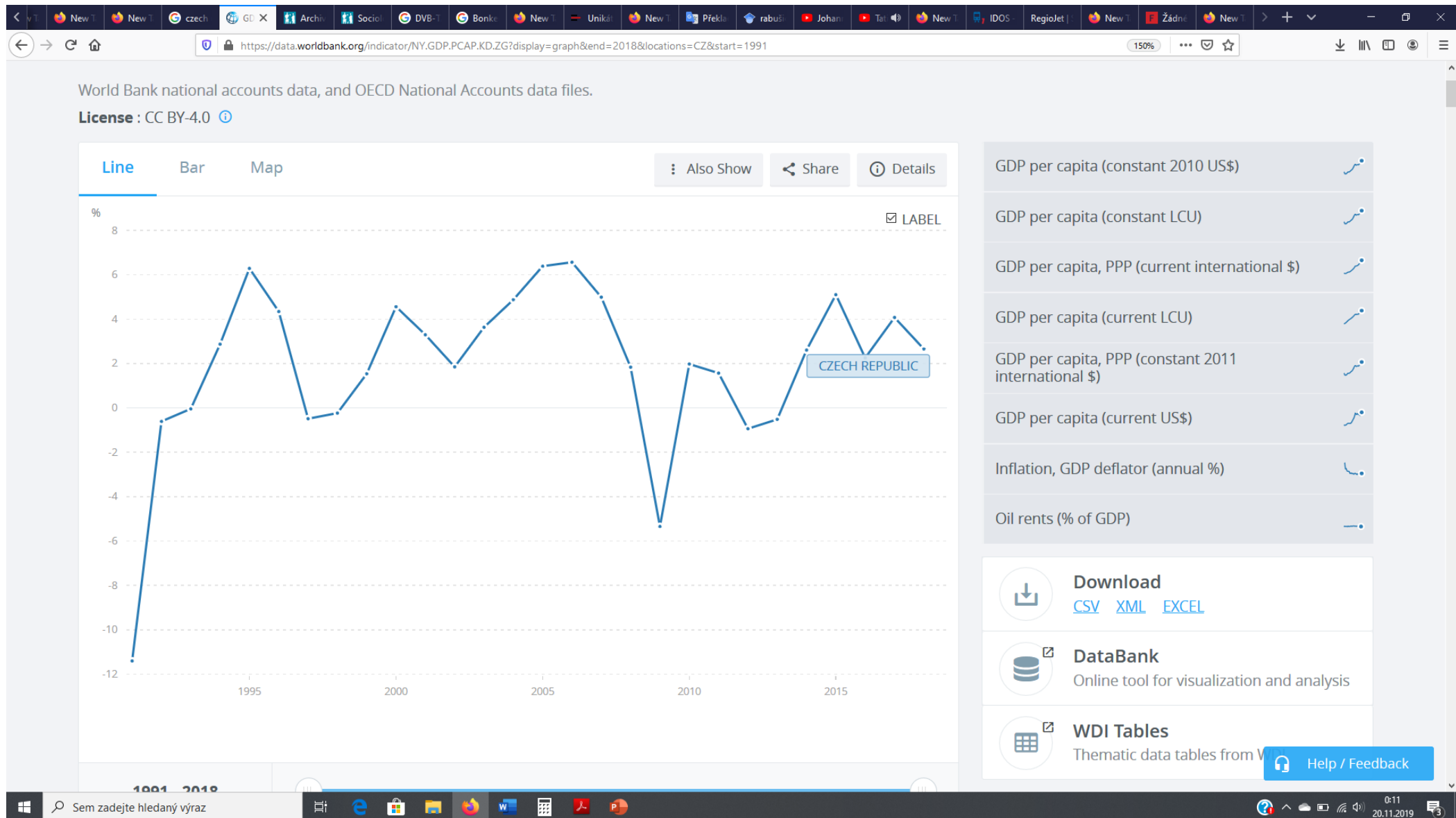
Sdílet

Figure 2 GDP, volume indices, 1970–2010



GDP per capita growth (annual %) - Czech Republic

World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files



Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate) - Czech Republic

World Bank from ILOSTAT database. Data retrieved in September 2019.

