

PART III
THE FOCUS ON CULTURE

CHAPTER 8 NATIONALISM AND COLLECTIVE INTERESTS: PITFALLS OF THE CITIZENSHIP DEVELOPMENT AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM

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Intangibles of Transformation and the Concept of Citizenship

The transformation after the turnover of 1989 is analyzed and evaluated as the system transformation, overwhelming change, as a "collapse," or a "recovery". Such analyses are based on the presumption of some systemic forces due to which the old system collapsed and the new is emerging according to some prescribed patterns of the system transformation. In opposition to this concept of social change as determined by invisible, systemic forces, the stress is put on the importance of the "intangibles" of historical change, such as ideas and normative structures, and the social agents of change, individual and collective. Social change is viewed here rather as a contingent process, and not pre-determined or necessary development of events. (Sztompka 1993 p.229). In light of this second concept of social change, the processes of democratization, introduction of the free economy, formation of constitutions after the collapse of communism are not necessarily doomed to be successful, and in any case they depend on many factors, among which traditions, visions of the "just society", social ideals, social and political interests, but also existing institutional arrangements play a decisive role. This short paper is based on this prudent vision of social change. This vision is supplemented here by the argument concerning social actors who participate, actively and passively, voluntarily but also involuntarily in the "great transformation", pursuing differentiated interests.

Such a vision of social change accompanies the concepts of "democracy crafting" (di Palma); or construction of foundations of the more effective economy not on the ruins, but with the ruins of communism (Stark). The processes of "democracy crafting", formation of constitutional orders, introduction of free market face important challenges, like the growing populism, the lack of political will to introduce further reforms, for instance reforms of social welfare systems, the ever more visible spirit of collective

vested interests - of the ethnic groups, the former nomenclatura, the labour unions, miners, workers, pensioners.

Having in view the processes of labourious "crafting" and defense of collective interests, and goals of powerful social groups, one has to consider the civic and moral aspects of social change and human action. In accordance with a classical Durkheimian approach, but also following the tradition of Scottish moralists, I will then argue that the crucial role in the further democratization and liberalization processes after the collapse of communism play the civic and moral components of a social action: representations and social interpretations of the concepts of just society and "good" state, concepts of rights, visions of future, concepts of fair conflict resolution. I will then argue that the moral claim inspired by transformational processes and interpreted by the participants of the change pose the salient aspect of the change and influence its outcome. In light of this argument, the concept of citizenship has a deciding significance for an analysis of transformation taking place in Central and Eastern Europe after the mythical year of 1989. The concept of citizenship links, firstly and foremostly, cognitive-valuational and expressive-emotional components of human action, as well as the individual well being with the more abstract concept of common good. It defines relations between individual citizens and the state, the position of individual within that relation and, above all, it functions as a vehicle of individual and collective, identity.

Ideological Legacy

Processes of democratization in Eastern Central Europe are rightly perceived as formation of active "citizens" from passive and dependent "subjects" who do not believe in any possibility of influencing institutions, law-making processes, political decision-making.

The equally important is the problem of collective identity and individual fundamental rights protection with which the citizenship formation is also confronted. Considering these two dimensions of citizenship, the "citizen-subject", and the "collective identity-individual rights" dimension one has to stress that the intangibles of historical legacy and the Social ideals and visions of the future pose the important context of citizenship formation with regard to both of the mentioned dimensions.

Firstly, in contrast with the liberal European and American tradition, the notion of freedom, usually connected with the universal individualistic attributes of citizenship, in East-Central Europe has been traditionally used in the context of fight for national independence. Hence, the notion of freedom has in Eastern and Central Europe, a connotation very different from that, which is linked with the liberal and individualistic concept of universal citizenship. Indeed, as it was observed,

"... In all of those countries, with the only partial exception of Czechoslovakia, the liberal individualist tradition based on the principles of universal citizenship was extremely weak and never fully instituted" (Seligman 1992, p. 114)

This statement made by the researcher of civic society and citizenship in Hungary, has its foundations in the inherited traditions, ideologies and institutional arrangements. Firstly, there are broader traditions of the region of Central Europe. Secondly, there are ideologies brought about by the communist governments, thirdly, there are frames of mind and "habits of the heart" of anti-communist, democratic opposition. The part of the broader historical traditions poses the special relation of individual and the collectivity, characterized as the shared, mutual solidarity within communities. Firstly and foremostly it was a national, and ethnic solidarity, but it was also the solidarity of nobles, and the solidarity of religious communities - Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, Protestant.- In the present days, such solidarity was expressed in the more republican and legal terms, for instance as the solidarity of generations (so called "pact of generations" which consists in the obligation to contribute by the younger generation to the well being of the older one, in form of the contributions to the pension systems). In political terms and in Poland, the solidarity was institutionalized in form of activities of the Committee for Defence of Workers (KOR), an organization of intellectuals, who helped the persecuted workers in the late 1970s, and of course in the "Solidarnosc" movement of the early 1980s. The KOR organization, however, as well as the "Solidarnosc" movement and subsequently, the "underground society" activities aimed at the maintaining of solidarity bonds in Poland after Martial Law Was declared in 1981, had an important communitarian aspect. It was the solidarity of "us", the Polish society, against "them", the communist party-state apparatus. Those traditions were confronted with the ideology of the class solidarity, brought about by the new, communist powers.

Thirdly, one has to stress the absent tradition of natural law and the natural rights of human person. Instead, the characteristic legal tradition of the region was a legal positivistic one. According to it, rights defined in terms of entitlements were granted in the written state law, what brought about a danger of their subordination to the mechanism of majoritarian democracy functioning, or the interests and goals of the strongest political groups.

Fourthly, the concept of the state-citizenship relationship has to be emphasized, which was traditionally strongly influenced by the idea of the active and protectionist state, and precisely by the welfare (social) state concept in its differentiated forms, also in form of the "socialist welfare state" (Narojek 1991).

Two Models of Citizenship

In light of this very brief characteristic of the traditional and ideological dimensions of citizenship formation in Central Europe, it is possible to outline two models of citizenship, as a moral and cognitive foundations of post-communist change. First, there is a national identity model. Generally, the development of this model, as it is maintained, was itself based on two historical moments of (1) national integration, and (2) the universalization of citizenship within the nation state. Under state socialism, after the "international working class solidarity" proved not to be effective, this model took a form of the "bureaucratic nationalism" as the older national identities reemerged with great strength. (Banac 1990) The bureaucratic nationalism, combined with the growing ethnic divisions, when the traditions of universalization of citizenship are lacking, and when the natural law concepts of unalienable and universal, individual human rights are absent, seems to have highly exclusionary consequences. It gains its momentum in form of ethnic cleansing and deportations of ethnic minorities organized from above, by the national state, according to the legal entitlements to nationality. The alternative view is presented in the collective social entitlements model. This model, in which the entitlements were somewhat idealistically perceived as universal social rights, was strongly supported by the members of democratic opposition before 1989, in form of postulates of a "reformed communism", a "socialism with human face", or the Christian model of a "just society". Representations of a "just society" defined in terms of universal social rights composed the ethical-cultural aspect of postulated concept of citizenship after the collapse of communism.

The Focus on Welfare

It should be stressed that contrary to the stereotypes, and the necessity of economic transformation, the concept of citizenship defined in terms of positive social entitlements has not only played, but still plays an enormous role in the post-communist change. Popular representations of social rights function as the most crucial references for the evaluation of the change, in form of the popular concepts of a protection of the welfare state model, symbolized as a "Swedish model", or in form of mythologized representations of "Europe" as above all the domain of social security and protection of social welfare rights.

(1)

Institutionalization of social rights in constitutions influences the economic transformation, and has a decisive impact on the political process and the outcomes of elections. It may be then maintained that welfare state model - on the level of popular opinions, its institutionalization in new constitutions, and also in the verdicts of constitutional courts or tribunals in Central and Eastern

Europe - provided the ethical paradigm of transformation, and has a decisive impact on the emerging concept of citizenship (Skapska 1996).

Also quite contrary to the popular stereotype, it is the high social spending, and not necessarily austerity measures, that offers the real insight into the processes taking place in the region. The closer look into empirical reality of East Central Europe reveals, among others, the extraordinarily large proportion of the adult population covered by pensions (in Poland, roughly one third of the entire adult population). The number of Polish pensioners increased by some 28 percent in just four years, from 1989-1993, while the overall population increase was just about 1.5 percent.

It is even maintained that the post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe have among the most generous social welfare budgets in the world when measured as a percentage of GNP, especially when considering, the level of development by per Capita income adjustments for purchasing power parity. Social spending budgets tend to be between 15-30 percent of GNP, in comparison with the outlays of East Asian countries with similar income levels, which average between 1-10 percent of GNP for similar social programs. (Sachs 1995) True, one has to consider also the poverty of the populations, deprived after 1945 of private property and savings, as well as deprived of possibilities of accumulation of capital. (Skapska 1997a, 1997b) (2) Therefore, the counterpart of social spending is extremely high tax rates, particularly on labor which could have a distorting effect on economies, capital inflow, and unemployment rates, partly because of work shifting to the untaxed "grey economy" (estimated at the level of about 30 percent in the region) (Kornai, 1996, 1997). To these observations one can add the generous protection of the poor, characteristic of the period of transformation. These transfers may be justified as a "onetime political bargain", in which the burdens are shared by the younger citizens and future generations, as the "onetime generational pact" (Sachs, op. cit). However, the generous benefits tend to be implemented as a permanent policy measures, undertaken in the political context of the struggle of group interests. Entitlements to benefits covered by social welfare system compose then the important component of the economic dimension of citizenship after the collapse of communism.

Social and Political Spectrum

Recipients of welfare benefits, pensioners, and retired persons, compose a large proportion of the electorate. A serious challenge to the status quo influences the results of elections, and causes a recomposition of political scene. Those events and phenomena form the political dimension of citizenship after the collapse of communism. After the series of comebacks of the former communists to power, when it became clear that in the meantime they were to a large extent turned to be the new business people, the disappointed electorate looks for new possibilities to influence the political

process. Therefore, in Poland the new party of pensioners has been established recently. The popularity of this party is growing very fastly.(3)

There are, however, also other important social groups for whom the protection of their collective interests poses the foundation of their citizenship rights. The first of them consists of peasants, the second one, by the workers of the big, still socialistic "mammoth" enterprises, as for instance coal miners. Members of such groups are numerous and therefore politically important. They use legislative process in order to protect their vested interests.

The special case of such political groups is also posed by the former communist party nomenclatura, who openly declares the group solidarity, and mutual strong protection of collective and individual interests. ("Polityka" nr 37, 1996).

The political consequences consists here in fragmentation of political process, growing clientism and nepotism, as well as the exclusion of the weaker social groups, the losers, from the politics of entitlements granted to the most powerful. The great losers are the children, who by definition are not voters, do not possess the political rights, but also the young families with numerous children, or single parents, who do not form a uniform vested interests group, and therefore are not politically strong enough in the situation, in which the political process itself consists in the bargaining by powerful groups over the redistribution of entitlements.

Conclusion

In conclusion of this very short outline I would like to emphasize once more the specific feature of the citizenship formation process in Eastern and Central Europe, i.e. its weak individualistic-universalist tradition in perception and social conceptualization of citizenship. Therefore, in the investigation of the ethical-cultural, economic, and political dimension of the citizenship format on after the collapse of communism the special attention shall be paid to collectively perceived entitlements, struggles of collective, vested interests, to the deterioration of cultural identity formation into extreme nationalism and ethnic cleansing, deterioration of the political process into the struggle over social entitlements, and exclusion of the weaker social groups or categories.

Notes

(1) In light of the results of the comparative research on the concept of rights, conducted in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, France, Spain, the United States, conducted in 1995/1996, social rights are perceived by the respondents of the first three countries as the most important, far more important as rights to individual freedom. (Borucka-Arctowa 1996)

(2) According to the results of public opinion polls, the highest income taxes in Poland are paid by only 1% of the population (they are paid by persons whose monthly income is higher than \$1000) and the lowest by the 70% of the population (by persons whose monthly income is smaller than roughly \$450) (Skapska 1997b)

Table 1
Changing patterns of social expenditures

Country	1989	1993
Bulgaria	10.4	12.9
Czech Republic	13.2*	14.6
Estonia	10.4**	8.8
Hungary	15.8	22.5
Poland	10.0	21.0
Slovakia	13.2*	17.0
Slovenia	25.9**	30.5

* - The 1989 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia are the 1989 figures for Czechoslovakia

** - data are for 1991

Source: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Transition Report. 1994.

Table 2
Average annual social expenditure, selected regions

Region	Per capita GDP (in USD)	Social expenditure (% of the GDP)
South Asia	1.260	5.5
East Asia	3.210	8.4
Latin America	5.360	10.0
Eastern Europe	5.210	24.9
OECD countries	19.000	27.1

All variables are average for 1985-1990

Per capita GDP as measured in purchasing power parity terms, in US dollars.

(3) The Party of Pensioners and Retired Persons established in Poland in 1996 according to public opinions polls won actually 12% of support, what makes this party a third important political party in Poland.

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CHAPTER 9 TRANSFORMATIONS OF PUBLIC SPHERE AND CHANGING ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETY

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Post-Communist Transformations of Public Sphere: A Model for Analysis

Structural changes of the public sphere are one of the important dimensions of post-communist transition. The relevance of the theoretical framework developed by Habermas in his classical work concerning the transformation of the public sphere (Habermas, 1989/1962) for the analysis of the contemporary processes in the post-communist countries was expressed by Habermas himself. As Habermas says,

"The transformation occurring in the German Democratic Republic, in Czechoslovakia, and in Romania formed a chain of events properly considered not merely as historical process that happened to be shown on television but one whose very mode of occurrence was televisual" (Habermas 1992, p.456).

The same is true for the Baltic states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. But it was anticipated that in the process of moving away from totalitarian society towards political democracy and market economy, structural changes in the public sphere will have different sequence and direction compared to the classical model of transformations described by Habermas. The post-communist transformations of the public sphere could be described in an ideal form as a way from the centralized mass production and distribution of communist ideology and "manufactured publicity" (Habermas 1989, p.211) towards rebirth of the autonomous political public sphere, characterized by diversified agenda of national or subnational debates on the public issues and creating growing opportunities for personal choices and individual interactions.

The focus of our research is on realization of this model during different phases of post-communist development. We are interested how changes in the media are related to different contextual (cultural, social, psychological, political and economic) factors. We assume that media and the public sphere are interrelated: on the one hand, restoration and development of democratic political institutions is directly influencing performance of the media and their role in society, on the other hand, if media become a forum for public debates,