



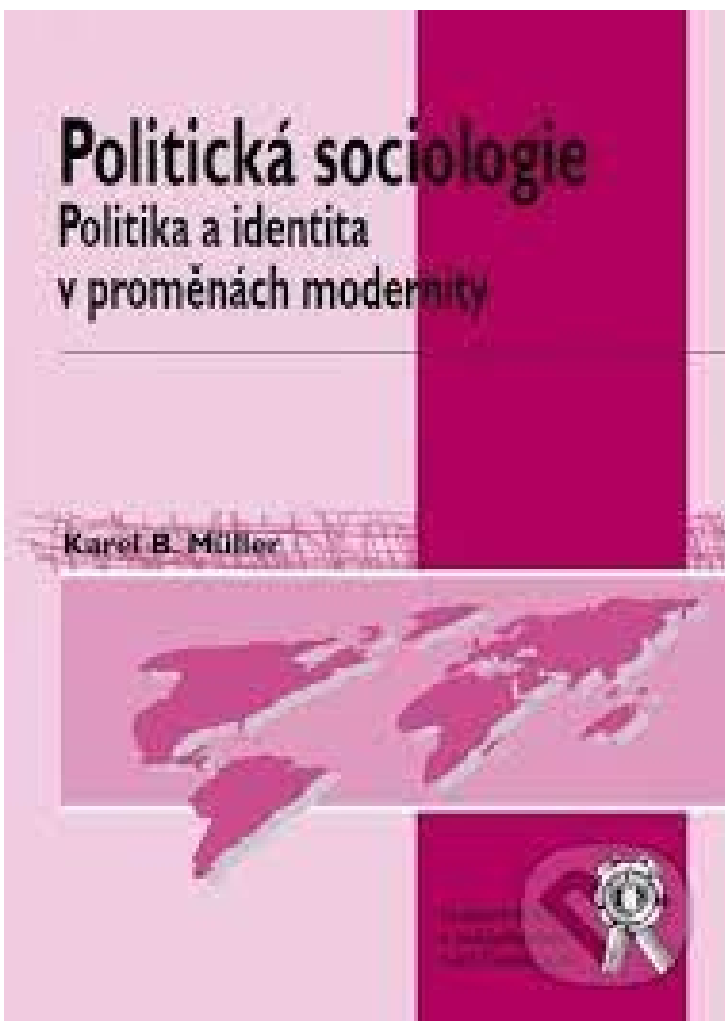
[vysoká škola]

PROBLÉMY POLITICKÉ SOCIOLOGIE

Karel B. Müller
www.karelmuller.eu

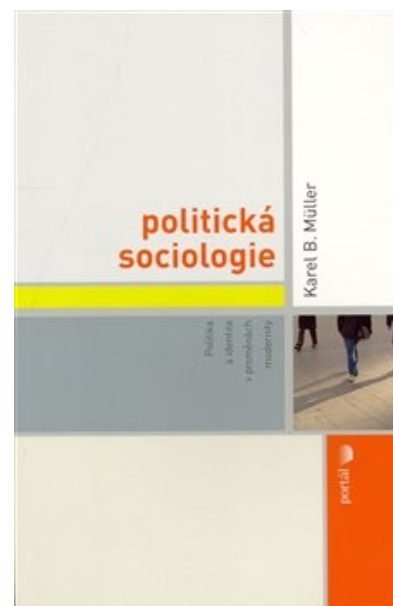


Podmínky splnění kurzu



Závěrečný test: 80 %

Aktivní účast na přednáškách: 20 %



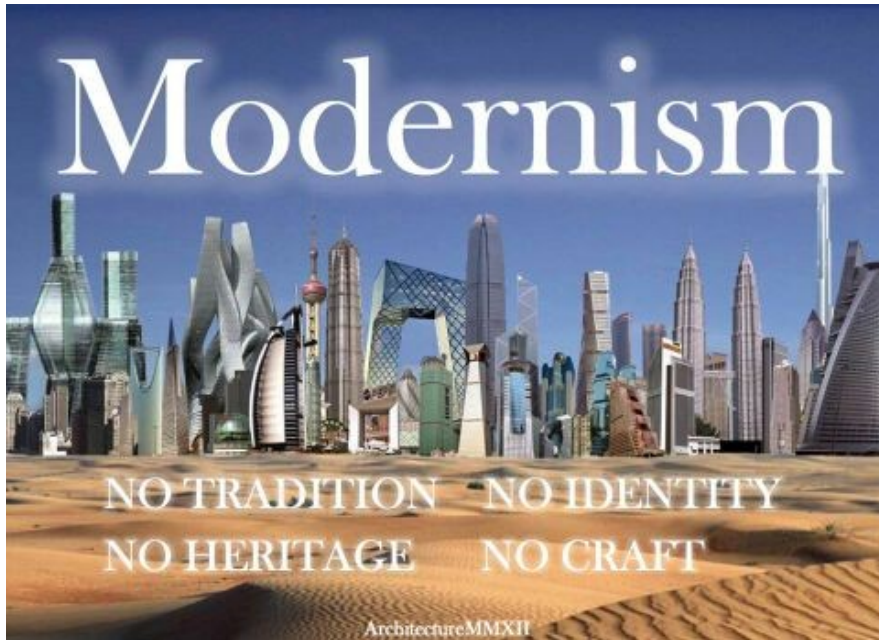


MODERNIZACE A JEJÍ DŮSLEDKY

kapitola 3,1



Moderní versus tradiční

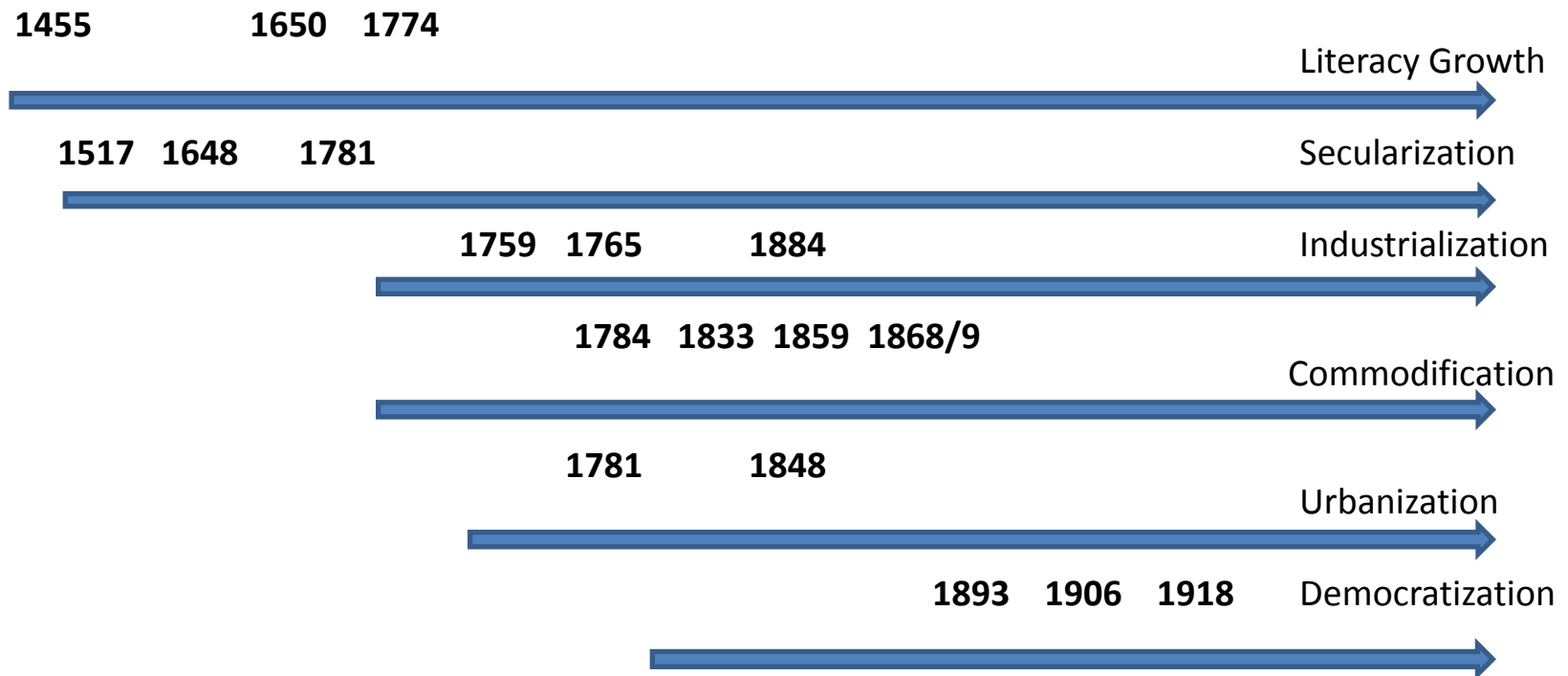




Občanská společnost Civil/Bürgerliche Society/Gesellschaft



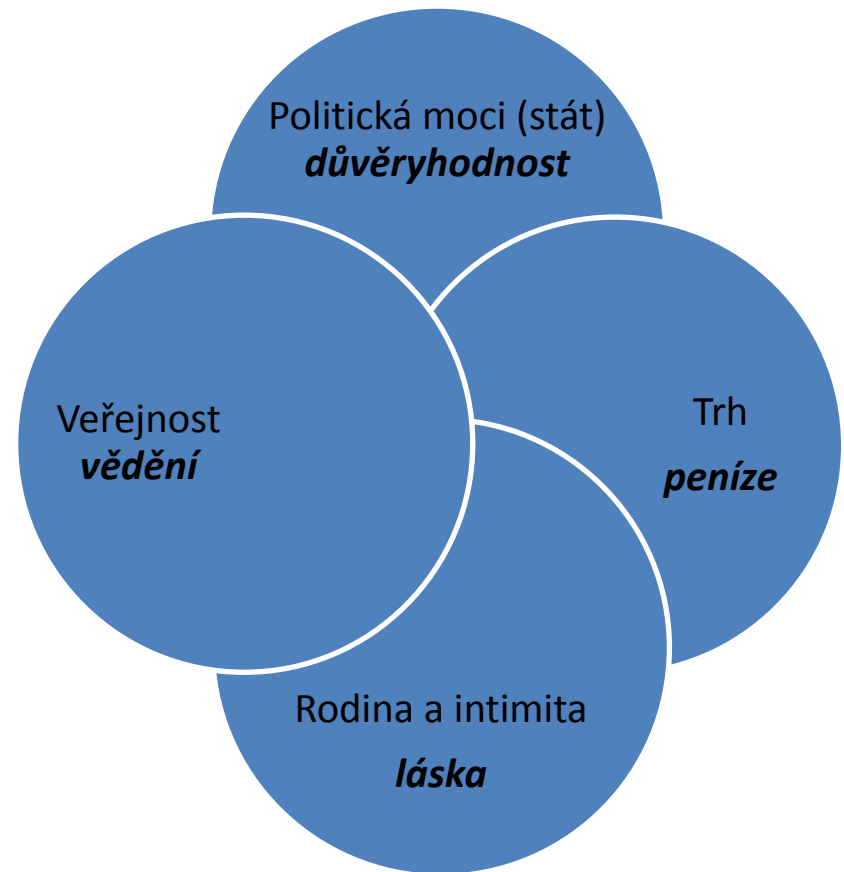
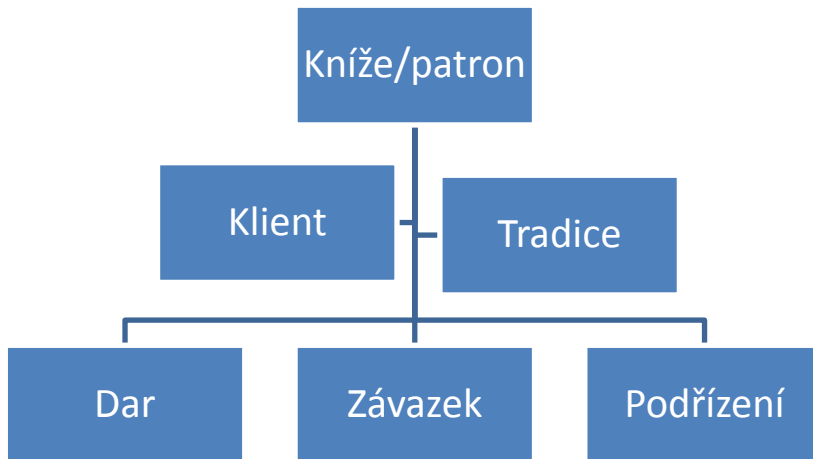
Modernizace



Perspektiva sociální diferenciacce

Patronáž versus instituce

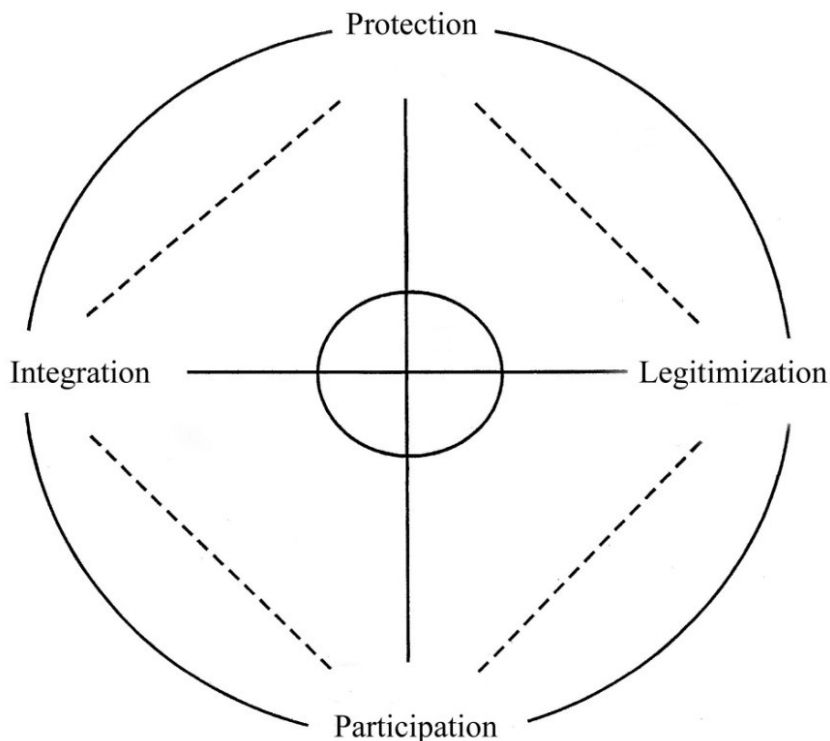
Univerzalizující média moci (Niklas Luhmann)



Občanská společnost (veřejnost + trh)

Tocquevillovsko-giddensovská perspektiva

Očekávání/funkce



Rizika I.

Rizika II.

Pasivita, apatie: nadmíra participace

Zneužívání moci: slabý stát

Krize legitimacy: nekritická důvěra

Atomizace, anomie: nacionalismus

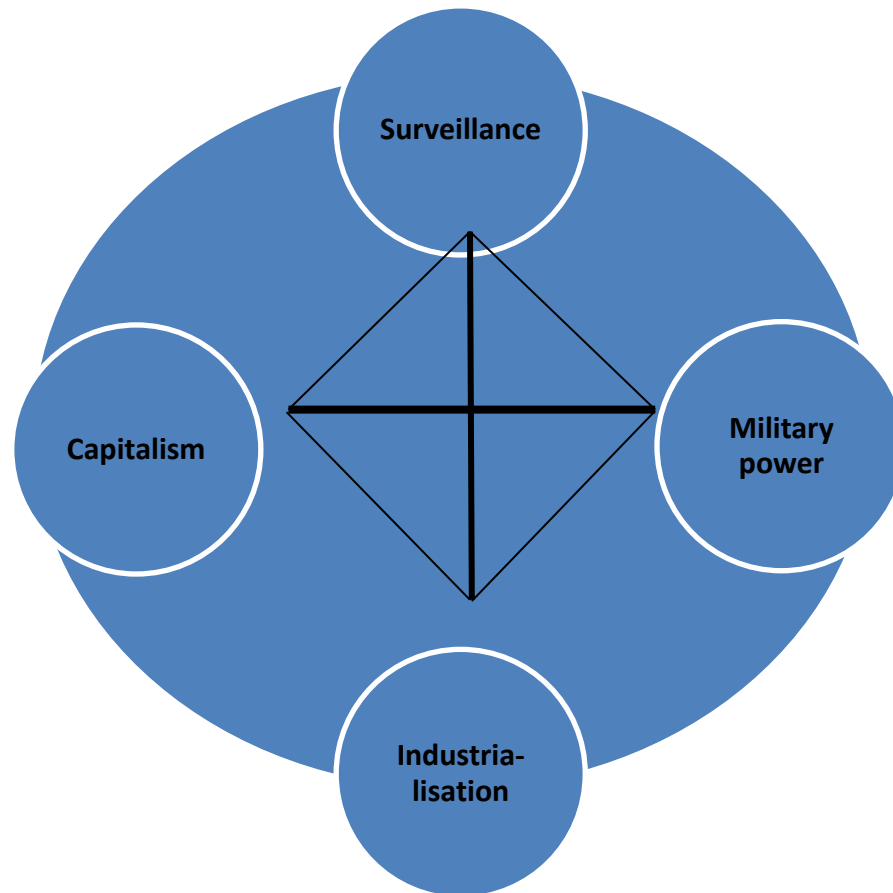


Důležité pojmy

- Časo-prostorové rozpojení
- Vyvazující mechanismy
 - Expertní systémy (vlak, telegraf, telefon, satelit...)
 - Symbolické znaky (peníze, jazyk...)

The Institutional Dimensions of Modernity

Anthony Giddens





Francis Coppola, Godfather 1972, 1974, 1990



Klientelismus/tradiční společnost	Liberalismus/moderní společnost
Sociální hierarchie	Právní rovnost
Přátelství a nerovnost/neformálnost	Občanství/formálnost/instituce
Panství: tradice, charisma	Panství legální: právo, spravedlnost
Patrimoniální správa, vrchnost	Byrokratická správa
Pozemková držba	Soukromé/veřejné právo
Feudalismus, plebejství	Trh, soutěž
Dar, samozásobitelství	Monetární směna
Patronáž/podřízenost	Autonomie/partnerství
Strach/specifická recipocita	Důvěra/obecná recipocita
Bonding social capital/mechanická solidarita	Bridging social capital/organická solidarita







UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN

NORTH SEA

KINGDOM OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN

BALTIC SEA

IRELAND

ENGLAND

WALES

K. of DENMARK

GERMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA

EAST PRUSSIA

EMPIRE OF ALL RUSSIA

Netherlands

Belgium

THE CHANNEL

FRENCH REPUBLIC

Switzerland

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

HUNGARY

ROMANIA

BULGARIA

BLACK SEA

KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

KINGDOM OF ITALY

Kingdom of Serbia

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

GREECE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

SULTANATE OF MOROCCO

ALGERIA unified with French republic

TUNISIA under French protectorate

Malta British colony

CRETE

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

CYPRUS British

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

EGYPT under British occupation

Emirate of Jebel Shammar

Emirate of Kuwait

PELOPONNESIA

SIAM

GUANGDONG





NORTH SEA

KINGDOM OF SWEDEN

KINGDOM OF DENMARK

BALTIC SEA

TSARDOM OF MUSCOVY

KINGDOM OF ENGLAND in personal union with Scotland and United Netherlands

Dominions of Brandenburg

COMMONWEALTH OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA in personal union with Saxony

THE CHANNEL

KINGDOM OF FRANCE

Electorate of Bavaria

AUSTRIAN MONARCHY

BLACK SEA

KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL

SPANISH MONARCHY

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

EMPIRE OF FEZ AND MOROCCO

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

SEFEVID PERSIA

PE... IA



KINGDOM OF SWEDEN

KINGDOM OF DENMARK

BALTIC SEA

TSARDOM OF MUSCOVY

KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND

NORTH SEA

KINGDOM OF ENGLAND

Wolgast Pomerania of Stettin

Duchy of Prussia

COMMONWEALTH OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA

Tyrone

Thomond

United Provinces

Brandenburg

GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

Munster

KINGDOM OF FRANCE

Electorate of Saxony

CROWN OF POLAND

THE CHANNEL

EIGHTH OF BRITAIN

Duchy of Bavaria

Principality of Transylvania

Principality of Moldavia

KINGDOM OF FRANCE

Switzerland

Principality of Wallachia

BLACK SEA

Duchy of Savoy

VENICE

Principality of Wallachia

KHANATE OF CRIMEA

Genoa

Tuscany

Principality of Wallachia

Abkhazia

CROWN OF CASTILE

ST PETER

Principality of Wallachia

Mingrelia

CROWN OF ARAGON

VICEROYALTY OF THE TWO SICILIES

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

SAINT JOHN

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

TUNIS

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

EVALET OF TRIPOLI IN AFRICA

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

LABBES

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

WARGLA

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

GHADAMES

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

FEZZAN

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

FEZZAN

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

FEZZAN

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

KINGDOM OF SPAIN

FEZZAN





Lordship of Orkney
CATHNESS
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA

KINGDOM OF NORWAY
UNION OF KALMAR
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
BALTIC SEA

DUCHY OF FINLAND
PRINCIPALITY OF NOVGOROD
Yaroslavl
Rostov
GRAND DUCHY OF VLADIMIR OR MUSCOVY

Ulster
Sligo
MEATH
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
THE CHANNEL

Mecklenburg
Brandenburg
CROWN OF BOHEMIA
KINGDOM OF POLAND AND GRAND-DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

DOMINION OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA
Principality of RIAZAN
TERRITORIES OF THE GOLDEN HORDE in struggle

FRANCE
SAVOY
Duchy of Milan
Provence

AUSTRIA
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Venice
D' of Bosnia

PRINCIPALITY OF WALLACHIA
ROMAN EMPIRE
OTTOMAN SULTANATE
BLACK SEA

KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
KINGDOM OF GRANADA

Kingdom of Naples
Kingdom of Sicily
Kingdom of Cyprus

EMPIRE OF THE ILKHANS
JALAYRIDS
EMPIRE OF THE OTTOMANS
DOMINION OF EMIR TIMUR called Tamburlan

KINGDOM OF THE MARINIDS
ZAYYANID KINGDOM
Emirate of the Zab
Gafsa and Tozeur

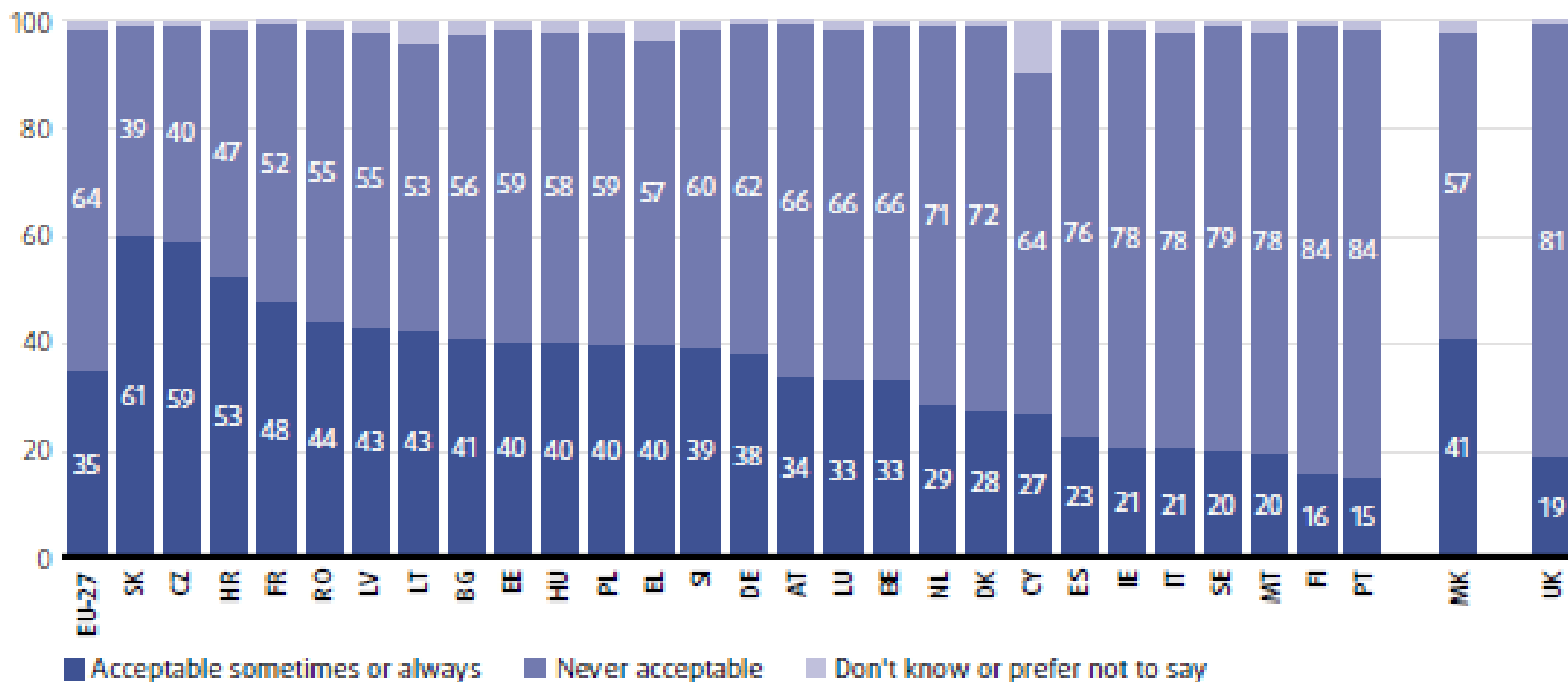
Kingdom of Cyprus
SULTANATE OF EGYPT

EMPIRE OF THE ILKHANS
JALAYRIDS
EMPIRE OF THE OTTOMANS
DOMINION OF EMIR TIMUR called Tamburlan



Klientelismus x formální pravidla

FIGURE 24: VIEWS ON ACCEPTABILITY OF GIVING A GIFT TO OR DOING A FAVOUR FOR A PUBLIC OFFICIAL OR CIVIL SERVANT IF NEED SOMETHING URGENTLY FROM THEM, BY COUNTRY (%)

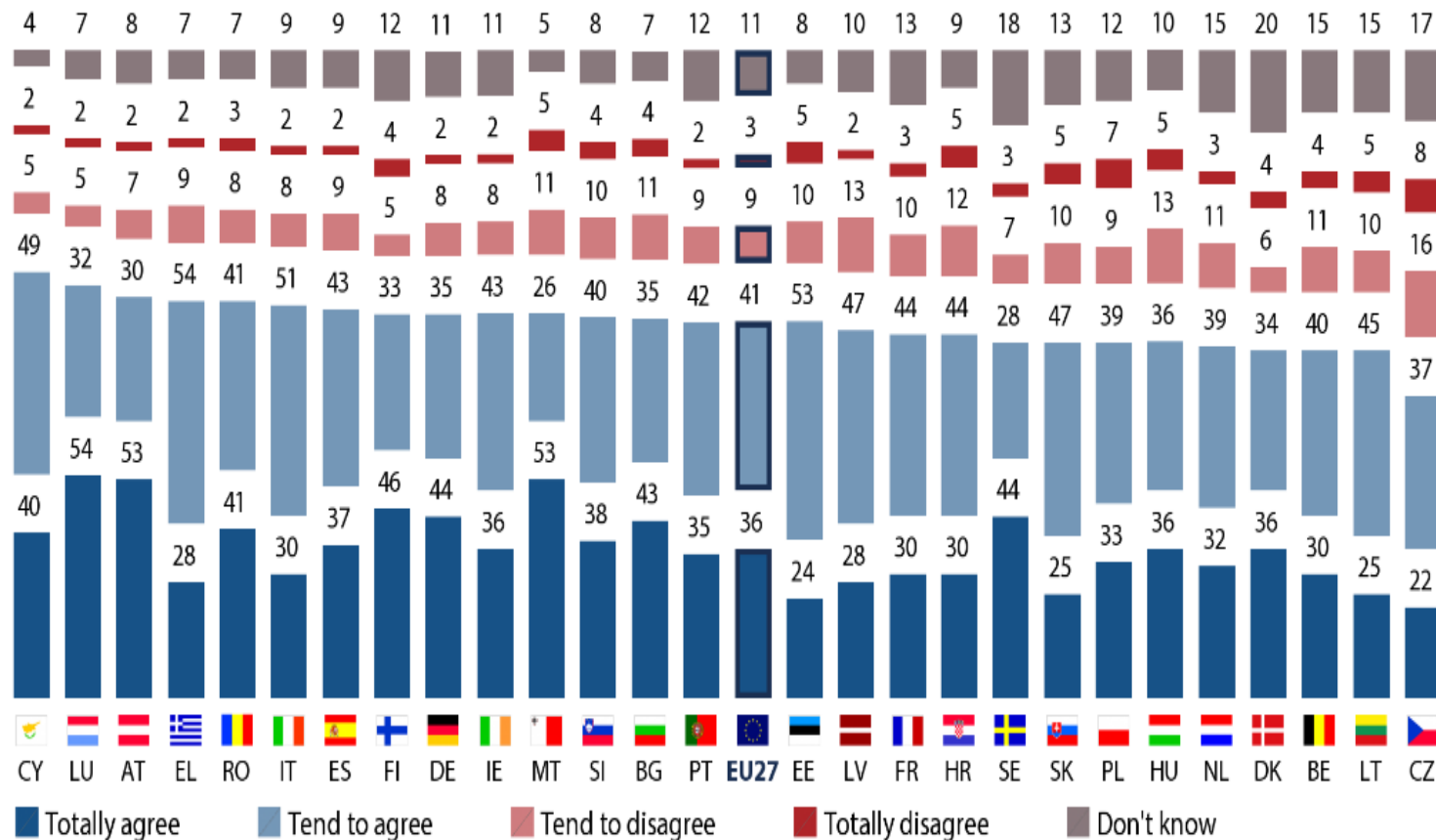


Source: FRA, Fundamental Rights Survey 2019 [Data collection in cooperation with CBS (NL), CTIE (LU) and Statistics Austria (AT)]

At least seven in ten respondents agree with this statement in all EU Member States but Czechia - more than half «totally agree» in LU, AT and MT

Q11 To be part of the European Union, Member States agree to share and respect common values including the rule of law (which includes press freedom, independence of justice, fight against corruption, protection of individual rights, etc.). Do you agree or disagree with this statement: The EU should only provide funds to Member States conditional upon their government's implementation of the rule of law and of democratic principles?

(%)



Přehled počtu obcí podle počtu obyvatel

Obce s počtem obyvatel	Počet obcí	Počet obcí (v kumulaci)	% celkové populace	% celkové populace (v kumulaci)
0-100	557	557	0.4	0.4
101-200	1 086	1 643	1.6	2.0
201-300	890	2 533	2.1	4.1
301-1500	2 850	5 383	18.4	22.5
1 501-5 000	592	5 975	14.8	37.3
5 001-10 000	137	6 112	9.1	46.4
10 001-20 000	68	6 180	9.3	55.8
20 001-30 000	28	6 208	6.8	62.6
30 001-40 000	9	6 217	3.1	65.7
40 001-50 000	5	6 222	2.3	68.0
50 001-100 000	16	6 238	11.3	79.3
100 001-150 000	1	6 239	1.0	80.3
150 000 a více	3	6 242	8.2	88.5
Praha	1	6 243	11.5	100.0



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SIGNIFICANT IMPROVERS



[vysoká škola]

ESTONIA (76)



Since 2014

SIGNIFICANT DECLINERS

HUNGARY (42)



Since 2014

UNITED KINGDOM (71)



Since 2017

POLAND (54)



Since 2015

Historie Indexu v Česku^{[10][11]}

Rok	Pozice	Skóre	Změna ve skóre
2023	41.	57	▲ +1
2022 ^[12]	41.	56	▲ +2
2021 ^[6]	49.	54	–
2020 ^[13]	49.	54	▼ -2
2019 ^[14]	44.	56	▼ -3
2018 ^[15]	38.	59	▲ +2
2017 ^[16]	42.	57	▲ +2
2016 ^[17]	47.	55	▼ -1
2015 ^[18]	38.	56	▲ +5
2014 ^[19]	50.	51	▲ +3
2013 ^[20]	57.	48	▼ -1
2012 ^[21]	54.	49	–



[vysoká škola]

REGIONAL OVERVIEW

TOP SCORERS

DENMARK

90/100

FINLAND

87/100

NORWAY

84/100

BOTTOM SCORERS

ROMANIA

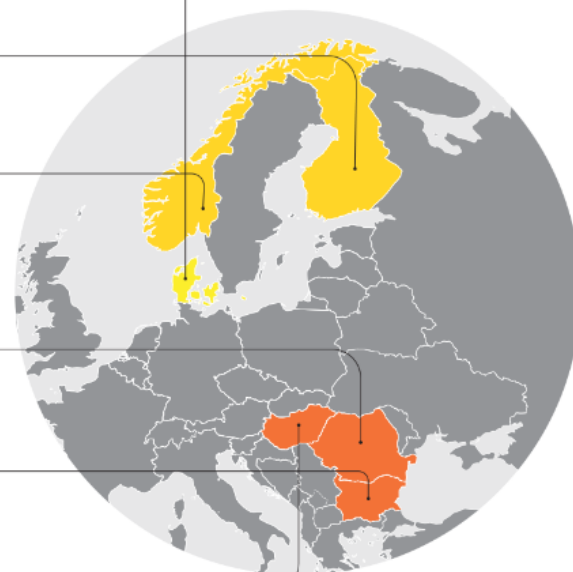
46/100

BULGARIA

45/100

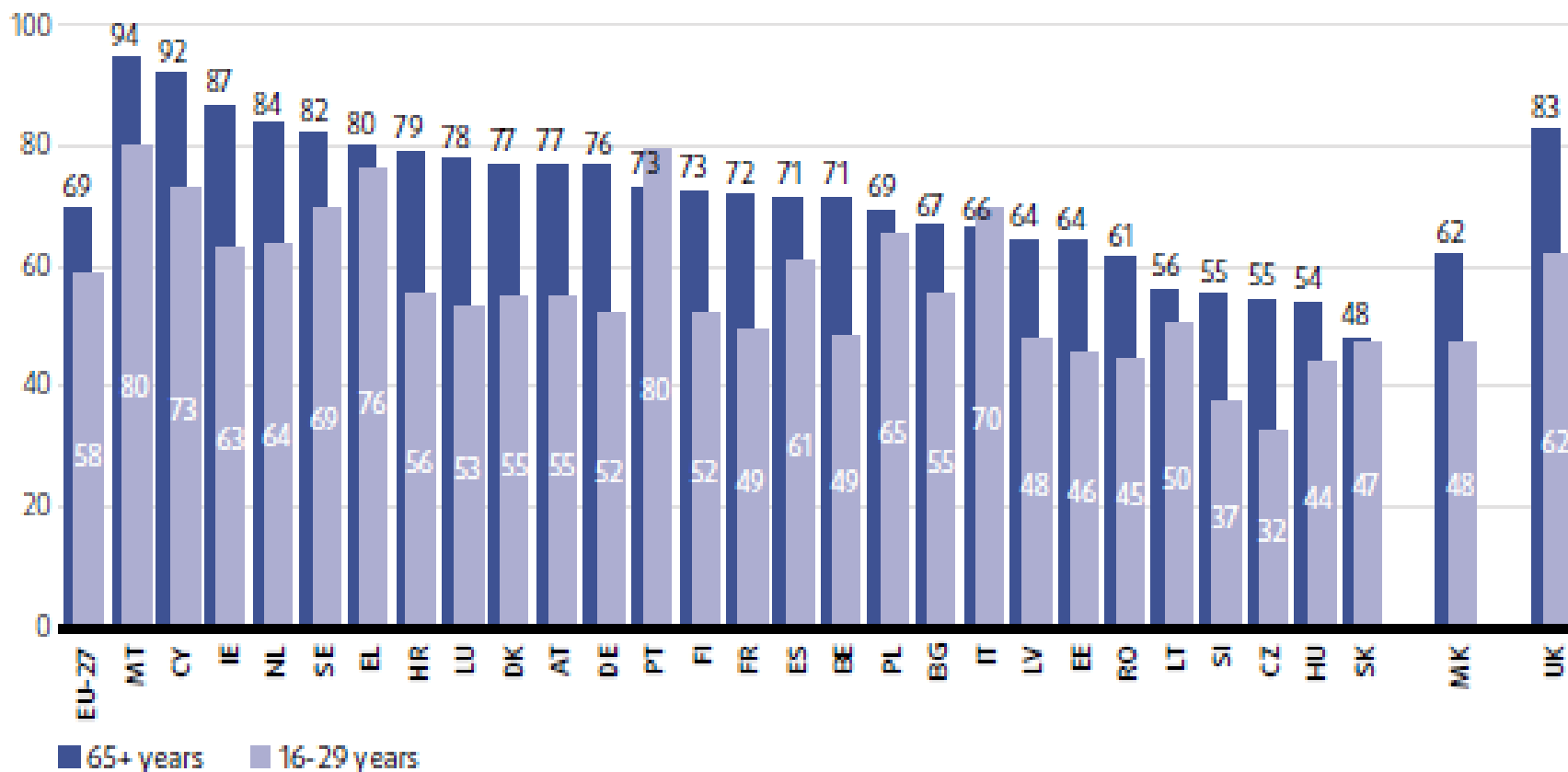
HUNGARY

42/100



Role opozice

FIGURE 11: CONSIDERING FREEDOM OF OPPOSITION PARTIES TO CRITICISE THE GOVERNMENT TO BE OF HIGH IMPORTANCE, PEOPLE AGED 16-29 YEARS AND 65 YEARS AND OVER, BY COUNTRY (%) ⁴³



Source: FRA, Fundamental Rights Survey 2019 [Data collection in cooperation with CBS (NL), CTIE (LU) and Statistics Austria (AT)]



27.655 interviews
09 > 26 / 04 / 2019

European
Commission

Eurobarometer 91.3



1.019 interviews
09 > 22 / 04 / 2019

Rule of Law

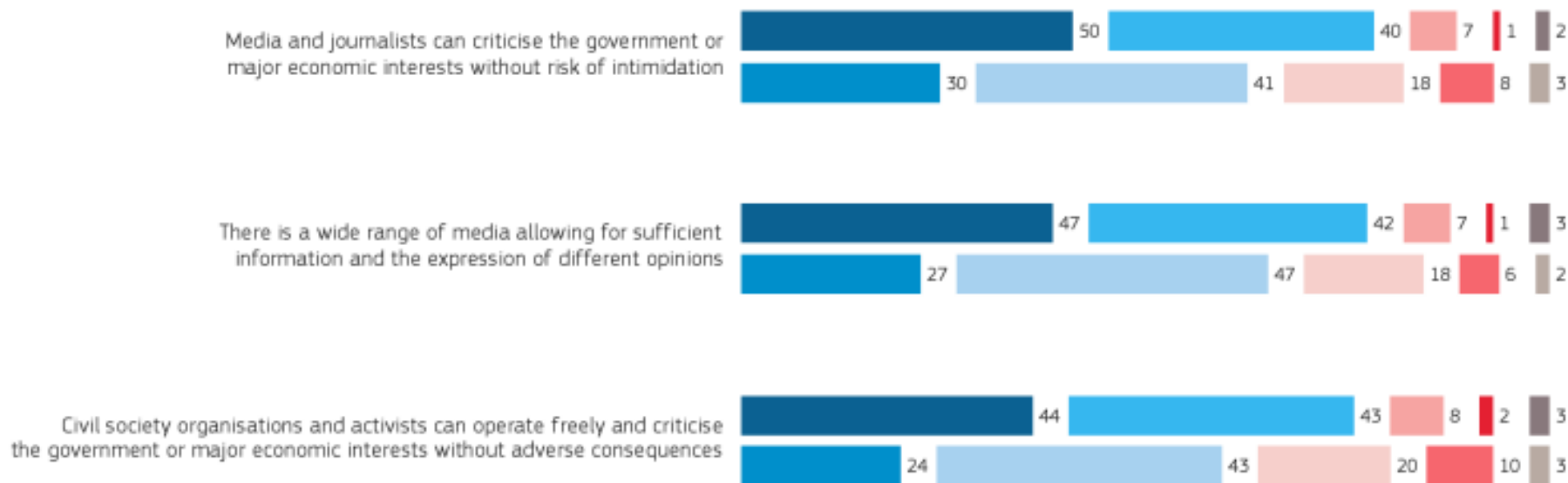
Methodology: face-to-face

Czechia

April 2019

4. MEDIA AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Q7 How important for you personally are the following points?
(%)



EU28



CZ



Essential

Important

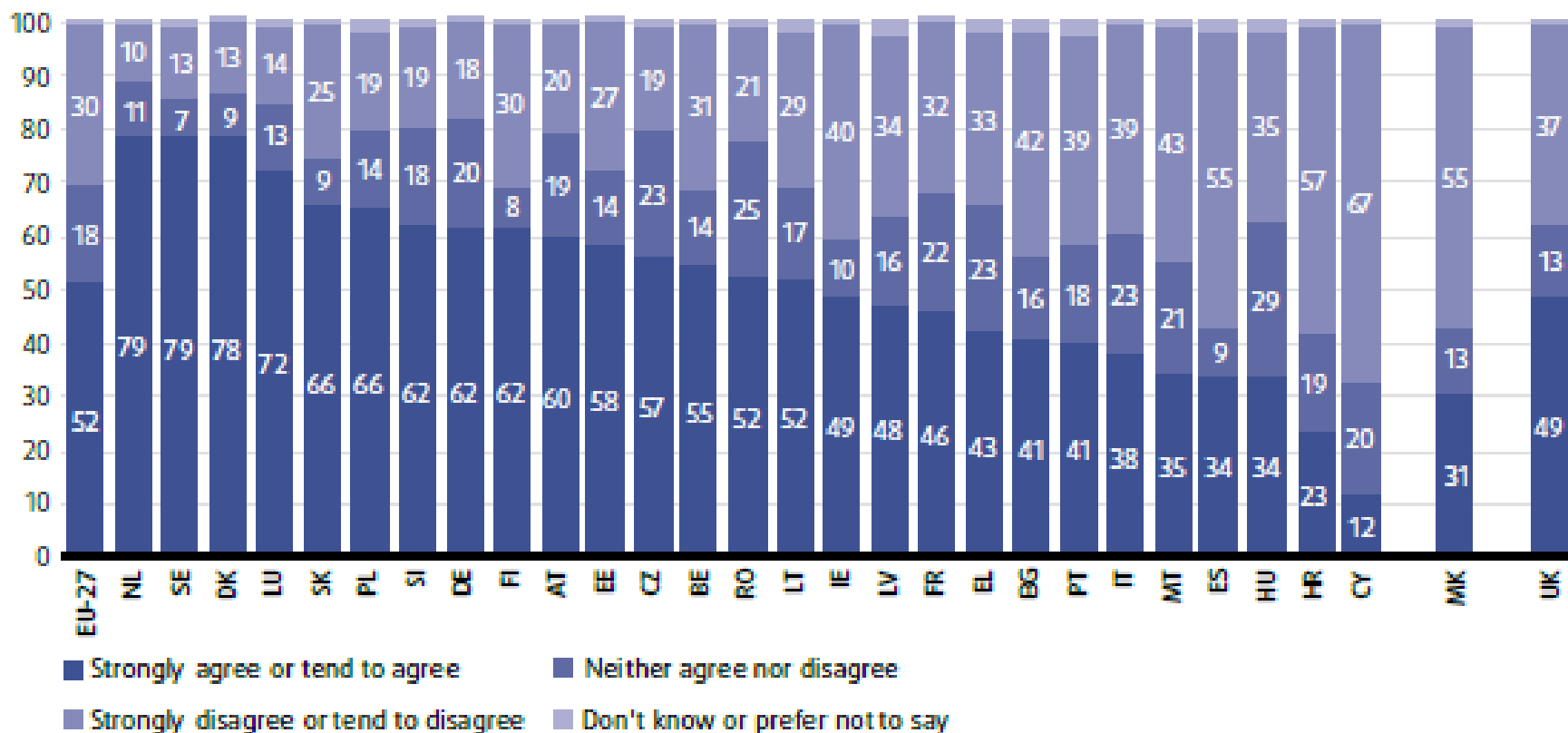
Not so important

Not at all important

Don't know

Ochrana lidských práv

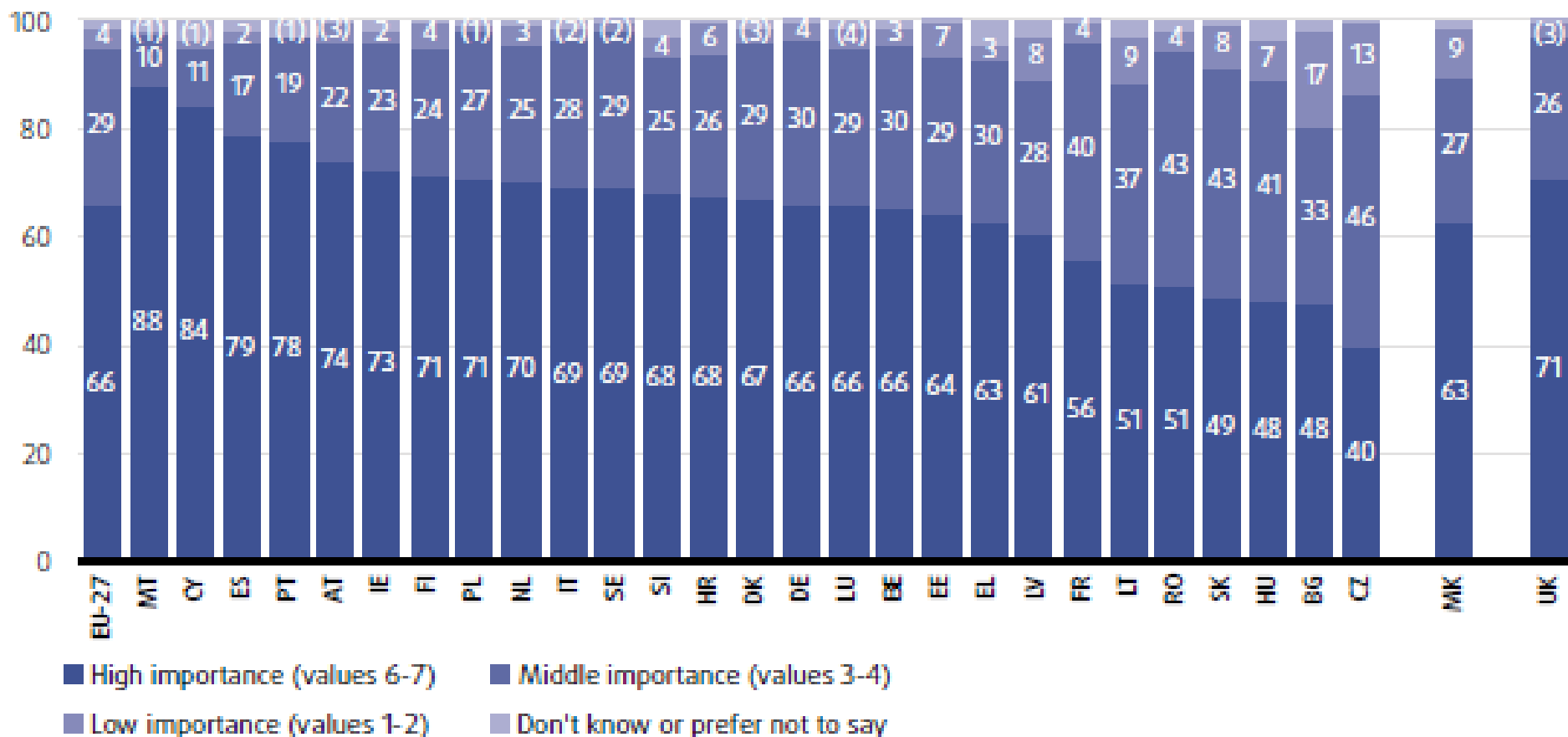
FIGURE 2: VIEWS ON THE STATEMENT “EVERYONE IN [THIS COUNTRY] ENJOYS THE SAME BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS”, BY COUNTRY (%)



Source: FRA, Fundamental Rights Survey 2019 [Data collection in cooperation with CBS (NL), CTIE (LU) and Statistics Austria (AT)]

Ochrana menšín

FIGURE 10: IMPORTANCE TO DEMOCRACY THAT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUPS ARE PROTECTED, BY COUNTRY (%) ^{a,b,c}



Schwartzova teorie základních lidských super-hodnot

Otevřenost

- Důraz na možnosti
- Touha po samostatnosti
- Nezávislost jednání a myšlení
- Otevřenost novým zkušenostem, neznámému, cizímu
- Ochota ke změnám
- Liberalismus

Konzervatismus

- Důraz na bezpečí, jistoty
- Konformismus
- Závaznost tradic
- Důraz na řád
- Odolnost/uzavřenost vůči změnám
- Klientelismus/nacionalismus

Schwartzova teorie základních lidských super/hodnot

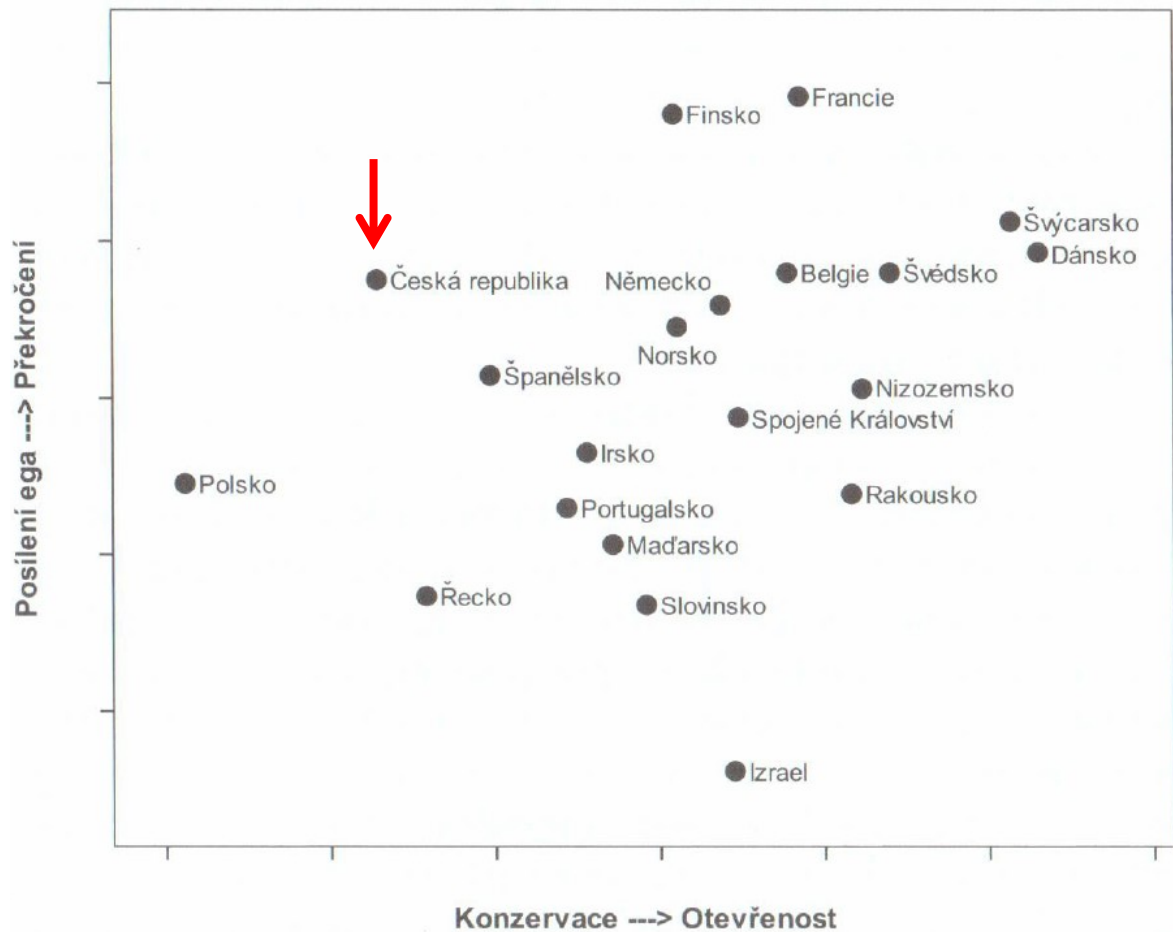
Sebe-střednost

- Důraz na vlastní zájmy
- Touha po moci
- Zaměření na úspěch, požitkářství

Překročení sebe sama/empatie

- Důraz na univerzální hodnoty
- Tolerance, benevolence
- Zájem o ostatní, o obecný zájem, blaho

Diagram: Srovnání hodnot u Čechů a obyvatel jiných evropských zemí



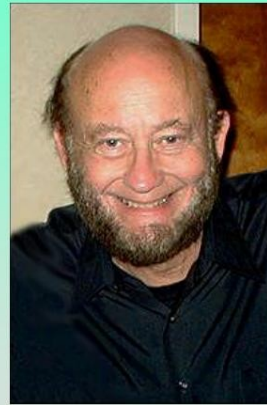
53% Čechů si myslí, že jejich kultura je lepší než většina ostatních kultur (červen 2019, STEM/Median)

Zdroj: Evropský sociální výzkum (European Social Survey – ESS) 2012



Střední třídy a post-materiální hodnoty

- Silent Revolution (1977)
- Survival taken for granted
- New social movements (cultural revolution)
 - Welfare state
 - Economic miracle
 - Longest peace in history
- Cultural Shift in Advanced Industrial Society (1990)



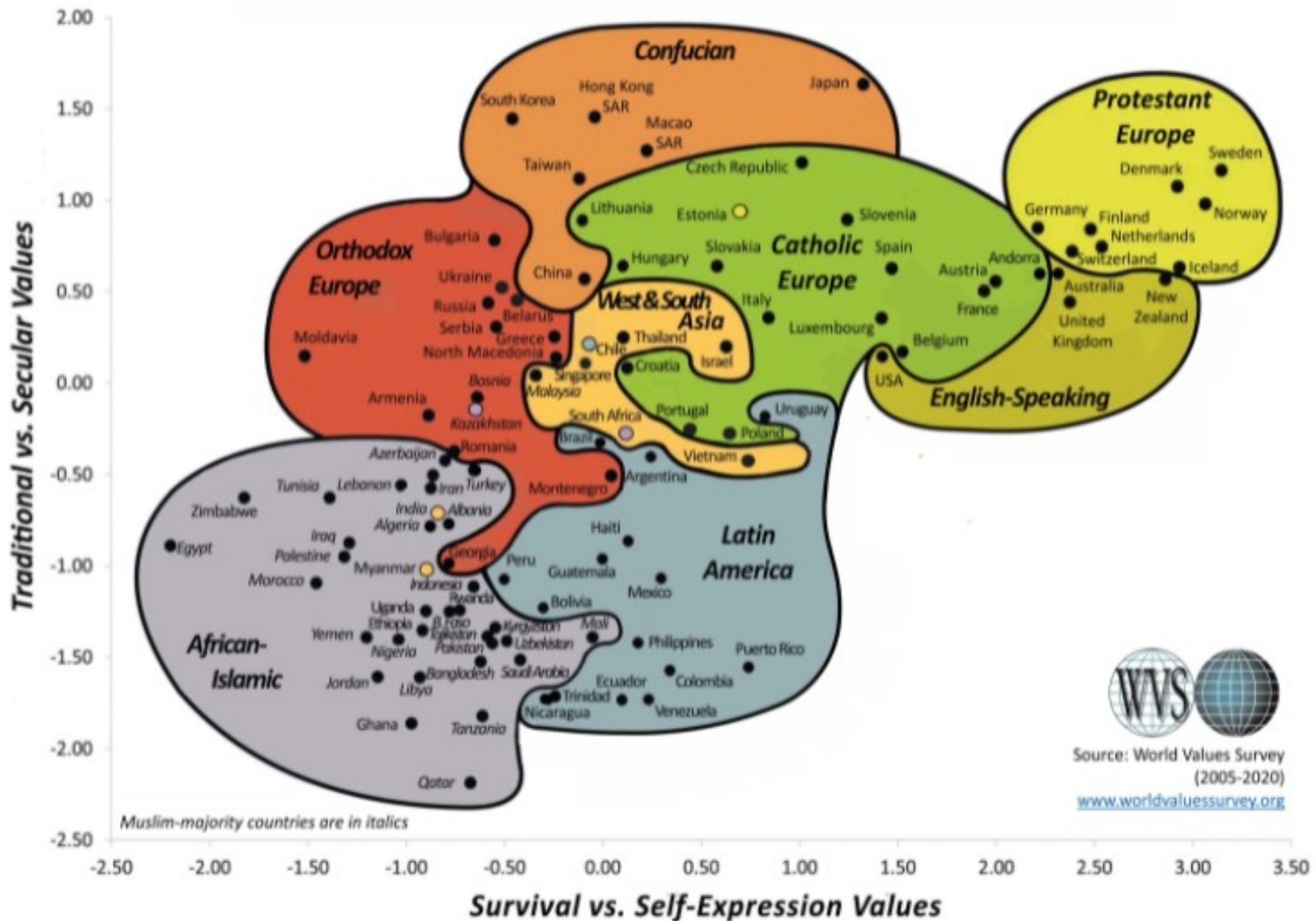
Ronald Inglehart

The World Value Survey

Two dimensions of values

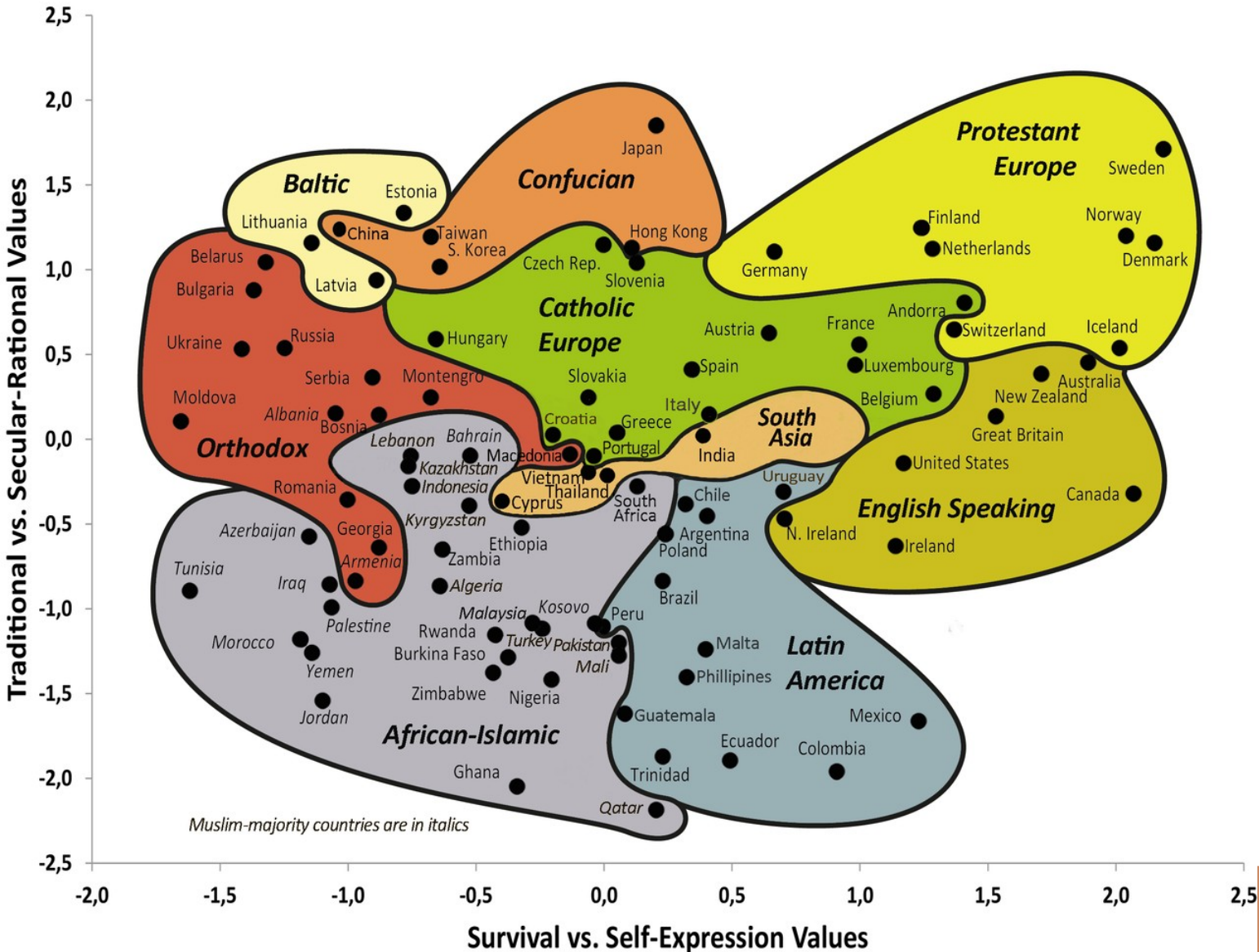
- Secular-rational vs. traditional authority
- Survival (materialistic) vs. post-materialistic values

The Inglehart-Welzel World Cultural Map (2020)



Citation format when re-printing the map: The Inglehart-Welzel World Cultural Map - World Values Survey 7 (2020) [Provisional version]. Source: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

The World Value Survey 2017



Stages of Transitions

(Ernest Gellner)

- Viennese situation (1815): 1. ZONE
- Age of Irredentism: 2. ZONE
 - GERMANY 1871, ITALY 1866, 1870 (RISORGIMENTO)
- Versailles (Wilson) System: 3. ZONE
 - 1918, self-determination
- Ethnic Cleansing: 4. ZONE
 - 1945/46, 1989 – 1992 (USSR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia)
- Attenuation (?)

2 basic types of nation-forming processes in Europe (*Europe 1700*)

Miroslav Hroch

Integrated state-nation societies

{7 states} F, E, D, P, S, Sp., D

- tradition of statehood
- complete social structure (national elites)
- tradition of literary language (language of administration & national elites)

Stateless societies

{more than 30 ethnic groups}

- living within multiethnic states or empires
- non-dominant ethnic groups



Gellner – 4 time zones (West – East direction)

„Modern forces inevitably have been working towards the confluence of political and cultural borders, towards merging political and cultural units.“

1. ZONE (*Europe 1800*)

Marriage of state and culture has been achieved during early modernity (age of enlightenment)

States survived the Middle Ages – continuity of independent statehood {7 states) – politically and culturally integrated. The process of integration lasted centuries.



2. ZONE (*Europe 1900*)



Marriage of state and culture has been achieved in the second half of 19th century

Germany : 1871 Bismarck

Italy: Risorgimento – the period of liberation and political unification of Italy 1866/1870

(Mazzini, Garibaldi)

No state continuity but other preconditions existed - culturally integrated, political fragmentation – high culture

Greece: independence war
1821-1829 (1832)

Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia 1878

3. ZONE (*Europe 1918*)

East Central Europe, 1918-1923



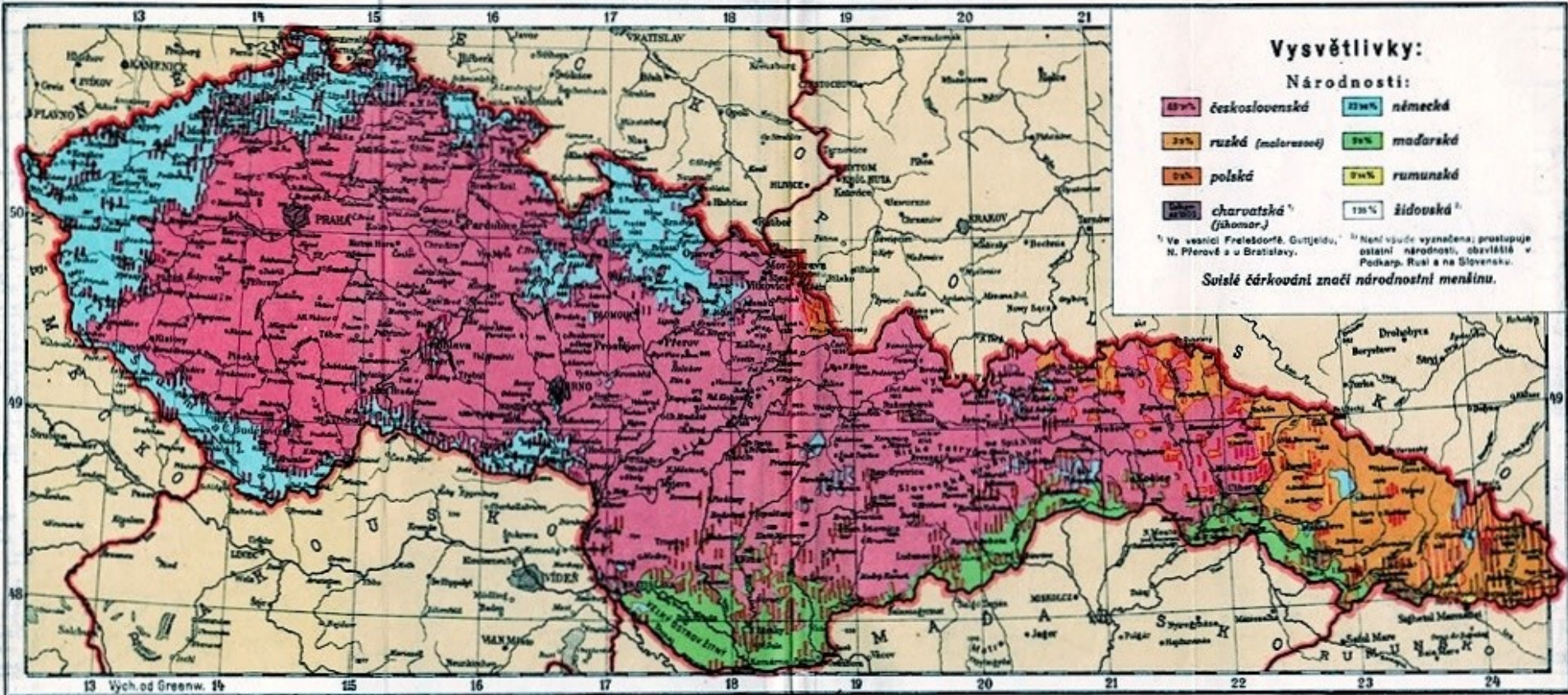
Political + cultural fragmentation, many dialects, it was not always obvious what was a new language and what was only regional dialects (Slavonic languages), linguistic lines were very blurred.

Many of these states became independent after 1st world war – principle of self-determination.

No statehood but remnant {partly remaining} and functioning institutions in multi-ethnic state {Habsburg Empire} – C, H, P, Norway



REPUBLIKA ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ. POMĚRY NÁRODNOSTNÍ.



Vysvětlivky:

Národnosti:

- 48% československá
- 13% německá
- 3% ruská (maloruská)
- 9% maďarská
- 2% polská
- 0% rumunská
- 0% chorvátská¹⁾ (jehomar.)
- 1% židovská²⁾

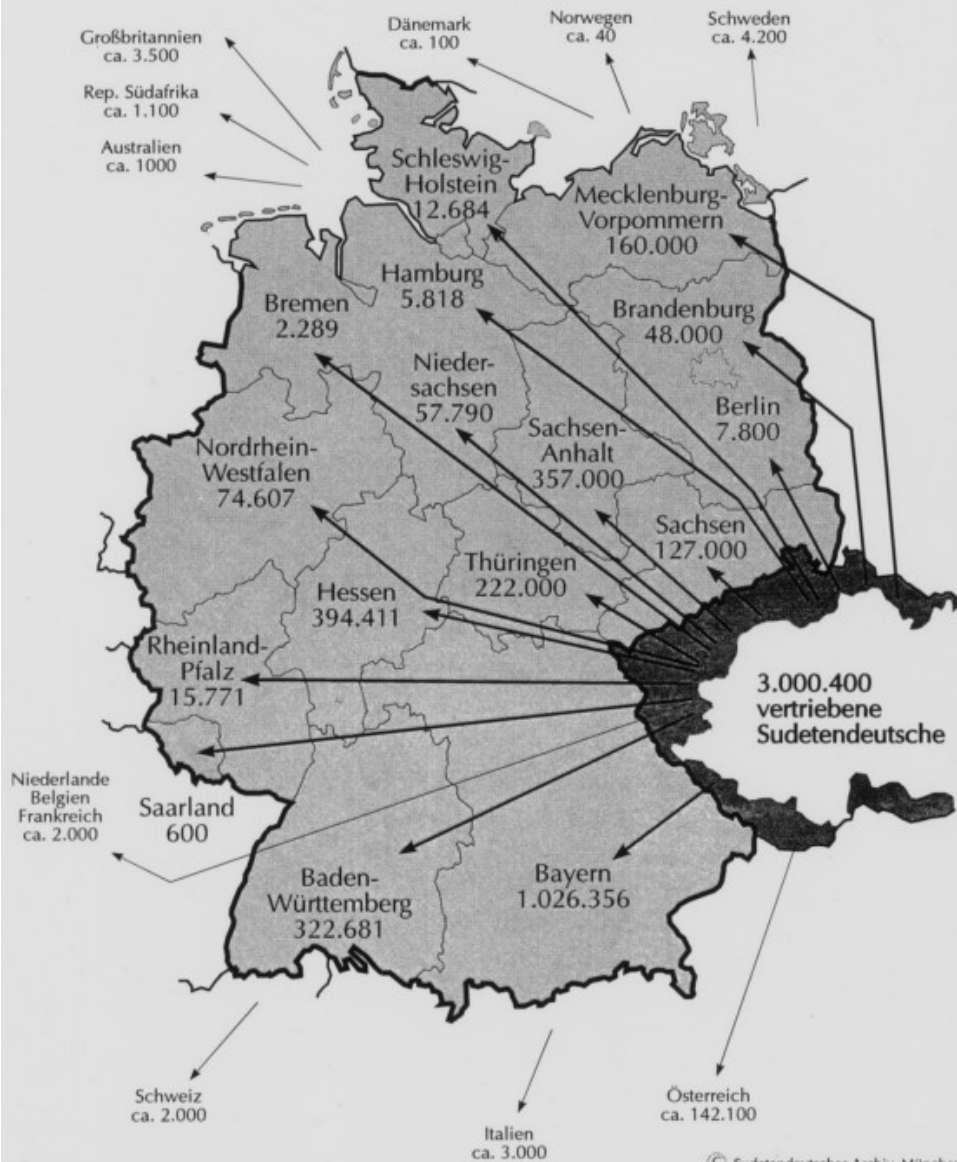
¹⁾ Ve vesnici Frelšdorfě, Guttjeidu, ²⁾ Není v úvodě vyznačena; prostupuje ostatní národnosti; obývájí v Podharp. Ruki a na Slovensku.

Svislé čárkování značí národnostní menšinu.

13 Vých. od Greenw. 14

Die sudetendeutschen Heimatvertriebenen und ihre Aufnahmeländer

(Ergebnis der Volkszählung vom 13. September 1950)



4. ZONE (*Europe 2000+*)

No tradition of independent statehood at all {Slovakia, Slovenia, Finland, Estonia} - orientation towards cultural/folklore history.

The spread of bolshevism repressed the national emancipation movements

USSR – Ukraine, Baltic States

Yugoslavia – Slovenia, Croatia, Monte Negro, Macedonia ...



Post/moderní kritika modernizace

- Pokrok není nevyhnutelný! Regres je naopak pravděpodobný/nevyhnutelný (**ústup evolucionismus**), vědomí rizik (Beck)
- Co to vlastně je „pokrok“? K čemu směřujeme? Jak lze měřit? (**rozpad teleologie**)
- Přispívá vědění k pokroku lidstva? Nemůže taky škodit? Růst skepse (**reflexivita vědění**)
- Jaká je role Západu? (**ztráta privilegované pozice**), pád kolonialismu, přijetí multi-kulturalismu, nová sociální hnutí ...



Opakování POJMŮ

- Tradiční x moderní
- Archaická, primitivní)-:
- Polo/moderní společnosti
- Jednoduchá modernizace
- Reflexivní modernizace/radikalizovaná modernita
- Post/moderní společnost
- Časoprostorové rozpojení, vyvazující mechanismy



HUSOV RALIA

ZIVILNASEN

RODNOVA

RODNOVA

RODNOVA

RODNOVA

RODNOVA

RODNOVA

RODNOVA









HUSOVBALVAN
ZPÍZENĚTSPENIA
ZEMĚZÁVĚA WIEI
ZPÍZENĚI NÁŠI
REPUBLIKY
ODDELEMI
ČERNOSIC
DOBNĚCH
DUHOVNĚCH
1919







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[vysoká škola]



Could you please mention that you would not like to have as neighbors? Immigrants/foreign workers (mentioned, not mentioned).

WVS time-series (1981-2020)

	staré státy EU						Česko						nové státy EU					
1989-1993	0	12	12	88	0	88	26	26	74	74	0	29	29	71	0	71		
1994-1998	0	8	8	92	0	92	28	28	72	72	0	22	22	78	0	78		
1999-2004	0	10	10	89	0	89	19	19	81	81	0	22	22	79	0	79		
2005-2009	0	12	12	84	0	84	29	29	67	67	0	18	18	78	0	78		
2010-2014	0	13	13	87	0	87		0		0	0	14	14	86	0	86		
2017-2020	0	13	13	85	0	85	53	53	37	37	0	29	29	64	0	64		
	protestanská Evropa						katolická Evropa						ortodoxní Evropa					
1989-1993	0	9	9	91	0	91	0	18	18	82	0	82	0	25	25	75	0	75
1994-1998	0	9	9	91	0	91	0	15	15	85	0	85	0	18	18	82	0	82
1999-2004	0	8	8	90	0	90	0	15	15	85	0	85	0	16	16	84	0	84
2005-2009	0	9	9	87	0	87	0	17	17	81	0	81	0	20	20	77	0	77
2010-2014	0	15	15	85	0	85	0	10	10	90	0	90	0	24	24	76	0	76
2017-2020	0	9	9	90	0	90	0	16	16	80	0	80	0	33	33	62	0	62
	bývalý Západ						Evropská unie						bývalý Východ					
1989-1993	0	11	11	89	0	89	0	17	17	83	0	83	0	25	25	75	0	75
1994-1998	0	8	8	92	0	92	0	15	15	85	0	85	0	19	19	81	0	81
1999-2004	0	10	10	89	0	89	0	14	14	86	0	86	0	17	17	83	0	83
2005-2009	0	12	12	85	0	85	0	14	14	82	0	82	0	21	21	76	0	76
2010-2014	0	13	13	87	0	87	0	13	13	86	0	86	0	19	19	81	0	81
2017-2020	0	12	12	86	0	86	0	18	18	79	0	79	0	30	30	64	0	64

How important it is in your life: Politics

(very, important, rather important, not very important or not important at all) WVS time-series (1981-2020).

	staré státy EU						Česko						nové státy EU					
1989-1993	8	28	36	38	24	62	9	28	37	41	21	62	9	23	32	40	24	65
1994-1998	8	27	35	41	24	64	3	22	25	45	29	74	6	18	24	41	34	74
1999-2004	8	30	38	41	20	61	6	25	31	48	19	67	5	19	25	42	31	73
2005-2009	10	35	44	37	18	55	5	16	21	42	35	77	5	19	24	42	33	75
2010-2014	9	33	42	40	18	57			0			0	4	18	23	43	34	77
2017-2020	11	38	49	35	15	50	6	19	25	44	29	73	9	22	30	37	32	69
	protestantská Evropa						katolická Evropa						ortodoxní Evropa					
1989-1993	9	33	42	40	17	57	8	22	30	37	30	67	10	24	34	39	24	63
1994-1998	8	31	39	43	18	61	6	17	23	39	37	76	7	19	26	40	31	71
1999-2004	8	34	42	42	15	57	7	23	29	42	28	70	8	24	32	40	26	66
2005-2009	9	38	47	39	13	52	8	26	34	39	26	65	8	25	34	38	27	65
2010-2014	10	39	49	39	11	50	4	18	22	44	33	78	7	19	26	40	33	73
2017-2020	11	45	56	36	8	43	10	30	39	37	24	60	10	21	31	35	31	66
	bývalý Západ						Evropská unie						bývalý Východ					
1989-1993	8	29	37	38	24	61	8	27	35	39	24	63	9	23	32	40	23	63
1994-1998	8	28	35	41	23	63	7	22	29	41	29	69	6	18	25	41	32	73
1999-2004	8	30	38	41	20	61	7	27	34	41	23	65	6	22	28	41	28	69
2005-2009	10	35	45	37	17	54	8	30	38	39	22	61	6	21	28	41	30	71
2010-2014	9	33	42	40	18	57	7	27	34	41	25	66	5	19	25	42	32	75
2017-2020	11	38	49	35	15	50	10	34	44	35	20	55	8	22	30	37	30	67

Q 4: How important it is in your life: **Politics** (very important, rather important, not very important or not important at all)

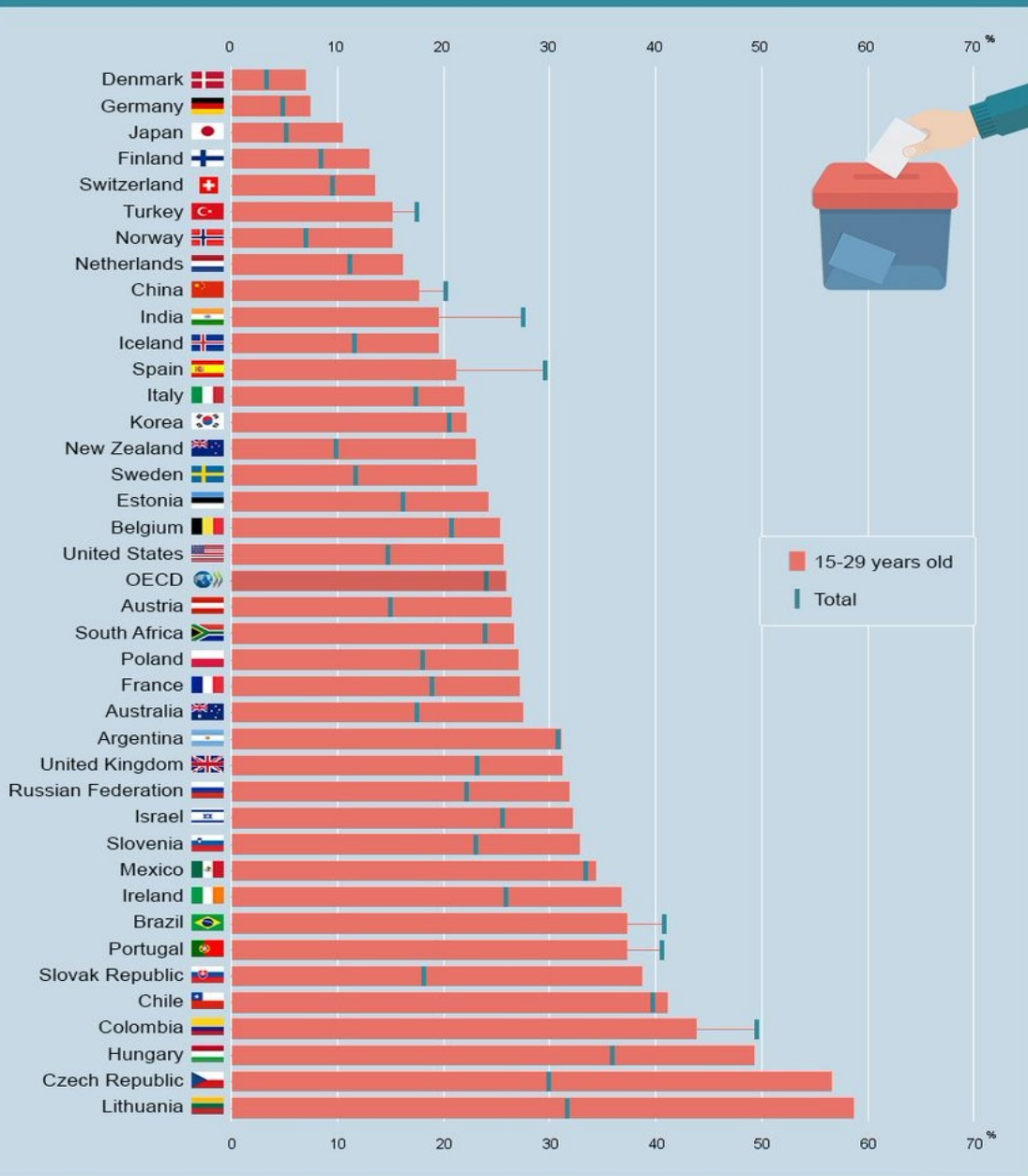
škola]

WVS time-series (1981-2020).

	Německo						Rakousko						Řecko					
1989-1993	10	34	44	41	13	54	7	27	34	38	25	63			0			0
1994-1998	11	40	51	39	10	49			0			0			0			0
1999-2004	9	30	39	41	19	60	10	31	41	43	15	58	9	27	36	40	23	63
2005-2009	8	33	41	40	17	57	11	30	41	42	17	59	14	38	52	30	18	48
2010-2014	10	34	44	43	13	56			0			0			0			0
2017-2020	15	51	66	26	6	32	11	39	50	36	13	49	10	23	33	32	34	66
	Nizozemí						Polsko						Bulharsko					
1989-1993	12	41	53	33	13	46	10	27	37	38	19	57	15	30	45	39	13	52
1994-1998			0			0	7	23	30	37	30	67	7	18	25	41	31	72
1999-2004	10	46	56	36	7	43	7	23	30	45	23	68	7	22	29	45	20	65
2005-2009	9	44	53	34	12	46	6	22	28	41	29	70	7	21	28	41	29	70
2010-2014	3	37	40	46	12	58	5	28	33	45	22	67			0			0
2017-2020	6	48	54	37	8	45	8	36	44	34	22	56	12	24	36	35	27	62
	Švédsko						Itálie						Rumunsko					
1989-1993	11	34	45	36	15	54	7	23	30	35	34	69	4	16	20	37	40	77
1994-1998	11	36	47	41	12	53			0			0	7	18	25	37	36	73
1999-2004	11	43	54	37	8	45	8	26	34	42	24	66	5	20	25	33	41	74
2005-2009	11	41	52	37	9	46	10	32	42	34	23	57	5	18	23	37	38	75
2010-2014	17	45	62	28	9	37			0			0	6	17	23	38	38	76
2017-2020	21	54	75	20	5	25	11	35	46	35	18	53	10	14	24	33	42	75
	Dánsko						Španělsko						Srbsko					
1989-1993	8	35	43	41	15	56	6	15	21	32	45	77			0			0
1994-1998			0			0	8	15	23	32	43	75	7	17	24	42	32	74
1999-2004	8	33	41	44	14	58	6	16	22	39	38	77	5	20	25	45	29	74
2005-2009	12	43	55	39	6	45	6	21	27	39	33	72	6	20	26	44	29	73
2010-2014			0			0	6	16	22	41	37	78			0			0
2017-2020	8	38	46	45	8	53	14	26	40	36	24	60	6	19	25	40	34	74
	Švýcarsko						Slovinsko						Rusko					
1989-1993	11	30	41	35	22	57	7	17	24	47	25	72	11	25	36	40	19	59
1994-1998	6	31	37	42	19	61	3	12	15	47	38	85	8	19	27	43	29	72
1999-2004			0			0	2	12	14	45	40	85	8	30	38	40	21	61
2005-2009	12	38	50	36	12	48	3	13	16	49	34	83	8	27	35	40	22	62
2010-2014			0			0	2	10	12	47	41	88	7	20	27	40	30	70
2017-2020	10	41	51	40	9	49	4	13	17	46	37	83	11	27	38	38	23	61
	Finsko						Francie						Ukrajina					
1989-1993	3	22	25	50	22	72	8	24	32	33	33	66			0			0
1994-1998	3	16	19	50	29	79			0			0	6	22	28	39	27	66
1999-2004	3	16	19	54	25	79	8	27	35	35	29	64	11	26	37	36	23	59
2005-2009	3	26	29	46	24	70	12	37	49	30	21	51	10	27	37	35	26	61
2010-2014			0			0			0			0	7	21	28	42	30	72
2017-2020	6	38	44	45	9	54	9	30	39	34	27	61	8	21	29	31	25	56

Not interested in politics?

People reporting to be not at all interested in politics, by age group (2012-2014)



[vysoká škola]

Depolitizace

- **Nezájem o politiku**
 - Omezený rekrutační rezervoár politických elit
 - Slabá veřejná kontrola politických institucí
 - Nedostatek (absence) zpětných vazeb
- **Stigmatizace politiky**
 - Dominance negativních zpětných vazeb
 - Obranný efekt uzavírání se, vyhoření, zcyničtění
 - Začarovaný kruh stigmatizace, negativní selekce
- **Despekt k diskusi a nerealistická očekávání**
 - Frustrace, deziluze na straně veřejnosti
 - Omezená reflexivita, efektivita institucí
 - Manipulativní, demonstrativní publicita, krize legitimacy

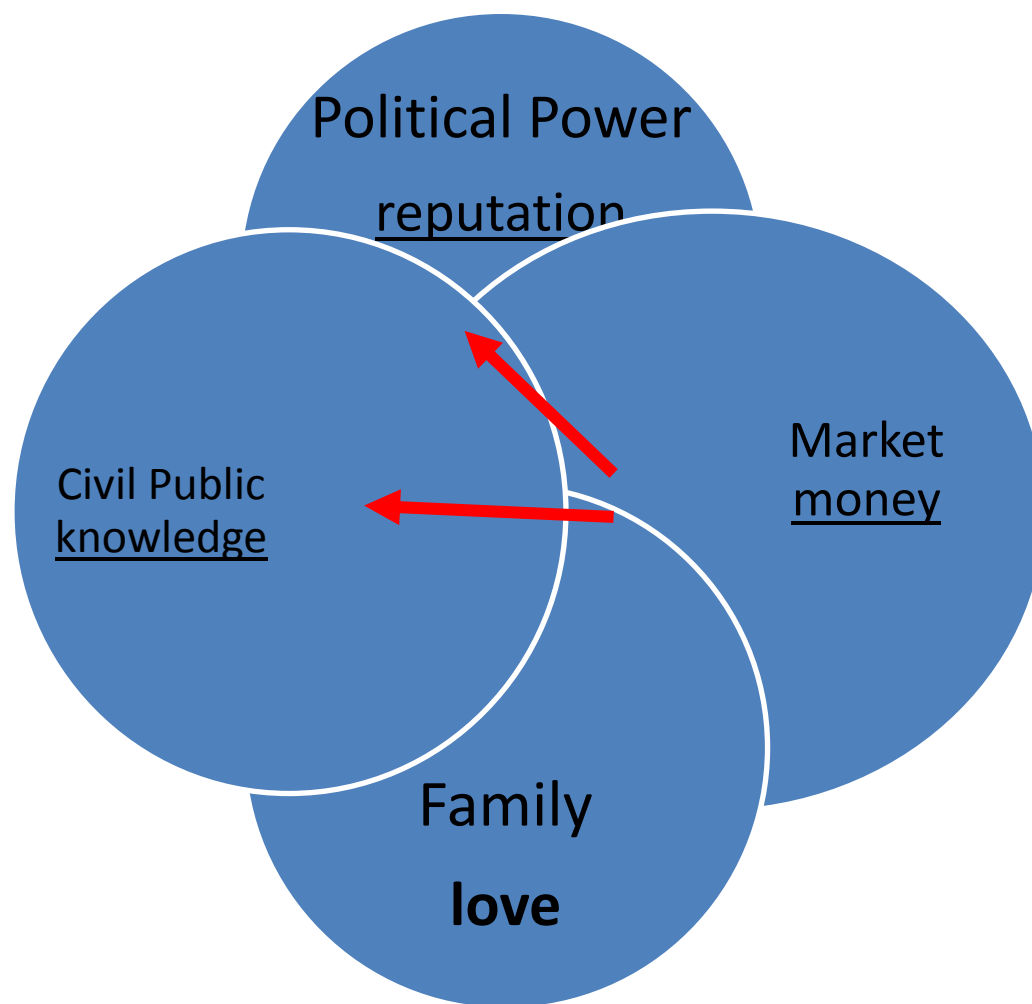


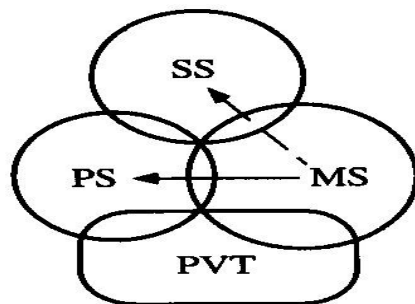
Clientelism, oligarchization, state capture (from 2013 on)



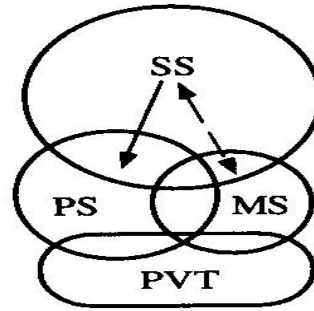


Conflict of Interests aneb Babišův problém (?)

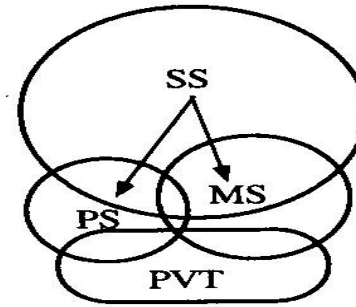




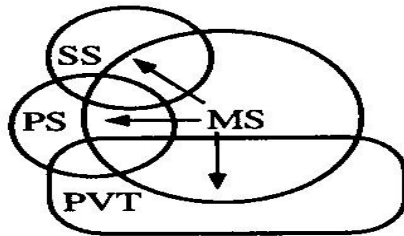
1. United States



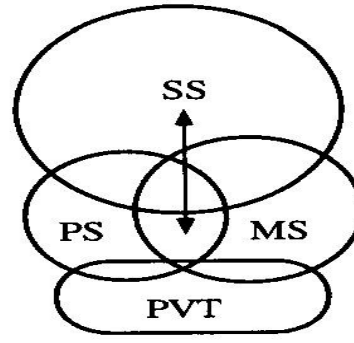
2. United Kingdom



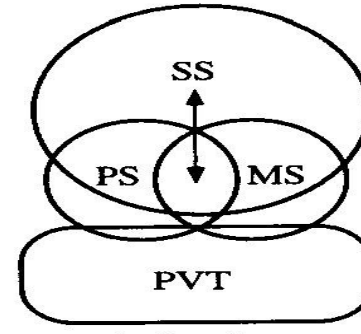
3. France



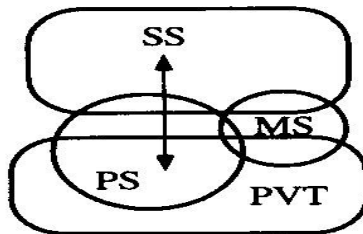
4. Japan



5. Germany



6. Sweden



7. Poland
(early 1980s)

Abbreviations:

- SS = State sphere
- PS = Public sphere
- MS = Market sphere
- PVT = Private lifeworld
or private sphere

Figure 5.2. The public and private sphere in eight countries