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Attitudes to work in the Czech Republic in post-socialist transition

Lenka Banovcova

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

Department of Social & Policy Sciences

April 2014

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Abstract

In 1989, the Czech Republic rejected the totalitarian system and embarked on a long journey of rebuilding society. This complex process of transition is mainly marked with profound reshaping of the political and economic system. The main aim of this thesis is to explore the attitudes to work in the Czech Republic during the post-socialist transition, and to establish the main determinants of these attitudes. Moreover, it is the purpose of this study to assess the possible legacy of the socialist system in the area of work and employment. This research employs a mixed method approach which is a combination of broader quantitative analysis, setting out the patterns of the change, followed by an in-depth qualitative investigation into how people understand and perceive the change in their everyday lives. By means of combining these different methods, this research is set to reflect on the levels of complexity of the transition process. The most significant finding to emerge from the study, is the central role of the market and its forces as the main driving force of the transition, both in the area of work and in other spheres of life. While the effects of marketization in the Czech society are profound, my investigation shows that the consequences of market forces, including work and life insecurities, are not equally distributed across the population, but vary along the dimensions of age, gender, geographical location and the level of education and qualification. This reinstates social inequality and stratification in the society. The legacies of socialism were found to have an attenuating effect in the transition defined primarily in terms of social and cultural forces. Broader implications arising from these results are in the area of social solidarity in respect to the functioning of the capitalist organizations, as well as in the sphere of people's relationships in general.

Chapter 1. Introduction – The Czech legacy and the transition

1.1 The change

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe were, from the end of the Second World War, subject to the Soviet oriented system of production and authority. As such, they were often termed 'the Eastern Bloc' or 'Soviet satellites' as the Soviet Union enforced a socialist system of production and facilitated the exclusive rule of the Communist Party. Political dictatorship became a powerful tool of control exercised by the governing elite over the population. Over time, this elite developed specific mechanisms of legitimizing their power, based on both coercion and manipulation. As a consequence, in most Eastern countries, the Communist dictatorships succeeded in maintaining their ruling powers for a period of four decades.

As of 1989, the societies described above made a radical break with their past and embarked on a journey towards a newly defined socio-political and economic model of society. This transition can be perceived as a process of complex social change encompassing all aspects of life. The most profound changes at the political level were defined by the loss of monopoly control by the Communist Party and the introduction of a democratic model of political pluralism. Likewise, the principles of competition and market rules have been introduced at the economic level. This has meant a shift from the previous concept of public (state) owned property and state induced full employment towards the emergence of a private sector, a market and open labour market. The process of the decentralization of decision making regarding both the political and economic levels is another notable accompanying feature of the transition (Kaplan, 2008).

The process of marketization is one of the main features of the globalizing trends that affect every country with a capitalist system of production, including the transition countries of Central and Eastern Europe. One of the key areas where the process of marketization manifests itself is the sphere of work and the labour market. At the beginning of the transition, a radical process involving the transformation of economic and labour market institutions was put in place by the leading economists in most countries of the region. Equally, the system of political democracy was speedily established and legal institutions were amended to cater for the new circumstances. However, questions were raised by social scientists both from this region and from Western countries about the social and people aspects of the transition. These pertained to issues such as how were the changes going to be perceived by the

populations of these countries and how quickly would the attitudes and values of people adjust to the new institutional settings.

Both of these matters, the economic aspect of the transition and the perception of the marketization by the population, form the subject of this thesis with the focal point of interest lying precisely at their intersection. The main purpose of this study is to examine and explain attitudes to work in the Czech Republic during the period of transition from the state controlled economy to a market one. The Czech Republic has been chosen because the researcher is Czech, although at the point of finishing this thesis she will have lived abroad for over ten years. In light of this, it is anticipated that this study will benefit from a distinctive approach combining the insights of a researcher who has personal experience of the subject and her bird's eye view gained by living abroad for a substantial period of time. She is used to assessing the events in her country of origin with a certain level of detachment as well as from a comparative perspective. Moreover, while the process of transition in Central and Eastern Europe has attracted a fair amount of interest from social scientists, the area of work and employment has not received much steady attention; only a few recent studies address particular local experiences of the transition at work and the effects of marketization (Dunn, 2004; Ghodsee, 2005; Mrozowicki 2011; Trapmann, 2013). Comprehensive studies regarding attitudes to work in the Czech Republic in particular have been even more scant with the one notable exception of Pollert (2000). It is, however, a fascinating field for social investigation. The process of transition itself, as with any significant social change, can be compared to a great social laboratory when certain social processes can be observed in especially distinctive form. This is believed to apply in particular to post-socialist marketization. This study tries to rise to the challenge of explaining some aspects of the transitional change by undertaking three specific research strategies. Firstly, this researcher studies the transition in a retrospective manner, looking back at the past twenty years, and potentially some additional years, encompassed in this period. It is contended that taking this lengthy time span provides the advantage of capturing the changes in a distinctive and crystallized form. Secondly, by means of qualitative in-depth interviewing, the impact of marketization in the Czech Republic on the lived experiences of the Czech people during the twenty years of the transition period is elucidated. This type of inquiry regarding understanding the transition is extremely limited in the social sciences of Central and Eastern Europe and is believed to be unprecedented in the Czech Republic. Thirdly, the focus on the single country as is the case for this research should prove fruitful when considering the specific context

and this is expected to play a significant part when it comes to revealing people's changing attitudes and values. That is, the national aspect in terms of the rich historical and cultural background of the Czech Republic can prove a notable dimension regarding social change in this country.

In order to establish a relevant background to studying work attitudes during the transition and throw light on the specific context of the Czech Republic, the next section makes a brief historical excursion, followed by an account of work and labour under socialism. As posited by other scholars in this field (Verdery, 1991a, b), this study puts forward an argument that a new social system cannot be successfully probed without serious consideration and assessment of the one that preceded it. A brief account of the main features and stages of the Czech transition will also be provided. After this assessment, the main questions of this inquiry will be brought to the fore. The last section of this chapter introduces the contents of this study by means of a short outline of each chapter.

1.2 Historical excursion (Czechoslovakia 1918 - 1989)

1.2.1 Pre-socialist development

Czechoslovakia emerged as a separate country in 1918, as the First World War resulted in the disintegration of the Habsburg Empire. The state consisted of two countries very different in nature: the industrialized Czech lands (consisting of two geographical entities, Bohemia and Moravia) and the more backward, predominantly agrarian, Slovakia (Jeffries, 1993). During the inter-war period, which is known as The First Republic, the country enjoyed an era of considerable prosperity under the governance of President Tomas Garrigue Masaryk. This period was characterized by the establishment of a solid democratic tradition and a significant economic rise.

The after-war economic recovery was rapid and the economic upsurge further continued. From 1923 until 1929, the GDP increased by 45 percent and industrial production by 80 percent; also foreign trade began to enjoy a more extensive worldwide orientation (Krejci, 1996). By this time, Czechoslovakia had become an advanced industrialized country. By 1930, nearly 35 percent of the working population was employed in industry, and in 1938, it was the only surviving democracy in the region of Central and Southeast Europe. Czechoslovakia was ranked among the top ten industrial producers in Europe and among the world's top five heavy industry centres (Jeffries, 1993). Due mainly to the economic surge, some aspects of the

market economy are often attributed to the period of the First Republic, especially the developments that occurred towards the end of this period (e.g. Krejci, 1996).

The worldwide economic crisis affected Czechoslovakia for one year only, in 1937. After this, its development was disrupted by the Munich agreement in 1938, which deprived Czechoslovakia of its independence and left the country under the control of Nazi Germany. In March 1939, the Czechoslovak Republic effectively disappeared from the map of Europe and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the Sudetenland and the Slovak Republic was established. The whole Protectorate and the territories annexed to Germany were thus supposed to serve German aims as the labour force was mobilized for the war industry (Gebhart & Kuklik, 2006).

Czechoslovakia was economically strong at the beginning of the twentieth century and it continued to be a prominent exporter of industrial goods in the period after the Second World War. In the first years after 1945, some economic problems were reinforced by the fact that part of the territory of the former Czechoslovakia had been badly affected by the war. On the other hand, it is argued that the measures of the regulated German economy that were imposed on the Czech lands under the Protectorate proved useful with respect to post-war economic reconstruction. The material reconstruction proceeded quickly and the damaged infrastructure was dealt with successfully due to aid from the Allied armies. The early post-war period was noted for the remarkable enthusiasm and reconstruction efforts of the population as depicted in numerous movies and pieces of art. This atmosphere and a call for socialization were already ideologically marked by the rising influence and power of the Communist Party (Krejci, 1996).

However, it was not until 1948 that the Communist Party gained undivided governing power. Nevertheless, the electoral strength of this party was already evident in the parliamentary elections of 1946. Following these elections, in the Czech lands, the Communists were the strongest party with 40 percent of votes, followed by the Social Democrats, the National Socialists and the People's Party. In Slovakia, where only two parties were permitted, the Democratic Party held the majority, with 62 percent of votes, while the Communists were second (Krejci, 1996).

In accord with the interest of the Communists, the nationalization of industries took place from 1945. The first wave was implemented by law and concerned enterprises in all the so-called 'key industries', as well as the mines, big firms, joint stock banks and private insurance companies. The Communists were trying to extend nationalization as far as possible and thus this also included the confiscation of the

possessions of so-called 'collaborators', i.e. mostly the propertied classes. Unlike those individuals whose property was confiscated, the former owners of the nationalized firms were promised compensation. This, however, in reality had only very limited scope and happened mainly where foreign property was concerned (Krejci, 1996; Veber et al, 2012).

1.2.2 Work and labour in socialism

The particular aspects of the economic developments of Czechoslovakia between the years 1948 and 1989 are discussed in detail in Chapter 4 so only a brief introductory overview of this period is provided in this subsection. With respect to the economic regime, a planned economy, also known as centralized or directive planning, was selected by the Czech Communists and by many social democrats as the desired way for regulating the system of production. Although in 1945 support for this was not unanimous, and there was a certain amount of hesitation among experts and politicians, in 1946 the Communists imposed the first Two Year Plan. Later, the Five Year Plans replaced the previous two yearly ones, with the first being realized from 1949 to 1953. As Jeffries explains, the state plans were '...in effect mandatory plan targets, with the state ensuring input supplies...' and they '...formed the basis of the enterprise plan...' (1993: 249). The economy was tightly controlled, and the plan indicators were carefully observed and its instructions covered mainly the following areas: payments into and out of the state budget, investments, wages and salaries, the value of sales, the size of profits, and labour productivity (Nove, 1977). In summary, the state owned the industry and also controlled foreign trade (Willis, 2005).

The centrally planned economy, however, led to inefficiencies and poor economic performance. This, as a number of scholars highlight (e.g. Krejci, 1996; Turek, 1995; Sik, 1990), represented a threat to the legitimacy of the Communist Party, so thoughts of reform were on the way. The most radical measures took place during 1966-67. Jeffries (1993) explains that the intended changes were mostly focused on the abandonment of directive planning and more scope for discretion for enterprises was promoted. Further, enterprises were to be allowed direct trade with foreign partners. Some features of the new economic policy started to form but the invasion of the Warsaw Pact armies in August 1968 brought an end to these liberalizing endeavours. The activities aimed at reform continued to some limited extent for another year or two, eventually, however, the pro-Soviet powers restored their full control and the reforming attempts were abandoned. The following period became known as that of

'normalization', which was to mean a return to the pre-reform practices, in particular, a retreat to central planning. Between 1970 and 1989 there were no more substantial attempts to amend either the political command or the economic system of production (Jeffries, 1993; Krejci, 1996).

In general, the economic performance under state socialism is regarded as poor. While Czechoslovakia was a developed industrial country at the beginning of the 20th century and re-established its strengths regarding exports of industrial goods after the war, growth rates were not favourable in the 1960s and further severely declined in the 1970s and 1980s, as a result of the Communist industrial policies. This closed down possibilities for its industry to participate in world markets (Kaplan, 2008).

In December 1987, the Central Committee adopted a programme for the 'comprehensive restructuring (prestavba) of the economic mechanism' (Jeffries, 1993). The programme was intended to come fully into effect during the 1991 to 1995 Five Year Plan. The main aim of the initiative was the introduction of an intensive type of development that would make full use of advancing scientific and technological progress. In addition, the old style directive aspects of the state plan were to give way to a new, more indirect, way of influencing the economy via measures such as cuts in the state budget, prices, credit and increased wages. Enterprises had more say about what they were going to produce and how they would achieve this. Moreover, there was an emphasis put on the empowerment of the middle management in firms, especially relating to technical and economic issues (ibid). After Milos Jakes replaced Gustav Husak in the position of General Secretary in December 1987, some reforms were implemented, however, only in a modest form.

In 1989, the most radical reform took place, termed the 'velvet revolution', which restored democracy in Czechoslovakia and set the country's development on the road towards a free market economy. The starting position of the country was not as bad as it may first appear from the paragraphs above. Despite general economic figures relating to the socialist period not appearing very robust, Czechoslovakia still had one of the highest living standards in the former socialist bloc and, as commentators point out the lowest per capita net hard currency debt in Eastern Europe (Jeffries, 1993; Myant, 1989). Also, the historical experience of industrial development and flourishing trade in the First Republic was sometimes thought of as a possible facilitating factor for the first phase of the transition of the Czech economy, which brought new experience with the market. On the other hand, the private sector in socialist Czechoslovakia was severely repressed, even by Eastern European

standards (Prucha, 2009). This was a disadvantage in terms of the post-socialist economic reforms, for in some countries e.g. Hungary, the economic system had consisted of a mixture of both state and private initiatives long before the downfall of Communism (Eyal et al, 1998).

1.2.3 Main features of work in socialism

The specific traits of the socialist system of production had an impact in all spheres of social life and were, in particular, evident in the arena of work. Unlike the ideological domain, the sphere of work was in socialism 'burdened with relativity and a lack of specificity' (Vecernik, 2003:12). The effects of socialist conditions on work and employment (and hence the work-related attitudes of people) can thus be best described in terms of various paradoxes, mostly attributable to the gap between the public proclamations of the regime and the everyday reality of the people's lives.

The notion of work was very central to the socialist ideology for it was proclaimed to be the very core of the socialist system. Presented as a tool of 'free and creative self-realization of the individual' (Mozny, 1974), work was highlighted as the fundamental right of every citizen. However, in reality it was simultaneously a fundamental obligation as there was no choice in the matter; anyone who found themselves outside official employment was subject to criminal law. This two-fold status of employment produced dual results. On the one hand, there was security of jobs and no unemployment while at the same time, as some commentators note (Vecernik, 2003), work became, by and large, devalued.

Besides the abolition of private property, which can be understood as a principal characteristic of the socialist system of production, the absence of competition and the relation between achievement and reward are its distinctive features (Trnka, 2004). It does not come as a surprise then that the motivation to work was low, as was often reported (e.g. Goodwin, 1994). As a result, 'people learned to prefer other components of work than its prestige and their own achievements through formal labour' (Vecernik, 2003:12) such as '...the absence of any supervisory control or less strict working conditions, which permitted less of a work burden and more hours of discretion, making it possible to perform informal jobs or DIY at home' (ibid: 12). This relaxed attitude towards work was further supported by the reality of generally low salaries and equalization of salary differentials as the main tool for the general redistribution of resources. As the well-known Czech saying goes, 'everyone was equal and everyone was on minimum', which is an amended version of the illustrious

principle of the socialist wage-setting maxim, 'to everybody according to his work'. As the employees did not internalize the strong ideology of work, various forms of ridiculing the system became rather common as ways to protest. When it came to employment, the situation can be best described by means of another typical saying: 'we pretended to work; they pretended to pay us'. Similar sorts of attitudes could be observed in other countries of the region under Communist rule. For example, Verdery comments on the 'oppositional cult of non-work' (1993: 4) as depicting the approaches of people in Romania.

Despite there being overproduction, overstaffing and hoarding of labour, the state controlled system of production was unable to provide sufficient amounts of consumerist goods in reasonable quality, especially towards the end of its existence in the 1980s (Goodwin, 1994). According to some sociologists (Keller, 1997) this was one of the factors that brought on the downfall of the regime in the late eighties. As people had increasingly more opportunities to travel to the West and could see the differences in living standards, they were becoming less happy with the life style in their own country. The implicit agreement that the regime made with its citizens, based on the exchange of consumerist opportunities for the system legitimacy, was losing its ground. The principle of 'prosperity bargained for political conformity' (Pollert, 2000), sometimes also described as 'salamis for submission' (Goodwin, 1994) could no longer be sufficiently justified. Others (e.g. Illner, 1996) contend that the legitimacy of the socialist regime was mainly traded for an egalitarian social welfare system accessible to all. Be it as it may, whatever the socialist system had to offer, this was not enough to sustain it, which became clear by the end of the 1980s, just before its demise.

1.2.4 The situation after 1989 – transition/transformation

After the collapse of the Communist regime in the autumn of 1989, Czechoslovakia enthusiastically embraced democracy and set out on a journey towards a market economy. This represented a big change for a country which, for forty years, had been subject to directive central planning, and did not know social phenomena such as unemployment, poverty or market competition. The shift from the state governed autocracy towards a market oriented democratic society has been anything but smooth and an easily definable process. On the contrary, it can be viewed as very complex and inconsistent, marked by numerous contradictory tendencies. It is for this reason that some commentators (Stark, 1992a) advocate that instead of the term transition, the word transformation should be used to capture the complexity and the

profound nature of these changes concerning deeply rooted institutions, values and habits, which have been taking place on many levels¹. Thus, while the profound shifts regarding economic institutions were readily observable and, to some extent, rather predictable, the deeper changes concerning the attitudes and values of the people who were affected by the transition, though equally significant, are much harder to detect.

In the beginning of the nineties, neo-classical economic models were adopted by the Czech right wing government as examples, in order to establish the new economic order. The change towards the market economy in principle meant that the Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia at that time) was becoming part of the world's globalized capitalist order. The strategy for the implementation of the economic changes across the Czech Republic was often referred to as 'capitalism by design' (Offe & Adler, 1991), which, in the Czech case, could be seen as the Czech right-wing political elites readily adopting the principles of neo-classical capitalism, without much consideration of the specificity of the Czech environment, especially in terms of the conditions prevailing after the fall of Communism. Furthermore, the new institutions of the free market did not grow gradually, building on long-term habits and traditions, as was the case in developed Western democracies. Instead, they were formed at the beginning of the transition as novel creations and were imposed in most Central and Eastern European societies in the form of 'reforms from above' (ibid: 502). Thus, an analogy with empty shells appeared in the public domain. That is, the new institutions of the free market, established at that time were fragile like shells and were expected to augment their substance over the course of time. Nonetheless, it remained to be seen how the Czech population was going to cope with these changes and how the rapidly introduced new rules of the game, together with globalisation, were going to interact with the specific cultural and historical setting of the country. The particular context of the Czech Republic was not seriously considered at the time by those who designed the economic reforms, but this does not in any way imply that it did not have a significant role to play.

Moreover, the experience of transition that the Czech Republic has made so far indicates that fundamental change cannot be achieved in the short term. The notion

¹ This study employs the term 'transition' for the process of the change of the socio-economic system in the Czech Republic after the demise of Communism. The main reason for this is that it is the term more commonly used in the relevant literature. This practice, however, does not in any way imply the assumption of simplicity in the process, rather the opposite; I am fully aware of the complex nature of the post-communist transition and this realization is one of the guiding principles underpinning the research design.

that it is not easy to make a simple break with tradition is not new with respect to sociological theories in relation to Eastern Europe; this tendency has been highlighted by several scholars (Dahrendorf, 1990; Stark, 1992a; Sztompka, 1992). Regarding this acknowledgement of the legacy of the past, it is relevant to ask to what degree the heritage of the socialist regime still asserts itself in the case of the Czech Republic. It would appear that from observations of everyday life situations, as well as the results of some surveys (e.g. Vecernik, 2003), the past still makes itself present and this might be the case in the sphere of attitudes and values.

It can be asserted that the new shells (i.e. the new forms of economic relations) often contained old contents. That is, the privatization of the former socialist property, taking place in the beginning of the transition, was largely controlled by the new/old elites. The process of the formation of these new political and economic elites, mostly based on the conversion of 'old' social and political capital (contacts, relations, participation in networks, etc), into new and legitimate forms of economic capital (money and disposables) has been described extensively (Eyal et al., 1998; Hanley et al, 1998; Vecernik & Mateju, 1999). It has been proposed that while the new elites, largely consisting of former dissidents and well-educated theoretical economists, were ready to take over power and go forward with the transition, they did not have enough practical know-how to transform the economy. Therefore, they had to make what Szelenyi (Eyal et al., 1998) calls an 'uneasy alliance' with the old elites, referring to the managers and directors of former socialist enterprises (ibid). The old elites were happy to offer their knowledge and experience, however, in the end they dictated the conditions and ensured continuity regarding some pre-existing attributes of the production process and economic relations. Hence, it is hardly surprising that, in some ways, the break with the old regime was not as radical as one may think and some features of the former social and economic orders were reproduced in the new one.

The experience of several years of transitional changes is likely to confirm these assumptions about continuation of the socialist patterns rather than not. Based on these premises, it is reasonable to expect rather slower changes in terms of attitudes and values in post-Communist societies. As for the shifts regarding work-related attitudes, it is realistic to assume that these are not attributable in a uniform way to the whole population, but could be specific only to certain categories of the Czechs. Thus, in order to understand the changes relating to the transition process, it is necessary to consider the continuation of the patterns that were typical for the period of 'real socialism'.

1.2.5 The research focus

Drawing on the assessment of the situation of the Czech Republic in transition, the main aspects of which were briefly outlined above, the key research aims for this PhD study are devised.

1. What were the attitudes to work in the Czech Republic during the course of the post-socialist transition and how did these compare to those typical of the previous socio-economic system?
2. Is there variability in these attitudes and if so, what are their main determinants?
3. Is there a possible legacy of the socialist system in the area of work and employment?

My principal premise is that, to some extent, there is a perpetuation of state socialist patterns and values, the effect of which is assumed to stretch far beyond the collapse of the Communist totalitarian regime.

4. What has been the effect of globalization and marketization on the role of work in people's lives and their work attitudes? My contention here relates to the role of the specific Czech context in terms of national culture and heritage as a possible countering force to the effects of globalization and marketization. These wider globalizing trends are not operating in a vacuum and are expected to interact with and mutually influence the specific cultural and historical setting of the Czech Republic.

1.3 Contents of the thesis

Chapter 1 – Introduction

This chapter sets the scene for the whole PhD endeavour and introduces the main research themes. The context of the study is outlined by means of a brief account of Czech history and a short review of the main features of the post-socialist transition. The main aims and the originality of this research enquiry are outlined. It is noted that while some studies regarding the effects of post-Communist change at the macro economic and social levels have been conducted, there is no extensive study to date, that addresses the Czech people's perceptions of the change, even though their lives have been transformed in significant ways. Furthermore, the contents of the whole thesis and the main argument are given.

Chapter 2 – Exploring attitudes to work in the Czech transition

This contains a discussion of the key academic sources applicable to the study of changing attitudes to work and the legacy of socialism in the sphere of work in the transition, as defined in this thesis. Four selected areas represent the pertinent theoretical framework:

- Attitudes to work (with a particular focus on the work ethic and work centrality) and the stability/variability of work attitudes (with particular focus on women's work attitudes)
- The ideology of work under socialism and the legacy of state socialism
- Globalization and the end of work debate
- The role of national culture and organizational culture

The viability of these approaches in relation to changes regarding work attitudes in transition is tested, discussed and challenged in the five empirical chapters of this thesis (Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) and in the discussion chapter (Chapter 9).

Chapter 3 – Methodology

The methodological approach adopted in this research project to study attitudes to work in transition is explained and justified in accordance with the main objectives of this research. A combination of broader quantitative analysis, setting out the patterns of change, followed by an in-depth qualitative investigation into how people understand and perceive the change in their everyday lives, is the most appropriate methodological approach as it reflects the level of complexity of the transition process in reality. Thus, a mixed method research design is proposed with the main analytical emphasis being placed on interpretative methods that enable the researcher to achieve the desired deep insights.

Attention is paid to the evolution of this particular research project and the reasoning underpinning the methodological choices made during its course. Last but not least, the ethical implications as well as the reflexive nature of the techniques used in the investigation are considered.

Chapter 4 – Macroeconomics during transition

The first of the four empirical chapters has two main goals. Firstly, it aims to shed light on the reasons behind choosing the Czech Republic as the focal country and the possible ramifications of this choice. Here it is emphasized that the Czech

Republic is just one of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe but has its own specific historical and cultural context, which plays a significant role in the particular circumstances of the Czech transition.

The second part of this chapter is targeted towards painting a broader picture about the Czech transition with a specific focus on the area of work and employment. This section is largely quantitative in nature as selected macro social and economic background information is presented. The data sources comprise both official statistics (e.g. international labour force surveys) and my own secondary data analysis, conducted specifically for this research.

The broad brush approach used in this chapter seeks to uncover main trends and structural patterns. As such, it sets the background for the qualitative ethnographically orientated analysis in the subsequent three chapters. As pointed out regarding Chapter 3 (the methods chapter), this researcher is of the opinion that employing and then linking the two levels of different analytical approaches offers the best approach to unpacking the complex nature of social change in the transition.

Chapter 5 – Role of work

This, the first of the three qualitative chapters, focuses on the question of how people understand the change related to the post-Communist transition in general, and in particular, in the area of work. It addresses in a broad scope the issues of ideology and real meanings of work under socialism and in the transition, as well as the centrality of work and changes in its role in peoples' lives. Several particular shifts in terms of what work represented for people during the state socialist period, and how its meanings and functions changed afterwards, are analysed. That is, shifts from the perception of work as a duty to it as a source of self-actualisation; from work as a duty to its role as a punishment; and, from security of jobs, to uncertainty and flexibilisation; as well as from guaranteed income and low effort, towards labour market competition and work intensification.

It is acknowledged that all of these changes are underpinned by concrete changes in motivation towards work that often depend on individuals' particular life circumstances. This topic is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6 – Motivation to work and work ethic

This chapter aims to respond to a series of issues related to the factors stimulating motivation to work during the era of state socialism and afterwards, during the transition towards capitalism. These concern matters such as: did a work ethic exist in socialism? Did hard work start paying off in the transition? If not hard work, then what gave people competitive advantages during the transition process? The answers to these help to capture the shifts in incentives and rewards, the nature and the extent of moves from collective aims to individualist pursuits, and from egalitarianism to achievement and merit. Since the ways in which people responded to changing structural conditions depended on their personal circumstances, the final section of this chapter considers hierarchy and status in more specific detail as it discusses the concept of winners and losers from the transition, seeking to establish who were they originally and how they got to where they are now.

Chapter 7 – Relationships in transition

One of the main aims of this research is to unpack the ramifications of transition and marketization at the individual level of people's everyday lives and therefore, one cannot abstract how transitional changes affected people's relationships – both at work and in their private lives.

Chapter 7 addresses this while paying attention to two main areas. The first concerns relationships at work and this inquiry covers both the general changes regarding attitudes, from those of solidarity to competition, as well as peoples' relationships with colleagues, supervisors, managers and the organization they work for. Further, it is of interest to probe how the changes in the area of work affected people's personal lives - their partnerships and families. This chapter contains wider aspects of changes regarding relationships in terms of shifts in lifestyle and values, occurring mainly as a result of globalizing trends that are reflected in the processes of marketization and the intensification of life.

Chapter 8 – Discussion

This chapter presents the main findings of this research with the main focus on their interpretation. Its main aim is to determine how the results of this study address the research questions posited in the introduction. It also locates the answers within the existing relevant knowledge in the given field.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion

The last chapter concludes the thesis with a summary of the main outcomes and the main challenges that this researcher has handled. The findings of this thesis are incorporated into the wider theoretical framework as outlined in the literature review and the contributions of this study are highlighted. Moreover, this chapter presents the policy implications of this study and relevant recommendations are made. Lastly, limitations to the study are discussed and directions of further research are proposed.

Chapter 2. Exploring attitudes to work in the Czech transition

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the key aspects of the transition process from the socialist controlled economy to a free market in the Czech Republic were outlined. One of the areas with the most profound changes was deemed to be the labour market, which in turn, is reflected in the way people relate to their jobs. In order to assess the nature of attitudes to work in the Czech Republic early on in the transition and develop a perspective regarding their prospective development, it is essential to clarify what exactly counts as attitudes to work. In this thesis, an attitude to work is taken as the unit of the analysis. Moreover, it is necessary to identify which parts of the large extended family of attitudes will be considered as the analytical units for this thesis. In order to gain a deeper understanding of attitudes to work at the time of this extensive social change, the key factors that influence them need to be elicited.

As this current study focuses on attitudes to work in the Czech Republic at a point in time when several years of post-Communist transition had been accomplished, it is expedient to consider how stable or changeable work attitudes are over time. Further, the social, political and ideological context of the post-socialist transition is significant for this study as it represents the specific social milieu in which these attitudes are formed. In this respect, two literatures capturing theory and research are particularly noteworthy. First, notions concerning post-socialist transition and globalization are relevant as they may frame in broader sociological terms the background of the social change in Central and Eastern Europe. Second, at a more specific level, concepts related to the ideological background of socialist and capitalist orders deserve attention as they delineate the socio-political shift underpinning the transition from the socialist state controlled economy to the capitalist market one.

The extant theories and empirical evidence concerning attitudes to work are reviewed in this chapter in accordance with the above outlined points and the analytical requirements of this study. Therefore, the assessment of the relevant literature consists of two halves containing five elements. The first part is focused on attitudes to work and comprises two components – attitudes and their immediate determinants. The review starts with the central question what are work attitudes? Initially, an historical perspective will be adopted to look at how attitudes to work have been tackled in the social science literature up to the present. The related concepts such as work centrality and work ethic are also given consideration. In the following section theories regarding work motivation are reviewed as they are especially applicable to

the main subject of this investigation. The next section then seeks to establish to what extent are work attitudes stable or changeable over time; the issues of variability and the main immediate determinants of work attitudes are brought to the fore with a particular focus on women's work attitudes. Since the main topic of this study is attitudes to work in the Czech Republic in the particular context of the early transition, the theoretical perceptions addressing this context are of special interest here. Therefore, the second half of this review focuses on contextual determinants regarding work attitudes and contains three elements – the legacy of socialism, the effect of globalization and the effect of national culture. Firstly, I pay particular attention to the legacy of socialism and the ideological background of socialism and capitalism are reviewed as they delineate the socio-political background of the transitional change. In addition, the relevant literature addressing the legacy of socialism per se in the context of Central and Eastern Europe is explored. Secondly, I take specific account of globalization in the post-Communist context as a significant force shaping the transitional changes. The role of work and the end of work debate are introduced first so as to locate this topic historically with a subsequent discussion of the main aspects of globalization in relation to the Czech transition. As related to the globalizing changes, in this review I also concentrate on the relevant economic theories pertaining to the economic aspect of the transition, including the notions of labour market segregation, work intensification and job insecurity. Thirdly, consideration is given to cultural and historical factors as potential correlates of the transitional changes.

2.2 Part 1 – Work attitudes and their immediate determinants

2.2.1 Early theories of work attitudes and work motivation

Work and how people relate to it, have attracted social scientists since the fundamentals of sociology were laid out. It is well known that the sociological study of work was part of the theoretical conceptions developed by the founding figures of sociology, such as Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber. However, despite there being an abundance of interest and a multitude of opinions on the subject, a single and consistent sociology of work has not been formed. Instead, there has been a plurality of both methodological and theoretical orientations (Watson, 2003). That is, several distinct strands of thought within the discipline of the sociology of work have emerged as a result of this long standing enquiry. Moreover, a range of textbooks and review studies have offered various systems of classification with

respect to sociological thinking about it (e.g. Grint, 1998; Hall, 1994; Rose, 1988; Watson, 2003).

The following paragraphs of this review pay attention to those streams of thinking about work that relate closely to the main questions regarding attitudes to work that are being addressed in this thesis. Although some of the early approaches in this field, owing to their concern with individual inclinations and human nature, fall within the territory of psychology or human resource management, they are, however, worth mentioning as they set the first stepping stones for subsequent debates. While most early psychological studies focused on the extrinsic (instrumental) side of work, later theories used A. Maslow's model (1954) as a means to criticise traditional managerial approaches for limiting their research concern to basic needs and failing to address the higher needs of intrinsic involvement, which are largely related to self-actualisation.

Among the psychological approaches that laid the ground for further exploration of attitudes to work are scientific management and psychological humanism. These two systems can be considered as opposing stances when it comes to their fundamental perspective². While scientific management (also known as 'Taylorism', after its founder F.W. Taylor) emphasizes the rational side of workers' personality, for under this optic they are seen as mainly concerned with material rewards, by contrast, the advocates of psychological humanism promote the need for an awareness of the self-realisation of the workers. Under the former theory (also labelled as theory X) it is assumed that workers are inherently lazy and therefore coercion and close supervision, achieved by application of scientific criteria and mechanical, impersonalised approaches are advocated. Since it is contended that workers would rather not work and they want to avoid responsibility, it follows that decisions regarding their jobs should be made by the managers. As a complete opposite, according to theory Y, as put forward by D. McGregor in 1960s, non-managerial workers are ambitious and self-motivated individuals who can be trusted, and therefore advocates of this stance strive to involve workers directly in setting the content of their work activity. In summary, whereas on the one side, workers are seen as profit maximising and there is a belief that they would prefer the managers to set the job tasks for them, on the other side, self-direction and self-control are offered,

² Some scholars, e.g. Papa (2008), however, argue that they are not just two opposite poles of the same continuum, but rather they are two different concepts altogether.

job enrichment is sought after by individuals and the workers are encouraged towards higher levels of participation (McGregor, 2006).

McGregor's theory can be considered as advancing the thinking about work attitudes in the direction that is concerned with work motivation in a more specific sense; it places emphasis on the self-actualisation of the workers in relation to their involvement not only in their own job design, but also in terms of their creative contribution to solving the problems of their organisation. Regarding this, the notion of the higher psychological needs originated in the writings of Abraham Maslow (1954) and forms part of his hierarchy of needs scheme. In this, self-actualisation does not become a concern until one reaches satiety of the needs on the lower ranks, such as basic physiological needs, safety or affiliation with other people. In spite of their being a psychological theory in their original focus, Maslow's studies found broad acceptance in neighbouring disciplines, especially sociology, economics and organization theory. The concept of extrinsic and intrinsic work motivators/satisfiers, which builds up on Maslow's work, has been influential in social psychology since the 1970s (e.g. Bandura, 1986; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Kohn, 1993; Pittman, Emery & Boggiano, 1982), and has been used in sociology (e.g. Goldthorpe et al., 1968; Malka & Chatman, 2003). Further advancing the stream of scholarship on work motivation, Frederick Herzberg based his work largely on Maslow's ideas to introduce the two factor theory of work motivation. Herzberg's theory (2006) recommended job enlargement and incorporation of motivators in the job itself while at the same time it promoted lowering the degree of managerial control over tasks.

The last psychological theory to be discussed in this subsection is the Human Relations Movement, which developed as a result of the Hawthorne experiments carried out by Elton Mayo (1949) in the Western Electric Company in Chicago. These experiments investigated the changes in productivity that came as a result of amendments to the workplace lighting, and it transpired that in those groups involved in the experiment, the outcomes always showed improvements, regardless of the changes made to the lights in the environment. The main conclusion drawn was that workers' sentiments, rather than rational judgement, are crucial determinants of behaviour. Moreover, it was generalised that integration of the enterprise should be achieved mainly by the cooperation of the activities of work-groups. Collaboration between and within work groups was to be facilitated by managers with the focus placed on the managerial elite, because their knowledge and good communication skills, which, when well employed, could prevent social convulsions (Watson, 2003). Due to its emphasis on the role of managers and their expertise, the human relations

influence was mostly experienced in the field of management thinking (e.g. O'Connor, 1999). The main criticism from the sociological point of view of this perspective is that work related attitudes are explained as a result of workers' feelings and sentiments, while the rational impetus behind their behaviour is undermined (Watson, 2003). The interpretation, under this perspective, of the workplace as a system of informal group relations seems rather extreme, but on the other hand, it has been argued that the workplace should not be seen as a formal system of bureaucratic organization in the Weberian sense.

A notable alternative is to perceive the workplace and the labour market environment as a system of power relations (Braverman, 1998). With respect to the current research, this is applicable and considered especially suitable for the investigation of work attitudes in organizations in the post-socialist transition. In fact, it meets the needs of this research to such an extent that it becomes the leitmotiv of this study. Consequently, this perspective is returned to on a number of occasions when discussing the pertinent theories of organizational behaviour in the following subsections and does not need to be developed at this point.

The debate on theoretical underpinnings of the sociological analysis of work attitudes would not be complete without drawing attention to the 'founder of sociology' Emile Durkheim (1858-1917). There are considerable differences and important similarities between Durkheim's ideas on society and the psychological approaches discussed above. That is, Durkheim was concerned with the broader, structural outlook on social life and an individual's integration into society, as opposed to scientific management and psychological humanism (Stedman Jones, 2001; Lukes, 1985). However, there is a parallel between his approach and the concept of the integration of the system found in the Human Relations School. Durkheim's notion of organic (social) solidarity is of relevance here as this form of solidarity, based on cooperating occupational communities, can be compared to the idea of integrated work-groups found in an enterprise, as promoted by Mayo and the movement (Watson, 2003). Durkheim concluded that organic solidarity would provide an amalgam and necessary regulatory mechanisms to society. Nonetheless, when guiding principles and norms were disrupted, as was for example the case at times of major social change or transition, the integration was threatened and there was a danger of anomie occurring in society (Thompson, 2004).

Three of the signature elements of Durkheim's work, the structural, systematic approach towards social phenomena and the concepts of anomie as well as organic

solidarity are relevant in regard to explaining work attitudes in the Czech Republic. That is, this study of a society in transition requires a holistic, complex approach since the social processes taking place in such circumstances are complex and interrelated. Moreover, the transitional changes stem from various domains of society such as: social, economic, legal, political or psychological elements and attempts to explain these processes ideally require an interdisciplinary approach. This current work is, however, a sociological study and maintains this perspective while drawing on the other relevant disciplines on the margins of its scope as necessary. Nevertheless, the need for a broader account further emphasizes the crucial role of the context and a wider outlook when studying attitudes to work in a society undergoing transition. In light of this, the second part of this chapter is devoted to drawing out the specific aspects of the context of the post-socialist transition. Given the scope of the change represented by the unmitigated breakdown of the political system and total change of social and economic conditions in the focal country, it is worthwhile considering whether, and if so, to what extent, the concept of anomie could be employed, when seeking to explain the processes involved in the redefinition of work attitudes at the crucial early transition time. However, this does not appear suitable as the new arrangements in society after the collapse of Communism did not bear signs of serious disintegration; for example, the revised legal system was established rather speedily. All the same, what typically lagged behind were the social and cultural aspects of the transition. It appears, therefore, that the levels of social cohesion and integration in the new society in transition are much more pertinent issues. Thus, the notion of organic solidarity appears more appropriate and relevant to the current study.

Another classic exponent of sociological thinking who has made a profound contribution to the debate on work attitudes is Max Weber (1864-1920). In this chapter his concept of the work ethic and its consequences for the perception and delineation of work attitudes as well as the consequent link with work centrality, are noted and discussed in more detail in the later sections of the first part of this literature review. In addition to the notion of work ethic, Weber's view that people's behaviour is embedded in the wider social and cultural space is of particular relevance for our research of work attitudes.

Weber was primarily concerned with entrepreneurship, particularly in Calvinist countries. In his famous study, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1965), he explained how religious beliefs and requirements, especially those of asceticism, helped to facilitate a certain frame of mind which later contributed to the

development of capitalist institutions. Weber's arguments generated wider discussions around the issue of the Protestant Ethic while his points were often oversimplified or misinterpreted. One significant criticism is that there cannot be a causal relation between Calvinism and capitalism or, in other words, between asceticism and the later emergence of materialism in Western culture. On the other hand, however, it is argued that this is a misinterpretation of Weber, for it is asserted that he merely suggested that certain kinds of ideas create an environment conducive for the adoption of certain kinds of actions. He termed this circle of mutual influence between ideas and interests the elective affinity principle (Lehmann, 1987).

There is no general agreement in literature about the conceptualisation of the work ethic and therefore, there has never been any single, agreed definition. Several different meanings can be distinguished, as discussed in this subsection. As a number of social theorists point out, in English-speaking societies, and potentially in other advanced western societies, the issues of work ethic are dealt with in terms of a concept (Anthony, 1977; Rose, 1985). It is widely accepted that this concept is a coherent set of ideas defining work values and attitudes, originating at the turn of the twentieth century in the writings of Weber on the protestant ethic. Although Weber is often thought of as having coined the term the protestant work ethic, the term, as such, does not appear in his works. Some of the core ideas of the concept can be dated even further back, at least to the sixteenth century protestant reformation. In its classical sense, the work ethic is commitment to hard work, however, based on religious grounds. The protestant work ethic in Weber's terms, as described in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1967), was closely related to both the economic and spiritual spheres.

Several aspects of the classical work ethic can be noted. In the Weberian sense, work was supposed to be the basis of moral life. Furthermore, the spiritual side, denoting its moral element, rests on an assumption of a direct and personal relationship of a believer with God. However, what Weber was primarily concerned with was entrepreneurship, especially in Calvinist countries. As principal qualities of a good life, the work ethic promoted industriousness and a highly individualistic character, oriented toward self-discipline and saving, as well as deferred gratification. Finally, it is posited by this researcher that at the centre of the classical work ethic notion is the devotion to work as an activity. This sense of commitment has remained attached to work, even after the religious aspect disappeared, and has been associated with hard work ever since.

From Weber's times, the notion of work as a calling has been well known and when understood in this way, it gains the meaning of being an end in itself. The assumption that God calls you to take on a role explains the strong moral obligation to do one's best in a profession; after all, there was no other choice. In addition, through diligent working, people were supposed to prove their character. Further, some commentators opine that work as a calling was reflected in terms of social responsibility. That is, the idea of a service to others, family and community, was a common norm within society (Bernstein, 1997; Lasch, 1991). It was these tenets of Calvinism, translated into particular moral imperatives relating to work and people's general lifestyle that created the cultural environment which happened to be conducive for the development of capitalism.

The link between religious ideas and later growth of materialism can similarly be illuminated by reference to another principle developed by Weber: the paradox of unintended consequences (Gerth & Mills, 1974). Although it would need to be adopted in more general terms than how it appears in Weber's thinking³, the main idea behind this concept, which is that people's actions may bring totally different results as compared to what they originally intended, could help to explain some puzzles this thesis might face. For example, it can help to understand the disparity between socialist rhetoric and the lived reality, which was one of the distinguishing features of the socialist system.

The paradox of unintended consequences was further developed by other writers, such as Merton (1936, 1973), who commented on dysfunctions and applied these to bureaucratic organizations. Dysfunctional aspects of a system are those which, in effect, undermine the functioning of that system, such as, for example, rules and operating procedures that become ends in themselves rather than the means of dealing with particular situations. There are a number of other authors who highlighted the negative aspects of bureaucratic administration (Du Gay, 1996; Gouldner, 1964; Selznick, 1949; Whyte, 19

63.). Some of their concepts may be relevant to generating an explanation of the Czech bureaucratic system under socialism, for example, the tendency to adhere to

³ In Weber's thinking, the best example of unintended consequences is the notion of the capitalist work ethic. The religious (protestant) ideas were conducive for the formation of the new stage of capitalism. The link between the two is, however, indirect and so the formation of capitalist behavioural patterns could be thought of as an unintended consequence of protestant religious beliefs.

a minimum standard of performance as a way of interpreting the rules (Gouldner, in Watson, 2003: 91).

To summarise this subsection, from the review of the psychological approaches towards work attitudes and some of the classical sociological theories, it emerges that there is the need for a sophisticated approach towards the study of work attitudes. In relation to the subject of this thesis, it is noted that the psychological approaches and human motivation theories discussed above fail to take into account the broader social structures and contexts of individuals. In contrast, both Durkheim and Weber's approaches acknowledge what these have missed out, that is, they take into account the broader social, political and cultural context in the study of social phenomena. Furthermore, Durkheim's notion of organic solidarity and Weber's concept of work ethic appear particularly relevant when constructing the explanatory framework for this thesis. Although some selected concepts developed by these writers have been identified as relevant for this investigation of work attitudes in the Czech Republic, they still have considerable limitations in the sense that they are not specific in terms of which contextual factors should be considered and do not outline the mechanisms of their influences over work attitudes. The next subsection thus continues the search for more suitable framing dimensions for explanation of work attitudes by considering the perspective of work orientations, which builds on the Weberian outlook on industrial development.

2.2.2 Work orientations and work motivation – more recent interpretations

There has not been a firm consensus reached regarding the definition and content of work attitudes even though the concept has been used widely. Further, due to a lack of consistency in usage, the term 'work orientations' is often used to refer to the concept or some aspects of it. However, this term is also often employed interchangeably with other concepts in the field of work sociology, especially with reference to individual experience of work. This results in considerable confusion in the field, as the term work orientations is sometimes used when the authors are in fact referring to: work motivation, work satisfaction, work commitment, work expectations, work centrality etc. Although there is clearly a relation between all of these and work orientations, they do not have the same meaning and thus more clarity and delimitation is needed. Since this thesis is concerned with attitudes to work

as a complex phenomenon, the term 'attitudes to work' is used in this thesis⁴ as it is inclusive of all of these various forms of attitudes. This terminology reflects this researcher's perception of it as a compound concept and decision to consider it as multi-faceted rather than choosing to focus on individual components.

In order to delineate what attitudes are, two concepts are useful – work orientations and work motivation. Albeit both of these notions are in their scope more specific than attitudes, they are considered suitable. The reason for selecting them is that in terms of meaning they largely overlap with attitudes and at the same time, they have both received considerable exploration in social research scholarship and are straightforward to define. Also, unlike some other concepts in this domain of thought, they place the emphasis on the context of attitudes and their embodiment in wider social structures.

Despite lack of conformity regarding the exact content and scope of the term work orientation, there is some agreement on its general meaning. A short definition would, for example, identify workers' wants and expectations from work (Ingham, 1970) or the wider mental set of work preferences (Blackburn & Mann, 1979). Several further aspects of work orientations have been emphasized in later accounts. Watson puts forward a comprehensive definition of work orientations as 'the meaning attached by individuals to their work which predisposes them to think and act in particular ways with regard to that work' (2003: 41). With regards to the original connotation proposed by the founders of the concept (Goldthorpe et al., 1968), work orientations should be perceived as independent from the work situation. Based on this account, work orientations have been recently described as 'a notion which links actions in the workplace and the external community and cultural life of employees' (Watson, *ibid*) or 'an argument which suggests that satisfaction from work must be related to expectations and attitudes people form outside work' (Grint, 1998). While all of the above definitions are pertinent for my research, it is especially the last one which deserves particular attention, given that this study is concerned with attitudes as embedded in their context of the transition between two socioeconomic systems.

In order to apprehend the link between work-related expectations or workplace actions and the broader social context, it is useful to look at the origins of this concept in the landmark study by Goldthorpe et al. (1968) 'The Affluent Worker'. The research

⁴ Apart from in those sections of this literature review that aim to explicitly explore 'work orientations' as a particular concept.

conducted by these scholars was pre-dated by the study of Lockwood (1966), who argued that the perception of society by workers depends on their class and status, while the work situation and community structure are the main factors determining this variety of perspectives. Goldthorpe et al. were originally mainly concerned with class issues and it can be said that the notion of orientations to work developed almost as a by-product of the original research incentive (Grint, 1998; Rose, 1988), when the researchers could not find significant differences in job satisfaction amongst Luton car workers. The researchers identified Luton workers as economic men driven by pecuniary interests and this was taken as instrumental orientation towards work. It was suggested that this instrumentalism had origins in factors outside of the workplace, such as social and cultural characteristics of the community or the individual's position in the life-family cycle. Moreover, these car assemblers could be seen as a self-selected group as they often came to work in Luton after leaving more satisfying or even higher skilled work in other places in order to earn higher wages in the car plant.

The principal legacy of the Goldthorpe study rests in their making 'the link between research in the workplace and the community' (Rose, 1988: 258). The concept of work orientations, however, has become influential and has been widely used since it was first described by Goldthorpe et al. (see Blackburn & Mann, 1979; Ingham, 1970; Gallie 1988, Gallie et al., 1998). Some of the above, and other similar studies, suggest which aspects of work attitudes should actually be considered as work orientations and how they can be classified. One often used categorization which stems from these discussions is the distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic work orientations.

As shown in the previous section, the notion of intrinsic motivators was introduced into the field of work related social studies by Maslow (1954) and gained further influence as it was used by prominent schools of organization studies (Herzberg, 1976). High intrinsic (expressive) motivation means preference for certain job characteristics that lead towards fulfillment of an individual's intellectual and creative potential. Extrinsic orientation, on the other hand, implies a primary focus on financial rewards. Goldthorpe et al. (1968) showed how economic incentives are linked with a broader instrumental (extrinsic) orientation. However, the other side of the debate should not be undervalued. For instance, Rose describes the mechanism whereby workers enter particular jobs in the following way: 'Workers will shop around for a job which provides a mixture of rewards that matches most closely an ordered set of

personal priorities' (1988: 263). It is therefore implicitly suggested that these priorities are not only instrumental but a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic, with the main focus potentially falling on either side. Furthermore, self-selection will result in the situation where like-minded individuals find themselves in the same jobs.

The concept of extrinsic and intrinsic work orientations – often also referred to as values, motivations, rewards, incentives or satisfaction - has had a powerful influence and has been used widely in the field (e.g. Deci & Ryan, 1995; Gallie, et al., 1998; Malka & Chatman, 2003; Rose, 1988, 2003, 2005). Since the Goldthorpe study, a debate has raged regarding to what extent intrinsic and extrinsic orientations are compatible or mutually exclusive. The debate on intrinsic and extrinsic motivators to work has diverged along two streams. Advocates of the core argument propose that extrinsic (external, mainly represented by working conditions and pay) and intrinsic (self-actualizing) motivators are separate entities and do not mix. This stance is represented by authors largely in the domain of management, who claim that the effect of extrinsic motivators undermines the power of the intrinsic ones (Deci & Ryan, 1995; Kohn, 1993; Pink, 2009.) However, as a second stream of argument, there have been some revisionist approaches that claim that intrinsic motivators do not have to be considered as being completely separate from the external ones, as they can act as mutually supportive factors (Eisenberger et al., 1999; Cagne & Deci, 2005; Ledford et al., 2013). As can be seen, recent developments in this area rather tend to support the compatibility idea. An additional approach that is put forward, and which possibly serves to reconcile the tension between the two streams, is the concept of the 'fit' between the individual and the job (Mortimer & Lorence, 1979).

Since the focal interest in this current study is the complex notion of attitudes to work, it is useful to illuminate individual aspects of work orientations. The reason for this is that they further delimit the notion of attitudes by possibly drawing attention to dimensions that are pertinent. These are referred to as job facet preferences (Blackburn & Mann, 1979) and are defined as particular aspects of a job or paid post held at a moment in time, researched in terms of prioritization for certain aspects, while both the extrinsic and the intrinsic categories are represented. Extrinsic job rewards typically include features of work such as pay, fringe benefits and job security, whilst intrinsic rewards encompass factors such as interesting work, opportunity for promotion or challenging work (Gallie et al, 1998; Blackburn & Mann, 1979). Although job facets represent a crucial building stone when it comes to work orientations, it should still be argued that a focus on only one category of work

attitudes is empirically limiting. Martin & Roberts (1984) extended the scope of enquiry into work orientations by adding two more aspects: rationales to paid work and gender roles in the labour market. Rationales to paid work are broad or strategic outlooks that provide an ordered series of justifications for having paid work (Rose, 2005), in other words, they represent general reasons for having paid work, for example, to provide for necessities, follow a career and use one's abilities. It is notable that the two groups of aspects of work orientations discussed so far differ in their level of generality; while the job facets are the features of a specific job, rationales to paid work are of a general nature. Further research studies adopted the extensions to the scope of work orientations, as suggested by Martin & Roberts (1984) and added two new ones: non-financial work commitment (work ethic) and strategic perspectives on work (career outlook). Career outlook, as conceptualized by O'Brien & Fassinger (1993), has been investigated as a separate category in other scholarship (e.g. Rose, 2003).

The treatment to date of work attitudes/orientations as a multifaceted phenomenon has largely been demonstrated in quantitative research. In this investigation, which is mainly qualitative in outlook, work attitudes are considered to be a highly complex phenomenon. Therefore, partly due to lack of extant qualitative research on the matter, the various components that are typically considered as falling under the heading of work attitudes inform this enquiry in a significant way. Moreover, it is assumed that different categories of these aspects are going to be reflected in the context that this investigation focuses on. To sum up, all of the particular aspects of work attitudes explored in this section are constituents of the working definition adopted for this thesis. They form part of its conceptual framework. After the fieldwork for this study has been carried out it is expected that this list will be further extended considerably.

2.2.3 The origins and stability of work orientations

The previous sections have indirectly brought up the topic of the origins of work attitudes. With respect to this, one of the main contributions of Weber's thinking is the idea that human behaviour is set in a particular social and cultural context. Similarly, the discussion of the contribution of the Luton studies by Goldthorpe et al. (1968) pointed to the connection between work attitudes and their social/demographic correlates, in other words the association between worker behaviour and the wider social context in which it is rooted. Therefore, this subsection pays special attention

to the immediate determinants of work attitudes. Below, the literature dealing with the sources and origins of work orientations are reviewed and this is followed up with a consideration of issues regarding changes of work orientations over time.

Prior to the research by Goldthorpe et al. (1968), some industrial sociologists were putting forward technology and related work experience as determinants of attitudes to work (Blauner, 1964; Wedderburn & Crompton, 1972; Woodward, 1965). Blauner, for example, in his study 'Alienation and Freedom' (1964) measured the relationship between types of technology and the degree of alienation as a proxy to assess work satisfaction. He graphically presented this relationship in the form of the 'inverted U curve' which shows that alienation was low for the craft printing workers and in the chemical processing industry, while it was higher at the machine-minding textile site and highest on the car assembly line. The critics of Blauner accused him of ignoring the wider, especially political context in terms of not taking account of the labour power relations behind the use of technology (Eldridge, 1971, cited in Watson, 2003). As an important contribution to the technology discussion, Bechhofer (1973, cited in Watson, 2003) later recognized that technology should be considered rather as a condition of actions, but not its source. The studies of Goldthorpe et al. (1968) can be seen as a reaction against this tendency of stressing technological implications as it emphasized the meanings workers take with them to the workplace as the main determinants of their instrumental attitudes. Among the factors in play, class, family backgrounds (positions in the life and family cycles), and characteristics of the community where workers live were identified as the key influences.⁵

An even more extensive debate developed around the idea of the independence of work orientations in relation to workplace circumstances. There is an implicit assumption in Goldthorpe et al. (1968) that the causal relationship between work orientations and the work situation was only in one direction: work orientations were supposed to influence, but not be influenced by, the work environment. Later studies opposed this perspective and argued that work orientations are also subject to influence by workplace factors, such as work processes, pay level or power structures (Beynon & Blackburn, 1972, cited in Watson, 2003; Rose, 1988). It has been noted (Grint, 1998; Rose, 1988; Watson, 2003) that numerous consequent studies also

⁵ The conclusions of the Luton studies in regard to the proposed factors affecting work orientations have been critiqued, however, as tentative and lacking adequate empirical support (Rose, 1988).

further challenge the idea that work orientations are fixed and only dependent on outside factors (Blackburn & Mann, 1979; Daniel, 1969; Nichols & Armstrong, 1976)..

Blackburn & Mann (1979) put forward a more balanced approach. While they still disagree with over-emphasizing the outside origins of work orientations, they argue in favour of the influence of both work and non-work factors on the development of work attitudes. They also advance the idea that the effect of the background factors on the formation of work orientations is not isolated but complex, for they often reinforce one another and overlap. When it comes to the outside factors, it is suggested that the effect of the worker's wider working environment, and in particular, factors of the labour market, are of particular relevance. A similar point was later supported by other authors adopting the same perspective (Gallie et al., 1998 etc). Rose (1988) goes even further with his argument. Regarding the example of Warner & Law's study of Yankee City (1963), he demonstrates that the effect of family and immediate community, much as it is a considerable factor in shaping work orientations, can have a merely mediating role in relation to work attitudes, while the real sources rest in broader social-economic changes, such as economic crises for example.

The contribution of the studies reviewed in the above paragraphs is mainly in realization that work orientations need to be studied as a dynamic phenomenon. Not only can they have different sources of origins, but also, they are subject to change in different situations and at different times. As for the sources of their origin, two types of determinants influencing work orientations have been identified in the literature: the internal and the external. This review of the various approaches which have aimed at locating sources of orientations has revealed that attention to prior orientations, i.e. the ones that workers bring with them to their workplace, has to be balanced by greater recognition of workplace conditions as well as the structural factors originating outside the workplace. Thus, a whole variety of complex factors that influence workers' attitudes needs to be taken into account, starting with expectations and needs of the workers, including: workplace situations, the impact of technology, the context of the immediate and wider community, and wider structural factors, such as the economic and political context. When it comes to the stability of orientations, there is evidence that work attitudes generally tend to be rather stable (Harpaz & Fu, 2002; Rose, 2005).

Work orientations, as they were perceived by the authors discussed in the previous paragraphs, and especially as conceptualized by Blackburn & Mann (1979), may in

part, provide a suitable way forward for this thesis for two main reasons. First, the studies within this perspective suggest a number of factors that can be considered as correlates of work attitudes; both the inside and outside determinants require attention. That is, apart from the workplace factors such as work processes, pay level or power structures (Beynon & Blackburn, 1972, cited in Watson, 2003), the influence of socio-demographic factors needs to be established (e.g. age, gender, class, occupation, sector of production). As already discussed in Chapter 1, in the context of the Czech society in transition, the factors of wider structural context, including those of the political and economic system and of cultural effect, are of immense relevance (Dahrendorf, 1990; Stark, 1992a,b; Sztompka, 1992). Another reason why these conceptualisations are useful for the purposes of this study is that they address directly stability or, on the other hand, the dynamic nature of work orientations. Again, in the context of a society undergoing transitional changes, these factors need to be at the core of this investigation. Both streams of inquiry correspond directly with the second research question of this thesis, namely, the elucidation of the determinants of work attitudes in the Czech Republic and the scope of the change in these attitudes during the transition.

Although useful to a certain point, the above described conceptual framing of work orientations would appear to be not entirely sufficient to explain work attitudes in the Czech Republic during the period of transition. The main criticism is that these theoretical concepts capture work orientations only in limited scope. As defined by Blackburn & Mann (1979), work orientations encompass one category only; job facet preferences. There are, however, several other dimensions of work orientations that may need to be accounted for. Therefore, other supplementary concepts need to be found to extend the original scope and the following debate on women's work orientations is helpful in this respect.

2.2.4 Women's work attitudes

The problems of the origins and stability of work attitudes, which were the subject of the previous subsection, are spelled out in full when it concerns the work attitudes of women. Enquiries into women's employment experiences have contributed significantly to development of the research of work attitudes in general, not only by broadening the empirical focus, but importantly, by also adding new dimensions to the concept of work attitudes. Prior to studies of women's employment, research in this field was mostly limited to studies of male blue collar workers as there was an assumption that women remained primarily oriented towards the home. Martin &

Roberts (1984) in their study 'Women and Employment' investigated occupational trajectories on a sample of 5500 women of working age in Britain. This study, which was the first major survey focusing on the subject of the employment of women since 1965, was an important turning point in the sense that it focused on the specificity of women's work related situations and attitudes. These had not been researched with such scope until that point and yet were very topical at the time considering the changes occurring in women's economic activity. The significant contribution of this study is that it broadened the scope of the concept of work orientations/attitudes⁶ by introducing two aspects that had not been researched before: gender roles in the labour market and rationales of paid work (reasons for having/not having paid work).

The recent very wide-reaching debate on women's attitudes to work is closely linked with questions about changing gender role attitudes. At the core of this debate is a concern with attitudes towards work-family life balance. Key questions address levels of employment participation and/or involvement in family life and childcare, and whether these are a result of women's choice (agency) or whether the outcome is largely pre-determined by outside constraints (structure). These areas are the main focus of this subsection. Other prominent areas of related research in this field encompass, for example, perceptions of labour market opportunities and inequalities (Gallie, 1998; Nolan et al., 1999; Nolan 2009; Figari, 2010, Figari et al., 2011), occupational mobility (Dex et al., 2008; Dex & Lindley, 2007, Bukodi & Dex, 2010), labour market segregation (Blackburn & Jarman, 2005), and, part-time employment (Bardasi & Gorick, 2008, Cooke & Gash, 2010, Connolly & Gregory, 2008, O'Reilly & Fagan, 1998). While engaging with the correlates of work attitudes, the focus in the following paragraphs is mainly on the literature dealing with the role of the factors influencing women's work attitudes. Since the correlates of work attitudes can be found on both sides of the argument – the agency and the structure sides, both streams of thought within this debate are given consideration.

Hakim (1996, 2000), whose work is the major reference point in this debate, is the key proponent of the argument that women's employment careers depend on their own preferences and hence this vein of argument is referred to as the preference theory. The underlying assumption is that structural constraints that used to limit the

⁶ Also in the area of women's work attitudes, as in the case of attitudes in general, there is significant inconsistency in the used terminology. Terms such as women's attitudes, orientations, preferences, career outlooks, employment experiences/engagement etc. are all used in slightly different contexts. In order to achieve some level of consistency in this study, the term work attitudes is used predominantly, since all of these other concepts refer to some aspects/forms of these.

levels of women's involvement in paid work, such as those originating in financial circumstances, the labour market situation, or childcare and housework responsibilities, are not in place any more, or at least not in certain developed countries of the Western world. Therefore, women's work-life outcomes reflect solely their own choices. Hakim identified three preference groups that were supposed to capture the heterogeneity of women's attitudes towards home and family life: the home centred whose priority was the care of home and family; the work centred who focused on their careers; and the adaptive who aimed at combining both spheres of life. It was, however, the adaptive group that was said to take in the vast majority, i.e. 80 percent of women.

This author's work has attracted a wide variety of responses (a detailed account on Hakim's work, including discussion of its main critiques, can be found in Meads, (2007)). However, given the aim of this subsection, which is to discuss the correlates of women's attitudes, in other words, the focus is on the structural intersections, the following evaluation examines the points developed by her critics. Three main areas of criticism focused on Hakim's work are highlighted. Perhaps the major controversy surrounding Hakim's preference theory is that 'central to the theory is the contention that preference is not only an important, but also a determinant factor to explain women's career paths' (Kan, 2005: 29-30). In response to this, Crompton and Harris (1998, 1999), argue that women's labour market outcomes are a result of their particular circumstances; therefore, both choices and constraints play a substantive role in this process. Similarly, McRae (2003a, 2003b) puts forward the necessity to pay attention to the impact of structural and situational constraints on women's choices. This view is supported by evidence from her interviews with first time mothers offering examples of how 'preferences are mediated by circumstances' (2003a: 590).

As the effect of wider socioeconomic structures was discarded under the preference theory, work attitudes in Hakim's view appear as largely predetermined and unchangeable. The second stream of criticism of Hakim's work originates in response to this, whereby an extensive literature emerged which stressed the dynamic aspects of women's work outlooks. Numerous authors emphasized the role of demographic and structural factors, mainly socioeconomic ones, on women's work-life outcomes. For example, Crompton (1997) points out the role of power relations in the labour market that affect women and men differently. Crompton and Harris (1998) suggest that women's orientations towards home and employment vary depending on their occupation, stage of life cycle and national context. Crompton (2006) also further

emphasizes the role of class in shaping employment patterns of women. This view is supported by several other authors (for example, Ginn, et al., 1996; O'Connor, et al., 1999). Moreover, Fagan (2001) puts forward the influence of state policies, which arguably affect both women's employment-related outcomes and their preferences, while Himmelweit & Sigala (2002) place their emphasis on the influence of the high costs of childcare as being an important constraint when it comes to women's choices.

Following the same line of argument, there are works proposing directly that women's work attitudes need to be seen as changeable, for the very reason that focusing on home life and employment may not be mutually exclusive, as they appear in Hakim's model (e.g. Fagan, 2001; see also the Canadian studies of Burke, 1994 and Davey, 1998, cited in Houston & Marks, 2002). Similarly, based on the assumption that the preference groups should be considered as a continuum with two polarities rather than separate categories, it has been contended that women's preferences develop and therefore vary throughout the life course (e.g. Elliot et al, 2001; Harkness, 2003; Houston & Marks 2003; McRae, 2003a,b; Plagnol & Scott, 2011; Scott et al., 2008; Scott et al., 2010, Tomlinson, 2006; Walters, 2005). McRae (2003a) for example, argues in favour of the relevance of structural factors by pointing out that women with similar preferences might end up with different patterns of labour market participation, given their different capacities for overcoming structural barriers. Research conducted on mothers showed that women's attitudes towards participation in home/work spheres changed considerably after they had children and therefore their actual work-family outcomes were different from those originally expected (McRae, 2003a; Houston & Marks, 2003). Since these studies use longitudinal data, the empirical evidence they offer is more robust than relying solely on the preference theory itself. The weak empirical grounds of the preference theory are considered as an important point of criticism. Since Hakim based her claims on results of cross-sectional analysis, it has been argued that this evidence is not sufficient to establish causal relationships (e.g. Kan, 2005). It is proposed that longitudinal analysis is necessary to make such inferences.

Leaving aside the structural constraints to women's decisions regarding their labour market involvement, other types of limitations have been discussed in the literature, mainly those based on normative and cultural factors. For example, ideas relating to motherhood and raising children belong to this category, as they affect identities of women in a particular community or a nation state. Pfau-Effinger (2004) is the main

proponent of the effect of gender systems that facilitate the formation of sets of ideas about motherhood that become cultural ideals in this respect. A similar line of argument is central to the theory of gendered moral rationality (Duncan & Edwards, 1999). Advocates of this theory assert that women with children base their decisions on moral views regarding motherhood and parenting that are established in a certain community. Given the nature of the above discussed influences, there is, however, some confusion regarding which factors belong to which category. That is, the distinction between cultural and normative factors is not clear. Equally, there may be a similar overlap between the structural and cultural influences, for example when the focus is on the international comparisons of gender attitudes and is concerned with cultural specific effects (e.g. McRae, 2003a).

The third main stream of arguments against Hakim is focused on the origins of women's work attitudes and considering these involves moving to the agency side of the argument. Hakim was criticised for not paying enough attention to the nature of the causal relationship between women's preferences and their labour market behaviour, because she did not support her claims with sufficient empirical evidence (Kan, 2005). Another line of criticism addressed the lack of an explanatory account regarding the sources of women's preferences as well as the mechanisms of their formation (e.g. Elliott et al, 2001; Roth, 2002). Further, it has been argued that while Hakim accepted that public policies, such as labour market policies, family policies and childcare provisions could affect choices of women in relevant preference categories to various degrees, she limited this effect to women's behaviour only and did not take much account of underlying orientations and/or attitudes (Meads, 2007).

As has become clear from this account, most aspects of the debate on women's work attitudes have contributed substantially to establishing the general notion of work attitudes in the understanding of work sociology. The discussion presented in this subsection has identified the main points achieved so far. Already the early studies on the topic by Martin & Roberts (1984) enriched the field by adding two new dimensions to the concept: gender roles in the labour market and the rationales of paid work (reasons for having/not having paid work). The exchange which developed between Hakim and her opponents highlighted the crucial questions of where work attitudes come from, how they are formed, and what are their main determinants. This debate also addresses broader topics regarding the central problem areas challenging work sociology in the sphere of work attitudes. That is, should the main focus be on choices and values, as suggested by Hakim (Marks & Houston, 2002:

524) or should researchers also pay attention to social structural intersections, as proposed by her critics.

In this study, the line of argument highlighting the relevance of structural and cultural factors is adopted. Regarding the Czech Republic under socialism as well as in its post-socialist transition, the structural, cultural and normative factors appear markedly interlinked. Moreover, relevant to the research focus of this thesis, it has emerged from the review of this body of literature that the relationship between work attitudes and labour market experiences may not be uni-directional; in other words, that experiences with participation at the labour market can also shape work attitudes (Kan, 2005). Last but not least, the extensive debate on women's careers and work-life balance brings to light some important broader issues. These concern the appropriate conceptualisation of attitudes/ orientations and methodological issues, such as their measurement across time and nations, as well as the identification of critical methods for dealing with secondary data on them while maximising any analytical potential (WAM-net seminar 5, 2009).

2.2.5 Women's work in the Czech transition

The post-socialist transition in Eastern Europe and its ramifications have attracted the attention of those writers with an interest specifically in the area of the situation of women. While there have been several notable works addressing the common experience in the region (e.g. Boxer & Quataert, 1999; Gal & Kligman, 2000; Millar & Wolchik, 2006), this subsection of the literature review illuminates the Czech context. In this respect, the situation of Czech women during the transition has been probed in numerous studies. Some of these, while mainly focusing on the period of the transition, additionally engage extensively in retrospective accounts of the experiences of women under socialism (e.g. True, 2003; Siklova, 1997). The questions of women did not receive very much attention in the Czech Republic in the first phases of the post-socialist transition. Siklova (1997) explains how, due to the traditions and practices of the Communist past, many Czech women initially thought women's issues and feminism were a Western problem and unnecessary diversions. However, with the number of examples growing over the course of time, it has been noted that while Czech women are traditionally well educated and qualified, their chances in the labour market are not equal to those of men. For example, those in the age category 25-35 (when they should be setting solid ground in their careers) prevail amongst the unemployed and those who are employed receive lower salaries and experience slower career advancement, as compared to their male counterparts

(Sokacova, 2006). This following subsection of the review gives a brief overview of the main topics that have been at the forefront of the discussion regarding the situation of women in recent years. A detailed account of the situation of Czech women in the labour market, including issues such as the gender segregation of jobs and positions, during the transition is presented in Chapter 4.

In general, the literature commenting on the situation and issues of Czech women in the transition can be divided into several streams. One of the most prominent topics is the issue of equal opportunities in relation to the labour market, for there have been a fair number of studies addressing this subject in the course of the transition period (Cermakova, 2006; Cermakova, Marikova & Tucek, 1995; Krizkova & Cermakova, 2006; Machovcova, 2007; Marikova & Cermakova 1995; Markova, 2012; Pavlik 2004; Sokacova 2006; Skalova 2010). The general agreement is that discrimination against women in the Czech Republic is a real issue that needs to be resolved as the transitional changes have largely acted in the direction of increasing the inequalities of women, both in the labour market and in general. Several authors underline that the transition often led to increases in the levels of women's unemployment simply by pushing women out of the labour market, so the result of the restructuring of industry was involuntary unemployment that was disproportionately hitting women (Buchtova, 2013; Haskova, 2013; Krizkova & Vohlidalova, 2008). This was felt by Czech women even more in the specific context of their country, because under the socialist regime nearly full employment of women was typical (90 percent of women were employed at that time). The majority of Czech women, who are generally well educated and qualified, still perceive employment as an integral part of their life, aside from the fact that the living standard in the Czech Republic for the majority continues to be based on two salaries. In addition, the gender pay gap and gender segregation in the labour market have been given heightened attention recently (Mysikova, 2007, 2012).

Another sphere of attention, related to the one above, is work-life balance and the impact of unequal opportunities on the family. Frequently discussed topics in this respect are paternal and maternity leave, child care provision, family policies and positive flexibility in the job market (e.g. Sokacova 2006, 2010; Bosnicova, 2012; Skalova, 2012). It has been argued that combining work and family in the Czech Republic during the course of the transition has become more difficult (Krizkova & Vohlidalova, 2008). Frydlova et al. (2012) posited that combining family life and career is, for Czech women, less feasible than elsewhere in Europe due to the system of family policy, which is outdated in comparison to other more forward-thinking

European countries. For example, policy provisions are based on long parental leave, but no allowances are made for pre-school child care and there is an inflexible system regarding part-time work contracts. The problem rooted in the policy level is, according to the authors, further exacerbated by the existing stereotypes expressed towards the role of women in the society. Some of the topics discussed, for example, concerning positive flexibility, are rather new in the Czech environment, but nonetheless, their importance has increased recently (Haskova, 2010; Krcmarova & Bejsovcova, 2011).

In addition, there are notable studies featuring the representation and experiences of women in managerial roles and employment of women in the information technology industries. Behind this issue lies a long standing argument regarding whether this is just an issue of fairness or whether there are rational and moreover, economic reasons, for increased representation of women. In the senior management of the largest Czech companies only 6.65 percent are women and 80 percent of Czech companies do not have any women on the managing board (Machovcova, 2012). Several studies that engage with this issue bring in examples of good practice showing that in many firms electing women to management positions actually pays off and that the old models of work are not only losing their relevance, but are also damaging economic efficiency (Dolezelova, 2007; Machovcova, 2012; Sokacova, 2006; Hasmanova–Marhankova & Svatosova, 2011).

Several scholars address the disadvantaged situation of Czech women as mothers in the labour market. According to these authors, due to a combination of institutional and social factors, parenthood constitutes a handicap in the Czech labour market (e.g. Bartakova, 2006; Kucharova, 2005). Related to this problem, the issue of the double role and consequent overload of women in the transition period has been highlighted (e.g. Buchtova, 2013; Buchtova & Snopek, 2012; Haskova et al., 2013; Pollert, 2003). These studies generally agree that while the transition and marketization have created new opportunities for women in the labour market and in the sphere of employment in general, due to prevailing social and institutional constraints there are two main problems with these new openings. Firstly, they are significantly stratified, and secondly, they do not always constitute advantages for women; rather the opposite, they often pose the worsening of the proverbial 'double burden'.

2.3 Part 2 – Contextual determinants of work attitudes

2.3.1 Socialist ideology

To recap, the aim in this current study is to understand attitudes to work in the context of the transition from a state controlled economy to a market one. However, in order to gain proper understanding of such a transition, it is necessary to consider the wider socio-political framework and view this change from the broader perspective as the shift from a socialist to a capitalist state order. The links between the economic and the political-ideological dimensions of life in both the socialist and the capitalist social orders are inherent to the extent that the ideological side can be seen as a defining feature of not only the economic arrangements but of the whole society. Indeed, ideology is a fundamental pillar on which the concept of a whole society rests. Therefore, my attention now turns to the political and philosophical underpinnings that form the ideological background of both of these socioeconomic systems.

The contextual setting is of particular relevance, moreover, when it comes to work attitudes. The initial sections of part 1 of this review discussed these in terms of the activities of the workers themselves, their beliefs and motivation. Those debates also considered the relationship between management and the workers in terms of authority and subordination, and outlined the variety of management strategies that were employed in the past in order to convince workers to do their job. All of these approaches can be subsumed under the heading of the ideology of work as suggested by Anthony (1977). This is directed at subordinates and aimed at specifying how work should be done and how to get the men (sic) to do it. That is, when it comes to making men (sic) work and perform on a given task while they might have preferred to do something else, then we are referring to the ideology of work. In his study of organizations, Etzioni (1961) lists three possible ways of achieving the compliance of subordinates: coercion, remuneration and participation in shared norms. To achieve compliance with tasks that are imposed by someone else, the workers have to be forced, bribed or they have to consent to the notion that working in a given job is actually good for them. Anthony (1977) outlines this matter more clearly by proposing that 'A great deal of the ideology of work is directed at getting men to take work seriously when they know that it is a joke' (1977: 5).

This subsection approaches ideology in a slightly different way; it recognizes ideology as a set of philosophical and political beliefs which is used by the leading political elites to assure and maintain their position of control. This perception is very close to the second concept put forward by Anthony when he discusses business and

management ideology, the main function of which is 'to support those in control in a given system, the ideology justifies their membership of a group with power' (1977: 2). Importantly, in this sense, ideologies 'express a particular and a necessary requirement to defend or disguise the authority of those in whose interest work is controlled' (ibid: 3). While this view emphasizes the management aspects, here more attention is given to the political side as this researcher is of the opinion that, when it comes to the Communist system, these two aspects are intertwined.

Although the concept of the ideology of work is not the only angle to adopt for reviewing the development of work and changes to its meaning during the course of history, it certainly has been an influential and potent one, owing to its explanatory powers. For the purposes of this research, it is a useful perspective since we are dealing with the change from one social system to another, both of which have been heavily ideologically laden. That is, in this thesis, both variations of ideology; the ideology of work which concerns how work should be done and how to make the employees work hard, and the management ideology which addresses the question of why work should be done in the first place (Anthony, 1977), are pertinent. These need to be analysed on the theoretical level since both are part of the conceptual framework in keeping with the objective of this thesis to understand the social implications of change regarding work attitudes. Therefore, at a higher explanatory level, the aim is to bring both of these approaches together and hence, with this purpose in mind, ideology ought to be used as a tool, rather than as an end in itself.

The early forms of socialism can be traced back as far as the beginning of the 19th century to the communitarian concepts of the French philosophers. The organized set of socialist ideas then appeared in the writings of Marx and Engels, as a result of their critique of the capitalist system. In their immensely influential work, 'The Communist Manifesto' (1948, 1999), they introduced the concept of scientific socialism, which became the reference point and inspiration for the following phase of socialism. These conceptions are often referred to as true socialism since they put forward the vision of the socialist society which progresses from the capitalist stage, defined by class structure and exploitation of labour, towards an equal society based on public ownership. In this sense, the socialist society is a transitory state in which the implementation of the collectivist principles is still imperfect. Moreover, it is an intermediate phase on the path towards the Communist society, which will be truly classless, wherein the state will gradually wither and public goods will be distributed according to everyone's needs. Since those times, there have been many forms and types of socialism described. Some forms of actually existing socialism (Bahro,

1978), e.g. the one that was implemented and pronounced as socialism by the ruling elites of the former socialist countries, differed so significantly that they reached the point that they only vaguely resembled the original socialist concepts described by Marx. As related to the subject of interest, attention here is focussed specifically on socialism as a social order, which was the official label for the socio-political arrangement in countries under the rule of Communist Parties, specifically in Central and Eastern Europe. It should be pointed out that while the cultural and historical conditions in each of the Eastern European countries differed, the main features of socialist ideology and control were very similar, and so were the authentic experiences of the system, including the social practices (Bahro, 1978; Hann, 1993b, 2003). Therefore, the features of socialism discussed in this section do not apply only to the Czech Republic, but to a great extent, they have prospective broader applicability for the rest of those Eastern European states that were regarded as the Soviet satellites. The specific condition of the Czech Republic will be dealt with in more detail in the last section below on cultural and historical factors.

A number of theoretically oriented studies are available for the interested reader that focus primarily on the principles of the functioning of socialist economies (e.g. Horvat, 1982; Kornai, 1980, 1988, 2000; Nove, 1987, Nove & Thatcher, 1994). In addition, there is literature, which originated in the region, tackling the nature of socialism in a broader sense (e.g. Bahro, 1978; Feher et al., 1983; Havel, 1985; Hirszcwicz, 1980; Simecka, 1984; Staniszkis, 1991, among others). It should be noted at this point that the review of the literature on the main features of socialism as well as its legacy in the following Subsection 2.3.2 is not exhaustive. Three main principles are employed when selecting the literary sources for review. Firstly, attention is limited to those that I found especially relevant to the topic in hand and its context. Secondly, I give more emphasis to the discussion of studies that discuss the fundamental mechanisms of the socialist systems as these are more helpful in the attempt to build the theoretical framework than those that are more abstract philosophical works. Thirdly, more emphasis is put on the work of authors from the region rather than that from Western scholars writing about Eastern experiences. In this respect, I follow the reasoning of Verdery (1991b), who makes the salient point that, usually, the most insightful works come from writers from the region as they have specific personal insight coming from their 'long-term immersion in socialist societies' (1991b: 419), as well as their access to superior data. This results in their achieving a better understanding of both the past and the present system than other writers. Moreover, this approach is suitable for this study, given that my main interest is in the assessment of attitudes to work from the

inside, and the ways in which meanings are generated during the transition by the people who are subject to it. In general, this treatment of the literature is informed by the main purpose of this thesis and is in line with the adopted methodological approach.

Even when attention is limited to considering the socialism implemented in Central and Eastern Europe under the control of the Communist Party, there is still extensive confusion in the relevant literature regarding the use of terminology. In the realm of sociology writings, Verdery (1991a) for example, uses the term 'real Socialism', Bahro (1978) refers mostly to 'actual' or 'real socialism', whereas Kornai (1992) prefers the term 'socialist system' and Brown (2010) talks about 'Communism' and 'Communist system'. Other terms, often used in this regard, include 'totalitarianism' (Howe, 1991) and 'actually existing socialism' (Comisso, 1991), 'Soviet-type system' (Winięcki, 1990) and 'state socialism' (Stark & Nee, 1988). More economically oriented writers deploy terms that relate specifically to the economic aspect of the system as a label for the system/state, referring to them as command economies or centrally planned ones. All these authors, however, have the same form of socialist society in mind, that is the one which existed in Central and Eastern Europe (and possibly other countries) and by means of their terminology they want to distinguish it from the utopian vision of socialism originally laid out by the Marxists.

In light of these terminological inconsistencies, it is necessary to clarify what terms are used in this thesis and to what exactly they refer. For the social order the term socialist (including terms such as the socialist system or socialist past) is adopted here to refer to the socio-political arrangement in the Czech Republic under the rule of the Communist Party. The main reason being, apart from its apparent simplicity that this is the way the system referred to itself. Following Kornai's argument (1992: 10), this indicates that even though the adherents of the Communist Party might have pictured themselves following the path to the utopian communist future, where everyone will get the share of social production according to their needs rather than their contribution, they actually never referred to their actual system, then and there, as communist. The word Communist (with a capital 'C') is employed in this study for the political system of state power and the name Communists for the governing elite of that time. Likewise, other authors recommend (e.g. Brown, 2010) that this practice should be adopted deliberately as a way to differentiate from the word communist, written in lower case, which denotes the imaginary stateless society.

A number of theoretical works feature socialism in the sense used in this thesis, i.e. the social order adopted and maintained in the countries under Communist rule. Here, with the framing dimensions of this research in mind, those that consider the basic defining features and mechanisms of socialism, its 'laws of motion' as Verdery labels them (1991b: 420), are reviewed. When trying to examine the anatomy of classical socialism, Kornai (1992) underlines power, ideology and property relations as its main defining features.⁷ According to this writer, other important characteristics of the socialist system are, for example, the coordination mechanisms and bureaucratic control. In a similar manner, Brown (2010) describes Communism, by which term he means basically the same system, as comprising the political system as well as the economic system and the ideological sphere. Several other scholars denote the market and political means as the two main sources of exercising power over labour under socialism, for example: Borocz (1989), Burawoy (1985), Hann (1993a), Konrad & Szelenyi (1979) and Verdery (1991b, 1996). Unlike Kornai (1992) and Brown (2010), for this second group of authors, the political and ideological aspects appear to merge together and so they treat these jointly.

This type of classification is especially relevant for this study of attitudes to work in the post-socialist transition, where the research approach needs to contain the economic, political and ideological (symbolic) aspects. The symbolization and cultural aspect of the socialist system is given more detailed treatment in the following section on cultural and historical factors. It needs to be recognized that owing to ideological loading and the element of idealization, the handling of the subject of socialism and attempts at the conceptualization of socialist societies are problematic and may be prone to ideological subjectivism. That is, potentially, some authors may be influenced by egalitarian socialist ideas, which could lead them to consider economic socialism as feasible (e.g. Nove, 1991). This type of partiality cannot be completely avoided and only partly compensated for, by means of the researcher's own reflexivity, (a detailed account of this is given in Chapter 3). As the main purpose of this subsection is to establish the essence of socialist ideology in order to consider its effect on work attitudes, the debate surrounding the viability of socialism is put to

⁷ This term, however, in Kornai's (1992) view covers a broader scope than is the focus of this thesis as, according to him, it covers, besides the Soviet Union and East European countries, China and several Asian, African and Latin American countries. Nevertheless, what is important for my discussion is the fact that the features described are relevant to Eastern European socialism under the Communists' rule.

one side and the focus returns to understanding how the Communists assured legitimation of their system for the population.

Stemming from the discussion in the previous paragraphs, it emerges that most authors attempting an analysis of the strategies of Communist totalitarian control, whether they are sociologists, psychologists or anthropologists, agree that there were two defining aspects of the system - the economic and the political. Thus, apart from control of labour and employment, including for example, restrictions placed on jobs and careers, the other key avenue used by the governing elite was the symbolic means through which they attempted to make people vulnerable and, subsequently, further prone to coercion (e.g. Brown, 2010; Verdery 1991a, b). Those scholars who are placed on the borderline between sociology and psychology or are tending to lean more towards the psychological argument, highlight the mechanisms of manipulation which were employed by the governing elite to ensure the obedience of the population (e.g. Kabat, 2011).

2.3.2 Socialist legacy

Unlike some older and more theoretical work, contemporary studies that take an interest in the features of socialism often discuss it directly in the context of its legacy for the consequent period of post-socialism and transition. That is, a number of scholars across the social sciences have made the consequences of the socialist order and the various aspects of its legacy in the economic sphere, their main driver (Myant, 1993; Myant & Drahokoupil, 2011; Pollert, 2000). In addition, some more recent scholarship engages with the legacy of the past indirectly, focusing on a variety of dimensions regarding local experiences concerning transition in the post-socialist countries, mainly Poland and Bulgaria (e.g. Ghodsee, 2005, 2011; Pyzik, 2014). Likewise in this current review, with respect to the features of socialism discussed above and the legacy of socialism, the main emphasis is on the ideological and symbolic aspect. This, as noted before, is recognized by scholars in the field as one of the two main defining features alongside the economic (for a detailed analysis of the theoretical treatment of the economic side of the transition see Chapter 4).

It has been recognized in the social science literature that societal transition/transformation is a multidimensional process and all of its socio-cultural, economic and political components should be thought of as being entwined and considered as such, in policy as well as in research endeavours (Sztompka, 1992; Musil, 1992; Illner, 1996). According to Illner (1996:159), three kinds of misconceptions are likely

to arise when the multidimensionality of the transition and the simultaneity of its constituent processes are not given proper attention. To start with, economic fallacy tends to overestimate determinism of the economic institutions and relations over other aspects of the transition. Under this optic, the processes such as changes in ownership structures, instituting of the market, liberalisation of prices and structural changes of the economy could be seen as the primary drivers of the transition with the social and cultural changes being expected to follow automatically and by design. The second common misconception is the institutional fallacy which tends to overrate the effect of formal institutions, such as, for example, the legal structures. The third misconception, referred to as the 'voluntaristic fallacy' (ibid: 156), overestimates the power of political actors, e.g. political parties and movements, as well as that of key political figures. The premise for this current thesis is that all of these limited beliefs are mistaken and should be avoided as they lead to false interpretations. Moreover, owing to their narrow views, such perceptions fail to address the core principles and mechanisms of the transition.

As related to the above argument, numerous scientists who engage with the legacy of socialism in the transition societies note that development of the social and cultural institutions is lagging behind the economic and legal ones. This observation appeared both in the form of predictions, in the case of those authors who touched on this topic at the very beginning of the transition (Dahrendorf, 1990; Illner, 1996; Offe & Adler, 1991, Stark, 1992 a,b; Grabher & Stark, 1997) and in the work of those whose analyses are based on reflections on the functioning of the new system after it had been in place for a short period of time (Szelenyi 1992; Sztompka, 1993). For example, Sztompka (1993) put forward the notion of civilizational incompetence as a form of cultural legacy which persists in the form of the values and habits of the people, and as such, undermines the progress of the transition and the establishment of democracy in post-Communist countries. These deficits encompass several areas, including, for example, the lack of entrepreneurial and civic culture. Other terms are also used, for example, the socialist mind, to denote that development of social and cultural institutions is falling behind the economic and legal ones. While in the view of this researcher, this is an area with great potential significance for the studies of the transition, to date its analysis has not been fully developed. That is, it appears in the cited studies as a hypothesis that is not backed up with empirical evidence. Therefore, in future, more research needs to be undertaken to remedy this gap in the literature.

Those social psychologists who are concerned with the socialist legacy usually refer to cultural shock and a post-totalitarian or post-Communist syndrome as accompanying occurrences of the transition (e.g. Klicperova-Baker et al., 1999a; Markova, 1997). Also, problems such as the crisis of civil culture (Klicperova-Baker et al., 1999b) and the lack of civil society (Potucek, 2000) are brought to the forefront. It is notable that all of these depict the negative influence of the socialist inheritance which, in turn, hinders the progress of the transition. A similar stance is encountered in studies focused primarily on legacies in the economic and political sphere (e.g. Ekiert & Hanson, 2003; Lane, 2002; Murthi & Tiongson 2008; Sokol, 2001). Those that consider any positive effects of the legacy of the socialist system are very rare, and those that do exist only engage with this topic in a marginal way and, at the same time, are limited in terms of their empirical evidence (e.g. Kovacs, 1994).⁸

2.3.3 Work centrality and the end of work debate

From the discussion on work ethic in the earlier sections of this review, despite it being controversial or even branded as lacking serious evidence (Marshall, 1982), the theme has not lost much of its appeal nor relevance over time. Bearing in mind the thematic focus of this thesis, work attitudes and a possibility of a value change regarding these during the transition in the Czech Republic, the work ethic is a pertinent angle. The relevance of this concept is twofold; not only regarding the work ethic in its narrower sense as commitment to a particular job, but also in broader terms.

The notion of work ethic can be interpreted as work centrality when considered from a broader perspective and relates to the importance of work in people's lives in general. The idea of work as a central life interest was first put forward by Dubin (1956), who found that three out of four workers in his sample had their central life interest outside work. However, some subsequent studies contradicted these findings by showing evidence in support of work centrality (Orzack, 1959). Later, the same matter was investigated, taking an international scope, by the Meaning of Working International Research Team (1987). They concluded that structural factors, such as market situation and occupational activity, are stronger predictors of work meanings in different countries than cultural influences. Moreover, an extensive stream of

⁸ This author only handles this topic marginally. Moreover, his comments appear in relation to Asian economies.

cultural change theories stretching back to the 1950s reported that the value of work as a crucial determinant of identity and as a central life interest has been declining (Beck, 1992; Bell, 1976; Boguslaw, 1965; Offe & Adler, 1991; Riesman et al., 1950, 2001; Whyte, 1963). However, these studies did not offer sufficient empirical evidence as a backup for their hypotheses. In contrast, there remain strong arguments in support of the idea that work still continues to be an important, if not the main driving force in society. For example, Rose (1985, 1988) rejected the idea that the work ethic was being abandoned. Instead, he proposed that there has been a process of reformulation of work meanings taking place, especially amongst more educated and qualified people, defined by a combination of traditional work ethic values and an emphasis on self-fulfilment as well as there being more human-friendly systems of organisation and technology. Ciulla (2000) presents numerous examples of how work still continues to be the main driving force in contemporary society. Other recent studies (Hirschfeld & Field, 2000) claim there is a link between work centrality and the values of the Protestant work ethic, which would further confirm the robust position of work in people's value systems.

In some quantitative social surveys, the work ethic has been perceived as non-financial commitment to paid work and has been traditionally researched by means of the so called lottery question. This poses the hypothetical situation of winning the lottery and inquires whether the respondent would continue working even if they had enough money to live without paid work. The lottery question was first employed by Morse & Weiss (1955) in their research of employed men only, which highlighted the social functions of a job as a tie to community and a purpose in life. Warr (1982) conducted a national study of non-financial employment commitment on a sample of over 2000 men and 1200 women in mainland UK. In the results of this, 69 percent of full-time working men and 65 percent of women responded affirmatively to the lottery question. Moreover, significant effects of age and socioeconomic status were observed.

The early research on non-financial commitment to paid work performed a significant role in setting the scene and later served as a salient point of reference for subsequent investigations in this field. The concept of non-financial commitment to paid work has been extensively used since in large surveys, e.g. SCEL⁹ (1985); ESRC Working in Britain (2000); Office of National Statistics – Omnibus Survey (2001), as well as in applied studies (e.g. Nordenmark, 1999; Harpaz, 1989, 1990,

⁹ Economic and Social Research Council funded 'Social and Economic Life Initiative'(SCELI) research.

2002; Shamir, 1986). Snir & Harpaz (2002a), who employed the lottery question on a sample of 500 respondents in Israel, highlighted the problem of social desirability bias. That is, they concluded that social desirability is a predictor of people's incentive to continue working irrespective of financial need, and therefore, measures that could reduce this possible bias should be considered in this type of research. Moreover, further issues may arise regarding the link between incentive and behaviour. Concerning this point, Arvey, Harpaz & Liao (2004) engaged in researching individuals who had won the lottery, looking at factors that could be related to their desire to continue working. With regards to this, they discovered that levels of work centrality and the amount won were the main predictors.

Despite wide use of the lottery question, the measurement of the non-financial commitment to employment is still a point of debate amongst researchers focused on work attitudes. This problem is given further attention in the methodology section (see Chapter 3). Notwithstanding the relative richness of statistics based research on work centrality, the qualitative research in this area is largely missing, with the exception of some classical studies on work ethic discussed above. Therefore, this provides a further incentive for carrying out this study, that is, to make a contribution to this field. It is expected that by means of this qualitative enquiry, the phenomenon of work centrality can be portrayed in a complex scope, addressing some of the mechanisms underpinning it as well as its social correlates.

Numerous theoretical attempts to account for social processes and developments in the domain of work rely on the concept of work ethic as an explanatory tool. Concerning the role of work in people's lives in a broad sense, it is important to recall the end of work discourse and its related literature. This debate is usually treated as though it originated in the prediction by Rifkin (1995) about the growth of information technology leading to the destruction of jobs on a large scale. This notion gained popularity in social sciences in the 1990s and attracted supporters who promoted the idea of the demise of the labour force and market economy. Some of the literature following this stream of thought has reported that the significance of work and employment in life in most societies is decreasing and these advocates predict this trend will strengthen over time (e.g. Bell, 1973; Beck, 2000; Gorz, 1999; Drucker, 1993, Rifkin, 1995).

Even though this body of work, put forward in the 1990s and early 2000s, is often considered to be the main literature on this subject, it can be argued that the idea of the end of work and speculations in this respect appeared in sociological thought

much earlier. For example Anthony (1977), while contemplating the relevance of social analysis based on purely economic terms, envisaged that 'the problem of work begins to recede' and thus he concludes that 'the ideology of work reaches its most refined state when it becomes redundant' (1977: 9). Some twenty years later, Sennett put forward a distinctive and far-reaching portrait of the end of work condition. In his provocative essay *The Corrosion of Character* (1998), he contends that the effects of shifts in the character of work tasks and roles in a post-industrial economy alter the patterns of work values and attitudes to work in a profound way. His perspective redefines work in the context of the new economy where: flexibility, absence of long term commitment, as well as constant fluidity and downsizing are prominent features. Therefore, in his view, work has lost its capacity to provide a foundation for social cohesion and stability as well as it failing to be a source of individual security and identity.

On the other hand, the stream of literature opposing the end of work hypothesis appears to be equally significant. In this respect, it has been brought to the attention of social scientists that these claims have been based on shaky ground, in particular, because they deny the transformative power of human agency (Strangleman, 2007). Rose, who studied the situation of work and the work ethic in British and American societies in the 1980s, disproved these claims and asserted that the predictions about 'the growth of disaffection from work' and 'anti-work syndrome' (1985: 140) were overstated and had been proven to be false. Based on his extensive research, he advocated that work and economic life remained central in people's lives and would continue to be so for the foreseeable future. Moreover, in opposition to the end of work argument, there is recent evidence collected from developed Western countries (Parry, 2003; Stenning, 2004) that indicates that work continues to be a vital force in human lives in contemporary societies. There are some recent accounts, however scarce, featuring the particular context of Eastern Europe. Mrozovicki (2011), who studied blue collar workers in the Silesia regions of Poland, offers evidence in support of the revival of the significance of work as well as human agency. He shows that rather than being helpless victims of the post-socialist transition, by means of having a work ethos, the workers actively develop strategies to adapt to the changes stemming from the new capitalist reality.

Turning to this current research endeavour, it is assumed that this investigation will offer evidence concerning the place of work and the work ethic in the Czech post-socialist society. The richness of the relevant research surrounding the notions of

work ethic and work centrality in the field of work sociology has become clear from both the classical and the recent studies reviewed here. This justifies their use and underlines the fact that both concepts have proven their potential as powerful explanatory tools when it comes to shedding light on work attitudes. This researcher thus adopts these concepts with the purpose of seeking an understanding of the place of work and work ethic in the specific context of the Czech capitalist society in post-socialist transition.

I am grounding this investigation in the theoretical perceptions of work attitudes as discussed thus far in this chapter. In order to build a robust theoretical approach with stronger explanatory potential, one which is more relevant for addressing attitudes in the specific circumstances of the post-socialist transition, another dimension needs to be taken into account. That is, it is necessary to set the identified theories regarding work attitudes and motivation in the particular milieu that corresponds closely with the main focus of this study. Therefore, the remaining subsections of this literature review concentrate on this. The next debate examines the particular internal as well as external context, that is globalizing forces and the cultural and historical context of the values and attitudinal orientation in the Czech Republic.

2.3.4 Effect of globalization

Some issues linked to globalization were mentioned in the previous section in relation to the end of work debate. Whilst both of these literatures understandably overlap, the body of work engaging with the end of work debate was reviewed separately (see above) with the aim of achieving clarity on the matter. This subsection moves on to look at the meaning and implications of globalization from a slightly wider angle. Even though the role of work is an area where the globalizing trends are apparent, the impact of globalization reaches beyond the sphere of employment and it encompasses the life of the whole society.

A significant body of literature on transition addresses various aspects of globalization and its consequences for the interplay of local and globalizing forces is one of the crucial aspects of social change. Globalization can be defined as the continuous expansion of capitalist markets which has extensive social, political and cultural consequences (Harvey, 1989). That is, it brings the qualitative transformation of capitalism from an international system to a global one (Sklair, 2002, 2012). Worldwide, a number of scholars, some time ago, recognized the central aspects of

globalization and have been pointing out the main risks attached to them (e.g. Albrow, 1997; Bauman, 1998; Beck, 1992, 2000; Castells, 1999; Dahrendorf, 1997; Giddens 1990, 1994; Klein, 1999; Lash & Urry, 1987; Stiglitz, 2002; Wallerstein, 2000).

Most pertinent to the sphere of employment, which is the concern of this study, the growing trend of global unemployment and low quality employment has been highlighted as one of the most considerable risks of globalization. In this respect, some scholars concerned with the social consequences of the globalized economy and labour market flexibilization (e.g. Bairoch & Kozul-Wright, 1998; Castells, 1996; Harvey, 1989) point out that flexible labour markets and segmentation of labour lead to social polarization as they create a minority comprising those with secure jobs and a majority of the hapless - those with insecure and low quality jobs. These authors warn that a wider implication of labour market segmentation and flexibilization is the disintegration of territorial solidarity and the fragmentation of a society. In this respect, Bairoch lists six main negative consequences of globalization: 'mass structural unemployment, growing instability of employment, growing inequality in distribution of advantages, deterioration of living standards and poverty of the low qualified, and the cutting down of social benefits and public services' (1998: 210). Similar reasoning is put forward by Dahrendorf (1997), who considers the chief undesirable effects of globalization to be: growth of global unemployment, drop of living standards, deterioration of social welfare, growth of an underclass and social exclusion. This leads him to the conclusion that competition, one of the prominent features of global capitalism, through these effects, depresses social solidarity (1997).

As the processes of globalization continue to unfold across the world and more specifically, in the region of Central and Eastern Europe, one of the most intriguing topics to address is the local responses to this process and the dynamics of the interactions between the global powers and the local environment. Unfortunately, qualitative sociological and/or anthropological accounts of the effects of marketization in Eastern Europe are, as yet, scarce (e.g. Ghodsee, 2011; Pyzik, 2014). Other studies in this category address various aspects of specific local experiences regarding the economic transition occurring in the different countries of the region (e.g. Dunn, 2004; Mrozowicki, 2011; Trapmann, 2013).

In the Czech Republic two issues have emerged as prominent in the sociological literature in respect of the implications of capitalism, as part of the transition. First, a number of authors point out novel social risks relating to the blending of the processes

of labour market transition, globalization, demographic changes and changes in the family and reproductive behaviour (Keller, 2010, 2011 a,b; Winkler & Zizlavsky 2011). Another set of social scientists comment on the growing inequalities (e.g. Dudova, 2009; Mateju & Vlachova, 1999; Mateju & Strakova, 2006). Within this latter theme, scholars have paid increasing attention to the subject of distributive justice (Mateju & Smith, 2012; Mateju & Vlachova, 2000; Vecernik & Mateju, 1999). Their general conclusion can be broadly summed up in terms of there being growing inequalities that have wide reaching implications for Czech society as the life chances of the population have become significantly stratified in the course of the transition. This growing differentiation is mostly negatively perceived by the population and affects people's attitudes and beliefs, as well as their political behaviour. In relation to these inequalities, the changes in social structure in Czech society have received attention (e.g. Katrnak & Fucik, 2010; Keller, 2011a,b; Machonin & Tucek, 1996, 2000; Mateju, 1996; Sanderova 1999; Vecernik, 1997a,b, 1999, 2010), with most writers commenting on the reinstatement of the middle classes in the new Czech society.

2.3.5 Work intensification and job (in) security

One of the main concerns of this study is the effect of globalizing trends regarding the labour market. In this respect, among the most significant implications of the new capitalism have been increasing demands with respect to work intensity and performance. Whilst under socialism the low criteria set for production quality were accompanied by relaxed standards of performance, the introduction of competition in the early years of transition, it was assumed, would change substantially the character of work and ways of working. Even though the actual scope and speed of these changes remain open to discussion (Vecernik & Mateju, 1999; Kadava, 1999; Mares et al., 2002), it is clear that both work intensification and job insecurity can be important indicators of the changing work conditions, moreover, they reflect the general state of development of society. Since it is acknowledged that there is a reciprocal influence between attitudes and labour market experience (Kan, 2007; see also Barbash, 1983), it may be reasonable to expect that the experience of people regarding the changing labour market and the new realities prevailing in workplaces during the transition had a marked impact on their attitudes to work. As such, work intensification and job (in)security are useful concepts that can help us explain work attitudes in the Czech Republic in the early transition phase.

In the British context, work intensification has been discussed mainly in relation to changes in the labour market since the early 1990s, which are mainly put down to

technological innovations, trade globalisation and commercialisation of the public sector. Together with the pressures on capital markets, these processes created an environment of increased competition and market pressures, which, at the level of the labour force, were translated into demands for greater flexibility and better productivity. The changes in employment laws towards weakening of workers' protection and the declining powers of Trade Unions resulted in increasing employment insecurity (Ladipo & Wilkinson in, Burchell, 2002).

The theoretical themes of job insecurity and work intensification have been extensively researched and discussed by Burchell (2002). Regarding job insecurity, it is accepted that there is no agreement over the content or ways of measuring this concept. While objective indicators of job insecurity are often used, such as job tenure or the proportion of non-permanent contracts, Burchell proposes 'subjective perception of the risk associated with the job as the most appropriate way of measuring job insecurity' (2002: 62). In this sense, job insecurity is distinguished from job stability, which relates to the length of time employees spend with a particular employer. With respect to work intensification, this can be defined as 'the effort that employees put into their jobs during the time that they are working' (ibid). Furthermore, other scholars recommend that, when dealing with work intensification, this should not merely involve looking at increased workloads, but also take into consideration the whole work context (QIEU Member Conference, 2004). That is, apart from the main meaning which embraces working longer hours and working harder, the term needs to address additional aspects, such as: job enlargement or broadening through under-staffing, simultaneous tasks, multi-skilling, speeding up work, and reducing idle time (ACTU Congress, 2003). As a result of these practices, workers often feel stressed and under constant pressure, which may have negative effects on their general health and work-life balance. When it comes to the measurement of work intensification, subjective, self-report measures are proposed as the most reliable indicators (Burchell, 2002; Green, 2001), whereby respondents are asked about the changes regarding their effort and pace of work over the course of several recent years.

The key most recent empirical evidence regarding job insecurity and work intensification in the UK comes from the Job Insecurity and Work Intensification Survey (JIWIS), which was conducted on a representative sample of UK workplaces during 1997-98. Other sources of this information are the Social Change and Economic Life Initiative (SCELI) in 1986 and the Social Skills Survey, 1997. The

results, a detailed analysis which focused on both job insecurity and work intensification, are reported by Burchell, Ladipo & Wilkinson, in Burchell (2002). Despite a popular assumption about a sharp increase in job insecurity occurring during the 1980s and 1990s, their analysis did not reveal a substantial overall change, but these results did show considerable changes for particular groups of employees. The most pronounced shift observed was the rapid increase of job insecurity for people in professional occupations, who, in 1986 had formed the safest category, but by 1997, had experienced a drop to the least secure ranking. Furthermore, building on the research of Greenhalgh & Rosenblatt (1984), Burchell (2002) emphasizes that two sources of insecurity need to be considered; fear of losing the job itself as well as the worry about losing valued features of job, such as: promotion opportunities, opportunity for pay rises, control over the pace of work, and the ability to complete the entire job. From this it may be surmised that in today's labour market it is the second category of job-related worries that is the common trigger for serious levels of anxiety (ibid).

As regards work intensification, the results from the JIWIS survey (1999) indicate that harder work, in terms of increased effort, can have a greater detrimental effect on health and family/personal life as compared with a mere rise in working hours. The overall results of the survey show substantial increases in both speed of work and the effort invested in work in the late 1990s. These figures, while backed up by results from other surveys, for example, the SCCLI (1986), may however be challenged for several reasons. The main potential causes of misrepresentation that are acknowledged by Burchell (2002) are the effect of life/work-cycle events and the retrospective nature of the enquiry. The other source of possible bias, to some extent common in all self-report opinion surveys, is the subjective nature of the report. That is, the informants may have a tendency to comply with widely held opinions and give an answer which they think is expected from them. Nevertheless, the examination of time series data, which should correct some of these potential distortions, confirms the trend for increasing job intensification in the UK. However, the most recent evidence from the European Working Conditions Survey conducted in 1995/6, and held again in 2000, suggests that while the trend regarding work intensification is still upwards, it has slowed down.

In the Czech Republic, to date, job insecurity and work intensification have not been researched in a consistent way. These topics have, however, played an important part in public and media debates during the transition. In the beginning of the 1990s, it was assumed that work intensification was inevitably going to accompany the

processes of economic change and public debate focused on the consequences that these changes were meant to have on the working and personal lives of individuals. When the Czech Republic became an aspirant country and later joined the EU, there were further reasons to expect shifts in labour market practices and employment systems, in order to comply with the economic convergence incentives within the EU. This was in spite of the fact that since the beginning of convergence, questions remained over the extent to which it happened and the ways in which it actually took place (Cressey & Jones, 1995). Nonetheless, there is little doubt that these new directions of development changed the world of work in post-Communist countries in many significant ways. The Czech Republic and activities towards harmonization of social and labour market policies in the European context are discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 8.

Owing to the lack of available data, it is unfortunately not possible to investigate with any degree of consistency the extent to which reality matched popular expectations. The limited evidence available (Kadava, 1999; Vecernik & Mateju, 1999; Vecernik, 2003) gives grounds to challenge the nature of the real changes and once again query the stability versus dynamic characteristics of attitudes and values over time. The empirical evidence, although limited, suggests that there may be various specific aspects of the real socialist legacy in terms of a 'longer-held, stable state of mind' (Vecernik 2003: 451) that need special consideration. These can be for example attitudes rooted in disjunction of ideology and practice under real socialism (Gal & Kligman, 2000; Lange, 2008), which in the labour market situation can get expressed as 'the weak association between the objective job situation and its subjective perception' (Vecernik 2003: 452). Another attitudinal legacy emerging as a result of long-term Communist propaganda is believed to affect workers' views about institutions (e.g. the labour market) and markets in general (Blanchflower & Freeman, 1997). Distinct work practices in the post-Communist countries have also been commented on (Burawoy & Lukacs, 1992). Therefore, the research focus of this thesis aims to shed light on the subject of the real socialist legacy in work attitudes. In particular in this current investigation, it would seem appropriate to draw on the analysis of data captured in semi-structured interviews to generate indicative evidence on job insecurity and work intensification as important aspects of the Czech transition process.

2.3.6 Role of national identity and culture

The interplay of the global and the local forms a significant feature of the transition, with the counterpart to the former being perceived as the latter's forces and influences. Local cultural and historical elements are among significant factors that are assumed to play a key role in this respect. This heritage cannot be omitted as the ways in which people perceive and make sense of the transition, the focal interest in this study, are directly related to how meaning was produced under socialism and/or in the eras pre-dating this era. Moreover, as noted by some observers of the socialist past, the notion of the nation was, in some sense, more prominent in those earlier times than during the Communist State (Verdery, 1994; Holy, 1996). These topics are elicited through applying narratives concerning national identity and national culture.

Several theoretical works delineate the debate on nation, national identity and nationalism in the social sciences (e.g. Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983, 2008; Geertz, 1973; Guibernau & Hutchinson, 2004; Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Smith, 1991, 2013). The definition of national identity, which is the main focus here, is not unambiguous and has been subject to considerable debate and dispute. Smith (1991) provides one of the classical definitions of it and according to him, national identity involves 'some sense of political community, history, territory, patria, citizenship, common values and traditions' (Smith 1991: 9). This definition was later critiqued. For example, Guibernau (2004) claims that Smith's association of national identity with state membership (as he includes citizenship as one of his key defining criteria) is problematic as some nations do not have a state of their own. Consequently, he proposes an alternative definition, which takes account of the construction of identity in the global era. That is, he sees it as a community sharing a particular set of characteristics and one which has led to the subjective belief that its members are ancestrally related (2004:134). While he recognizes the main grounds of Smith's classification, he advances two additional points: 'national identity reflects the sentiment of belonging to the nation regardless of whether it has or does not have a state of its own' (ibid: 134) and, the importance of the political aspect, which should be recognized as part of it. Although this updated wider definition taken against the backdrop of the current state of world affairs appears to be a valuable contribution to the future development of the field, for the purposes of this study, Smith's original conceptualization is deemed to be more apt for the context of this work. That is, in this thesis the Czechs are seen as a nation closely linked with their state, so these entities can, in this case, be considered as forming a joint unit. In addition, the author's

stance on the cultural aspect, in terms of the role of myths, memories, values and symbols, which feature at the core of his concept of national identity, is pertinent for this current research.

In Eastern Europe, the subject of national identity has received increased attention in the course of the post-socialist transition, especially in the arenas of political science and international relations. The literature tends to concentrate on two main areas: the resurgence of nationalist movements in some parts of the region and European integration and unification. Considering the focus of this current study and my interest in the construction of the meaning of work in transition, sociological and anthropological studies form the most pertinent academic references. In this respect, there are several works focused on the role of national identity in relation to national culture in Central and Eastern Europe while in transition (Verdery, 1991a, 1991b; Holy, 1996). This is a useful point of departure for my analysis of the context of work attitudes as the cultural and historical background is assumed as one of the possible determinants of work related attitudes and behaviour.

In the Czech context in particular, the role of the national identity in the political and economic transition has been extensively explored by a Czech social and cultural anthropologist, Holy (1996). Holy explains how myths, symbols and traditions have always played a weighty role in terms of the formation of the Czech national consciousness (ibid: 3). It is believed that for this particular country, their impact was even more profound than in other places owing to the fact that from the geographical point of view, the Czech lands have always formed a small country surrounded by very large and powerful neighbours. Given these circumstances, the fight for national identity and territory is a recurrent theme in Czech history. Moreover, a shared historical knowledge has played an important part in the formation of the Czech identity. However, as Holy (1996) suggests, while the Czech nation as a collective entity has typically in its history been ascribed positive traits, the Czech individual identity has often been perceived as somehow problematic. This side has featured in the fictional literature created by the most well-known Czech authors, such as Hasek and Hrabal. Holy (1996) depicts this internal contradiction of the Czech national identity as a kind of national schizoid condition. It is a significant and defining feature of the Czech national consciousness and he pays a lot of attention to it, going as far as to entitle his book 'The Little Czech and the Great Czech nation'(1996).

As a very significant feature of the national culture, language deserves attention since it has been recognized as an instrument of cultural and social formation. This applies

to all systems and is very relevant for the socialist and post-socialist/transition systems. This researcher agrees with Verdery (1991b) who puts forward the argument that while all regimes are concerned with language, its significance for socialist ones is even greater than that for others. After all, under socialism reality was produced mainly by means of symbols, in fact, the point was reached when it is possible to claim that symbols became the reality itself. As Gross (1983) asserts, it was metaphors and magical words that were driving the semantic discourse rather than factual description or logic. Other authors (e.g. Mio, 1997) also highlight the role of metaphors in political and social life. Considering the background of the socialist language discourse, post-socialist semantics appears an intriguing subject of exploration, but accounts of the language of the new capitalism in Eastern Europe are, however, largely lacking as yet. This investigation will attempt to make a small contribution to this dimension, but only in the context of work and the labour market environment and to a very limited extent, for an exhaustive exploration of this matter is beyond the scope of this research.

Given the main focus of this thesis, national identity is relevant as a context and also in direct relation to the work environment. When attempting to explore national characteristics and cultural frameworks relative to work, the theoretical proposals Hofstede offers on the role of national characteristics in cross-cultural communication can shed some light. The main focus of Hofstede's theory (Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede & Minkov, 2010) concerns the impact of national culture on the values and behaviour of its members. As an outcome of his extensive analysis, he and his co-authors identified six dimensions along which cultural values could be analyzed: individualism-collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, power distance (strength of social hierarchy), masculinity-femininity (task orientation versus person-orientation), long-term orientation and indulgence-self-restraint. While Hofstede's theory has largely been deployed to grasp and explain cultural differences, it can be applied within the realm of one culture to tackle what is specific for this particular culture with regards to eliciting what is the nature of the 'national character' or 'national persona'. Hofstede's theory has invited critiques from various perspectives, and there have been many attempts at replication, validation and amendments (e.g. Ailon, 2008; Holden, 2004; Kolman et al., 2003). On the other hand, there is a body of work that has built on it. For example, Hambrick & Brandon (1988) adopted his framework for conducting national culture research (in Alkailani et al., 2012) and there are also several studies that have utilized it for exploring work-related values (e.g. Hoppe, 1990, 1993; Kirkman et al., 2006). As this theory attempts to illuminate the impact of

society's values on its members, it could serve as a point of reference for my analysis as, potentially, it could help explain some of the national characteristics of the Czechs, and these are assumed to be significant with respect to work-related behaviour.

Two of the three concepts discussed above, the ideology of work and globalization, draw attention back to the leitmotiv of this thesis, namely, the power structures. Most scholars who analyse real socialism, (with some noted exceptions, e.g. Nove, 1991) tend to agree that as an ideological and economic model it is not viable. A similar query can be posed regarding whether capitalism as a socioeconomic model is feasible and as seen above, the general literature on globalization highlights a number of serious pitfalls associated with globalized capitalism. Similar themes found in these conclusions raise the question whether the structures of power and control and the basic mechanisms that maintain them are of a similar nature. Up to this point, the review has been focused on the context and is located at a general level. However, for the purposes of this study it would be helpful to draw the theoretical analysis to specificities, i.e. to the level of an organization, as in this investigation the focal interest is researching work attitudes. This is undertaken by probing the concept of organizational culture, which encompasses both the ideological and the management aspects of the phenomenon.

2.3.7 Organizational culture

The concept of organizational culture (Schein, 1984; Harris & Ogbona, 2002; Ogbonna & Harris, 1998, 2002) was initially developed in order to study the workplaces of the Western world. Given the argument outlined above, it is assumed that this can potentially have universal applicability and thus help to shine a light on the practices in socialist organizations, as well as assist in explaining what is happening in workplaces during the course of the transition. Schein (1984) defines organizational culture as 'the pattern of basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration...' (ibid: 3) Further, he distinguishes three levels of organizational culture, the first of which refers to visible artefacts defined as the environment of the organization and include the behaviour patterns of the members. The second, deeper level, consists of the values held among the members, whilst the third and deepest level comprises the underlying assumptions behind the values, that is, the underlying reasons for the behaviours, which are often hidden and unconscious. Based on this distinction, it can be assumed that attempts at organizing

life in organizations and the exercising of control by the management varies depending on which level of organizational culture is being introduced and with what amount of success. The key question the contemporary authors in organizational behaviour have been attempting to find the answer to concerns the degree to which compliance can be achieved at the third and deepest level. This would represent the scenario where there was the desired perfect match of employees' thinking and behaviour with the incentives of the organization. The research on this topic so far, suggests that this is likely to be the outcome in very few cases, if it happens at all (Ogbonna & Wilkinson, 1990).

Moreover, the deepest level of corporate culture aspires at initiating the moral involvement of the workers in Durkheimian terms of social morality, meaning their deep value acceptance and free willed participation in achieving the common goal, rather than simply performing given tasks and exhibiting desired behaviour (Dahler-Larsen, 1994). The desire to achieve this moral dimension and its feasibility as a part of organizational culture has been challenged. The main ground on which it has been critiqued is that the principle of morality goes against the very principle on which capitalist organizations are based, namely, profitability. Therefore, there is a serious internal contradiction in such an endeavour, and aiming for moral engagement in a capitalist enterprise might be seen as simply impossible or by its very principle, wrong (Dahler-Larsen, 1994). To date, the evidence presented by writers on organizational culture appears to support this view. However, if this is not possible in a capitalist organization, the question arises as to whether there is any chance under other ideological/economic systems. These are some of the issues that come forward from this debate and are considered during the course of this investigation.

The concept of organizational culture seems to be especially suitable as an explanatory tool for this study for three main reasons. Firstly, it appears to reconcile and/or go beyond some of the problems and limitations that have emerged from the review of the literature relating to theoretical concepts, such as the socialist legacy, globalization and national culture. Secondly, while it involves more general matters regarding the wider meaning of organizational cohesion, it addresses specifically the work environment, which is the centre of attention in this study. Thirdly, within its general scope it covers the important dimensions of social morality and social solidarity. Moreover, many other theoretical models reviewed in this chapter that are relevant for this study are rooted in other disciplines (anthropology, political science, psychology, and management). Notably, the concept of organizational culture, while it can be branded as a theory of management and human relations, addresses the

issues at their core largely from the sociological perspective. After all, the subjects of social morality and social cohesion have featured at the centre of sociological enquiry since Durkheim's times and clearly remain salient in contemporary societies worldwide.

2.4 Chapter summary and the conceptual framework

The tradition of scholarship on work attitudes stretches back to the classical works of sociology such as those by Weber and Durkheim. This review has had the aim of assessing relevant theories in the fields closely related to the focal topic in this study. To this end, a number of theoretical contributions have been outlined and an analytical evaluation of each made with respect to how useful it is in terms of the main research goals of this thesis. From this, the theoretical underpinnings for this investigation are identified below in order to guide the empirical research.

The classical theories of work motivation reviewed in the first part of this chapter, such as scientific management and psychological humanism, while offering some relevant points for the subject under consideration, in general, have been found to be not very suitable. That is, although, they narrow their interest to the choices made at the individual level, they do not address the structural and cultural factors that influence these choices. Moving on through the review, several of the classical sociological theories, in particular Durkheim's primary notions of social structure and social solidarity appear to be useful when thinking about the processes of redefining work attitudes during the crucial time early in the transition. Weber's extensive analysis of the work ethic and its origins laid the foundations for further development of the concept of work orientations. Nonetheless, his thinking on work attitudes is not entirely adequate for capturing the complexity involved in reaching an explanation of such matters in contemporary society. In summary, while in many aspects they are inspiring and provide insights related to work orientations in a transition society, the explanations offered in the classical sociological and people relations theories are only partial. The more recent literature as related to work attitudes appears to be better suited to meeting the purposes of this research.

To sum up, the literature review has identified the following five framing dimensions. Firstly, the **conceptualisation of work attitudes** offers this study valuable knowledge regarding the main subject under scrutiny and the unit of analysis: work attitudes. More contemporary definitions of work attitudes and work orientations in the leading recent literature in the field have helped to determine which members of the wider family of attitudes this study will focus on. In this regard, especially useful

are the approaches that engage with delineation of particular aspects that should be included in the category of work attitudes to study (Goldthorpe, 1968; Blackburn & Mann, 1979; Gallie et al., 1998; Rose 1988). In particular, the debate on intrinsic and extrinsic work attitudes (Deci & Ryan, 1985, Gallie et al., 1998; Malka & Chatman, 2003; Rose, 1988, 2003, 2005) is considered pertinent as it supports the incentive to consider work attitudes in their complexity.

Secondly, the argument of **variability of work attitudes** has provided this research with valuable direction in terms of prospective immediate determinants of work attitudes, especially gender, age, sector of production and geographical region. The studies on women's employment, moreover, add new dimensions to the concept of work attitudes, which applies to both the classical works (Martin & Roberts, 1984) as well as the more up-to date studies, which put forward the importance of structural factors as related to women's employment outcomes in opposition to Hakim's preference theory (1996, 2000).

Thirdly, the debate on **socialist ideology** and the **legacy of socialism** is very pertinent for this study in terms of the wider context of the socialist past and the transition. The assumption of the enduring effect of the socialist past in the attitudes and values of the Czech people during the course of the transition is one of the main premises of this study. Apart from providing solid grounds to delineate the main terms used in this study, as a result of the literature review, the significance of the ideological and political underpinnings of the socialist system comes through clearly (e.g. Brown, 2010; Burawoy, 1985; Kornai, 1992; Verdery, 1991a, b) and therefore these aspects need to be given proper consideration in this study. They help the researcher to address the contextual determinants of work attitudes. While many of the existing studies that engage with the socialist legacy do not focus directly on attitudes to work but other (mainly social or economic) aspects of the transition, they are still valuable sources in terms of the broader contextual information and other prospective correlating factors.

As the fourth framing dimension, the **literature on globalization and end of work debate** was assessed. These works are very useful as they engage with the specific aspects of the transition context directly in relation to the labour market and work and, as such, they are deemed to be an integral part of the theoretical framework.

The fifth framing dimension is an emergent feature, represented by **national culture** and in particular, **organizational culture**. While not very apparent from the outset, they appear from the literature as very pertinent regarding the context of this thesis,

and therefore deserve attention. The concept of national culture as a potential determinant of attitudes in a particular country appears relevant as it could help to explain specific features typical of the population of a given country. Particularly useful for the setting of the Czech Republic are anthropological works directly related to the post-socialist transition (Verdery, 1991a, b; Holy, 1996). However, at the level of organization and labour market behaviour, the usage of this model is found to be limited. The concept of organizational culture (Schein, 1984; Ogbonna & Harris, 1998; Ogbonna & Wilkinson, 1990; Dahler-Larsen, 1994) appears to capture effectively the complexity of work attitudes during the transition. Moreover, it includes the broader social ramifications of the shifts in attitudes and helps to identify the specific directions of any changes in them.

These five theoretical framing dimensions derived from the literature review are used to guide the development of the thesis, including the empirical research and its analysis. The next chapter outlines the methodological approach and the strategies adopted for this investigation.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The main aim of this thesis is to reach a better understanding of attitudes to work in the Czech Republic during the transition towards a market economy i.e. the marketization. One of the most pressing challenges is developing an appropriate conceptual framework in order to carry out a robust empirical investigation. As explained in the introductory chapter (Chapter 1), apart from the delineation of work attitudes per se, the institutional and cultural context is of particular importance. It is an aim of this thesis to assess whether the legacy of the state socialist system still played an important part in the attitudes and values that people held after the collapse of the state socialist system with the perpetuation of these being, to some extent, expected. These points are directly linked with the second main challenge, namely how to measure work attitudes and more specifically how they should be determined in the particular context of the Czech Republic in transition. The literature review (Chapter 2) has identified the main conceptual dimensions that will guide the methodological analysis that will be further explained in this methods chapter. This is the key focus in this methods chapter.

In addition to an account of the methodological design and the main methods of inquiry, in this chapter there is a discussion of the data and their sources together with the instruments of data collection and methods of analysis. The associated methodological challenges are brought to the fore, such as the limitations of the data and the techniques used. Furthermore, issues of validity, reliability and inference are touched upon, as well as ethical considerations.

3.2 The pragmatic paradigm and research design

The methodology applied in this study adopts a combination of quantitative and qualitative instruments as the aim is to shed light on attitudes to work in the period of transition from a state controlled to a market economy. In this respect, this has been termed multi-strategy research by Layder (1993). This approach is particularly suitable for investigating certain fields. As discussed in Chapter 2 peoples' work-related attitudes and values are not an easy subject to define or measure. The issue of investigating attitudes is further complicated in this study by the fact that I am primarily interested in attitudes to work under socialism and during the early transition towards the market economy. Both of these developmental stages are specific, being signified by the heavy influence of ideological factors in the case of the former and an intricate interplay of political, economic and social influences in the case of the

latter. Therefore, selecting both quantitative and qualitative techniques is deemed best suited for tapping into the many different aspects of the complex area of work attitudes.

The purpose of the quantitative phase of this research is exploratory. It seeks to elicit the main patterns regarding the distribution of work attitudes in the Czech Republic during the time of post socialist transition. For the explanatory, second stage of enquiry, qualitative techniques, in the form of semi-structured interviews, are used to elaborate on the particular processes behind the formation of attitudes and their meanings, as well as to draw out the nature of the context in which the attitudes are shaped. The two methodological approaches are corroborative and complementary. That is, while each of them provides answers to a different set of questions, their integration enhances the validity of the outcomes of the study and facilitates this researcher in achieving a richer picture regarding the focal interest of this research.

Positivism and constructivism were originally the two leading paradigms used in research, with them covering supposedly separate grounds, as well as different philosophical commitments. Regarding the methodological implications, positivism is typically linked with quantitative research methods, while qualitative research relates to a constructivist or interpretative background (Bryman, 2004). As a result of these different stances, the social research arena has often been associated with paradigm wars. This was further exacerbated by the paradigm purists who proclaimed on the incompatibility of quantitative and qualitative methods (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1990; Lincoln et al., 2011). The belief that different methods cannot be reconciled owing to their different epistemological commitments or paradigmatic ties still remains one of the main criticisms of the multi-strategy approach. The inner consistency of this argument is, however, disputable (Bryman, 2006) and the whole incompatibility issue has been challenged (Della Porta & Keating 2008; Bergman, 2008). Some radical supporters of this new perspective even argue against classifying the mono-method research approach as entailing only a quantitative or qualitative aspect (Bergman, 2008).

While the fundamental ontological and epistemological questions are still the subject of discussions, recent approaches advance a pluralist perspective with a particular emphasis placed on using more than one method in a single research project. Moreover, it is recognised that it is not very clear as to what extent the different perspectives truly reside on conflicting ontological and epistemological grounds. Equally it is unclear how much of these possible disparities could and should be

translated into the use of specific methods (Hammersley, 1996). Therefore, the main issue goes beyond whether different methods can or should be combined; the discussions cover much broader grounds as they address fundamental questions of research methodology (or methodologies, in plural), and research design in social sciences (Della Porta & Keating 2008; Morgan, 2007) as well as how these connect to: research questions, data analysis and the interpretation of results (Bergman, 2008). Moreover, there is a general awareness that mixing of methods should be carried out in a critical style with the researcher being aware of the weaknesses. Therefore, researchers should follow certain rules rather than pursue mixed method research in an unfocussed manner. For example, Della Porta & Keating demonstrate this in their approach labelled 'the search for commensurable knowledge' (2008: 33). In this they advocate that 'it is important to compare the advantages and disadvantages of each method and methodology but also be aware that not all are compatible' (ibid: 33).

A number of authors also propose that the choice of methodological approach is subject to the nature of the problem studied. While proponents of paradigmatic social science would opt for theory as a point of departure, wherein for maximum comparability this choice would link with a particular method, putting the primary focus on the problem provides us with more freedom. It offers wider choice of methods and leads towards the selection of the most appropriate methodology. However, the downside of this approach can be lack of theoretical contribution (Della Porta & Keating, 2008). The circumstance where the research problem is given higher importance over the paradigm is termed pragmatism, and it is proposed as a paradigmatic alternative to positivism and constructivism (Feilzer, 2010; Tashakkori & Tedlie, 1998).

Morgan (2007) recommends pragmatism as an ideal approach. He engages in its wider epistemological and ontological implications and the links with the technical aspects of the methods used. He proposes that, instead of thinking about induction and deduction, this approach relies on abductive reasoning, which 'moves back and forth between induction and deduction – first converting observations into theories and then assessing those theories through action' (2007: 71). This process is, according to the author, characteristic of those types of research that combine qualitative and quantitative methods, in particular when the combination happens in sequential fashion. The main incentive for this, in addition to the key benefit of the pragmatic approach, is to find points of connection between different methods. In summary, the methodological focus on commonalities rather than differences allows

us to overcome limitations of individual methods taken alone and reach for new qualities that arise when combinations are pursued in a complementary manner.

The broader methodological and philosophical points discussed above relate directly to the research design of this thesis. The perspective adopted in this study is twofold. First, my standpoint is pragmatic since this thesis takes on a combination of several methodological strategies purposefully chosen for gaining better understanding of the research problem. I subscribe to the perspective put forward by the advocates of the mixed methods approach i.e. different methodological approaches do not necessarily involve conflicting ontological and epistemological grounds, not even when a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is employed in a research project (Bergman, 2008). Moreover, the methods are triangulated in this research, i.e. as a means of checking validity and as a way of seeking complementary information. In the literature this is depicted as being based on the same epistemological assumption that there is a single social reality which the researcher is trying to discover (Hammersley, 2008a). From this point of view, the philosophical underpinnings of both the quantitative and qualitative phases used in this research appear compatible.

Second, pertaining to this current study, the methodological stance comes from the acknowledgement that both quantitative and qualitative undertakings have certain advantages and disadvantages and they would clearly have shortcomings if employed alone. In detail, the quantitative analysis in this investigation provides information regarding the patterns of the distribution of work attitudes, but does not allow for further explanations of underlying mechanisms that account for their formation. The qualitative approach allows this researcher to inquire into the shaping of attitudes and factors that may play a role alongside these processes. It does not, however, offer the more general state of the problem depiction. The combination of both however, allows for a broader picture to be developed and enables the researcher to reveal more about the studied phenomenon, as the qualitative analysis brings forward the deeper meanings behind the numbers given by the quantitative survey. In summary, they are used in the logic of triangulation, notwithstanding that the combination has other functions in this project, as mentioned above.

Triangulation was originally used in more general terms to refer to the usage of multiple sources of data or methodologies (Denzin, 1970) and to compensate for weaknesses of one method by drawing on the strengths of another (Jick, 1979). However, the relationship between triangulation and mixed method designs is not very clear in the literature. Most authors explicitly or implicitly agree that mixed

methods as a concept is broader than triangulation and it can therefore serve a wider range of purposes. In his influential study, Greene et al. (1989) summarised five purposes for using mixed methods approaches (a) triangulation (understood as convergence of results), (b) complementarity (examination of different facets of the same phenomenon), (c) initiation (discovery of paradoxes and/or fresh perspectives) and (d) development (sequential use of the methods such as the results of the first inform the use of the second) (e) expansion (usage of mixed methods adding breadth and scope to the project).

In this research project, Greene's classification is very useful as practically all of the functions of a mixed method design are significant. For the current study it is understood and deployed as a way of crosschecking (i.e. triangulating) and complementing results generated by different methods, in this case quantitative and qualitative ones (see also Deacon et al., 1998; Hammersley, 1996, 2008b). The other functions are equally important. The methods are used sequentially. In this case the quantitative part of the research was conducted as a first step and the preliminary results informed the design of the in-depth interviews. Using the methods in this way enabled the researcher to create a sphere of overlap between the two diverse methods. Since the patterns of attitudes obtained as a result of the quantitative analysis needed further explanation, they became the basis for development of the list of topics to be used for the schedules for the semi-structured interviews in the subsequent phase. As mentioned above, mixed methods are used in this investigation in order to elicit explanations beyond the capacity of one individual method, and to put the pieces of the collected information together in such a way that it enriches and expands the project capacity. The last function listed in Greene's taxonomy, initiation, i.e. the discovery of paradoxes and/or fresh perspectives, is represented in this research to a limited extent and is demonstrated in the qualitative empirical chapters (Chapters 6, 7, and 8) and in the discussion (Chapter 9). The combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches is further enhanced by the review of documents that provide additional information regarding the particular context of their time. This includes relevant research produced and published under the Communist rule, as well as fiction literature and social documentaries featuring Communism.

The research design from a more technical angle refers to two of its key features: priority (status) and sequence (Bryman, 2004; Tashakkori & Tedlie, 1998, Ulin et al., 2012). This distinction refers to the stages of both data collection and its analysis. Both can be carried out as sequential/parallel and dominant /equal status forms of

designs. The logic of the sequential use of quantitative and qualitative methods in this research has been explained above. Attention turns now to whether the different methods used in a single study have equal status, or whether one of them dominates the other in terms of scope and importance. In addition, this problem can relate to whether two methods with different natures (and some may say methods that originated from different paradigms) can possibly ever be weighted equally in one research project. While some researchers eschew equal status designs (Morse, 1991), Tashakkori & Tedlie (1998) are in favour and report examples of where they successfully employed them. With respect to this current research, initially this researcher started with the intention of putting the main focus on the quantitative stage of analysis, whereby the semi-structured interviews were intended as a supplement. However, as the research progressed, it became clear that the role of the qualitative data was becoming greater than originally expected. Therefore, the decision was made to provide space for this data and thus allow the respondents to talk, i.e. give them a voice. As a result of this reflective process engaged with by the researcher, the final shape has emerged. It can best be described as sequential with the dominance of qualitative analysis.

3.3 Quantitative analysis

3.3.1 Quantitative data and the working sample

As the quantitative part of this investigation was carried out first as an exploratory task, it is presented before the qualitative section. The quantitative analysis of this thesis is comprised of two parts. The first part is based on the use of official Czech statistics and published statistical sources, mainly containing macro-economic, labour market related and demographic information. These are presented in Chapter 4. This official data was not used for generating new calculations for this research but was used to compile appropriate graphs. In addition, other relevant extant statistical publications were used. The purpose of using this data was to draw the macroeconomic picture of the Czech transition and capture the main trends from the statistical point of view.

The second set of statistical data comes from the international survey 'Employment conditions, labour market insecurity and work motivation of the employed and unemployed' (1993) which took place in four European countries. The findings based on my calculations using this data are presented in Chapter 5. The data sets were obtained from the leader of the international research team professor Gallie of Nuffield College, Oxford (for further detail see Chapter 5). Even though the data

covers a wide scope of information regarding attitudes to work, a specific analysis with this focus has not been attempted so far. Therefore, this researcher makes use of this high quality data for the purposes stated in her research aims. It is, however, acknowledged that only some research issues can be addressed by means of analyzing this data. As a supplementary source, a limited number of statistical trends presented in Chapter 5 is supported by secondary analysis of data coming from the 'European Values Study' (1990, 1999 and 2008). While the scope of this data is not a perfect fit regarding the research questions (see Chapter 5 for details), it is used mainly for comparative purposes to sketch the prevalent trends, and to compensate for the lack of longitudinal perspective of the main statistical data sources discussed above. Overall, as explained in the previous section, within the overall design of this project, the statistical analysis forms a supplementary (minor) method. It serves as the point of departure towards the qualitative analysis, which forms the main approach undertaken for addressing this inquiry.

Secondary analysis has considerable advantages for the researcher, in particular as concerns a PhD thesis. Several of these are listed in the relevant methodological literature (e.g. Bryman, 2004; Dale et al., 1998; Hakim, 1982). In the case of large scale surveys, re-use of existing data provides the chance to work with big samples that allow for subgroup analysis. It also means working with high quality data that has been collected by trained interviewers following well-established procedures (Bryman, 2004). It would be impossible to obtain data of a comparable sample size, geographical spread and quality with the resources available for a doctoral research project. For this particular study, not having to collect the data also brought considerable advantages in terms of saved time and resources (Dale et al., 1998; Hakim, 1982). As a consequence, this enabled this researcher to take on the multi-method approach and take the time necessary to conduct the interviews. An additional advantage of secondary analysis is that it is not intrusive and allows for the generating of new knowledge without inconvenience being imposed on the respondents (e.g. Dale et al., 1998; SRA ¹⁰ guidelines, 2015). Some disadvantages of secondary analysis are discussed in the following section, specifically those pertaining to the limitations of the data used for this study.

The quantitative data used in this thesis is suitable as it covers some of the key topic areas and draws a rudimentary statistical background for guiding the following qualitative study. The samples are representative for the respective countries and

¹⁰ Social Research Association (SRA), <http://the-sra.org.uk/>.

large enough to allow for a moderate level of analysis in terms of the analysis of subgroups. The Czech sample counts 1701 cases, of which 1480 are valid. The original project consisted of two parts: a sample of employees and a sample of the unemployed. Given the aims of this research project, I only focus on the sample of employees. Moreover, the working samples were restricted to the population of employees, meaning that self-employed persons were excluded from the analysis for statistical reasons. Moreover as their attitudes tend to be very specific, this could have affected the results in terms of biases.

The research strategy in the Czech Republic was modelled according to the British research design. Regarding the sample of employees, the sampling design differed between the UK and in the Eastern European countries (Tomlinson, 2002). The sampling frame in the UK was the postal address file (PAF) which is a computer based database of all addresses in the UK and the data collection was based on random stratified sampling. Response rate in the UK was 72 percent. The sampling procedures however met with complications in the Czech Republic where the list of addresses could not be obtained from the Central Population Register of the Home Office due to legal restrictions. Therefore, the procedure employed was stratified multistage probability sampling (for more details see Tomlinson, 2002). The response rate in the Czech Republic was 74 percent.

The questionnaires for this survey were built around the topics of the current developments in the labour market and issues relevant to the workplace at that time (ibid). For the purposes of the original analysis, the surveys also included work history data; a longer version in the case of the UK and a simplified version for the Eastern European countries. The relevant sets of questions useful for this current research were the ones featuring attitudes to work. These comprise three main areas: non-financial commitment to employment (aka the Lottery Question), rationales to paid work defined as main reasons for having a paid job (the battery covering items such as: 'provide for necessities', 'follow my career', 'use my abilities' etc.) and job facet priorities contained in the battery of questions asking about aspects of a job held at the time of the interview (such as: 'total pay', 'the work itself', and 'opportunities for further training' etc.). The variables considered as correlates of work attitudes addressed socio-demographics (such as: age, sex, education, occupation) and characteristics of the workplace, for instance, the sector of production.

Since some parts of the supporting quantitative analysis conducted for this thesis involve occupational characteristics, it is necessary to explain how the occupational

categories were constructed. In the British case, this procedure involved cross-referencing between the occupational code, employment status and industrial code, which were all collected in detail. This could generate any of the class schemas commonly used in sociological research such as Goldthorpe's scheme consisting of 11 classes (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992). For the Czech Republic, since the full information on employment status was not available, a new algorithm was developed by the research team which recoded the Czech occupational classification (ISCO88) into EGP (the modified Goldthorpe class schema; see Tomlinson, 2002). While the new schema seemed comprehensive, some re-weighting needed to be done to correct errors. However, as noted by the authors of the survey, mainly due to the sampling and translation issues, the representativeness of the Eastern European data is debatable and the results need to be interpreted with some caution (Tomlinson, 2002).

Finally, as the research project from which the data for my study has been generated was international, and the research strategies used in the Eastern European countries followed the British design, it is appropriate to point out several potential pitfalls related to cross-cultural research. The main points that need mentioning concern: comparability in terms of data categories and the survey methods employed, legal boundaries placed on the data, the need to translate the data collection instruments into the respective languages, ensuring equivalence of the samples and the more general problem of the specificity of translation of the working concepts into different cultural contexts (Bryman, 2004; Dale et al., 1988). The last mentioned problem was specifically acknowledged by the authors of the research project. While the back-translations of the questionnaires were carried out competently and with special care, there remains some uncertainty regarding the success of the translations in terms of the captured meanings.

3.3.2 Methods used in the quantitative analysis

The first goal of the statistical analysis was to map patterns of work orientations in the Czech Republic at the particular point of the end of the first wave of the socio-economic transition in 1994. As related to this purpose, comparisons are made with similar patterns of work attitudes found in Great Britain to test for differences and to find out the extent to which the Czech attitudes are specific. A second objective is to determine the correlates of work orientations in the Czech Republic in order to establish factors that are likely to affect them. Correlates of work attitudes (orientations) took two forms: socio-demographic variables (age, sex, education,

occupation, marital status) and characteristics related to employment (training for the job, length of the training, sector of production). Below, principles of factor analysis, which was applied to the secondary data besides the analysis of frequencies, are outlined. The data utilized for this analysis is cross-sectional and not time series.

Factor analysis is a technique used to explore the structure of underlying variables as related to a certain construct (Thompson, 2004), for instance, various aspects of job satisfaction/motivation. It is assumed that the construct consists of several dimensions, i.e. factors, which have specific meaning and can be useful in terms of interpreting findings. When looking for the best model to represent the data by means of the factor analysis, three main criteria should be taken into consideration:

- a) maximum **explained variance**
- b) maximum **parsimony** (as few factors as possible) – which is in fact at odds with the requirement a) for the maximum variance explained
- a) maximum **interpretability** (even the parsimonious model is not good if it is not interpretable)

A good factor solution should meet all three criteria at the same time, so often one or two of them have to be compromised for the sake of the others.

In case of the data in hand, the factor analysis was employed to explore the internal structure of the thematic area of prioritized job facets, i.e. particular facets of a job held by an employee at the time. The principal findings of the factor analysis are presented in Chapter 5 (for further detail of the statistical technique see Appendix 4).

3.3.3 Limitations pertaining to the quantitative data

While the quantitative data has many advantages in terms of its quality, scope and the novelty of its information, there are still several disadvantages. There are two main sources of limitations, with the first concerning the general disadvantages of using secondary analysis of data and the second, the quality of a particular working sample. Both of these are discussed next.

One of the commonly cited shortcomings of secondary analysis is that the topics covered do not cover exactly the range of topics of interest to the researcher and therefore the absence of some key variables is an issue (Bryman, 2004). Consequently, this may result in compromise regarding the scope of the intended

analysis. This difficulty may translate into the entity problem (Hakim, 1982) stemming from the fact that the concepts rooted in the secondary data, as well as the ways in which these were collected and coded, do not correspond exactly with the conceptual framework proposed for the research in hand. In this current study, although there are problems with the official statistics when drawing the wider macroeconomic context, they are not as severe as can be found when conceptualizing work orientations across countries.

Many of the central dimensions in the framework used for conceptualising work orientations used in this study were well covered in the original study's questionnaires. This was in spite of the fact that the survey data was not originally intended for the investigation of work attitudes/orientations and, prior to this PhD study, has not been deployed for this. There were, however, some areas which the survey questionnaire did not cover and which would have been useful, for example, information regarding the career perspectives of the respondents. In addition, it would be of methodological benefit to compare the response to the single-item lottery question with similar results generated by means of the multi-item lottery question, but this was not included. Furthermore, contextual information about the transition and the socialist past were not part of the quantitative data and neither was the wider cultural and historical context covered. Therefore, this researcher was obliged to investigate these issues solely by relying on the qualitative phase of the study. It has to be remembered that the quantitative data employed in this study formed an introduction regarding key aspects of attitudes to work at the point of transition. The role played by the quantitative data was that of a point of departure into the following quantitative analysis. This researcher deemed that the scope of the available information was sufficient for these purposes.

While the quality of data used for this study is generally good, there are several concerns relating to the fact that this is an internationally-comparative survey and the questionnaire, including the main concepts used, was adopted from the British original and applied to the countries of Eastern Europe. The authors of the survey acknowledge that the success of the translations of the western concepts into the context of Eastern Europe and therefore, the extent to which the concepts were adequately understood in the respective countries remain questionable (Tomlinson, 2002). Moreover, the British researchers commented on the less meticulous research procedures carried out on the Eastern European side regarding the collection of data (ibid). Both of these factors could have possibly resulted in the distortion of data. As

a result, the empirical findings derived from this data must be considered with caution and interpreted critically.

Research into work attitudes in the Czech Republic during the transition would ideally involve comparisons over time. That is, where the trends could be followed and explained in relation to transitional changes in the society and in the labour market. Such longitudinal data with rich conceptual scope and the depth required for a thorough examination of work attitudes were not available. They were unavailable in relation to the socialist past, and limited for the period of the transition to the point when the research for this study was started. Some other cross sectional data was available but the coverage of the topics pertinent to this study was much poorer in comparison to the data used for this current thesis. Nevertheless, for the purposes of rudimentary comparison and in order to gain some time perspective, the data coming from the 'European Values Study' is utilized a supplementary source (see Chapter 5 for more detail on using this data).

To compensate for the disadvantages listed above, in this study the mixed method of inquiry was adopted. The qualitative data gathered by means of the in-depth interviews held in 2006 and 2010 provides more up-to-date information. Moreover, the methodological triangulation used serves two purposes: as further validation of the findings (Patton, 2002) and as a tool to extend the breadth of the information obtained and the scope of the explanations offered. In this way a fuller picture of the studied phenomena can be obtained (Fielding & Fielding, 1986).

3.3.4 Ethical considerations of carrying out secondary analysis

It is generally acknowledged that quantitative surveys usually present fewer concerns when it comes to ethical issues as compared to qualitative methods of inquiry (Dale et al., 1988). Conducting secondary analysis using existing survey data should generate even less worry regarding such considerations given the fact that this data comes to the researcher in an anonymous format and so the possibility of identifying respondents is effectively ruled out (Bulmer, 1982). In the above, it was noted that one of the advantages of secondary analysis is its non-intrusiveness into privacy, which makes this type of analysis worthwhile due to the avoidance of directly burdening the interviewees (SRA).

A closer look at the relationship between the interviewer/researcher and her/his data however, raises another issue that of informed consent (Roberts, 1984). Qualitative researchers are usually in direct contact with the respondents, and they also carry

responsibility for how the data is used when it comes to the dissemination of the results. The relationship between the secondary researcher and their data is in this sense more remote. As a result, especially in case of large scale surveys, like the one used for this thesis, the respondents are informed about the prospective uses of the data in general rather than in exact terms. Equally, it is not always possible to ensure that the information shared by the survey participants will always be used entirely for their benefit, for instance concerning the policy decisions based upon certain research findings. This fact is recognized by the Social Research Association in their Ethical Guidelines (SRA).

3.3.5 A note on the 'don't know'/missing data

Even though the general response rate for the survey 'Employment conditions, labour market insecurity and work motivation of the employed and unemployed', was good (73.9 percent, as compared to 78.2 percent in the UK), the analysis of the Czech data encountered a problem of non-response in terms of some missing/don't know data in relation to particular questions. Non-response issues are a rather common problem faced by survey researchers (e.g. Payne, 1949) and they deserve analytical attention because they are a potential source of bias, particularly in situations where the non-respondents may have different characteristics than the respondents. More specifically, the non-response problem appears in surveys as one of two types: unit or item non-response. The former is the more general one and it occurs when some members of the sample cannot be reached, they refuse to participate in interviewing or maybe cannot supply the required data (Bryman, 2004). The latter is defined as the lack of a valid response to individual questions (Shoemaker, 2001). It typically covers a wide variety of survey non-substantive responses, from 'don't know' answers for attitude items to 'refusals' (missing data) for income questions (Sterne et al., 2009). It is the item form of non-response that is a problem with the data used in the current study and therefore it is discussed further below.

In the data used for the international study, a high level of missing answers was noted in the frequency of answers to the lottery question in the Czech sample (14 percent, as compared to 2 percent in the UK sample). The answers to the Lottery question in the questionnaire were coded into three categories: 1 – would continue working, 2 – would stop working, 3 – don't know/missing. Interpretation of the resultant high proportion of 'don't know/missing' answers requires further exploration of this category. This is because in the context of social research this term (i.e. 'don't know') may not always indicate that the respondent truly doesn't know the answer, and

equally, a missing value may not simply signify a refusal to respond. It needs to be noted that the 'don't know' answer could make good sense in certain contexts. Unfortunately, lumping together both categories of the non-response prevents us from further exploration of respondents' motives underlying their answers, and any interpretations have to remain on the tentative side.

3.4 Qualitative interviewing

3.4.1 Reasons for employing qualitative methods

According to the original research design, qualitative interviewing was to serve as a secondary source of evidence for this investigation. However, as mentioned earlier, as the research work unfolded, it became clear that its place in the whole research project was going to be more substantial than originally anticipated. The interviews conducted for the pilot study opened up a whole new and intriguing world of people's perceptions regarding the transition, and the potential for rich and unprecedented information to be accessed. It became apparent that in order to fully explore how the transition and marketization affected people's work during the transition, the qualitative path was the correct one to follow. Even though this meant substantive further investment of time and resources into the doctoral project, I decided to carry on with the new design as it offered additional insight and clearly moved the value of the investigation to a new level. Therefore, the final research design shows the dominance of the qualitative aspect.

There are several reasons why qualitative interviewing, originally chosen as a suitable secondary technique of inquiry complementing the quantitative analysis, was turned into the main focus. To start with, the motivation for this stems from the nature of work attitudes as my subject of interest. It was demonstrated in the theoretical literature review chapter (Chapter 2) that work attitudes can be investigated at various levels. That is, they can be treated as general trends in the labour market, and as patterns of societal development as well as the characteristics of individuals. In keeping with this, they are subject to multidisciplinary interest and particular aspects are dealt with under the disciplines of economics, sociology and psychology. In the previous chapter it emerged that while some patterns of work attitudes may be similar across countries and over time, their dynamic nature is equally important and this makes attitudes time and place specific. Quantitative data used for this investigation is not able to capture either their multidimensional nature or their dynamic aspect. This is underlined because the survey data is cross-sectional and not time series in nature. By contrast, qualitative data has the potential to release these features and

offer them up for examination. Moreover, this data is ideal for tapping into the processes of the formation of attitudes and people's underlying motivations for adopting certain attitudes. It allows investigation of complex phenomena such as attitudes to work on a deeper and more inclusive level. Therefore, the introduction of qualitative interviews into this study does not only create the contrast of quantity versus quality but also compensates for some limitations of the statistical data as it allows for capturing the wholeness of the attitudes, as well as, to some extent, their dynamic aspect.

Secondly, apart from cross-checking and validating the outcomes from the quantitative data analysis, the qualitative analysis serves to complement them in terms of adding new information. Since the theme of attitudes to work has been under-researched in the Czech Republic in general terms and in relation to the transitional changes in particular, there is scant information regarding patterns of people's work attitudes and the mechanisms of their formation as well as the factors that may affect them. While quantitative data can provide some information regarding patterns and distribution of attitudes, subject to the established tools of measurement, a qualitative investigation has the potential to uncover some new dimensions of attitudes that popular quantitative approaches cannot attempt. This applies to approaches that have not been considered so far, in general, and in relation to the Czech context. Furthermore, giving voice to the Czech people themselves and taking account of their perspectives can help us to understand the reality of how people relate to work and obtain a richer picture than solely relying on preconceived instruments. Whereas some limited statistical data is available in the Czech Republic on some aspects of attitudes, mainly related to issues of economic transition and perceptions of social justice, this researcher is not aware of any extant qualitative investigation into attitudes to work or any studies dealing with people's perceptions of the socialist legacy in the sphere of work.

Thirdly, the outcomes of the qualitative analysis can contribute to the discussion regarding the methods and techniques for the measurement of attitudes to work through the validation/ enrichment/ extension of the existing tools of measurement. For example, some quantitative techniques of measurement used at present, e.g. multidimensional scales, would benefit from further testing by applying qualitative analysis. The existing notions pertaining to measurement of work attitudes have been discussed in detail in Chapter 2. It is accepted that due to the general lack of qualitative research regarding work attitudes, the extant conceptualisation of attitudes is based mainly on quantitative findings. While it is not an ambition of this researcher

to engage in detailed discussion on measurements, some useful observations can be advanced in order to make suggestions for future research endeavours.

3.4.2 Pilot study and the sampling

The qualitative data was generated by means of in-depth interviews with (HRM/Personnel) managers of Czech private sector companies and public sector institutions. The experts targeted for the interviews were chosen as respondents who, due to their job-related and supervisory experience, were expected to be particularly knowledgeable regarding the topics of interest, such as: the work ethic under socialism and the change after the fall of the old regime, the perceived degree of change in attitudes towards work during the first years of the transition, and the expectations and reality of transition. The main criterion for selection of interview participants was that they had worked in supervisory/management positions, ideally in the same company/institution (or at least within the same sector if the former was not possible), both before the demise of the state socialist system and during the first few years of the transition and therefore were in a position to reflect and comment on attitudes to work under both systems.

The interviewing was conducted in two main stages: during the first months of 2006 and in the summer of 2010. As a first stage, pilot interviews were carried out in January 2006 during my first visit to the Czech Republic. The main purpose of this was to test the interview schedules that were due to be used for the main fieldwork. Four respondents were interviewed for the pilot in Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic and in Brno, the second largest city. I relied on my friends' contacts when finding respondents for these preliminary interviews. Likewise, I included respondents from two different parts of the country to achieve some degree of variety and aimed at having an equal split between private sector companies and public sector institutions as I expected experiences of supervisors in these sectors to be different. Therefore, in the pilot two of my interviewees represented the private sector and the other two were employed in the public one. Also, two men and two women were selected.

The schedule for the main round of interviewing was based on three main sources. The first influence was the research questions that this study is addressing, especially bearing in mind the underlying premise regarding the legacy of socialism in attitudes to work and its persistence into the transition period in Czech society as it underwent marketization. The second source of inspiration was the preliminary results of the

quantitative analysis as it was intended that the qualitative interviews would expand on and help explain these findings further by inquiring deeper into the issues raised. The third source contributing to the formation of the interview schedule was the results of the pilot interviews. These unfolded some new areas that initially were not considered, yet appeared very relevant in relation to the focal interest.

To recall, the semi-structured interviews were carried out in two stages: March 2006 and June 2010. At time of the first wave in March 2006, the research design was still dominated by the quantitative method. That is, this step was originally intended to gather information as a supplement to the existing secondary statistical data and 16 interviews were conducted. At the later stage, when the decision had been made to uplift the quantitative investigation and make it the principal methodological approach, an additional 27 interviews were held, making a total of 43. This periodization of the interviews, i.e. the fact that I conducted a number of interviews over an extended period of time, apart from being demanding in terms of time and resources from the researcher, has proven beneficial in several respects. The main advantage is that it has enabled me to capture the transition dynamically. That is, the repeat visits to the Czech Republic, and having the opportunity to study the transition at different stages, resulted in me having more comprehensive reflection on the extent of the change, as well as enhancing the variety of the opinions that were revealed in the interviews. The time frame consequently gives the outcomes of this study greater possibilities in terms of the researcher making generalizations. This is owing to the fact that they do not suffer from the disadvantage of referring to just one particular point in the transition but capture the process of the social change in a more rounded manner.¹¹ Secondly, the time lapses between different stages of the interviewing process enabled better preparation of the interviews and scheduling of those informants who were desirable in terms of their anticipated input, but otherwise would have been inaccessible owing to time constraints. Therefore, it is believed that the periodization of interviews was a fortuity that enabled me to collect high quality data.

The design of the semi-structured interviews was based on a set of topics rather than an exact list of questions. Bruce & Berg (2007) see the degree of standardization of

¹¹ However, when the process of transition finished and whether it has completed at all are debatable. Some commentators argue that the transition was concluded with the accomplished economic transition, which would mean by the end of the nineties. The picture, however, looks different if we consider the changes in social structures and people's mind-sets. Taking this perspective, even now, nearly 25 years after the demise of Communism, it can be argued that the process of transition is still ongoing.

the interview as a continuum, where 'the semi standardized interview can be located somewhere between the extremes of the completely standardized and the completely unstandardized interviewing structures' (ibid: 95). In the case of this research, the sequence of the predetermined topic areas covered was planned, and therefore a line of inquiry could be clearly identified. Moreover, given the nature of the topics, there was a focus on starting with more general warm-up questions, gradually unfolding toward more specific themes. However, equally important was an incentive to tailor the interview to the specific situation of each respondent. Therefore, the interviews demonstrate some signs of reflexive interviewing (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) where the process of interviewing carries more flexibility and permits the respondent to decide what is relevant to discuss in relation to each topic. As a result, in practice, the areas covered with each interviewee depended on the relevance to the particular situation and willingness of the respondent to engage with particular issues. Moreover, in light of this, questions were not necessarily asked in a particular order.

Regarding demographic characteristics, the age of respondents was not a particular concern for this research, as persons who met the previously mentioned requirements were predominantly middle aged or older. The selection process did, however, strive for an equal split between men and women; 20 men and 23 women were interviewed. Similarly, there was an emphasis placed on recruiting participants employed in both the public and private sectors which resulted in nine interviews with private sector managers/supervisors and seven experts from public sector institutions being recruited. Furthermore, in order to generate a balanced sample, the interviews were conducted in three Czech cities, one being the capital, Prague, the second in the north of the country, Zlin, and the third in the south, Brno. Since snowball sampling was used as the main sampling strategy, which is a case of non-probability sampling, the sample cannot be considered representative. This feature, however, is not generally regarded as a major drawback in qualitative research (e.g. Bryman, 2004).

One of the commonly recognized problems the empirical researcher has to face during fieldwork is obtaining access to people to interview. This can become even more of an issue when the interviewing strategy involves recruiting important people. Expert interviews can be seen as falling into the same category as elite ones (see Hertz & Imber, 1995; Mikecz, 2012) and thus many similar characteristics can be applied to them. Thomas (1995: 4) characterises elites as those people who are 'visible but not accessible'. In the particular case of this research, however, neither of these characteristics completely fits the case, and this turned out to be a double-

edged sword. On the one hand, my situation as a researcher was made easier by the fact that the experts I was aiming to interview were not exactly members of Czech elite circles and therefore their exclusivity factor was slightly lower than for this type of person, which enhanced their potential accessibility. On the other hand, however, this also meant they were not so visible and therefore I had to rely heavily on contacts and recommendations to recruit them.

To generate the working sample, two main strategies were used to lower and eventually overcome the initial barriers to finding potential respondents: personal contacts and the snowball sampling technique. Regarding the first, when interviewing important people, it is recommended to avoid cold calling (Buchanan et al., 1988) which refers to approaching potential interviewees without recommendation i.e. as a complete stranger. Instead, the experience of many researchers suggests that it is especially helpful to 'combine a recognizable affiliation with some sort of personal contact' (Thomas, 1995: 8). To capitalise on this strategy, I presented myself as a Czech PhD student researching attitudes to work. It seemed that my status as a student in itself somewhat eased access. It generated a willingness on the side of many potential interviewees to accommodate me in their busy schedules and as some of them told me, they thought my topic was interesting and worthy of investigation.

The first stage of getting access relied entirely on mobilising personal contacts, and for this I utilized two sources of information. Firstly, I asked my Czech friends if they knew anyone who would meet my selection criteria; 17 respondents were recruited in this way. Secondly, I used contacts provided by my supervisor at the University of Bath, which were connections with Czech experts whom he had met at an international conference. Two additional respondents were gained via this route. Using personal contacts at the outset of my fieldwork proved very helpful as my friends and my supervisor became the gatekeepers in this respect. That is, they opened doors to a network of experts suitable for interviewing. Indeed, during the course of the fieldwork several informants revealed to me that were it not for the direct contacts/recommendations and related guarantees (e.g. in terms of the seriousness of the research and its confidentiality) they would not have agreed to participate in the interview. Being a Czech native and therefore familiar with the country, its culture and organizational culture, has also proven to be an advantage. After this initial phase of making an entry into the field, the most logical following step was to employ the snowballing approach as my existing respondents were, in the vast majority of cases, happy to identify other persons whom they knew and who fitted the selection criteria.

This resulted in 26 further interviews, which adds up to the total of 43 interviews conducted in all.

After gaining access, obtaining the data in the form of the information I was looking for represented another challenge. There were three potentially problematic areas in this respect that had to be dealt with. At the same time, these issues create challenges for the subsequent data analysis stage, which are discussed in the appropriate sections. The first problem was that only a limited amount of information may be given away by respondents. This may be put down to two factors. The first is the almost historical nature of interviews, since the information to a large extent was relying on their recollections from the past. It has been shown in previous research (Ritchie et al., 2009) that this creates a source of potential bias since the ability to recall past events in a truthful and authentic manner may be limited by memory and these issues are most commonly encountered in historical and oral history research methodologies. Of more relevance are the psychological theories of motivated forgetting (Weiner, 1968; Anderson, 2003; Anderson & Huddleston, 2012) and cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1962; Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959) for these might bring some insights as the mechanisms they describe are similar to those in question here. For example, they can be used to explain coping strategies in a situation when, as a result of a conflicting experience, people generally have the tendency to remember good things and forget as well as modify any negative experiences from their past. Also, it is noted that individuals have a tendency to revise the past and justify their actions in light of more recent experience.

The second issue is the sensitivity of the subject area under investigation owing to the ideological loading of the topics related to the socialist past. The fact that professional and political careers in socialism were intertwined may result in the situation where some respondents could have concerns regarding openly articulating their views, especially when recalling their working experience from the past or when they find sharing this information uncomfortable. In this case, similar psychological approaches as mentioned above could be used to explain this. Following a similar logic, the fact that some questions were referring to hypothetical situations could potentially distort the data as they constitute possible sources of bias, which could affect both qualitative and quantitative interviewing outcomes. The most likely type of bias in this case is related to the tendency towards the social desirability of the answer. While this might be relevant to both the qualitative and the quantitative parts of this research, it was especially demonstrated in the lottery question contained in the survey (for further details see the discussion in Subsection 3.3.5 addressing the

'don't know'/missing data). Only those techniques employed in the phase of in-depth interviewing are discussed further.

In order to deal with the above limitations, the questions that were probing potentially sensitive topics were asked in a variety of different wording formats and at different stages of the interview process. Furthermore, additional questions were posed when needed in order to encourage respondents to look at things from different perspectives (Bruce & Berg, 2007). Nevertheless, the scope of the information obtained on certain topics varied depending on the respondents as it was ultimately up to them to decide how much they wanted to share. Equally, these circumstances need to be taken into consideration in the data interpretation and consequently some parts of the information I obtained are treated with caution.

The remaining two areas of possible bias are specific to the kind of respondents I was interviewing. Since the informants were important people, they could have reasons for wanting to share information to some limited extent or to offer answers they had prepared beforehand, rather than genuinely answer in full the questions they were asked. There are two reasons for this, the first stemming from the fact that important people such as those in managerial positions tend to be trained in public speaking, and are assertive in their communication, so they are used to putting forward their arguments in conversation. Thomas (1995) suggests various techniques through which a researcher can strengthen her/his status and confidence when interviewing important people. One of these used in this research was careful preparation prior to the interview, which involved gathering as much information as possible about the person to be interviewed such as their styles of interaction, familiarising myself with the company/institution and the interview setting. The use of semi-structured interview schedules as opposed to unstructured interviewing was another way to minimize the tendency for expert respondents dominating too much of the communication. I found it helpful to employ the list of topics and stick to it to some degree, and through this it was easier to maintain the balance in the interview and possibly direct the respondents from their own agenda towards responding to the questions that were relevant for this research.

For the above reasons, the respondents' reflections on attitudes and values related to work expressed in this way need to be treated largely as indicative evidence as the inquiry approaches the themes of attitudes in an indirect way. Moreover, it partly deals with events that took place a long time ago and collecting people's recollections

about the times under the state socialist system could almost fall into the category of historical analysis.

3.4.3 The interviews

The fieldwork comprised of semi-structured, in-depth interviews carried out in the Czech Republic in March-April 2006, and June-July 2010. Altogether, 43 interviews were conducted and they lasted on average 80 minutes. The interviewees were contacted by phone, and usually repeated contact was necessary prior to the interview. The appointments were made arranging a time and place convenient to them. All the interviews were carried out in Czech and all of them were recorded in order to facilitate the flow of conversation and retain maximum information.

The setting of the interview is regarded as an important factor and is very significant in the case of interviews with elite or important people (Thomas, 1995). In this research, the location was always subject to the respondents' choice and in the majority of cases this was their workplace, most often their own office. Seven interviews were conducted in a café, two in a pub and one in a public park. As the interviewer, I was always trying to 'take in the settings', as suggested by Thomas (1995) as quickly as possible, so as to get comfortable with the interview situation. This was easy to achieve in the office environments. Some difficulties arose when conducting interviews in the other places owing to the high levels of background noise, and in the public park because of the chilly weather. Even though these factors made the interview situations more challenging, they did not have a major impact on the scope or quality of the information collected from the informants.

Employing a user friendly schedule is always important in in-depth interviews in order to build a good rapport with the informants and generate as much useful information as possible. This principle seems even more significant in cases when some of the topics may be somewhat sensitive. In order to relax the respondents and build trust, I started the interviews with questions about more general topics and asked the interviewees to talk about themselves. More complex and sensitive topics were gradually and gently introduced as the interview progressed. Since one of the goals of the interviewing was to tap into unexpected and unknown areas, the interviews were directed only gently and a lot of space was given to the respondents to allow them to express their views in their own way whilst touching upon neighboring issues and topics.

As discussed in the section above, it was explained that in the case of elite or expert interviews, an issue might arise regarding the particular codes of behaviour or mannerisms typical of their working environment (Bryman, 2004; Thomas, 1995). Prior to the interviews, I tried to find out as much as possible about the particular person and the institution I was going to visit, with the majority of this being supplied by my initial contacts - the gatekeepers. In addition, a variety of other sources was used, including, for example, the internet and company leaflets. Having acquired the necessary background information I found it relatively easy to adjust to the surroundings of my informants as I could adopt particular styles of speech, dress code and in general familiarize myself with the cultures of those being interviewed. All of my interviewees were very willing to share their views and to my knowledge, their answers were a genuine reflection on the questions asked. When the interviews were over, I found it useful to make additional written notes and record supplementary information into the tape-recorder regarding any further relevant information that was shared after the official ending of the interview or any comments on the interview situation, such as the surroundings etc. In several cases follow up phone calls were used to clarify or supplement the interviews.

3.4.4 Analysis of the qualitative data

Reasons for choosing the framework method for data analysis

Data analysis was conducted by means of applying the framework method. This method was originally developed as an analytical instrument in applied policy research (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Further, it has been widely employed since to carry out qualitative analysis in the social sciences in general (Ritchie et al., 2013). As the name suggests, the basis of this method is a thematic framework which is used to manage the data. This involves classifying and organizing them according to the main themes and concepts. In the practical stages of analysis, each theme is typically converted into a matrix charted on a sheet of paper where rows indicate respondents and columns denote subtopics. The main features of the framework method have been summarized as follows:

- *Grounded or generative*: is heavily based in, and driven by, the original accounts and observations of the people it is about.
- *Dynamic*: is open to change, addition and amendment throughout the analytic process.
- *Systematic*: allows methodical treatment of all similar units of analysis.

- *Comprehensive*: allows a full, and not partial or selective, review of the material collected.
- *Enables easy retrieval*: allows access to, and retrieval of, the original textual material.
- *Allows between and within-case analysis*: enables comparisons between, and associations within, cases to be made.
- *Accessible to others*: the analytic process, and the interpretations derived from it, can be viewed and judged by people other than the primary analyst (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994:176).

While all of these recognized features are relevant for the analysis of the qualitative data collected for this research, some of the advantages need to be underlined. My choice of this method was guided mainly by the purpose of the qualitative interviewing, that is fostering further understanding and more in-depth explanations for the patterns regarding attitudes to work initially uncovered by means of the quantitative analysis. Therefore, an analytical approach was needed that would allow the themes to develop from both directions: the specific research questions determined by the outcomes of the statistical analysis as well as the narratives provided by the respondents. Since the generative function is one of the main strengths of the framework method, it was deemed to be the most appropriate one for this research. The method has, however, other significant qualities that made it suitable for this investigation. The systematic approach inbuilt to the framework approach was particularly useful as the data needed to be sifted through in an orderly manner and organized hierarchically to allow for commonalities to emerge and later for the categories to be developed. Finally, for conducting this analysis, the ability to move between different ideas in sequence as well as between different levels of abstraction was important, and is another benefit offered by this method (Ritchie et al., 2003).

Practical application of the framework method

In their account on the usage of the framework method, Ritchie and Spencer (1994: 177) point out that while the method in itself is ‘a well-defined procedure’ based on the logical sequencing of individual steps, and is systematic and disciplined, it still leaves plenty of space for creativity as the analytical process largely relies on the researcher’s conceptual capacity and her/his skills to determine meanings and find connections. In the case of this research, the basic principles of the framework

method were applied and the main stages of the process were followed, however, the practical conduct of the individual analytical steps was adjusted to fit the type of data and aims of the analysis.

While it is possible nowadays to employ computer assisted qualitative data analysis software CAQDAS or similar (e.g. Atlas.ti, NUD•IST, NVivo, Ethnograph) for framework based analysis, in this study the analytical stage was carried out manually using sheets of paper. Although these packages are commonly relied upon, it has been argued that their usage is not, and should not be thought of as being straightforward, but rather carefully considered and guided by the main aims of the research in hand (Heron & Weitzman, 2006; Weitzman & Miles 1995). There are three main reasons for using the manual approach in this study. Firstly, all of the interviews were conducted in the Czech language. In order to use the English version of the CAQDAS software (since at the time when the first interviews were analyzed, the Czech version of the software was not easily accessible), all 43 interviews would have had to be translated into English. This did not seem very practical given the time and resource-related restrictions of the research. Furthermore, translating the interviews for the sake of the analysis would potentially risk the danger of introducing distortion of the meanings provided by respondents' accounts. This was especially problematic regarding the handling of sensitive and context bound topics and many of these kinds of issues feature at the centre of this study. Secondly and more importantly, as I am mainly concerned with the meanings of attitudes and how these are constructed by the people whose lives were significantly affected by the change (i.e. the transition and marketization in the Czech Republic), assessing their life stories in their complex form was of paramount importance, and this was more crucial to the study than focusing on an analysis of extracted parts. That is, I was concerned that too much fragmentation could impair the overall meanings. The last reason for adopting the manual manipulation of data is the personal preference of this researcher as charting on sheets of paper appeared suitable in terms of enhancing the flow of analytical thinking and endorsing a creative conceptual process. As a result, the data was handled and analyzed in the original Czech version and only those narratives that are quoted directly in the thesis text were translated into English.

There are five stages commonly recognized as comprising the framework analysis in practice: familiarization, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, and mapping and interpretation (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). These stages are depicted in

the following section with regard to their application in the analysis carried out for this research.

First of all, every qualitative researcher needs to familiarize themselves with the raw data. For this research, this initial stage of analysis was enhanced by the fact that I collected and transcribed all of the interviews myself. The interviews were an excellent learning experience that greatly enhanced my research skills, and I also found the transcribing process very useful in terms of absorbing the information. Moreover, the analysis took place soon after the data collection, therefore I was already gaining a good idea about the main recurring themes and ideas. To achieve a better overview of the data, the interview transcripts were picked up and read through in a random manner, however with a mind to select respondents from different parts of the country and from both private and public sectors. After this, the remaining interviews were re-read in a similar way. As a result of this stage, a thematic framework (i.e. an index) comprising the main themes and subcategories was drawn up.

In the subsequent stage, the framework was applied to the data. This involved systematic labeling of the main themes and lower order categories onto the transcripts. At this stage, 7 main index categories were applied, with 22 subcategories (see appendix 2). As an important follow-up step, similarities and interconnections between the themes and concepts were highlighted. Since the indexing was carried out manually, advantage was taken of this choice and instead of a numbering system, seven different colours were applied to mark the relevant parts in the transcripts. The visualization by means of the colour scheme made the process of deeper analysis both easier and faster, as making the links between the colours and concepts became automatic after a while and this enabled me to move within one text and between the different transcripts quite quickly.

The charting stage typically involves restructuring the data following the main themes and index categories that were identified in the previous stage (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). The main purpose of this exercise was to bring together all of the relevant information related to one particular theme. In this analysis, summarizing of results involved charting each theme on a large separate sheet of paper with its respective page references indicating where the information could be found in the transcripts. As Ritchie et al., (2003) point out, the advantage of this procedure is that each specific theme can be studied across all cases (transcripts). The same colour scheme was

used as in the indexing so as to increase the comprehensibility and the transparency of the procedure.

Concerning the final stage, mapping mainly involved detection of the main patterns that emerged from the data and recognition of their connections. As for interpretation, decisions had to be made regarding how the qualitative data was to be presented. The 19 main index categories (see appendix 3) were, at this stage, subsumed under three main themes, which constitute the themes of the three qualitative chapters of this study:

- Role of work
- Motivation to work
- Relationships in transition

Now that the quantitative and qualitative underpinnings of this research endeavour have been outlined and justified, it is an opportune point to reflect on their evolution. After a preliminary analysis of the statistical data available¹², as discussed in Section 3.3.1, a decision was made for the qualitative part to become the dominant dimension of the methodological design. Subsequently, it was decided to include a separate chapter (Chapter 5) reporting the results my own quantitative analysis, utilizing the same data. In sections where a broader comparison is needed, this data is supported by other available surveys, namely the 'European Values Study'. This quantitative analysis, however, only addresses some limited aspects of the research questions and is aimed at outlining broader statistical picture. Moreover, I decided to include another statistically-driven context setting chapter (Chapter 4), which reports on the main statistical trends concerning the labour market developments during the transition with information taken from already published sources (such as official statistics), as these are deemed to be best way to give an overall account of the complex changes in the macro economy encountered during the transition period. Subsequently, the narrative accounts captured in the two phases of interviewing are presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

3.4.5 Ethical issues and considerations of qualitative interviewing

The approaches taken towards ethical issues in social research commonly follow the guidelines set by professional bodies such as the British Sociological Association

¹² Secondary analysis of data coming from the file 'Employment conditions, labour market insecurity and work motivation of the employed and unemployed' (1993)

(BSA). Several areas are defined as crucial, the main concern being the impact of the research on the participants, which refers to obtaining their informed consent and maintaining confidentiality. In the current research, participants' approval for recording was obtained prior to the interviewing and all of them gave permission to have their interviews tape-recorded. Before the commencement of the interviews, the participants were briefly informed about the purpose and nature of the research. They were told about the confidentiality of their answers and also their right to withdraw from the interview process at any time. Their confidentiality was further maintained by giving anonymity to the sources of information so that the participants could not be identified in the research report or in any future publications based on it.

An additional ethical consideration concerns the reflexivity of the researcher regarding the political and moral aspects of the issues under consideration. The previous section describing the process of acquiring data has already touched on the sensitivity of the topic of attitudes to work under socialism. These emerge mainly from the ideological underpinnings that were linked with the sphere of work in socialism and various related concerns that may arise. It has been argued in the literature that the ethical stance taken in a particular piece of research is subject to the moral and political values of the researcher (O'Connell et al., 1994). Therefore, one of the potential shortcomings of this research rests in my role as the researcher and the subjective bias that I can bring. This is a possible weakness which, to some extent, can be compensated for by me having a high degree of awareness and reflexivity with regards to my perceptions and interpretations. Even though I tried to overcome this potential source of bias through awareness of my own values and personal views, it needs to be stated that some degree of subjectivity may remain and is, possibly, unavoidable. Nevertheless, as Ritchie & Lewis (2003) comment, the reflexivity of a researcher can be seen as an effective way to increase reliability in qualitative research. Moreover, in the case of this investigation, the reflexivity of this researcher has been further enhanced by adoption of the mixed/multi method approach whereby a variety of perspectives is considered and different viewpoints taken in order to assess and compare the study outcomes.

3.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a review of the methodological approach and methods of analysis employed in this research. The central driving principles behind the choice of methods are the aims of the thesis and the main questions this researcher seeks to address. In this respect, the epistemological stance of this researcher is close to

pragmatism. The research design applied to this study is a mixed/multi method one with a dominant qualitative stance. With respect to this, a critical account of the mixed methods approach was given and its suitability for this study justified. Detailed accounts of the techniques and analytical procedures related to both stages of this research project have been presented.

The role of quantitative analysis in this thesis is exploratory, for its purpose is to set work attitudes in the wider context and provide an overview of the macroeconomic changes as related to the Czech labour market during the transition to a marketized economy. This applies to both the statistical analysis presented in the secondary published sources and this researcher's own analysis of the statistical data on some relevant aspects of work attitudes.

The main weight of the analytical part of this study rests on the explanatory qualitative analysis of the data collected in the Czech Republic through holding 43 semi-structured interviews. The main reason for putting the focal emphasis on the qualitative method is the concern of this researcher with understanding the impact of the transition on people's lives, in terms of their work and employment, and how people construct meanings relating to the changes they have gone through. That is, deeper insight into changes in employment and work attitudes are sought. The method chosen for the analytical stage was the framework method owing to its capacity to generate new meanings and enable the researcher to elicit more in-depth explanations as well as achieve a complex exploration of the studied phenomenon of work attitudes. Having explained and justified the methodological approach and techniques in this chapter, the following four chapters contain the empirical evidence for this study.

Chapter 4. Macroeconomics during transition

4.1 Introduction

Between the years 1989 and 1991, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe rejected totalitarian systems and embarked on a long journey of rebuilding society. The transition itself needs to be realised as a complex process, which is why in the literature some analysts propose to use the term transformation instead, in order to emphasize the intricate and multifaceted nature of it (Stark, 1992a). To simplify the matter somewhat, it can be suggested that a transition is mainly marked with profound reshaping of the political and economic system. As for the political domain, the shift from the autocratic rule of the Communist party towards a democratic system of governance involved a complete change of political structures. When it comes to the economy, the main goal and challenge of the transition was the move from a centrally planned economy to a market based one. This also involved marked institutional changes, involving the rebuilding of the banking system, monetary liberalization, opening of the economies to foreign trade as well as legislative changes. All of the changes understandably impacted directly on the lives of people in the transition countries, requiring extensive adaptation to new conditions. For some, the new opportunities represented chances to get ahead in life, but for others they brought about hardships. Consequently, new policies needed to be developed to tackle new and unprecedented life circumstances.

This thesis focuses on the changes that people in the Czech Republic underwent during transition in terms of their working lives. The aim of this particular chapter is to address the main large scale changes as they represent the macroeconomic framework in which people reformed their working lives that reshaped their attitudes to work and employment. This examination will start with a short historical review. The Introduction (Chapter 1) provided a brief general excursion into Czech (Czechoslovak) history up until the collapse of Communist rule in 1989. I highlighted the fact that a centrally planned economy was not accepted in Czechoslovakia without criticism even during the socialist period and there were numerous attempts at its revision and implementation of a different system, which in philosophical and humanitarian terms was defined as 'socialism with a human face' (Richta, 1966). In economic terms it further demarcated a blend of centrally planned economy with actively operative market forces (Sik 1967, 1991). In order to establish a contextual background, the aim of this chapter is to set the particular case of the Czech Republic in economic terms through an account of the transition period that followed after

1989. The subsequent sections deal with the main areas of economic development since the road towards capitalism started and the system of market economy was adopted. As this thesis deals with changes of work and employment, the main attention is given to those areas that are directly relevant, such as developments of employment and unemployment, structural changes in industry, labour market and Trade Unions, labour mobility, wages and income distribution. To get a more realistic picture of the economic shifts in the Czech Republic during the transition, it is also very important to consider the situation of particular disadvantaged or marginalized categories of the population, such as: women, older age categories of employees, the disabled, ethnic minorities or employees on non-standard work contracts. The macroeconomic changes and developments during the transition have already been addressed in works on the subject by Czech or international authors and therefore the current chapter uses the available literary and statistical sources.

In view of the story this thesis is trying to unfold, this chapter, using mainly existing quantitative data, represents an exploratory prerequisite to the following part, which addresses the shifts in attitudes. In other words, this chapter presents the macroeconomic underpinnings of the attitudinal changes that are of concern in this thesis. In order to get a better idea specifically about patterns regarding work attitudes, I will present in this chapter a review of the main trends in changes of attitudes in quantitative macroeconomic terms, drawing on my own secondary analysis of quantitative data. Attitudes of the population towards distributive justice and towards transition itself will be also discussed in this chapter as these are good indicators of the success of transition in both economic and social terms. Then, the three following chapters of the qualitative section will offer an in-depth explanation of how attitudes have been reshaped in the transition as a consequence of marketization. That is, the qualitative empirical part forms the core of this thesis, but the quantitative aspect serves to introduce the context at the macro level. The later empirical chapters provide the new, unparalleled contribution of this research regarding how people went about adapting and redesigning their working lives in transition as a reaction to the new economic circumstances, and what patterns this process of interplay between legacies and new realities followed. In summary, the three qualitative chapters of this thesis (Chapters 6, 7 and 8), by drawing on analysis of narratives of people's lived experiences during the transition, provide the reader with deeper insight into the processes outlined below in macroeconomic terms.

4.2 Economic transition – the particular case of the Czech Republic

By the end of the 1980s, it was recognised and argued by some Czech economists (Klaus, 1991a, Sik 1991) that the ineffective system of central planning, which existed in socialist Czechoslovakia, was not sustainable. However, concrete steps to implement changes were put forward only after the collapse of the Communist regime in 1989. The subsequent beginning of the transition was marked by endeavours to transform the Czech economy into a market driven system of production and thus raise its performance to the same level as usually found in the market economies of Western Europe, the United States and Japan. Several scenarios and strategies of economic transition were prepared by various groups of Czech and Federal economists, which varied mainly in terms of chosen method and speed of transition (Jonas, 1997). The final conceptualisation for the reform of the national economy was accepted in September 1990 and was developed by a group of leading economists who largely drew upon neoclassical economic principles. This so called 'Scenario of the Economic Reform' was aimed at the establishment of a market economy 'without adjectives' and with minimal interventions by the state, as it was believed the market would spontaneously create its own regulatory mechanisms. By the same logic, the suggested and finally approved strategy was the one of a speedy change (so called 'shock therapy'), defined by price liberalization, privatisation of former state property and opening of the Czech market to foreign trade and the international markets of goods, services, capital and labour. Since these last mentioned processes can be considered the main constituents of the transition, they are discussed in more detail next as for the analysis to come they can provide a useful outline of the basic framework of the process.

To start with, there was overall liberalization of all economic activities. The prices that used to be fixed and defined by the state were freed as in a market economy these are determined by the market. The same goes for the rates of exchange and the rates of interest with these no longer being under state control. People could take up opportunities to open businesses and engage in trading. Together with liberalization came restructuring and privatization of the former state property and the creation of the institutions of a market economy. As part of the creation of the new private sector, the former socialist enterprises were transferred into individual or corporate private ownership and reformed in order to produce goods that could be sold in free markets. Correspondingly, the trade, which used to be oriented almost exclusively towards the countries of the former Soviet bloc and developing countries, was opened up to the

world's markets. The process of privatization of the former state property was realized in several stages (Kralik, 1999; Zidek, 2006).

Overall, the economic transition in the Czech Republic was seen as mainly successful by both Czech as well as foreign commentators, but this does not mean that the process was an easy one. One of the main challenges was the fact that the approved economic reform adopted by the Czech Government relied heavily on the principles of the market economy, which were being applied to a country that did not have any previous experience of a capitalist market. The Czech economy had functioned, albeit inefficiently, under the centrally planned economy for nearly four decades. The relatively short experience with a capitalist economic system, which dated back to the period of the First Republic (1918 – 1938), was too distant and too short to count as relevant in this respect. The former socialist country therefore signed up to neoclassical economic principles and shifted towards 'capitalism and democracy by design', as the scenario of economic transition developed and adopted by the Czech leading economic elite, but as some pointed out there was the lack of a bottom up formative force based on longer term values of capitalist entrepreneurship. In general, due to numerous internal contradictions, the transition could not happen overnight and was not free of challenges and difficulties.

It has been, recognized, however, that Czechoslovakia entered transition with several notable advantages, which included: a high level of industrial development, a balanced internal market, full employment, good education and skill levels as well as a high adaptable labour force, the lowest national debt amongst the post-Communist countries, low levels of inflation and a strong monetary policy. On the other hand, there were unfavourable circumstances, many of which are also cited in the literature and which, to a large extent, had to do with the international political and economic situation, such as the orientation of foreign trade towards the Soviet Union, well-established central planning with a high degree of state ownership and a practically non-existent private sector (Kralik, 1999; Pick, 2000; Slany, 2003; Zidek, 2006).

Another heritage of the Czech Republic influencing especially its foreign trade was its close links to the German economy. The countries of the German Federation have played a key role in the economic and political order of Europe in the last 100 years. In the course of the transition and due to globalization, the influence of the German economy even strengthened as the vast majority of the foreign direct investment (FDI) has come from there and continues to be the case at the present time. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the share of Germany's FDI in the Czech Republic is

about 21 percent, which is second highest after the Netherlands, with nearly 33 percent (CNB, 2012). Overall, FDI has been recognized as beneficial for the Czech economy. Among the main positive effects are economic growth, creation of new employment opportunities (Czech Invest, Official Statistics, 2013), increase of labour productivity and technological advancements. On the other hand, the economic dependency could be understood as a disadvantage. In particular, there is a concern that this situation could lead to growth of a 'dual economy' (Boeke, 1953) when two parallel economies form in a given country, however, with each characterised by a different stage of development. Furthermore, the German influence on the Czech economy goes beyond the effect of FDI, for it has also been documented that about one third of Czech exports goes to Germany and this country also plays a strategic role as a mediator for the sales of Czech products on international markets (Hostalek et al., 2012).

In the course of the transition the Czech Republic was one of the most favoured post-Communist countries by foreign investors; in 2003 it was number one in this respect (CSU). Apart from Germany, other countries with high investments are Switzerland, Japan and the Netherlands (Czech Invest, 2013). The inflow of FDI was growing steadily until 2010 but has experienced a drop since. For many Czech firms the effects of globalization resulted in slow down of their development or even closing down of the plant (Kralik, 1999). Foreign investors were often granted various incentives and advantages, such as tax holidays, subsidies for newly created jobs, land for a symbolic price etc. As a result, their conditions were significantly more favourable from the very start as compared to the Czech enterprises and companies (Nepil, 1997). In some sectors of industry, the proportion of foreign firms started growing notably. The process of the restructuring of industry will be discussed in more detail below in Section 4.4. The consequences this had for the employees, may it be unemployment or for example necessity to adjust to foreign working culture, might be of interest and thus we might look into this topic in the qualitative research.

The results of the Czech process of economic transition have been and still are subject to discussion. While some would consider it to have been successful, especially in relative terms with the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, others have chosen to emphasize the problems that appeared along the way and their consequences. It is, for example, argued that the Czech Republic did not manage to build upon the advantages which were present at the beginning of the transition, as noted above. This is part of the so called 'initial conditions versus policies' debate (Svejnar, 2002). One of the more common criticisms against the

Czech economic elite of that time was that their adopted scenario of transition, as outlined in the previous paragraphs, was too harsh and that too much reliance on the 'invisible hand of the market' was a mistake, because it overestimated the adaptive powers of the country which had little previous experience with a free market. The fact that the legal framework and institutional provisions of the reforms were lacking created considerable problems. It is argued that the creation of a regulatory infrastructure, specific labour market regulations etc. was not sufficiently addressed in order to ensure successful running of a labour market economy (Svejnar, 2002). As a result, the degree of fairness regarding the redistribution of former state socialist property can be questioned. It was later suggested, as based on public opinion research, that these processes might have influenced perceptions of distributive justice regarding property differentiation in the Czech Republic (Vecernik, 1989; Rabusic & Sirovatka, 1999; Svejnar, 2002). This is an interesting issue and I will look into it in my interviews.

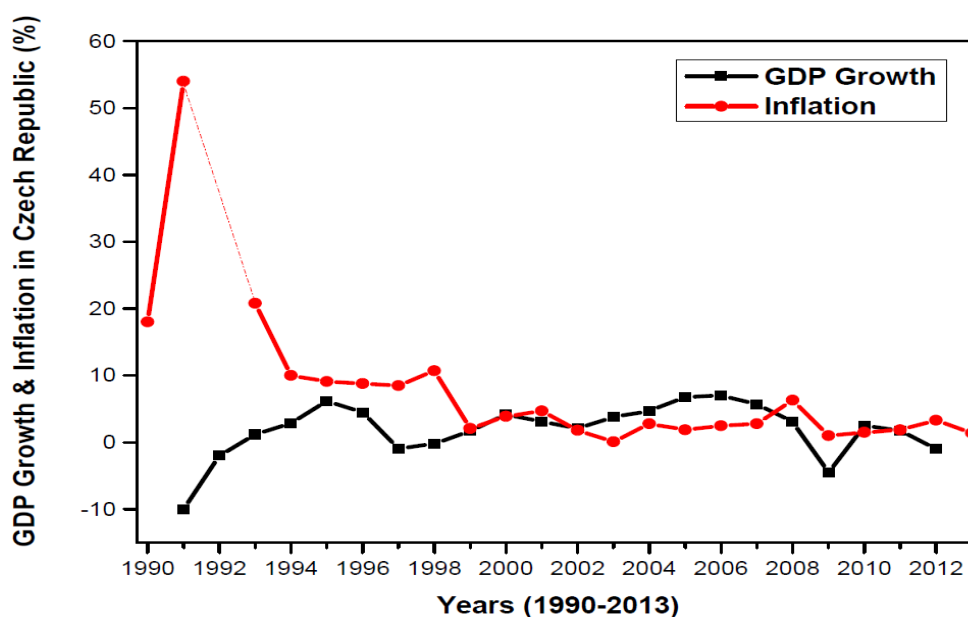
Nevertheless, overall the Czech Republic did well in many aspects of transition. The increases of GDP and improvements of labour productivity already in the first years of transition are discussed next. The general requirement was that the old system in which the Czech citizens were completely reliant on the state in terms of their social security would be replaced by a market-based type social safety net, which would be partly resting on private sources and hence only partly financed by the state. However, once the transition started many of the social advantages of the previous system were kept in place, such as free health care and education, a good system of health insurance and reliable old age pensions. It is believed that due to these social security provisions, the impact of the economic reforms on the population was largely held under control and was further compensated for by the introduction of relevant social policies and the building of support networks for those who may be affected more, such as old age pensioners, families with small children and the unemployed (Kralik, 1999). It can still be held, however, that the effects of the economic transition, especially that of unemployment, raised a number of social issues in the course of the 1990s and even in the later stages of the transition (Sirovatka & Saxonberg, 2009; Vecernik, 1996 a,b,c). In this respect, some categories of the population as defined by age, gender, level of education/skill and geographical location can be expected to be more vulnerable to the impact of the economic transition. This is an important topic which will be explored further in the qualitative research.

The above paragraphs gave a general overview of development in the Czech Republic in the course of the transition by considering the main economic trends. The following sections will look into the topics outlined above in more detail.

4.3 Macroeconomic balance

Macroeconomic stabilization was put forward as one of the main aims of the transition, and the main methods in achieving this goal were restrictive monetary and fiscal policies (Klaus, 1991b). In the new economy the old tax system (which was based on redistribution) was replaced by a standard financial market and a reformed tax system. Also, the structure of the state (public) budget was transformed substantially and instead of injecting funds into industry after the introduction of the market economy, this budget served mainly to cover the expenses of the: civil service, defence, health care, education and social care. The fiscal policy was considerably constricting at the beginning of the transition, with the main aim being to balance the state budget, thereby avoiding deficits, as well as eliminating inflation and limiting foreign debt. As figure 4.1 shows, this was largely successful in the beginning of the nineties, however later deficits appeared due to the rising demands on public funds. The economic recession in 1997 had a marked negative effect on the macroeconomic situation. Another drop in GDP and related increase of inflation was experienced in 2008 as a result of the global economic crisis and, according to some experts, associated with Czech reform of public finance (Ondrova, 2008).

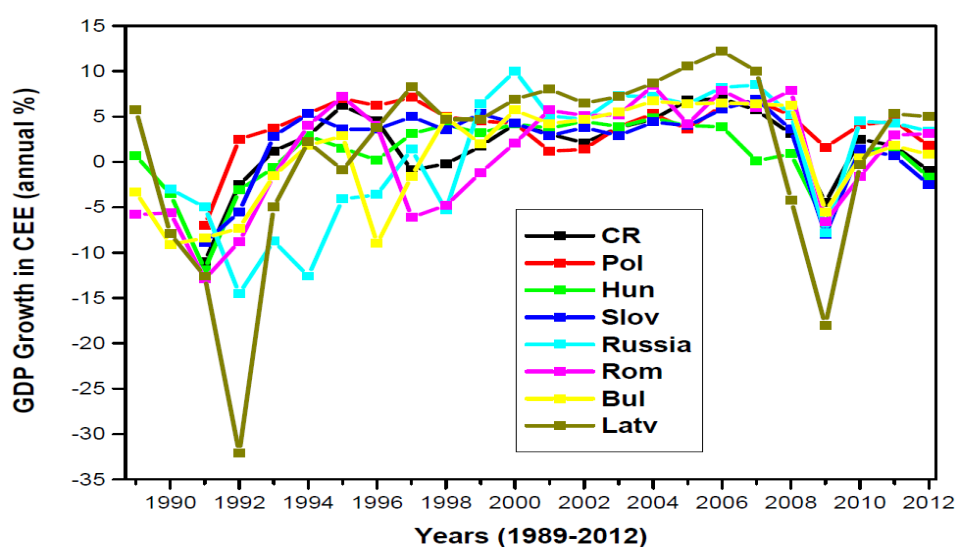
Figure 4.1 – GDP and inflation in CR



Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute)

The drop in economic production affected all of the countries of the former Soviet Bloc in the beginning of the nineties as it was an integral part of the dismantling of the old system of manufacturing and rebuilding of economies. As we can see in figure 4.2 below, in comparison with other transition economies, the decline of GDP in the Czech Republic was slightly delayed and notably moderate at the outset of the transition. The decrease reached its lowest point in 1991 and after that production started rising again. In the following stages of the transition, the lowest points were reached in 1997-1998 due to economic recession and in 2009 due to global economic crisis.

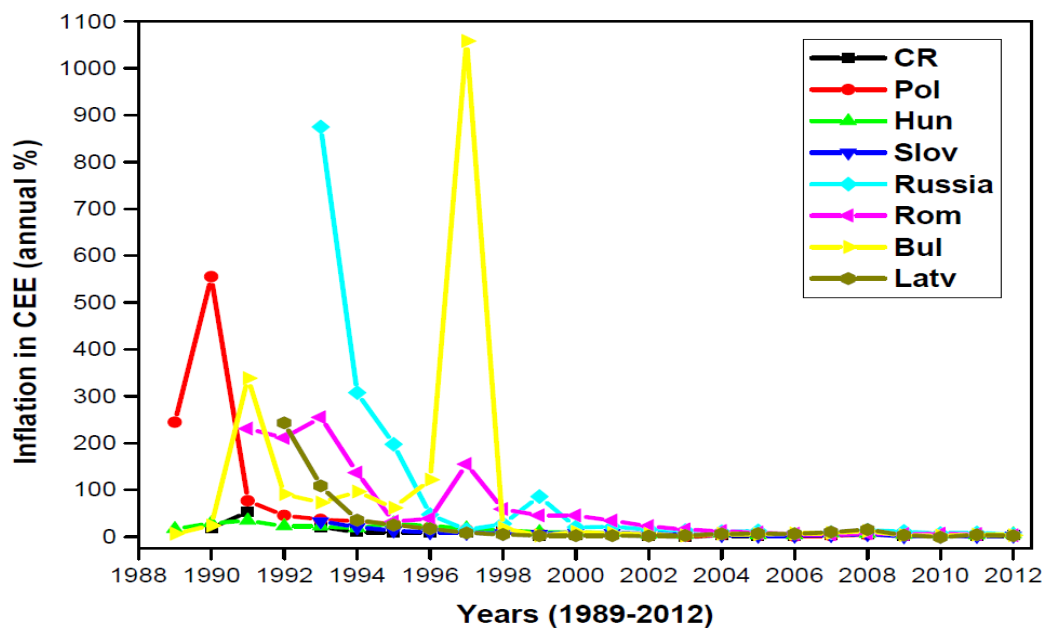
Figure 4.2 – Development of GDP in CEE



Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute), World Bank

As can be seen in figure 4.3 below, the inflation in the Czech Republic was low even in international comparison. This radical approach towards inflation has had its critics, who argue that too much effort to curb inflation could suppress economic growth (Stiglitz, 2002). Another critique of the transition strategy points out that the restructuring of Czech industry was not timed well and delaying it until after privatization took place was a mistake. However, despite some necessary costs and losses, the first part of the Czech economic transition could be in retrospect considered as having been successful, especially when it comes to sustaining macroeconomic stability and keeping low levels of inflation. The same holds for unemployment, which is dealt with in more detail in the next part of this chapter.

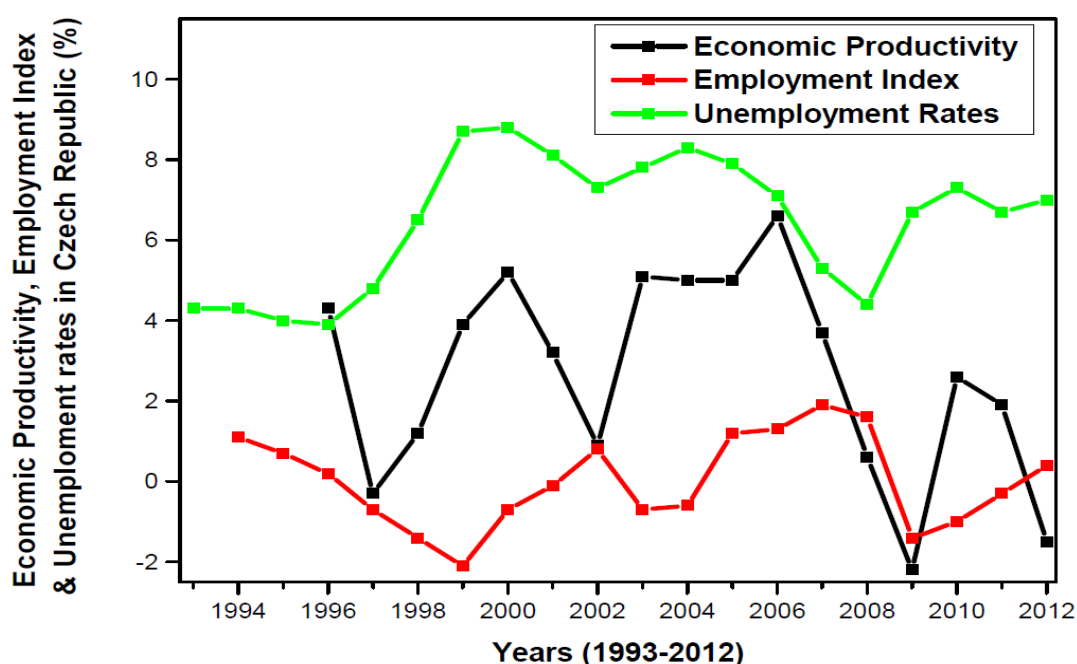
Figure 4.3 – Inflation in CEE



Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute), World Bank

In the middle of the nineties, after a promising start marked with good economic results, problems started appear, as can be seen from figure 4.4 below. These have been mainly attributed to low output performance and the low competitive ability of the Czech economy in foreign markets (Pick, 2000; Zidek, 2006). In fact, the drop in GDP in 1996 is mainly thought to be due to gradually growing deficits of Czech foreign trade. The situation got worse as a result of the crisis on the international financial markets and resulted in a monetary crisis in spring 1997. The governing bodies responded to this with restrictive fiscal and monetary policies, which led the Czech economy into recession between the years 1997 and 1999 (ibid). Consequently, GDP dropped again and unemployment rose. The period after 2000 witnessed a gradual recovery from the crisis and slow and steady growth of economic production until 2008 when the global economic crisis caused a drop in economic productivity again. The subsequent recovery from the crisis has been gradual with fluctuating economic productivity.

Figure 4.4 – Economic productivity, employment index & unemployment rates in CR



Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute)

4.4 Employment and unemployment

Among the most prominent defining features of the change in transition economies were shifts in ownership and emergence of the labour market. During the Communist rule all enterprises in the former Czechoslovakia were state owned and appointments of employees to jobs followed the state plan. The change in 1990 was fundamental in terms of major restructuring of the economy. The literature on economic transition often identifies two main processes that took place in this respect in the course of the first years of building the market economy. That is, the state owned enterprises quickly decreased employment even in the first year of transition (Svejnar, 1999) and a major shift of labour occurred towards the newly emerging private sector. This process is usually referred to as reallocation and was typically accompanied by a decline in manufacturing and expansion of the service sector. The second mechanism that took place in the transition economies involved the restructuring of existing firms. Besides the change of ownership from the state to the – corporate or individual – private sector, the enterprises had to be renewed in order to fulfil the new requirements of both domestic and international markets (e.g. by changing product lines). In some cases this meant the closing of old plants and the building of new ones. The restructuring of industry in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe brought about a significant decline in employment. As can be seen from figure

4.4 above, slow initial decline took place with a subsequent drop in 1998 and 1999 due to recession.

Labour markets and related competition were a new thing for the participants of transition economies as in centrally planned economy jobs and employment were subject to completely different patterns. Back in socialism, the distribution of employees to jobs was performed according to the central plan. Everyone was officially employed and increased frequency of moving between different employers was perceived as a negative thing that needed to be prevented. It was usual that people would hold the same job in the same company for their entire working life. The sphere of work and employment was closely linked with the ideological and political sphere of life and in fact served as an instrument of the leading political elite to control the citizens of the state (Vecernik, 1989). The removal of the political and ideological constraints was thus expected to have a weighty effect on the workplace practices as well as on the attitudes of employees towards their work. This is an issue of interest that might be brought up again with my interviewees.

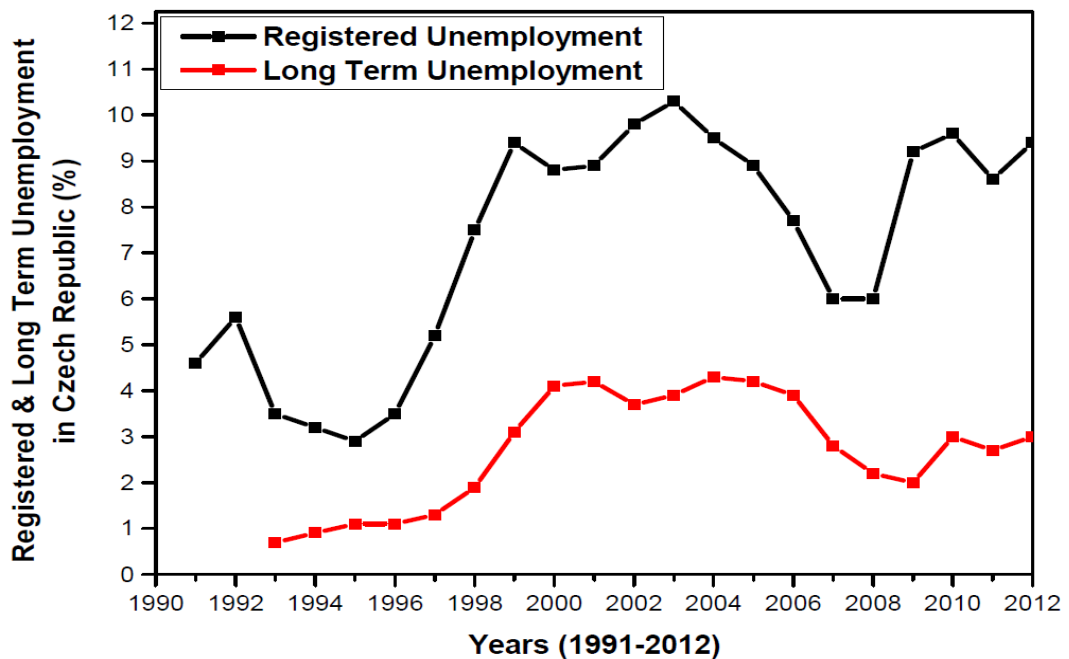
Unemployment, therefore, appeared as a direct result of the restructuring of industry during the transition and as a side effect of the functioning labour market. Most countries of Central and Eastern Europe experienced a swift rise in unemployment during the first years of transition. Svejnar (2002) points out that in many of them the percentage rates of unemployment reached double digits during the first two years. For example, in 1993, unemployment had hit 16 percent in Bulgaria and Poland, 12 percent in Hungary and Slovakia, 10 percent in Romania and 9 percent in Slovenia, but only 3.5 percent in the Czech Republic.

The Czech case is sometimes presented as a transition employment miracle. It is noted that due to the way the Czech labour market behaved in relation to unemployment it can be considered as an ideal model of a transition labour market as it was characterised by both high inflows and outflows (Ham, Svejnar & Terrell, 1998, 1999; Svejnar, 1999; Boeri, 2000). Consequently, the country largely managed to avoid the dreaded long term unemployment in the initial stages of the transition as can be seen from figure 4.5 below. In comparison, the rates of long term unemployment were much lower than in other post-Communist countries (Boeri & Terrell, 2002). Similar is the situation regarding 'structural unemployment'¹³, which could be partly due to the fact that the restructuring was gradual and controlled.

¹³ Defined as long term changes and shifts in the structures of industry (Machin & Manning, 1999).

Another reason might be that the Czech labour force has typically been well educated and flexible. As a result, Czech unemployment has had a tendency of being mainly ‘market- based’ unemployment, which is typically down to immediate effects and shockwaves in the labour market and as such tends to be for those affected by just a transitory stage between old and new jobs (Svejnar, 2002).

Figure 4.5 – Unemployment dynamics in the Czech Republic



Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute)

Figure 4.5 demonstrates that the initial low level of unemployment was followed by a substantial rise after 1997 as a result of economic recession, which was associated with monetary crisis and a drop in gross domestic product (see graph 4.1). However, apart from economic reasons, the rise of unemployment also reflected demographic development trends in the Czech Republic. That is, the strong cohorts born in the seventies reached the age when most of them entered the labour market for the first time. This market, however, did not feature enough flexibility to deal with such an inflow of a new active labour force. The increasing level of unemployment culminated in 2004, which was the year when the Czech Republic became a member state of the European Union. This happened to be a turning point followed by both economic growth as well as an accompanying reduction in unemployment. After the opening of European markets new employment opportunities also emerged abroad. The rising small businesses and formation of the new social stratum of entrepreneurs also helped to keep unemployment at low levels during transition. These were largely the

outcomes of 'small privatization', comprising prevalently of the direct sale of smaller firms in the sphere of retail and services.¹⁴ Another wave of increase in unemployment was experienced in 2009 - 2010 following the global economic crisis.

The Czech labour market has also had to deal with several specific long term problems, some of which appear more profound in the context of the transition as they are related to the effects of globalization. For instance, the numbers of foreign workers increased with some of them working in the Czech Republic illegally. However, they were often preferred by employers because their labour was cheaper and this, consequently, influenced the wage levels for the other categories of workers. A specific problem of the Czech labour market was disparity between the characteristics of the labour force on the demand side and the supply as related to the structure of the schooling system. That is, with the generally rising levels of education there were increasing numbers of highly qualified people who were looking to find appropriate jobs in the labour market and thus their future employment often became problematic. On the other hand, there was a long term need for blue collar workers especially in certain sectors of industry; however, there was a significant decline in vocational training as part of the change of the educational system after the beginning of the transition. Nowadays, these former strategies are reflected upon and reconsidered in light of the new demands of the labour market and policymakers are trying to reintroduce apprenticeships as part of a new, 'higher level' system of education. This model is thus directed towards improving the quality of apprenticeships and employability of the trainees /workers (www.msmt.cz/pospolu). In a broader context, this approach is aiming to enhance links between education and business and ultimately increase the competitiveness of the Czech economy.

4.5 Role of the Trade Unions

The role of Trade Unions should also be considered when discussing Czech labour market specifics. It has been pointed out by observers that despite what one might expect in the post-Communist countries that have experienced economic decline in transition; labour as a social actor is generally weak and not very effective in this region (Crowley, 2004). The rates of strikes, union membership and powers of collective bargaining are understood as indicators of this lack of labour viability (ibid).

¹⁴ Another explanation for relatively low unemployment rates in the transitional Czech Republic could have been the size of the informal economy (see Johnson, Kaufman & Shleifer, 1997).

Often, post-Communist legacies are offered as an explanation for this weakness. This legacy is arguably both institutional and ideological, even though it can be argued that the reality was in fact interplay of selected aspects of both. The ideological part stems from the fact that the Communist regime claimed to represent the interests of the working class and rule on their behalf. The association was very strong and well maintained in practice as well as by the tendency to treat the workers as the 'privileged' class. On the institutional level, the role of the unions in socialist systems was different to what is usually the practice in established capitalist economies of Western Europe. They were established as partners of the factory management and to some extent served as their tools to increase productivity; otherwise they typically focused on social welfare by administering benefits to their members (Crowley, 2004: 420). Due to this particular legacy, the unions struggled to renew themselves in the new circumstances of the market economy.

This legacy and its consequences are well portrayed by Pollert (1997, 2001), who conducted a case study of Trade Unions in the Czech Republic. She found out that in the Communist past unions used to be closely linked with the governing elite and production bureaucracy, whereas in the new system they found themselves in a self-contradictory scenario precisely due to a need to break with the past. The conflict arose within the unions themselves, for while the leaders felt the need to rebuild the unions according to the 'Western design' and shift the agenda towards the issues of pay and work intensity, the workers/union members themselves did not wish for this and preferred to stick with the more traditional issues of health and safety and breaches of the labour code. This situation further created a considerable dilemma for the Trade Union leaders themselves since they were, on the one hand supporting the break with the Communist past and trying actively to endorse the change towards the new economic order, on the other hand, they felt they should defend the workers against capitalism. Not surprisingly, they found it difficult to find ideological as well as practical ways out of this confusion, which Pollert labelled as the '*ambiguous embrace of the transformation to capitalism*' (2001:23)

These and other similar legacies are thought of as having left the unions lacking authority and weakly connected to their own members. This lack of legitimacy of Trade Unions and low support for them stands out especially when compared to their status in Western Europe. For example, a survey conducted in countries of Central and Eastern Europe in 1993 and 1994 (Mishler & Rose, 1997) found that unions received generally very little trust and were in fact found to be the least trusted civic institution. In Western Europe Trade Unions enjoyed the trust of 37 percent of

respondents, however in Eastern Europe they were trusted by only 13 percent. This lack of trust is found by some observers to be worrying, given that *'unions are the largest single example of civil society in virtually every country in the region'* (Crowley: 423).

Does the future look bleak then for Trade Unions in Eastern Europe? While the analysts do not offer a definite reply to this question, we can assume that if the main reason for the lack of support for unions is indeed the Communist legacy across the region, then it may be unlikely to expect profound changes in the near future as the very nature of this type of historical legacy has been their tendency towards inertia. Whilst it could have been expected that with the advancement of transition Trade Unions could strengthen their positions, the evidence available so far suggests this has not been the case (Crowley, 2004).

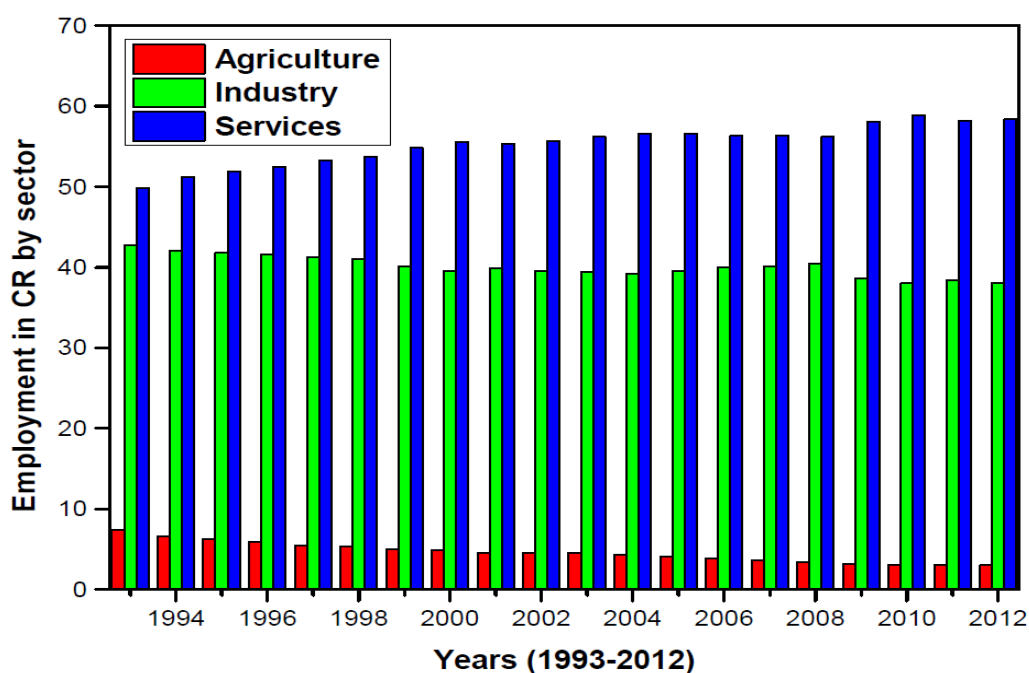
4.6 Labour mobility, wages and income distribution

As discussed already, the process of transition was in the beginning marked with restructuring and reduction of employment in the former state owned firms and by the creation of new jobs in the new companies, thus involving considerable mobility of labour. As noted above, the Czech Republic managed to maintain relatively low levels of unemployment during this whole process. Even though the process of job destruction was not as pronounced in the nation as it was in other countries of the post-Communist region, there were still considerably many new jobs created with the rise of the private sector and establishment of new opportunities for entrepreneurship.

It is also notable that a lot of labour mobility in Central and Eastern Europe happened as occupational shifts rather than geographical moves (Sabirianova, 2000). This is a striking difference compared to, for example, the U.S. labour market, where people are very prone to move geographically when taking advantage of new employment opportunities. This pattern is typical for the Czech Republic, where the general dislike of moving is a rather common occurrence and it is more likely people will search for new opportunities within their region and/or shift to a different occupation than relocate.

Most of the shifts in the labour force can be seen as a reflection of marketization and globalization; the major ones are from the state to the private sector and between different branches of industry as well as different occupations. In general, there is a pattern of decrease of labour force in the agricultural sector and increase of the number of employees in the services in course of the transition (see figure 4.6 below).

Figure 4.6 – Structural shifts of the labour force (development of sectors) in CR



Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute)

Real wages have experienced a general gradual increase in Central and Eastern Europe during the transition, on average by about 15 to 20 percent (after their initial decline of 25 percent at the outset of the transition in 1989 – 1991). On the other hand, in Russia and Ukraine the real wages kept declining until 1993 and after that either stagnated or started increasing only moderately (Svejnar, 1999). This shows there has been a lot of variety in wage developments in transitory economies some of which are due to particular wage related governmental policies.

The liberalization of wages was accompanied by increases in income inequalities, which were something unprecedented in the Czech Republic and something the population had to get used to. In the Communist past the countries in Eastern Europe were very egalitarian, while Czechoslovakia was among those with the fairest income distribution (Basu et al., 2004). However, during the transition income distribution inequality started rising and by the end of the 1990s the Gini coefficient had reached 26 percent ¹⁵, with trend being very similar for other Central European Countries (ibid). In comparison, income inequalities were higher in Russia and Ukraine, as Basu et al. show (ibid), with a Gini coefficient standing at 30 percent for the latter and 40

¹⁵ A Gini coefficient of zero signifies perfect equality, whereas a value of 100 percent expresses maximal inequality.

percent for the former.¹⁶ The process of income differentiation in the Czech Republic was not, however, very easy, partly due to complications along the way as related to the aforementioned privatisation scandals and their possible legacy in this respect. This issue deserves further investigation by means of qualitative research.

Even though the macroeconomic indicators suggest that the Czech Republic, together with other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, experienced relatively moderate levels of income differentiation during transition, it can be expected that the opening up of income and living standards differences would have an impact on the population, which in the past lived in an extremely egalitarian society. Therefore, many of those who became poorer, be it in relative terms, felt as though they had lost out in the process of transition. It was likely that people whose living circumstances worsened were those categories of the population who were privileged by the previous system, mainly blue collar workers (especially in certain categories of industry, many of which experienced reductions or were closed down altogether in the new economy) and generally all those with low education. These issues might be of further interest in qualitative research.

4.7 Women versus men in the transition labour market

Gender can be expected to be a determinant of inequality in the Czech society when it comes to opportunities and rewards in the labour market as well as life chances in general, as the available evidence to date suggests. In terms of the labour market situation, areas such as vertical and horizontal gender segregation or representation of women in particular industrial sectors require attention. We may also look at indicators of pay for the same work for women as compared to men. There is, however, a variety of other reasons, some of them in the category of deeply rooted social stereotypes regarding gender roles, which might prevent women from making the best use of their qualifications and potential. It has also been suggested that inequalities stemming from the area of employment often have direct consequences in terms of increased risks of poverty and economic dependency for some categories of women (APERIO, 2007). This section will consider some of the relevant statistical indicators outlining the situation of women at work in the Czech transition. However, the deeper reasoning behind the broad patterns invites more in-depth investigation. Therefore, these issues shall be brought up again in the interviews for this study.

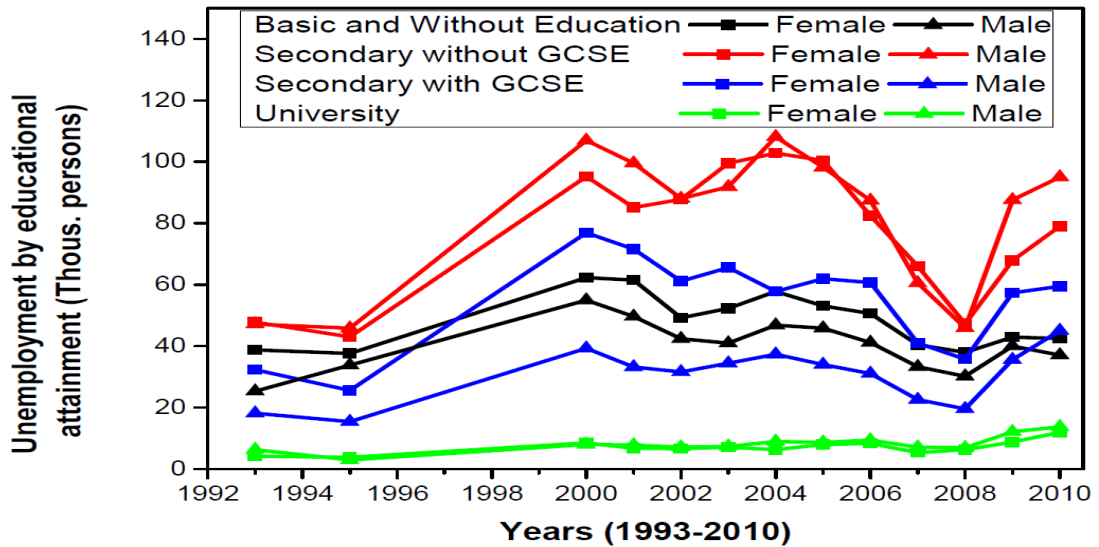
¹⁶ There is, however, some doubt relating to the validity and reliability of the Russian and Ukrainian data.

In order to see what has happened regarding the position of women and men in transition as related to both employment and other areas of life, it is useful to contrast the post-socialist development with the situation under socialism. Virtually all women in the former socialist Czechoslovakia were employed since the 1960s and hence, the living standards were at that time based on two salaries. However, this situation did not really comprise a liberating aspect as it might be suggested from today's perspective, but rather the opposite. That is, the forced employment of women under socialism as part of the Communist ideology led to overburdening (Vecernik, 1992), since apart from working full time they were typically also the ones mainly responsible for looking after the household and bringing up the children.

There are several main areas to be taken into account concerning inequalities of women and men in the Czech labour market and their sources (see APERIO, 2007). The first area where gender based inequalities might demonstrate themselves is unemployment rates. The statistics suggest that the risk of unemployment is higher for women than for men, typically it has been between 2-3 percent in recent years (Czech Statistical Institute - CSU).

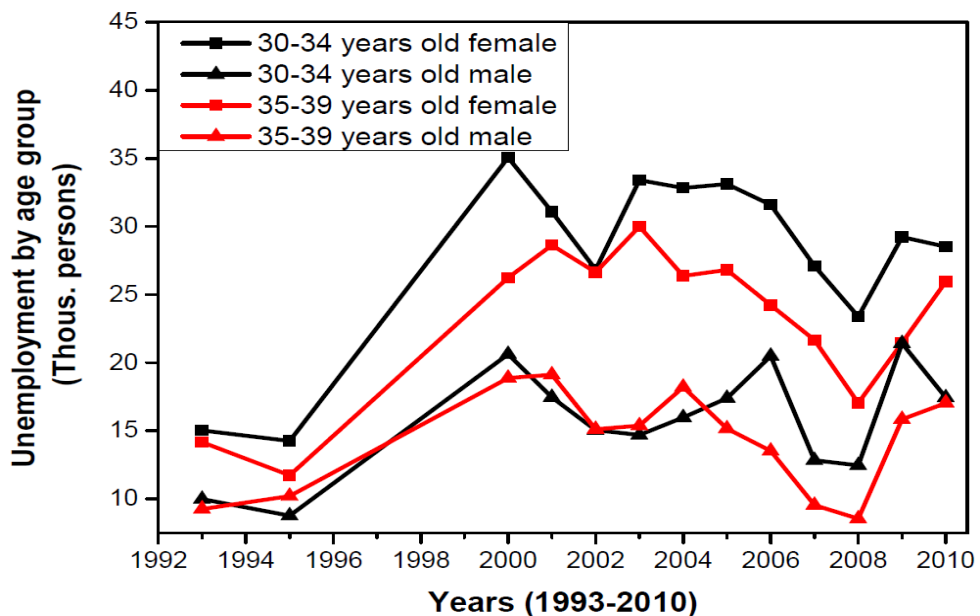
As we can see from figures 4.7 and 4.8 below, this disparity is especially pronounced for women with secondary education and for the middle aged category of women.

Figure 4.7 – Unemployment by education and gender in CR in transition



Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute)

Figure 4.8 – Unemployment for middle aged persons by gender in CR in transition

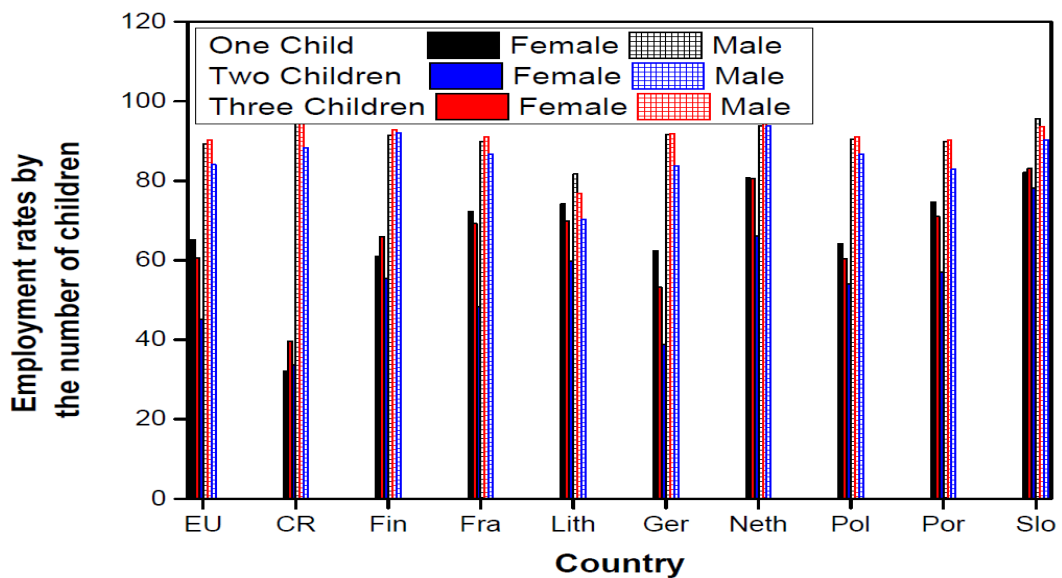


Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute)

Moreover, this gap increases in the case of women with children and in fact, as we can see in figure 4.9 below, the Czech Republic is among the countries with the lowest rate of employed mothers with three or more children in the EU. The rate of

employed mothers with two children is also among the lowest (CSU). While a variety of factors could account for this situation, this may have to do with the persisting stereotypical perception of the man as a breadwinner in the Czech environment and therefore a tendency to prioritize them in the labour market, whereas women's salaries are typically considered as secondary. It is also possible that these stereotypes could be reflected in employers hiring practices. We shall look into these issues further by means of qualitative investigation.

Figure 4.9 - Employment by gender and number of children, Europe



Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute)

It has been pointed out that rather than looking at the unemployment rate, a more telling indicator of the situation of women in the labour market is actually the employment rate, which indicates the relative deterioration of women's employment in post-transition countries (Pollert, 2003). In the Czech Republic, female employment declined in the course of the first seven years of the transition by 11.8 percent, which was 10 times higher than the equivalent for men (ibid.). The losses of female employment are assumed to be mainly due to cuts in public services that were traditionally highly feminized, and also due to losses of jobs in light industries that experienced decline as a consequence of trade deregulation, such as textiles. General decline of employment in industries in transition was partly offset by expansion of the service sector (see figure 4.6 above); however, the growth of male jobs was greater than that for women. Other reasons mentioned in the literature are that women over 50 were in the initial phases of transition encouraged into early retirement (Pollert, 2003; True, 2003) or were taking on childcare in families, because

mothers were increasingly facing difficulties regarding the organization/costs of childcare (Pollert, 2003).

Another area in which differences in rewards for work between men and women can be demonstrated, is the gender pay gap. Figures 4.10 and 4.11 below show the development of the gender gap in the course of transition.

Figure 4.10 – Median of earnings by gender in CR

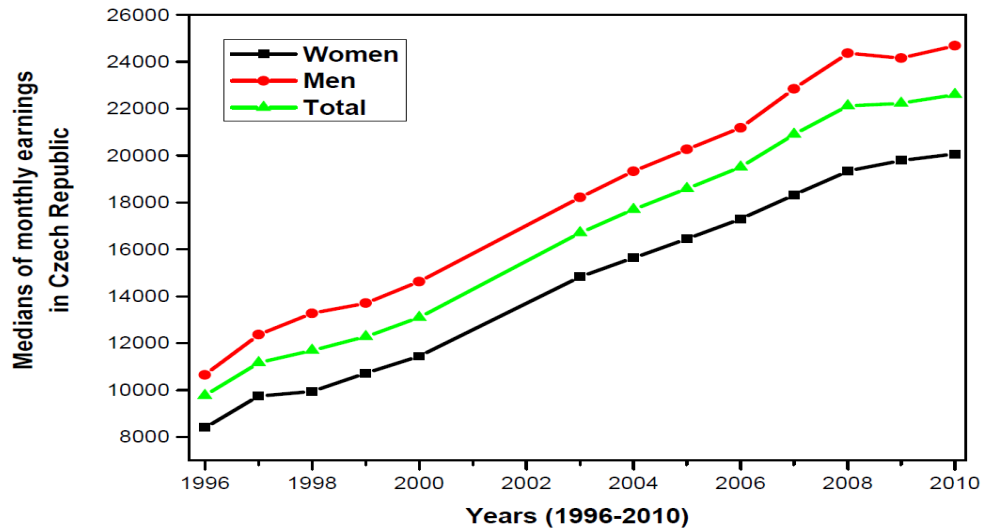
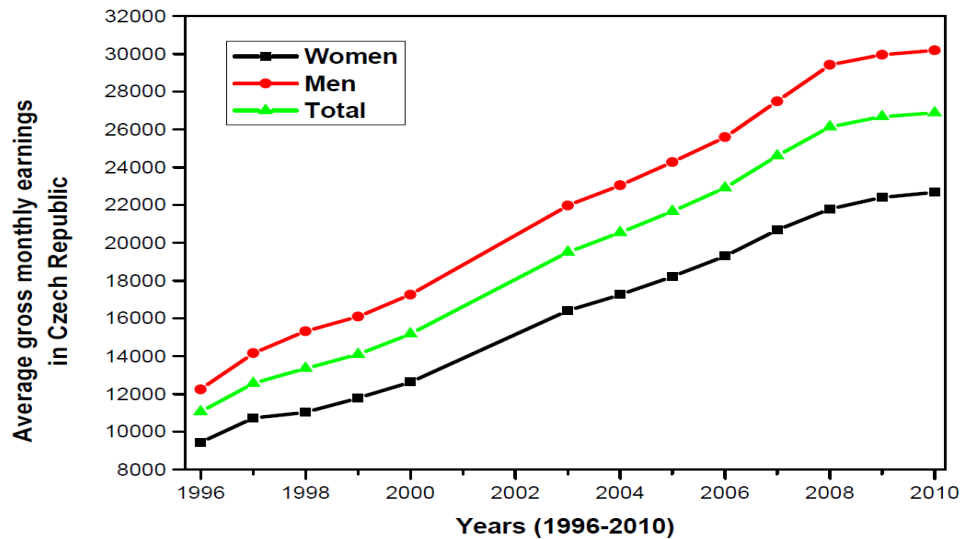


Figure 4.11 – Average of earnings by gender in CR



Source: CSU (Czech statistical institute)

While a trend was observed towards a slow narrowing of the gap in the 1990's and early 2000's, the gap widened again as one of the outcomes of the economic crisis in 2008. In 2005, the hourly wages for women reached 75.1 percent of those for men

and in 2000 it was only 73.3 percent. In 2011, the average gross hourly rate for women reached 79.3 percent of the equivalent hourly rate for men; the difference therefore being 20.7 percent, which is about one fifth.

While the gender gap in earnings is largest for middle age groups (30-39, followed by 40-49) and for university educated women, the statistics show that Czech women earn significantly less than men irrespective of age or education characteristics (CSU). In the context of the EU, the gender pay gap in the Czech Republic is one of the greatest; based on the Eurostat statistics for 2010, CR is with 24 percent GPG on the fifth position behind the UK, Austria, Estonia and Germany.

Vertical gender segregation of the labour market is documented by lower participation of women in management/supervisory positions as compared to men. According to the CSU (The employed in the national economy survey) the representation of women in the category of Legislators, senior officials and managers (CZ-ISCO categorisation) was only 34.7 percent of the equivalent category composition for men in 2011. Moreover, according to the CIO Business World statistics for 2009, there were no women at all represented in the highest management of 75 percent of Czech firms. In comparison, it has been put forward that according to the Commission for European Community, the representation of women on the management boards of the top listed firms in the EU is only 3 percent (Commission for European Community, 2009). While it is often the case that women interrupt their careers due to maternity and child care, it is likely there could be other discriminatory factors in play. The proverbial 'glass ceiling', which prevents women from rising up in the organizational hierarchy towards the top positions, is usually linked to rooted stereotypes in regard to abilities and competencies of both genders as well as expectations in relation to gender roles. Likewise the previously noted issues relating to women's position in the labour market, these topics deserve further investigation and therefore will be given attention in the qualitative part of this research.

Apart from the obstacles that women face in terms of rising up the organizational hierarchy, which are often at the forefront of attention, horizontal gender segregation of the labour market is an equally significant issue. This has to do with unequal representation of women and men in various sectors of industry. It has been a long term feature that some segments of the economy, especially those linked with the service sector, are typically considered as 'feminine' and therefore a domain of women. In 2011, out of all employees in the sphere of education, 76.4 percent were women and in health and social care they represented 81.4 percent (CSU –

Employed by CZ-NACE branch). These two areas remain the most horizontally segregated. In addition, the principles of vertical segregation are also in play within these sectors; the supervisory and therefore best paid positions in both education and health care are typically taken by men. On the other hand, the areas mostly overrepresented by men are information and communication technologies (only 26 percent were women in 2011) and construction (only 7.9 percent were women in 2011). Moreover, CSU statistics suggest that, for example, in the area of IT the representation of women in recent years has actually decreased as there were 43.3 percent of women employed in this sector in 2005 as compared to only 26 percent in 2011.

When contemplating the ways in which disadvantages of women in the labour market can be compensated, flexible working arrangements also come to mind. Overall, various forms of these measures such as flexible working time, part time work, job sharing etc., can serve as tools for women to be able to combine motherhood and care for children and family with employment. This could be even more relevant in the Czech environment which is still thought of as rather traditional in terms of gender roles, and so it can be expected that the care for family and children would be perceived as a domain of women. Moreover, since there is a relatively long allowance for maternity leave (called parental leave), this, if taken to its full length, can result in losing contact with one's profession and financial independence (Haskova, 2011). Therefore, flexible forms of employment may compensate for labour market based disadvantages to some extent. However, it could be also argued that these flexible forms of working might in themselves be possible sources of marginalization in the labour market as they often carry numerous disadvantages (for example reduced security and stability) as compared to standard full time positions (ibid).

4.8 Marginalized populations in the transition labour market

Besides women, other categories of employees are at risk of being disadvantaged in the labour market. These include those who have experienced reduced employability, as due to their characteristics or life situation they are less attractive for prospective employers. Therefore, they risk unemployment, especially long term, and consequently social exclusion (Mares & Rakoczyova, 2005). These categories of the population are targeted by means of state policies, which aim to compensate for their handicaps. In broader terms, the categories of population of special concern here are those who have found themselves in the situation of insecure employment, low paid employment, employment with minimal opportunity for improved qualifications and

personal development, poor employees, employees with involuntarily reduced working hours, temporary employees, and the long term unemployed (ibid, p.32).

In more specific terms, as based on the long term monitoring of the labour market, the following categories of population were selected as being at risk and their need for special support/assistance being established in Czech Employment Law: employees with disabilities, employees up to 25 years of age, school graduates for a duration of 2 years after graduation and up to 30 years of age, employees older than 50 years, parents of children under 15 years, unemployed registered and seeking employment for more than 6 months, employees with reduced ability of social adaptation (Employment Law no. 435/2004 Sb., § 33). In the Czech Republic, ethnic minorities also get special attention, especially the Roma population. The National Action Plan in the area of employment was aimed at targeting in particular two of these groups, school graduates and the long term unemployed (longer than 6 months). This is due to the fact that the latter were recognized as a serious social problem and a potential threat for the future (Mares, 2002) after the economic recession at the end of the nineties brought about increases in their numbers. A serious issue when considering the categories of population with increased risks is that very often their life situation is defined by commutation of disadvantages/handicaps, which in itself constitutes a specific factor increasing the risks of potential social marginalization. Long term or repeated unemployment is very often a prominent factor in this equation of disadvantage (for example woman, lone mother and long term unemployed).

The typical strategies for coping with unfavourable situations in the labour market also differ for those with disadvantages as compared to other categories of employees. It has been confirmed by specific research that the most utilized form of coping is making use of the 'bad forms of flexibility' (Sirovatka & Winkler, 2010), such as accepting employment of lower quality or lower security. These strategies are typically more used by those with lower human capital, also often in combination with lower social capital. It has been noted that, ironically, even these 'bad' strategies in fact do not improve the chances of disadvantaged persons in the labour market. However, they are often adopted as a result of the previous negative experiences and disappointments in relation to finding a job. Moreover, some other possible strategies, such as increased intensity of work, are not an option for some categories of disadvantaged employees, for example, those with disabilities (ibid.)

4.9 Chapter summary

The aim of this chapter is to outline the macroeconomic picture of the Czech transition, which serves as background information for the subsequent qualitative study of the work attitudes. Firstly, the case study of the Czech Republic was set in broad terms concerning the economic challenges and outcomes of the transition shifts. In the following sections, the particular macroeconomic indicators were reviewed, such as development of GDP, inflation, economic productivity and labour market specific issues. Particular attention was given to the disadvantaged categories of the population in the labour market, including women. Lastly, the broad statistical patterns of work attitudes in the early transition were presented. It has been highlighted that the main issues ensuing from this preliminary examination, are going to be further investigated in the subsequent qualitative analysis, results of which will be presented in the three qualitative chapters (Chapters 6, 7 and 8). The main subject areas noted in this statistical review were also used as guidance in terms of developing semi-structured schedules for my in-depth interviews.

Chapter 5. Attitudes to work: The broader picture

5.1 Introduction

The previous parts of this thesis focused on the theoretical conceptualization and the contextual background underpinning the study of work attitudes. In this chapter, the presentation of analytical results from the research undertaken for this thesis will commence. The forthcoming empirical part consists of four chapters. The first of these, Chapter 5, attempts to draw a quantitative picture of attitudes with the aim of capturing broader patterns. It is followed by three qualitative chapters that look at the deeper narratives behind these broader trends. The role of the quantitative chapter in relation to the subsequent qualitative work is therefore exploratory; it provides a schema of the key areas of interest, which is used later as guidance for the semi-structured in-depth interviews.

In a similar manner, the role of this chapter in relation to Chapter 4 should be delimited. The previous chapter covered the macroeconomic background of changes in work attitudes in the Czech Republic in the post-socialist transition. According to the available official Czech statistics and published statistical sources, the areas addressed in terms of the macroeconomic outlook included inflation and economic performance, employment and unemployment, labour mobility, wages and income distribution, the role of Trade Unions, gender issues at the labour market, and the situation of some marginalized categories of the population in relation to work and jobs. Similar to Chapter 4, this chapter utilizes statistical data and aims to capture large scale trends. However, in this case, rather than looking at economic developments as a whole or labour market developments in particular, the focus is placed specifically on various aspects of work attitudes.

Another difference is that whilst publicly available statistics and previously published sources of information were used in Chapter 4, the results presented here are based on my own calculations and interpretations of the available data. Most of the data used as background material for this chapter has been conducted by utilizing secondary data from the survey '*Employment conditions, labour market insecurity and work motivation of the employed and unemployed*' (1993).¹⁷ The origin of this international project was a British survey 'Employment in Britain' (see Gallie, 1988; Gallie et al. 1999) for which the interviews were conducted in 1991-1992. Based on this British research design, a larger research project was established whereby the

¹⁷ Marked as 'ECRS' survey when used with tables/figures in this chapter due to practical reasons.

British methodology was extended to three Eastern European countries: the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Bulgaria. In these countries, the interviews were carried out in 1993. Funded by an EC grant awarded to Professor Duncan Gallie, Nuffield College, Oxford. This aimed to be the first major comparative survey of labour issues since the collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe in 1989. The data from this international research project is not available in the public domain. The data sets were obtained directly from Professor Gallie (the principal investigator of the project), when working with him as a visiting student at Nuffield College, Oxford, in 2000/2001. Several articles and a PhD thesis have come out of the above-mentioned research project. These dealt with topics such as employment experience and organizational commitment (Gallie et al., 1999), the social consequences of unemployment (Gallie et al., 2001), working conditions (Kuchar, 1997) and labour markets in Eastern Europe (Tomlinson, 2000). Two main limitations need to be pointed out regarding this data. Firstly, it was collected in 1993, when only the initial phase of transition had been completed, and therefore does not refer to the whole transition. Equally, this data does not necessarily adequately capture the trends in later stages of the transition. Even though the data is of a high quality, there is no longitudinal comparative perspective available as the survey was not repeated. Secondly, there is no similar data from the socialist times available for comparison of the two socio-economic systems.

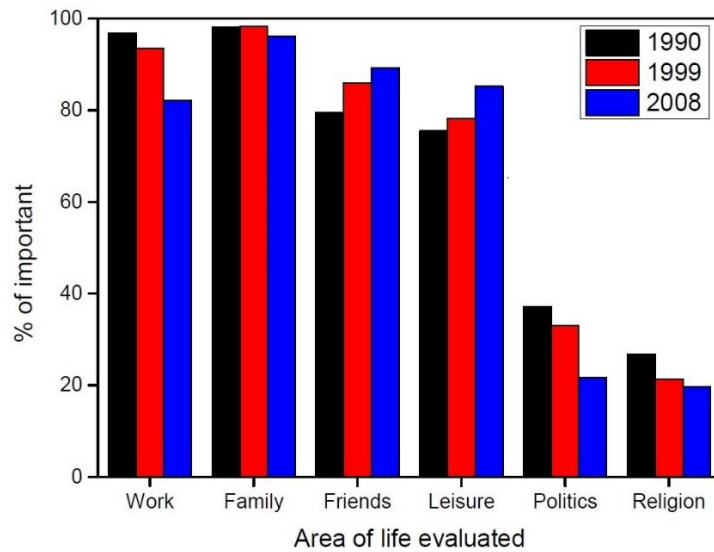
To a limited extent, the first of the above shortcomings can be compensated by introducing other suitable data sources. Therefore, this chapter also uses data from the 'European Values Study' (EVS), namely those waves of the survey that contained batteries of questions focusing on work and employment (1990, 1999 and 2008). Even though the coverage of topics in the EVS is not sufficient for a comprehensive analysis in relation to the research questions of this project, as the questions do not exactly match the analytical needs, it can still be used as supplementary data. Therefore, this source is utilized to draw a comparison where another perspective on the subject is useful or where a comparison in time is required. However, as emphasized earlier, the role of the quantitative data presented in this chapter is only intended as supporting evidence, whilst the main focus of this thesis is on the qualitative work using the narratives. The lack of suitable data from the socialist period is much harder to compensate for. This is the main reason why qualitative analysis was introduced and made the focal method of this research, as the retrospective aspects of the interviews are a good way to tap into people's experiences of the previous system.

The main points regarding attitudes to work in transition established by means of the quantitative analysis are subsequently followed up in the qualitative interviews that were conducted much later, when the processes of transition were already mature. The time coverage of this research is discussed in more detail in Chapter 10 Subsection 10.3. Whilst it is recognized that time discrepancy of different stages of the research can present possible limitations, especially regarding the scope of generalization of the results, it can also be perceived as having some advantages. One of them, for example, is that in the final instance the process of transition in the Czech Republic is covered almost entirely, which would otherwise be difficult to achieve with a PhD thesis. Despite the above mentioned limitations of timing and the issues regarding a (lack of) longitudinal outlook in the observed trends, addressing the broader patterns of work attitudes as they are presented in this chapter is useful, as it establishes the general trend and provides the researcher with a basic framework for the deeper study of this phenomena in the following chapters. The resulting picture of attitudes to work in the post-socialist transition is thus more comprehensive than would otherwise be the case by using just a single method of investigation. Three main dimensions of attitudes (as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2) are explored below, namely, the centrality of work, work ethic and job facet priorities. Key findings of the analysis are presented here, additional and supportive materials can be found in Appendix 4.

5.2 Centrality of work and main reasons why people work

The debate on the significance of work in the globalizing world has become relevant to the Czech Republic during the transition as the country set out on a journey towards capitalism. Therefore, questions regarding the centrality of work and work ethic in the transition are of importance (as previously discussed in Chapter 2 Subsections 2.2.1 and 2.3.3). Three main indicators of work centrality and its significance are considered in the quantitative analysis. The first measure is the relative significance assigned to work in relation to other key areas of life. This measure gives an indication of the position of work (perceived here as formal employment) in the value systems of the Czech population in the transition towards a market economy (see figure 1 overleaf).

Figure 1: Relative significance of work in transition: Czech Republic

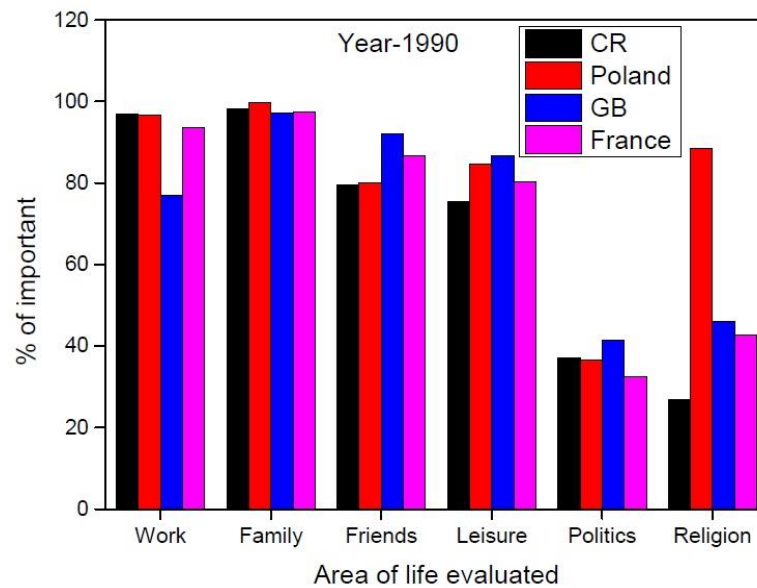


The percentages are a sum of the categories 'very important' and 'quite important'
Source: EVS 1990, 1999, 2008; own calculations

The results of the analysis of the data collected in the course of the transition suggest that work has been perceived as an important undertaking and appears to have been one of the most significant items in the value system of the Czechs. The results from the early stages of the transition (around 1990) suggest that a new enthusiasm for work appeared, together with an increase of its significance, which seemed to gradually ease off as the transition progressed. This can be interpreted as indicative evidence in support of the idea that work has gained considerable importance during the transition, to the extent that it has become central to people's lives. The level of significance assigned to work can be understood as being very much in contrast to the role and meaning of work in socialist times, when employment was taken for granted as a result of the obligation to work imposed by the state and the consequent full employment. Also, in light of the international comparison (see figure 2), it appears that the relative importance of work in Eastern European countries is high, sometimes more so than in Western countries in the same period. Especially significant is the contrast with Great Britain, when in 1990, 96.8 percent of the Czechs considered work as being an important aspect in their lives, compared to only 77.1 percent of the British (a difference of 19.7 percent was observed).¹⁸

¹⁸ It may be argued that for a more comprehensive analysis of this trend, the different historical and political traditions of the countries should be considered. Whilst it is appreciated that this topic would certainly deserve attention by means of further research, such an approach is not focal in this

Figure 2: Relative significance of work: International comparison 1990

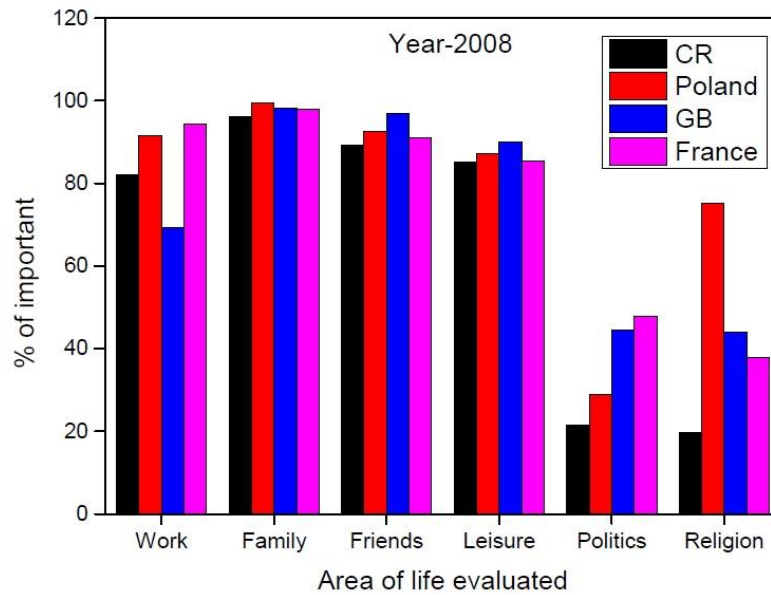


The percentages are a sum of the categories 'very important' and 'quite important'
Source: EVS 1990, own calculations

A similar trend is seen for the following years, and in 2008, the previously observed difference between the Czech Republic and Great Britain is still 12.9 percent (even though the significance of paid work seems to have declined in both countries over the period between 1990 and 2008), see figure 3. Therefore, the outcomes of my analysis suggest that it is likely that an important shift has happened over the course of the Czech transition in relation to the place of work in people's lives. For the next analytical step, it is necessary to unpack the underlying reasons behind this shift, and its wider consequences for people's lives. This information, however, is not readily accessed by means of quantitative analysis of the data at hand. Therefore, in light of this notable indicative finding emerging from the analysis at this stage, it is deemed necessary to carry out further exploration by means of applying qualitative techniques.

study. For the purposes of this investigation, the international comparison serves as a brief sketch of the observed trend, and the introduction of the results for the Western countries, with developed market economies, is used as a point to bounce off the findings for Eastern European countries. The deeper analysis of this issue unfolds in this research by means of the qualitative analysis.

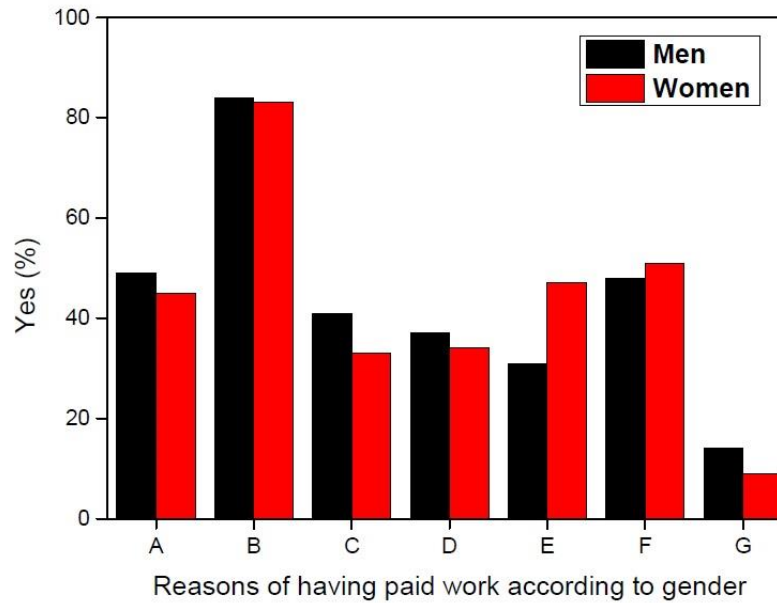
Figure 3: Relative significance of work: International comparison 2008



The percentages are a sum of the categories 'very important' and 'quite important'
 Source: EVS 2008, own calculations

As the second measure, rationales towards paid work are in sociology of work considered as an analytical category which looks into the main reasons why people work, which is interpreted here as the reasons for having taken on a paid job. Moreover, the types of rationales prioritized can be considered as another indication regarding the place and significance of work in people's value systems. As can be seen in figure 4 below, it emerges that the most common reason given by the respondents is that of provisioning. That is, they work because they need money to buy basic necessities, and 83 percent of the Czech sample agreed with this statement. The second and third priorities regarding the reasons why people have a paid job are because they enjoy working, and because it is the normal thing to do. In contrast to the provisioning function of work, the second and third options are prioritized considerably less with only 50 percent and 47 percent respectively of respondents concurring with these reasons. These results suggest that there may have been a shift with respect to work security against the backdrop of the drastic changes in labour market conditions and competition for jobs. The experiences of many people in the transition might be reflecting the fact that work could no longer be taken for granted, as was the case in socialist times. At the same time, the value of paid employment as the main source of providing a livelihood has strengthened. This point is brought to attention again and discussed in depth in the subsequent qualitative analysis chapters, in particular Chapter 6, which describes the changing role of work in transition.

Figure 4: Reasons for having paid work: Czech Republic 1993



Reasons evaluated: A – work is normal thing, B – money for basics, C – money for extras, D – money of my own, E – company of others, F – enjoyment, G – follow a career

The percentages are a sum of the categories 'very important' and 'quite important'

Source: ECRS¹⁹ 1993, own calculations, sample of the employed

A notable finding regarding the social function of employment was that being in the company of other people was stated by the Czech respondents among important reasons for formal employment, with this being more so for women than men. In fact, the difference between genders in this respect is significant. 47 percent of women reported the company of other people as an important reason for working in formal employment, compared to only 31 percent of men. Moreover, for women, social reasons are the third most important reason for holding a job, after the provisioning role of employment, and the fact that they enjoy working. These results have revealed that the social dimension of employment is particularly significant in the Czech environment and therefore it is worthwhile undertaking further exploration in this area. This is followed up as part of the qualitative phase of this study (see Chapter 7 in particular).

¹⁹ Survey 'Employment conditions, labour market insecurity and work motivation of the employed and unemployed' (1993)

5.3 Centrality of work: The work ethic

Work ethic is another area closely associated with work centrality (as discussed in Chapter 2, Subsections 2.2.1 and 2.3.3). The ‘Lottery question’, which was used in my analysis for this chapter, serves as a commonly used indicator of non-financial commitment to paid work in work sociology, which indicates levels of work ethic (e.g. Harpaz, 1989; Harpaz, 2002; Snir & Harpaz, 2002a; Snir, 2011; Warr, 1982). By means of positing an imaginary scenario of having or obtaining enough money to live without having to work for pay (e.g. by winning the Lottery or similar turn of events), the researcher probes the informants’ intentions (yes/no) to continue working in such circumstances.²⁰ A discussion of the outcomes of this enquiry for the Czech population (in a comparative perspective) in the early transition stage is presented below with reference to table 1.

Table 1: Answers to the ‘Lottery Question’ by country (1993)

Lottery question response %	CR	UK	Slovakia	Bulgaria
YES	58	68	63	77
NO	42	32	37	23
Unsure/DK	13	2	9	14
N	1480	3649	819	1789

Source: ECRS; own calculations, sample of the employed

We can see that, over half of the Czech respondents (58 percent) answered that they would continue working irrespective of their financial situation. This result appears as somewhat unclear. On one hand, it may suggest that, to some degree, the value of hard work has begun to rise again in the early stages of the Czech transition. At the same time, however, the extent of support for a work ethic does not yet seem to be established. This is further supported by comparing this with UK data and the results for other countries of Central and Eastern Europe of the same time period, which show that the proportion of Czechs who could be regarded as strong proponents of the work ethic is, in fact, much lower in relative terms. Another problematic aspect is

²⁰ The exact wording of the Lottery Question employed in the survey ‘*Employment conditions, labour market insecurity and work motivation of the employed and unemployed*’ is as follows: ‘If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you would like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work, not necessarily in your present job, or would you stop working?’.

that there is no relevant data available from the socialist past which could be used for a direct comparison.

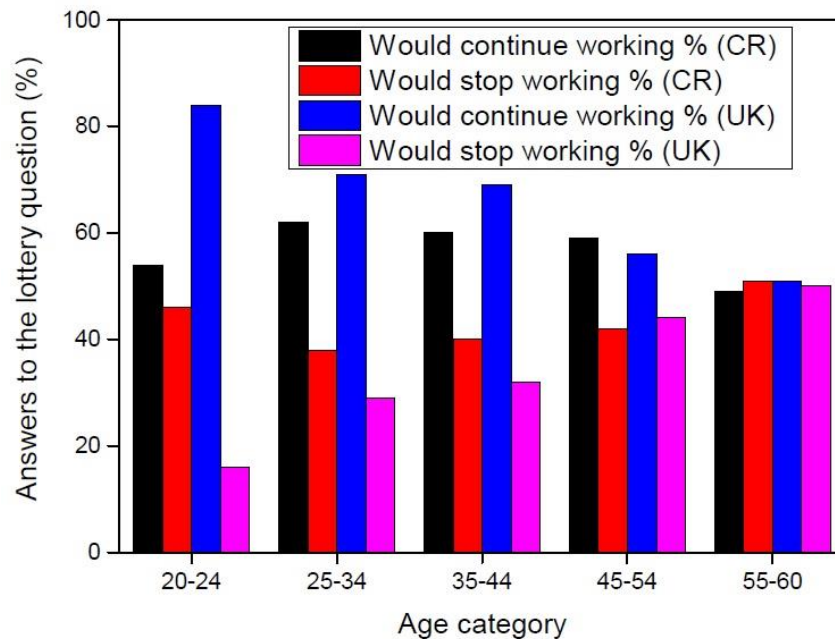
There may be a variety of reasons to account for differences in the data outcomes in Eastern European countries, for example, their historical and cultural origins, and these can be only briefly touched upon given the limited scope of this thesis. However, comparisons with the UK, a country with a long tradition of a market economy, highlight that only a small majority of informants agreed with the Lottery question statement in the Czech Republic. Therefore, the claim that work ethic has been reinstated in Czech society needs to be heeded with caution. Moreover, doubts regarding this claim may be put down to the fact that the data at hand relates only to the first phase of the transition when the processes of marketization were in the very early stages.

Uncertainty regarding the robustness of this finding is further compounded by the unusually high proportion of 'don't know' answers given to the Lottery question, especially in comparison to the proportion found in other countries. This problem is further aggravated by the fact that no distinction was made in the data collection stage of the survey between the 'don't know' and 'data missing' categories, as both were classed under the same heading. This approach complicates the interpretation of the findings, as the motives the respondents might have had for not giving a substantive answer are conflated. It has been suggested in the literature (Shoemaker et al., 2002) that a difficult to answer question usually generates many 'don't knows', whilst a sensitive question prompts more refusals from respondents. Following this, the Lottery question in the questionnaire from which my secondary analysis is drawn, can be considered as a sensitive probe and thus would be expected to produce many refusals but not so many 'don't knows'. On the other hand, it can be argued that in case of the Czech Republic in the given stage of the transition, some survey participants may have been genuinely unsure as to how to answer, since it could have been difficult for them to imagine the scenario posited by the Lottery question. This particular finding may point towards inconsistencies in the attitudes of Czechs concerning work ethic or legacies of the past regime lingering on in the thought structures and attitudinal systems of the people. Whilst the results of the quantitative analysis are inconclusive, presenting us with further challenges and questions, they do serve as a platform on which to base the forthcoming qualitative research. The latter offers more insight regarding this matter and may possibly clarify some of the issues mentioned above.

Attention now turns to the particular socio-demographic characteristics that appear to be significant in terms of patterns observed in the work ethic as shown in data pertaining to the early years of the Czech transition (see figures 5, 6, 7, 8 below). Due to the number of findings, only the most significant are presented in the following text. Additional materials and background tables for the figures presented here can be found in Appendix 4. In some cases, a comparison is made with the UK, as an example of a country with a developed market economy; this is done where the comparison provides additional contrast, which helps to interpret the results from CR. This also enables us to gauge how much the trends observed are specific for the Czech Republic (and thus potentially for the Eastern European countries in general). However, these assumptions are only suggestive and further research is needed to make any firm conclusions.

The data analysis reveals that middle aged (35-54) Czech employees and also those in the age category from 25 to 34 years tend to have a higher level of work ethic than the younger and the older age groups. This pattern differs from the one found for UK respondents, where commitment to paid work seems to steadily decline with age. The observed difference between the two countries is especially remarkable for the youngest age category (age 20 to 24), whilst the levels of work ethic declared by young workers in the UK are high, the corresponding values for young Czechs appear much lower. Similarities are evident in the middle aged categories but are not so striking. Moreover, the levels observed for older categories of employees are very similar in both countries and are the lowest out of all the age groups.

Figure 5: The effect of age on non-financial commitment to work (CR & UK, 1993)



Source: ECRS; own calculations, sample of the employed

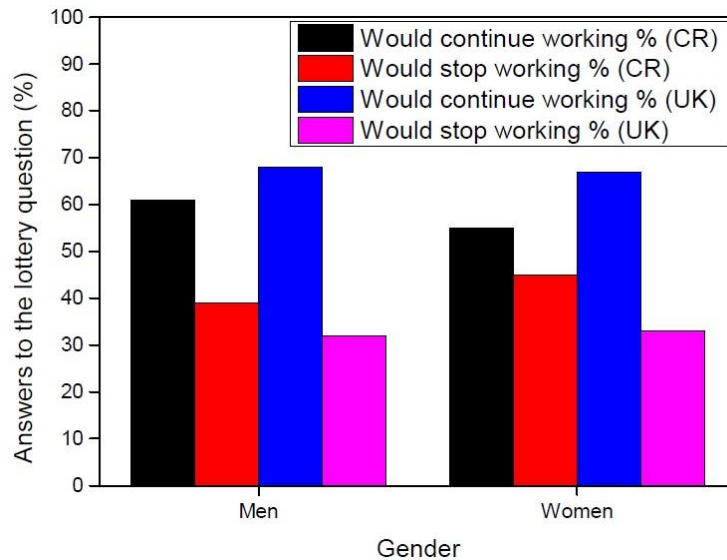
Whilst it is not surprising that work ethic tends to generally decline with age, as has been confirmed by some studies in the sociology of work (e.g. Marshall et al., 2001; Tang & Tzeng, 1992; Rose 1985), there is no straightforward explanation for the low levels of commitment to paid work that are prevalent in young Czechs. Recently popular theories emphasizing generational differences (Generation X and Y – e.g. Barnes, 2009; Howe & Strauss, 1991; Reisenwithz & Iyer, 2009) could only be applied in a limited scope. The main issue with this theory is that it generally assigns lower work ethic to the Millenium (i.e. the youngest) generation in Western countries, i.e. those with developed market economies. However, some sources admit that similar generational differences and regularities regarding behaviour could be expected of cohorts who grew up in similar geographic, cultural and historical settings, and could be applied in other contexts as well, i.e. in Eastern countries (e.g. Tolbize, 2008; Behrens, 2009). Another difficulty arises when trying to categorise the generation between 20 and 25 years old in 1993 when the data used in this analysis was collected. Allowing for a bit of flexibility, however, this generation could be branded as Generation Y (Millenials, Nexters, Cyberkids etc.), as the summarizing studies of the relevant literature (the rest being inconclusive regarding the time categorization for this generation), typically allows for very wide margins. Thus for example, according to Tolbize (2008), Generation Y can comprise those born anywhere between years 1978 – 2002.

If one of the main challenges that individuals belonging to Generation Y in the West typically face is finding their identity and place in society (Tolbize, 2008; Urban, 2013), there are reasons to think that this may be an equally big, if not bigger, challenge for young people of a similar age in the countries of Eastern Europe. Given the context of a complete change of political and economic systems, it may be argued that for young Czechs, who had grown up in the period of the socialist economic order, and who, at the time of this survey, had only been exposed to the new market-driven economic order for a relatively short period of time, attitudes and values regarding work ethic had not yet fully formed. Moreover, it is also possible that the youngest cohort could be rebellious towards the new capitalist ways of working and/or its values in general, or simply confused in this respect. Furthermore, numerous other factors apart from age have affected the work ethic, for example level of education, employment status, income level, and marital status. The effects of some of these determinants will be analyzed in the following sections. As this quantitative analysis presents only a broad picture of the trends and not much in terms of a background explanation of possible underlying mechanisms and motivations, it is difficult to draw further conclusions regarding this matter. However, it is anticipated that the in-depth analysis of work attitudes captured in interviews with participants in the qualitative phase of my study will cast light on this somewhat unexpected finding.

Looking at the issue of gender in relation to work ethic (see figure 6 overleaf), Czech men appear slightly more committed than Czech women. However, the difference is not significant, for 61 percent of men and 55 percent of women answered that they would continue working irrespective of their financial needs. What is notable is the relatively high commitment to work from Czech women, despite the fact that, in the Czech context, women are considered to be the primary care providers and homemakers within families. Furthermore, women tend to be undervalued in the labour market as compared to men (statistical evidence of the gender gap in earnings was discussed in more detail in the previous chapter). This outcome may be explained by the long established tradition of Czech women participating in formal employment, as under socialism, the rate of women's employment was generally high, (about 90 percent), depending on age (Fialova, 2009). Therefore, it can be expected that employment participation has become a significant part of Czech women's identity. This tradition may also suggest, however, that typically high levels of work engagement of the Czech women are more due to the perceived financial necessity rather than a free choice. In addition, it could be asserted that there may be particular aspects of paid jobs/employment that women especially value, and

these may differ from those preferred by men. The next section on job facet preferences opens up a discussion of additional possibilities in this respect. Furthermore, the above findings suggest that the nature of commitment to employment regarding that of both women and men should be further explored by means of in-depth interviews.

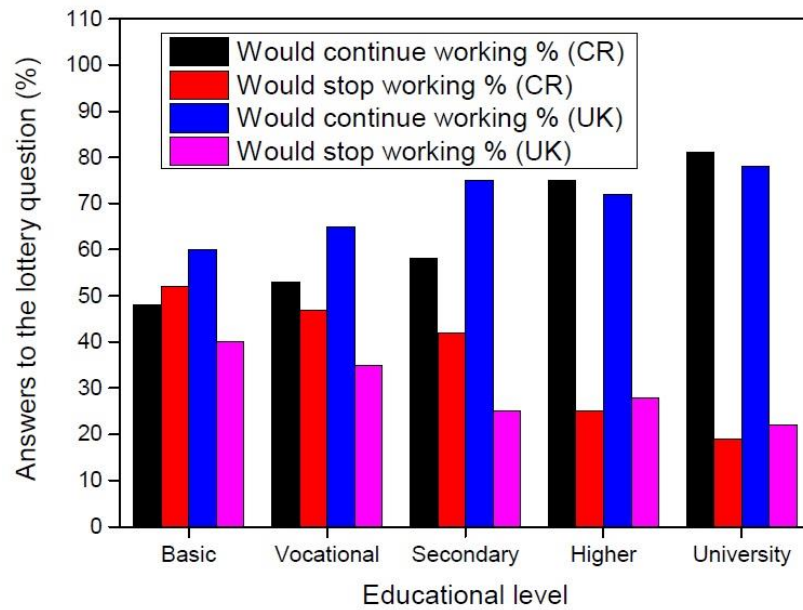
Figure 6: The effect of gender on non-financial commitment to work (CR & UK, 1993)



Source: ECRS; own calculations, sample of the employed

The level of education of individuals was unearthed as a significant determinant of work ethic/employment commitment (see figure 7 overleaf). The quantitative analysis shows that better educated employees have considerably higher levels of commitment to paid work than those with lower levels of education. For the Czech Republic, the relationship between education and work ethic appears to be linear, for the higher the educational status, the higher the commitment to paid work. The differences in commitment between the best educated categories and the groups of the population with lower education in the UK are not so sharp. The results show that, in the British case, further education above the secondary level does not affect work commitment in a significant way. In other words, while the work ethic levels of groups with different education appear overall equal in the British sample, there is especially no difference observed between the secondary, higher and university educated individuals.

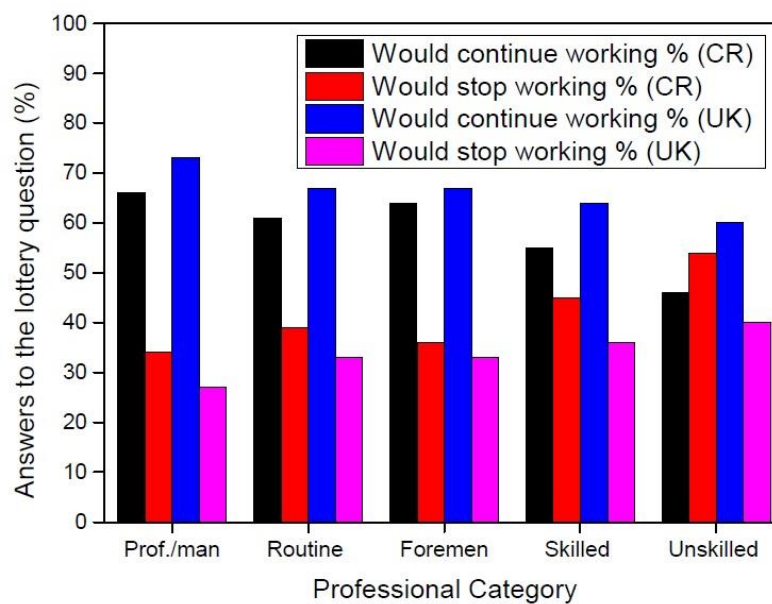
Figure 7: Effect of education on non-financial commitment to work (CR & UK, 1993)



Source: ECRS; own calculations, sample of the employed

In a similar vein, occupation seems to have an effect on commitment to paid work, with unskilled workers appearing to have the lowest degree of commitment and professional/managerial categories of employees showing the highest (see figure 8 below). Similarly as in case of education, the effect of professional status on commitment to employment (and thus on levels of work ethic) appears stronger in the Czech Republic compared to the UK.

Figure 8: Effect of occupation on non-financial commitment to work (CR & UK 1993)



Source: ECRS; own calculations, sample of the employed

It is worth noting that the data for the Czech Republic shows that the category of foreman/forewoman stands out with a somewhat higher than expected level of declared work ethic which ranks alongside that of the managerial category of employees. If the research had been conducted slightly later on in the transition, then, as with the data captured for Great Britain, an example of a long established market economy, we could expect the commitment of foremen/women to be slightly lower whilst the commitment of managerial/professional employees would be higher than these findings report. However, these results are from a survey undertaken in the early stages of the Czech transition, and so may indicate that professional identity and the status of the highest and best educated employees (professional and managerial category) had not yet crystallized. For example, it is known that at the outset of the transition, as a legacy of the previous socialist system of wage equalization, the wages of professionals, especially those employed in the public sector, were poor in relation to other lower ranking occupations. Whilst these individuals were generally endowed with additional education and skills, their material assets and financial possibilities were limited and this inconsistency regarding overall social status (Crompton, 2008) could have impacted negatively upon their commitment to employment.

As mentioned earlier, given that the data used for the analysis of the Lottery Question is not longitudinal, it is impossible to study development of the commitment to employment in the course of the Czech transition. Having this option would be very advantageous not only to provide comparative evidence relating to attitudes towards paid work per se, but it would also allow for the cross-checking of the answers to this question in regard to the proportion of missing answers. Given the limitations of this particular analysis of the Lottery Question, it could be useful to consider ways of overcoming the shortfalls of the data used here. In this respect, conducting a secondary analysis of data coming from other surveys comes into question. Unfortunately, the Lottery Question has not been employed in other surveys carried out to date, either in the Czech Republic alone, or in any comparative European context. Therefore, the only effective way of solving this problem is to look for alternatives in other surveys, i.e. other indicators that would also refer to work ethic in a similar way as the Lottery Question does. Suitable source of data in this respect is the 'European Values Study', which (namely waves 1990, 1999 and 2008) contains batteries of questions relating to work and employment that are relevant to our subject of interest. Specifically, those batteries contain questions indicating attitudes to

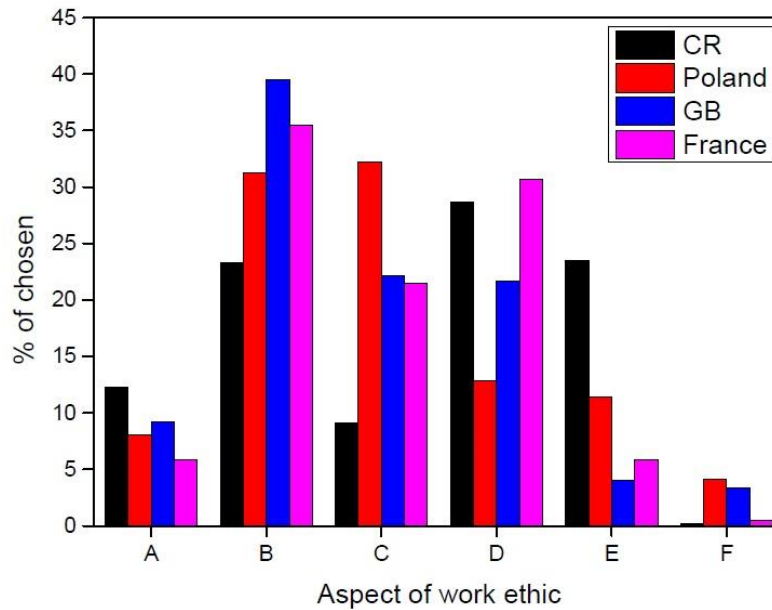
various aspects of work ethic.²¹ Unfortunately, the same sets of questions that were asked in the years 1999 and 2008 were not asked in 1990; a direct comparison in time is therefore available only in a limited way. There is, however, a related set of questions available in the data set for 1990 that thematically covers a similar area. Responses to these questions are presented in figures 9, 10 and 11 below, in a comparative perspective.

The results of this analysis with respect to the observed level of work ethic in the Czech Republic in transition (and potentially in other countries of Eastern Europe) appear inconclusive. This is a similar result to that of the Lottery Question (compare with table 2 above). In some aspects of work ethic, the Eastern European countries appear stronger in comparison to Western countries, yet in some other aspects they seem weaker. For example in 1990, only 23.3 percent of Czech respondents claimed that they do their job to the best of their abilities, regardless of pay. The same opinion was put forward by 35.5 percent of British and 39.5 percent of French respondents. On the other hand, only 9 percent of the Czech sample endorsed the view that they would not work if they didn't have to (item 'working is just a necessity for living'²²), whereas 21.5 percent of British and 22.2 percent of French respondents held the same opinion. These mixed results could be interpreted in several different ways. They could mean that in 1990, the attitudes of the Czech population towards work and their levels of work ethic were not yet matured, and could bear signs of both the socialist legacy of the past (when work ethic was generally relaxed) as well as the influence of the new market environment (when pressures on performance and achievement became common). To take a different perspective, it could also mean that the battery of questions employed in this survey to measure aspects of attitudes to work in this respect could be marked by poorer reliability and validity.

²¹ Questions v90 – v95 in the EVS survey 1999 and 2008, and questions Q270-Q276 in EVS 1990.

²² Relates to question Q273 in the battery of questions measuring aspects of work ethic (EVS, CR, 1990).

Figure 9: Aspects of work ethic: International comparison 1990



The percentages indicate how often a particular aspect was selected as important

Aspects evaluated: A – work is like business transaction, B – I do the best I can regardless of pay, C – working is just a necessity, D – I don't let work interfere my life, E – work most important in my life, F – never had a paid job

Source: EVS 1990, own calculations

The findings of the international comparison in later stages of the transition (1999 and 2008) give a similar impression (see figures 10 and 11 below). In some aspects of work ethic related attitudes, the Czech respondents appear somewhat more relaxed than some of their Western counterparts. For example, they more often endorse the view that 'one should not have to work if they do not want to' (31.6 percent in CR agree with this statement, compared to 18.7 percent of the British). This opinion is, however, considerably more strongly held in Poland (65.1 percent agree). Still, in other aspects of work ethic, as the concept is defined in this survey, the enthusiasm the Czechs conveyed in relation to work appears higher than that expressed in those Western countries. For example, in 1999, 80.3 percent of Czech respondents thought that those 'who do not work turn lazy', as opposed to only 42.9 percent of the British. Equally, in the same year, whilst 64.1 percent of the Czech sample perceived work as a duty towards society, only 49.2 percent of the British endorsed the same view.

Figure 10: Aspects of work ethic: International comparison 1999

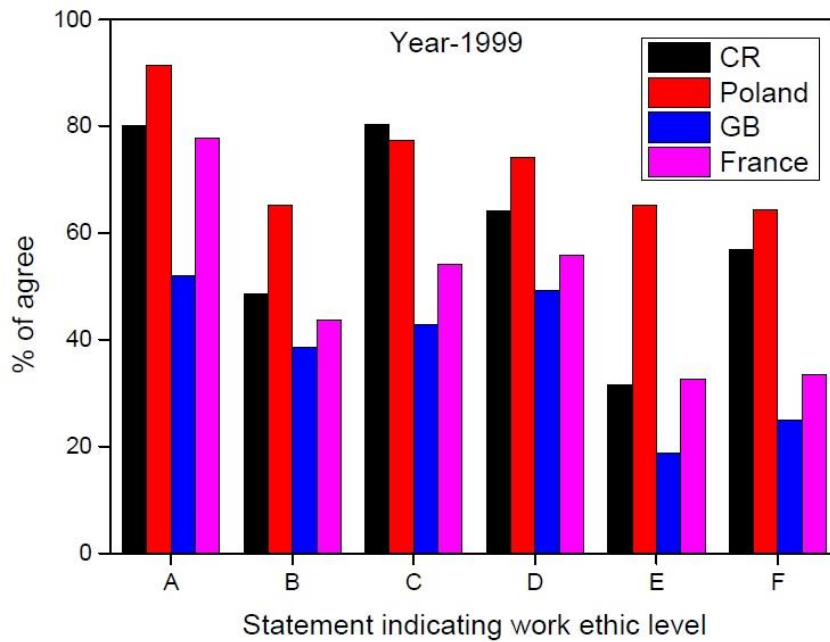
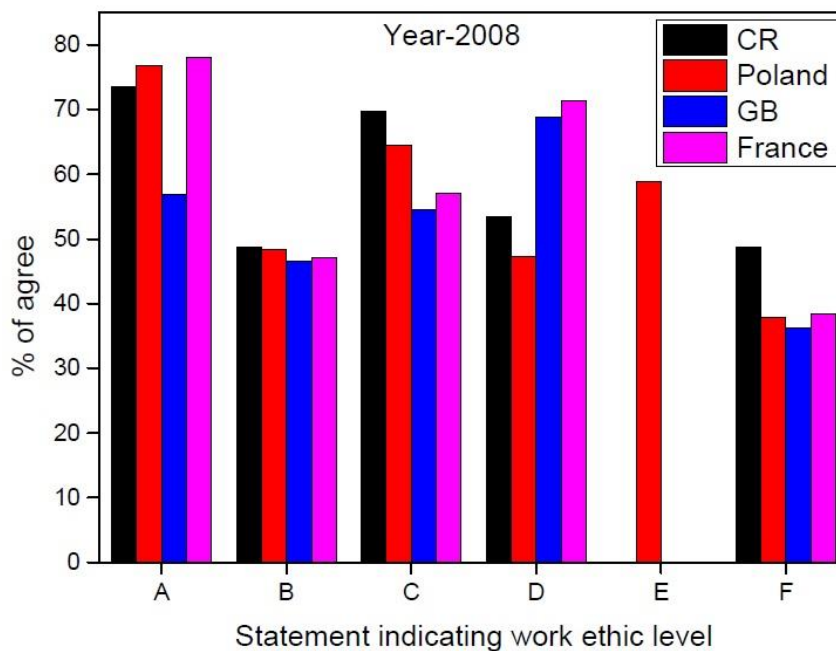


Figure 11: Aspects of work ethic: International comparison 2008



The percentages indicate sum of the categories 'agree strongly' and 'agree'

Aspects evaluated (1999 & 2008) : A – job needed to develop talents, B – humiliating receiving money without work, C – people turn lazy not working, D – work a duty towards society, E – not having to work if you don't want to, F – work always comes first

Source: EVS 1999, 2008 own calculations. Note: Question V94 (aspect E) was not repeated in 2008 in CR, UK and F.

It is not without interest that this particular opinion, endorsing work as a duty (note aspect 'D' in figures 10 and 11), declined over time in the Czech Republic, however it grew stronger in Britain.²³ The decline in the Czech Republic may be accounted for by the increasingly critical approach regarding the transition in general, as well as the effects of a free market economy in the sphere of jobs and employment in particular, that have been observed amongst certain categories of the Czech population (Vecernik & Mateju, 1998; Kubatova, 2000). The increase in the perception of work as a duty towards society in Great Britain may also be found in the realm of political and social developments of the country.

Considerable differences between the Czech Republic and Poland can be noted in several aspects of work ethic indicators. This observation most likely suggests that direct comparison between Eastern European countries would be problematic in this respect without taking account of different cultural, historical and religious traditions of these countries, all of which are likely to play a significant role. This further supports the argument emphasized by numerous scholars (e.g. Sokol, 2001; Stark & Bruszt, 2001) that caution should be employed when drawing parallels between Eastern European countries in terms of their development in transition and experiences of transition changes. Therefore, any wider conclusions should be based on sufficient empirical evidence. Eastern Europe should not simply be viewed as a homogeneous entity, as the experiences of individual countries within the region differ greatly.

It is necessary to point out that, even though this data is deemed suitable for a brief comparative outline, considerable complications have been revealed by this researcher relating to its quality and validity. The main problem is that the internal consistency of the scale (i.e. the battery of questions) is not very good, i.e. it is not possible to assume that all of the items of the scale (the questions) measure the same concept (the work ethic in this case).²⁴ One of the questions especially, 'one should not have to work if they don't want to', is problematic as it correlates negatively with the others, and therefore it can be claimed that this item should not be part of the scale (this may be the reason why this question was not asked again in subsequent waves of the study in some countries). Hence, it remains a tricky issue whether or

²³ The drop in CR over the period of 9 years is 10.1 percent, whilst the increase in GB over the same time period is 21.5 percent.

²⁴ Cronbach's Alfa, which is used as a measure of the internal consistency, is only 0.47 for CR and 0.68 for Poland (1999).

not this scale can be considered as a multidimensional measure of work ethic.²⁵ Given this finding, interpretations and conclusions based on this particular analysis should also be perceived as tentative. Consequently, a suggestion can be made that since the Lottery Question is so well established in work sociology as an indicator of work ethic, it might be worth considering including this measure in future surveys in this thematic area.

Finally, the somewhat inconclusive findings of the quantitative analysis of work ethic seems to indicate that quantitative information provides us with only a broad sketch of work attitudes in the transition. Therefore, the ambivalent status of the results of several analyses as discussed above could be taken as evidence that it is difficult to tap into the attitudes and values of people by means of quantitative research. Because of these interpretative limitations of quantitative methods as related to the main aims of this study, the qualitative narratives are employed further (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8) as these enable us to understand this area of interest more comprehensively.

5.4 Job facet priorities

As an important component in the category of work attitudes, my analysis for this chapter also looked at particular job facets, defined by Blackburn & Mann (1979) as particular aspects of a job or paid post held at a particular moment in time. By looking at the job facets as listed in table 2 below, it appears that they need to be grouped into categories in order to facilitate the interpretation of our analytical results. The categorisation is suggested as based on the results of the factor analysis presented below (table 2). Considering the nature of these job facets, it seems most appropriate to organize them along the lines of what are in the relevant social science literature standard labels used for extrinsic and intrinsic aspects of work. The intrinsic aspects of work (also often termed as work orientations or motivators) have been introduced by Maslow (1954) and further used widely in the sociology of work and social psychology literature (e.g. Herzberg, 1976; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Gallie et al, 1998; Rose, 2005) and they typically relate to aspects of jobs that enhance fulfilment of the employee's personal, intellectual and creative potential such as interesting work, opportunity for promotion or challenging work. The extrinsic aspects have been used as a concept for example by Goldthorpe et al. (1968) and are typically specifying

²⁵ This rises further questions regarding usage and construction of multidimensional scale of work ethic (work commitment) in the realm of work attitudes measurement. Whilst this issue is beyond the scope of this thesis, it may become an interesting subject of further research into methods and techniques of social research.

those dimensions of employment related to material (mainly financial) rewards such as pay, fringe benefits and job security. Both terms extrinsic and intrinsic are used here in a somewhat looser way, i.e. their substance and meaning is close to the terms as they are familiar for scholars and professionals working in this area, however, they may not cover exactly the same content. As can be seen in the outcomes of the factor analysis, two dimensions selected by this technique closely correspond with the extrinsic and intrinsic incentives to work. Therefore, for the purposes of this analysis, they were labelled accordingly.

The factor analysis was performed on the matrix of questions about job facet priorities with an intention to obtain deeper insight into employee inclinations regarding their current job. As the main purpose of factor analysis is to reveal the internal composition of the studied phenomenon, the aim of my inquiry was to find a model that would best represent the data and enhance their interpretability. Three models were examined in several stages of the analysis and, in the end, a 3 factor solution was selected as the best suited, as it explains 47 percent of variance (for details of the selection procedure and reasoning behind decisions made, see Appendix 4). The results from the main model chosen on the basis of the factor analysis are presented below.

Table 2: Internal structure of the job facet scale: 3 factor model (principal axis extraction, rotation oblimin)

Job-facets prioritised	Factor 1 'Intrinsic'	Factor 2 'Advantages'	Factor 3 'Extrinsic'
Use initiative	0.76		
Use abilities	0.73		
Work you like doing	0.67		
Variety in work	0.53		
Training provisions	0.54		
A secure job			0.51
Good pay			0.52
Relat. supervisor	(0.17)		0.31
Working conditions	(0.19)	(0.17)	0.35
Promotion prospects	0.39		0.36
Friendly people	0.32		0.29
Easy work load		0.52	
Convenient hours		0.53	
Choice work hours		0.56	
Fringe benefits		0.43	

N = 1480, Source ECRS 1993, own calculations, sample of the employed
Factor loads shown in the table

When looking at the individual factors in the table above, the first factor could be understood as the intrinsic aspect of a job in a sense that was discussed in the previous sub-section. Opportunity to use one's initiative in a job has the strongest relation with this factor, followed by use of abilities and interest in work. Variety in work and good training provision are also grouped with intrinsic incentives. The second factor was labelled as 'advantages'. Whilst the intrinsic and extrinsic categories are commonly representing job facets as explained at the beginning of Subsection 5.4 of this chapter, and as specified in the literature (Blackburn & Mann, 1979), the factor of advantages is a new dimension. As such, it appeared in this analysis and the term is not close to any standard usage; rather the term is a label proposed here for the purpose of this research. This label is intended to denote the meaning common amongst the individual components constituting this factor: easy workload, convenient hours, choice of work hours, and fringe benefits. They are all linked with the notion of convenience and various kinds of benefits as relating to a job. In other words, these are aspects of a job that offer additional advantages besides the main reward that comes in the form of a salary. Therefore, the notion of 'advantage' is thought of as their common denominator. The third factor relates to the extrinsic rewards; these are dominated by instrumental (materialistic) work rationales such as financial rewards (good pay) and job security. Promotion prospects also come up as extrinsic rewards of the job, as, presumably, they are related to a prospective increase of earnings. Notably, promotion prospects also have the same strong loading with the first factor, suggesting that their function is not only to satisfy the employee prospects of material well-being, but also of personal fulfilment.

It is more difficult to explain why working conditions and relations with the supervisor group together with extrinsic work incentives. One possible reason pertaining to the latter could be that good relations with one's supervisor are implicitly considered as a precondition for the other extrinsic rewards, i.e. good pay and job security. This is perhaps to some extent the case in every economic system; however, there are reasons to assume that the effect of this link is principally relevant in the new capitalist regime as a possible heritage carried over from the socialist past. It was no secret that under Communism social capital, in terms of personal relations, was one of the few available avenues to gain an advantage in the otherwise restrictive system. More specifically, the quality of the relationship with one's superiors at work could play a particular role in this respect. By the same token, this association could also explain why the 'job facet' item 'friendly people to work with' appears connected with the above-mentioned instrumental aspects that employees value in their jobs. Moreover,

this result could indicate that in the Czech environment, working with friendly people is considered as an indispensable part of the job and consequently, this item would group together with the other facets that are considered as being generally important. Thus, it may be the case that the Czechs consider good social relations as a necessary precondition for success in a job. It is expected that qualitative analysis will offer richer explanations of these results. However, as these ambiguous items (such as 'relationship with the supervisor' and 'working conditions') load on more than one factor at the same time (see table 2 above, highlighted in blue), from the point of view of the quantitative analysis it still remains unclear as to whether they should be retained or dropped from the model.

Overall, the presented results of factor analysis suggest that it is reasonable to think about three latent aspects of preference that were commonly associated with jobs in the Czech Republic in the early transition phase, and using 3 extracted factors could meaningfully reduce the complexity and of this conceptual area. Notable results aside, there is a considerable loss of information associated with this reduction by means of the factor analysis, as 54 percent of variance remains unexplained. This needs to be mentioned even though a sizeable loss of variance is not at all uncommon with this analysis.

To sum up, the results of the factor analysis are fairly consistent with the previous results regarding job facet priorities presented earlier in Section 5.4. In light of these findings, it may be advanced that the dimension of extrinsic motivators/material rewards from work has become especially significant in the first phase of the Czech transition. Equally, the dimension of self-actualization seems to have gained prominence, which suggests that the area of intrinsic rewards from work has increased in importance during the transition. This most likely signifies that, in the new system, paid employment offers opportunities for self-actualization, which was not the case under Communism. Finally, the outcomes regarding the factor of advantages suggest that some emphasis is placed on those aspects of a job that were traditionally valued under the socialist system, i.e. easy workload, benefits etc. As such, it indicates that these particular aspects of a job could be a legacy of the socialist past.

Attention now turns towards a more detailed assessment of job facets as prioritized by Czech employees. The above factor analysis suggested that these can be thought of in terms of prioritization of intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of work, which provides us with a useful explanatory framework. This categorisation, resulting from our

analysis, is in accordance with ways of classification and measurement of job facets advocated in previous literature (Blackburn & Mann, 1979). As we can see in table 3 below, Czechs in general expressed preferences towards both intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of work. Both groups of facets are equally represented on the top four positions; good pay ranking first and security of job ranking third (being the most important extrinsic facet), whilst friendly people and enjoyable work ranked second and fourth (being the most important intrinsic facets). The high priority given to facets such as good pay, job security and promotion prospects would suggest that the attitudes of Czech employees in the first stages of the transition were already being shaped by the principles of the market economy, and their adopted strategies were in accord with the requirements of the labour market and its competition. As for the intrinsic facets, it is notable that other than the already mentioned high significance assigned to working with friendly people, relationships with colleagues and supervisors scored relatively highly on the scale of job facets. Therefore, it can be assumed that the social aspects of the job and relationships at the workplace can be of particular significance when reviewing the status of work attitudes during the Czech transition. It is certainly of interest to shed more light on the underlying reasoning and possible deeper meanings of this pattern observed in the evidence. As we will see in the following qualitative chapters, this subject was frequently visited in the interviews and the qualitative analysis pays particular attention to it.

Table 3: Priorities of job-facets: perceived level of importance (CR, 1993)

Priorities of job-facets in general					
Job facets (aspects of a current job)	Essential (%)	Important (%)	Not very Important (%)	Ranking according to % essential	Ranking according to % important
Friendly people	27	75	3	4	2
Promotion prospects	21	65	6	6	5
Good pay	43	85	1	1	1
Relat. with supervisor	14	52	10	10	9
A secure job	29	70	7	2	3
Use initiative	19	54	12	8	8
Work you like doing	29	67	5	3	4
Convenient hours	12	44	18	11	11
Choice in work hours	12	36	31	12	13
Use abilities	21	62	6	5	7
Fringe benefits	8	32	32	14	14
Easy work load	5	18	52	15	15
Training provisions	11	42	21	13	12
Working conditions	19	63	5	7	6
Variety in work	16	51	13	9	10

N = 1480, Source ECRS 1993, own calculations, sample of the employed

Besides the patterns depicted in the snap shot of attitudes captured at the point when the survey was carried out (1993), another part of the examination of work attitudes in the survey was the question of changes regarding the importance of attitudes within the preceding five years. Consideration of these results potentially offers a better understanding of the change in people's attitudes by means of looking at them through a dynamic perspective. The results obtained from our analysis are presented in table 4 below.

Table 4: Priorities of job-facets: perceived *change* of importance (CR, 1993)

Perceived change within last 5 years				
Job facets (aspects of a current job)	More important now (%)	Less important now (%)	Same (%)	Ranking according to % of change
Friendly people	21	10	69	9
Promotion prospects	35	9	56	3
Good pay	56	6	38	1
Relat. with supervisor	19	14	67	11
A secure job	49	7	44	2
Use initiative	23	11	66	7
Work you like doing	22	9	69	8
Convenient hours	15	13	72	14
Choice in work hours	19	14	68	12
Use abilities	27	9	64	5
Fringe benefits	20	14	66	10
Easy work load	8	18	75	15
Training provisions	26	11	63	6
Working conditions	33	7	60	4
Variety in work	16	11	73	13

N = 1480, Source ECRS 1993, own calculations, sample of the employed

When the dimension of change is considered, the increased importance of the extrinsic aspects of a job such as good pay, job security and promotion prospects clearly stand out. These were ranked in the top three positions as being the job aspects, the importance of which had increased most in the last five years. This is in accordance with the previously made observation regarding the influence of market forces on people's work attitudes in general and, in this case, on their preference towards their current job in particular. This result is not surprising given the nature and direction of the economic shift. Whilst under the socialist economy, wages were equalized, jobs were secure and the chance of promotion did not depend as much on performance rather than (the right kind of) political affiliation, in a labour market driven by capitalist competition, all of these have become of prime importance. Moreover, the considerable increase in the importance of facets such as the use of abilities, use of initiative and training provisions can be explained by adopting a similar logic. It is notable that the importance of working conditions seems to have

risen during the first stages of the transition. This could signify an increased awareness of this aspect of work, whereas in the socialist past employees' working conditions were a given and could hardly ever be changed or discussed. Under the new capitalist system, it may be assumed that more negotiation is taking place in this respect.

5.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has shown some rudimentary trends in regard to various aspects of work attitudes in the Czech Republic in the early stages of transition to a market economy. The main results suggest that paid work has gained more prominence in the lives of Czech people due to the shift from a state controlled economy to a market economy. As a consequence of the changed requirements in the workplace and the labour market competition, the general principles of work ethic seem to have been undergoing a transformation as well. Some findings suggest that this change can be considered as a re-establishment of the work ethic in the transition. However, other results indicate that the area of people's attitudes towards work denoting work ethic is marked with internal contradictions. Overall, the outcomes of the quantitative investigation regarding work ethic in particular generated more questions than answers, and therefore it is deemed appropriate to employ other methods of social enquiry to investigate this dimension in more depth. When it comes to gauging particular aspects of a job at a given time (job facet priorities), it seems that the total sum of reasons as to why a particular job is valued consists of three implicit aspects: the material rewards (an extrinsic aspect), the self-actualizing opportunities (an intrinsic aspect), and the aspect of other advantages related to the job. It stems from my quantitative analysis that all of these aspects were significant in the early stages of the Czech transition, whilst the potential of the job to bring material rewards was especially valued.

These interpretations of the outlined trends in work attitudes, whether they relate to work ethic or aspects of a current job, should be taken however, as preliminary evidence. The technical and interpretative limitations of the quantitative techniques were pointed out in several instances in the above text. In the case of the factor analysis, it was for example highlighted that only a limited quantity of the total variance of the explored phenomenon is accessed by means of this quantitative technique (the exact amount depending on the particular survey and manner of investigation). When it comes to the multifaceted measure of work ethic (as employed in the 'European Values Study'), the internal consistency of the scale was low and

therefore accuracy of this tool of measurement, as well as validity of the results, can be disputed. Due to a combination of these reasons, it is proposed that further exploration of work attitudes is required. This will be the focus in the forthcoming qualitative analysis. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, the quantitative analysis provides only an outline of work attitudes in the Czech transition and, in the opinion of this researcher, does not explain the complex phenomenon with a sufficient degree of understanding. Therefore, the analytical endeavours will now move to the qualitative method, which is expected to offer more in-depth explanations of work attitudes.

Chapter 6. Role of work

6.1 Introduction

As explained in the methodology (see Chapter 3), the purpose of the quantitative phase of this research is exploratory. It seeks to elicit the main patterns regarding the distribution of work attitudes in the Czech Republic and the outcomes of this investigation have been summarised in Chapter 4 where data is presented giving an overall picture of the conditions in the Czech Republic before and after the collapse of the socialist regime. For the explanatory second stage of my enquiry, qualitative techniques, in the form of semi-structured interviews, have been employed to capture rich narrative data on attitudes to work. This has been subjected to framework analysis and three main themes which emerged from this process are used to structure outcomes of the fieldwork in the following chapters. In order to elaborate on the particular processes behind the formation of attitudes and their meanings, as well as to draw out the nature of the context in which the attitudes are shaped the three chapter headings are employed: the role of work (Chapter 6), the motivation to work (Chapter 7) and finally, relationships in the transition (Chapter 8). After my presentation of the qualitative evidence, I discuss this in the context of the pertinent literature in Chapter 9.

The developments regarding the meaning and role of work during the post-socialist transition in the Czech Republic are explored in this chapter. Further, I touch on a number of issues that were raised by my interviewees but which are explored more fully in the subsequent empirical chapters. More specifically, I consider how transitional changes impacted on the role of work in people's lives and what meaning people attached to these changes. One argument that is of relevance to this chapter coming from the sociology of work debate is that the importance of work in people's lives has been gradually declining and other areas are taking its place instead (Bell, 1976; Beck, 2000; Gorz, 1999; Drucker, 1993, Rifkin, 1995). Contrary to this it can be asserted that work still plays a substantial part in people's lives (Parry, 2003; Stenning, 2004). Under socialism, work was heavily promoted, however, reality was far from this desired ideological model and given this contradiction, it is intriguing to find out what happened to work during the transition and whether its role in the lives of the Czech population decreased or strengthened.

6.2 Ideology versus reality

The governance of the Communist Party and the regime rested heavily on its symbolic features. The Communist leaders were mainly concerned with power, and for this reason the emphasis put on symbols was very strong as their socialist ideology was supposed to serve as a tool of control over the population. Work was a fundamental part of the general socialist ideology and at the beginning of the socialist era after WW2 the socialist work ethic was one of enthusiasm engaged by the regime for the purpose of building a new society. However, as my informants asserted, over time people came to understand that Communism was not really about socialist ideas. As a result, amongst the population, the initial zest weakened and disillusionment crept in. Thus a gap started developing between socialist ideology and everyday reality. By the end of the Communist era, the socialist work ethic existed only in stories and numerous popular jokes. In this section I further develop on this paradox and focus in particular on the wider implications of the socialist ideology in people's everyday lives.

The majority of the population pretended to comply with the socialist system. Apart from the exceptions of dissidents, it was very rare to express protests openly at the ideological level. The tools of non-ideological resistance were, on the other hand, very common and employment was one of the most usable areas in this respect. While the socialist ideology promoted work for the common good, the fact was that the general level of the 'common good' was disputable. In the eighties, there were already clear signs that the deal most people were getting out of the socialist situation was not very attractive. General living standards were low and the availability of consumer goods was very restricted compared to the western world. Basic subsistence and social security was provided by the state in exchange for loyalty and not challenging the political arrangements. However, people did not think that the exchange was very fair and, in fact, the majority were convinced they were on the short end of the arrangement. One of the restrictions that was perceived very negatively by the Czech population during the socialist period was related to their freedom of expression, which resulted in a great gap between what people thought and what they said, or possibly what was talked about at home and what was said openly in public. The following quotation brings some reminiscences from my respondents regarding the former system's restrictions which people had to face in everyday life and how they dealt with the disparities between ideology and their lived reality.

'What was worse, once you lived in such a system you could not do much else but to adapt...you could think whatever you wanted and then say and do what they wanted...that was one option. Another was complete ignorance, just to hide in your shell...and many people did exactly this and then they could find themselves in their hobbies...and the third option was to say no, we do not want this, to express disagreement openly... but only a minority of people went for that...but they were persecuted...dissidents and so on. Not everyone was such a 'hero', because you know, we had families, children...often they [the Communist leaders] would say you do this and this and if not, your children would not be able to get into schools, we will take care of that... Now looking back I am actually surprised and cannot believe how I could live in such a society, how could I take all this...but at that time we did not realize this so much because we did not know how things were in other countries, we did not have other experience to compare...'. [R27, p.9].

While the restrictions were certainly in place, they were not extremely severe. The situation varied in individual countries of the former Communist satellites. In the Czech Republic, despite the existence of significant boundaries, there were still many things people could do and many goods were available, even though often subject to shortages. However, the promises made to people by the state were never fulfilled, among other reasons due to the poor economic performance of the socialist system and this resulted in many tensions. Several of my informants claimed that in their view this was a clear incentive of the Communist leaders – they carefully calculated how much was going to be on each side of the deal. That is, how much social security, travel and career advancement opportunities or consumer goods they had to provide in order to maintain people's loyalty and prevent open disagreements. In fact, people were provided the certainty of receiving the minimum in order to keep them content. Taking into account people's basic needs i.e. material things, security and predictability, the deal was functional for a long time. However by the end of the eighties, a general dissatisfaction was gradually building up. My informants' comments suggest that even though the socialist system was trying to eliminate everything that was bearing traces of capitalism, including consumerism, this incentive did not succeed. Intentional or not, some strategies used by the regime were contradictory in this respect, as shown in the following.

'So in a way the Communists [the leading stratum in the socialist system] had a good plan. They gave the people what they needed...food and shelter and the basic things, and some social security, too...and that is the currency, which when you get it makes you lazy and you think to yourself, why take risks when I know that this is certain... I

don't have to have roast chicken, it is enough to have just a chicken breast, that is enough for me, I don't have to worry if I have a job or not...it is a certain buck-passing, laziness...and they were counting on this...they held us in the palms of their hands like that.' [R27 p.9].

'The Communists were in fact suppressing any spiritual needs. They in fact oriented people towards consumerism, despite the fact that it [the regime] was idealistic, all about higher needs, in fact they were telling people what do you really care for, if you want to have your roast with dumplings, you have to go with us.' [R 31, p.20].

'We used to go shopping to Eastern Germany...they had the best goods in the whole socialist block. So every year before Christmas there were trips organized to buy Christmas presents in East Germany. Mainly what we wanted...was exactly what was forbidden to bring back. So, since we were going by car...on the way back we drove into the forest...we took off the upholstery inside the car...it was possible to do this in the old types of Skoda...and we stuffed the empty space with the goods...and then back home in Prague we took it out'. [R39, p.16].

'People could not earn much. Maximum was three, four, exceptionally later five thousand [Czech crowns]. So...the maximum they could reach [when it comes to consumerist aims] was a car, that was it. The further stage was only if someone got a permission to travel abroad (devizovy prislib) which basically meant they had to bribe someone, so they could go to the West. That was the peak. And then someone who got a job abroad...that meant they could buy the car earlier. That was the fundamentals of it [the socialist system]. The politics was not that important, it was not about the leading role of the Communist Party etc., that was just secondary. The system only wanted that people would not notice it that much. So up in the high echelons, they [the Communist leaders] could do what they wanted and nobody was intervening. This philosophy got reflected in everything, including attitudes to work..' [R8, p.4-5].

6.3 Professional and political careers

Given the dominant role of ideology in the socialist system, it is not surprising that there were close links between the sphere of employment and politics. The political influences over the area of employment were very profound, and in my research this point was strongly emphasized by many informants.

'During the socialist times, no one could achieve anything [in professional terms] if they were not members of the Party.' [R20, p.9].

'Before, it was all managed by the Party in [firm XY], it was like the head of Department would automatically 'get the trust of the Party' as they used to say...it was all marked like that...'[R21, p.9].

'For someone who was not politically involved [with the Communist Party], their professional chances were extremely limited. It was necessary to be in the Party...and most people in management positions were in the Party. They had to...well, you know, they did not have to, and if they said I will not do it they had no chance of promotion, maybe they were not exactly discriminated in other ways but...well, if you don't want to work for this republic and for socialism, it is your choice, bad luck, you know. So in practice it was necessary to become a Party member'. [R32, p.5].

There were many strategies used by the Communist Party to control the population via employment and these were generally well known such as placing a variety of limits and restrictions on people's careers, and sometimes creating a glass ceiling for those who refused to join the party. However, as the interviewees noted, one could never know when or in which form this was going to affect them. On the other hand, as my respondents reported, the people who had close links with the political structures and were loyal to the Communist Party could do almost anything on their job, including showing obvious incompetence or even wrongdoing, and their careers were always safe. The following quotations give examples of this.

'There was dualism of careers [the professional and the political ones]. On the one hand, there were people who were focused on their jobs and profession and wanted to do it well. [...]. But some of them were unlucky and had some political problems from the past...and therefore there was always the risk that someone [the political structures] will be after them and they won't have security in their jobs...this [effect of the political sphere] was very strong'. [R9, p.4].

'The link was very strong...there was a certainty of professional rise for those who were members of the Party.[...]. For certain positions...for example in academia, if one wanted to become a senior lecturer and above...they had to become members of the Party. Nowadays, they reproach some of them about their past...but you know, at that time it did not really mean that someone agreed with the system and wanted to support them...it was just a formal thing...you had to do it in order to be able to do your work. And if someone decided not to do it...they had to realize the consequences.' [R18, former member of the CP. p. 15].

'It was extremely difficult [doing management and personnel work during the socialist times] because the criteria for professional development and expertise were closely interlinked with political careers. This was really horrible...I found it terribly challenging...to satisfy the requirements of that time [the political demands] and at the same time prevent abuse on political grounds...there was a lot of pressure. I had very thick files on some people [regarding their lack of competence and general misconduct] but there was no way to get rid of them...I was not able to...that was dreadful....all because they were linked with the political structures...'. [R9, p.2].

Many informants also pointed out the moral dilemma many people had to face in socialist times regarding their choice. They had to decide to make the political concession and become members of the Communist Party, even if they did not agree with its ideology, and thus secure for themselves the opportunity to rise in the company hierarchy. As some respondents reported, however, apparent party loyalty was not the only issue and often it was necessary for them if they wanted to continue their professional aims, for example in the case of scientists and academics.

'If someone wanted to become a director, they had to enter the Party...you know, it has two sides...people who were ambitious, they had to realize that that was the only time they had to live and in a while they will be gone and they only have one life...so they entered the Party so they could advance with their professional career...well, I do not know if they should be judged for that now...because if they did not do it they would have to resign on their professional aims'. [R20, p.13].

'If someone wanted to rise into management, and there was a time when this applied even for the positions in lower management, they had to make a sacrifice to become members of the Party. And now...people were perhaps divided in terms of their motives in this respect...someone did it because they wanted to realize their talents and do their professional job...and for someone this could open the door to somewhere where normally they would not belong at all because they did not have the capabilities. And there were people potentially better...but those would say to themselves that it was not worth it, they did not want to forfeit their moral identity...because often that would not end with membership in the Party...there were also the Militia [Communist Police]...'. [R22, p.4].

'I can comment on this from the perspective of my husband, he was in the same area as me and really wanted to pursue an academic career, but because he was not in the Party he was not allowed to and he really suffered from this. So all that time...about twenty years, until the revolution in 1989...he was teaching at the

language school two languages...but he could do much more. He was writing [academic texts] and putting it in his drawer...and when the regime turned...he got a position at the Faculty of Arts...but you know, he was starting his career at the age of forty...it was too late for him. Before [in socialist times], the Faculty of Arts was very politically laden...there was this big Stalinist [the name] and he always used to call him and asks...Doctor, I know you publish but what about your political opinions, is there any development? And when he replied 'no', they said OK, goodbye!' [R36, p.7].

'I had the application in the drawer...and I used to say to that guy who used to visit me regularly and ask about it...not yet, I'm not ready yet...this took a long time. If it was another time [a different phase of the regime] it would not have been possible to keep postponing it like this, there were times that were much more strict...'. [R22, p.4].

The control and influence of the Communist Party stretched far beyond the sphere of employment, and permeated the area of education to a significant extent as well. So even before they entered employment, the young people were meant to be ideologically and politically prepared, an example of which appears in the quote below.

'There was this subject at the University...Political education. [...]. At the finals I got a question about the political development in the 1960's, The moral of the crises development [the period of invasion by the Soviet military in to the Czech Republic). So there was this dilemma...to say what I wanted and not pass the exams and not complete the University...or to say how it was in our textbooks and pass. That is exactly what was going on in my head. [...]. But I told myself I was not ready to throw away the five years of hard work...so I was a chicken and I told them what they wanted...and it was over'. [R33, p.24].

6.4 Provisioning and social roles

Employment was a powerful tool of the state which effectively served to assume and maintain control over the population. By assigning the duty of work to everyone and allocating them a workplace it was ascertained that everyone was occupied. Keeping people busy and obeying a certain system of rules meant that there was not much room for them to question the legitimacy of the power to which they were subjected. As details of every person's workplace were recorded in their personal ID card, employers as well as the police had instant information regarding work status.

Several informants mentioned examples of either themselves or someone they knew who received a visit from the police when they did not immediately get a new job after they finished the previous one. It should be remembered that a break in employment was however, rather rare because there was general overemployment and thus no shortage of jobs. In the complete absence of any other official channels of generating income but paid employment, simply providing a means of gaining a livelihood appears from the recollections of the interviewees as the main function of work under socialism. Moreover, as a degree of coercion was always in place there was not much additional motivation, especially when the egalitarian dimension of wages policy dictated that there were no incentivising rewards for work. My informants provided numerous accounts regarding the socialist approach to work, specifically referring to the general level of demotivation and the lack of focus.

'Before...you were suffocated. You just had to be employed, shut up and keep going.'
[R 39, p. 1].

'I was working in the Development department...the greatest shock, and the beginning of my demotivation, was when I found out that the whole development idea was about redrawing the old designs on new paper...I have to admit, I wanted to test the system, so I told myself – now I stop working. I will just go to work and so I will find if they discover me and do anything about it....so in fact for half a year I did nothing...I just turned up, read the newspaper...and nothing happened to me.' [R 30, p.2].

These quotations highlight the distinction between going through the motions and actually working in terms of producing a concrete output. According to these and other reflections gathered in the interviews, the expression 'going to work' appears to be a good phrase to sum up the socialist workplace. However, to consider provisioning of basic needs as the prominent role of work under socialism tends to over simplify its role and perhaps is also inaccurate. From my interviews, many views were collected in support of the idea that one of the key functions of work was social.

Turning to the social role of work, evidence from the interviews puts forward an interesting phenomenon. That is, people typically used to attend to their personal business while at work. The extent of this happening would have obviously varied depending on the particular workplace and the character of the particular workers. It is necessary to reflect on whether respondents' memories of these practices could be just a result of distortion and exaggeration of reality created under the influence of rumours. However, the numerous concrete stories I heard during the course of my

interviewing suggest that this behaviour was wide spread and formed a phenomenon that cannot be attributed to a few inflated individual stories. These practises, some of which are presented below, appear humorous, shocking, unbelievable and ridiculous, but are also logical. They are logical because they are examples of the coping mechanisms that people invented in order to survive the unsatisfactory working realities and a mixture of reasons could have led employees to adopt such behaviour. Work was often perceived as boring, unfulfilling or frustrating, so people were looking for some sort of escape from the tediousness of it. Thus, occasionally, avoiding work became a form of protest against the individual's working situation or potentially even a way to express disagreement with the nature of the socialist system itself. Sometimes, since there was no pressure on workers to produce more in terms of productivity, perhaps they simply did it because the option was there. Several respondents recalled that, they did not have money and things to buy, but they had time. This wealth of time needed to be used in a fulfilling manner.

'It was all somehow...dispersed....everyone was doing what they wanted and you could do it indefinitely and the results were marginal...occasionally you would write a report of some sort...it was possible to survive easily and many people were doing just that, they did not have to try hard...'. [R 37, p.4, 14].

'It used to be...for example someone was studying for driving tests at work..., the other was spending time on his hobby...or people who liked growing house plants – they were discussing it and exchanging plants between offices...or people doing crosswords together. Nowadays you don't see any of this'. [R 40, p.10].

'The achievement standards were set so low... often there was nothing to do....I was working at XY company, it was an applied research centre... and we got four tasks to complete in half a year, and there was a deadline set. So I always did it straight away, finished all the tasks, wrote it up and locked it in the drawer. I knew that I need to only hand it in in three months and I am already done so I have time. Then I could use that time to walk in the city, do the shopping, and go to the cinema during working hours... I still had to go there [and pretend to work] but there was no point in telling your boss and asking for more work as you knew your salary would remain the same anyway...(And what else did you do when there was nothing to do?) Well, I studied German for example, we were talking, drinking coffee, someone would read a book... and visiting each other in turn in our offices...sometimes we had to do something, of course when the boss gave us a task...but we completed it very quickly...'. [R 39, p 15].

Besides these coping strategies, in the situation when goods of daily use were hard to get or not available at all, people invented alternative ways of obtaining things or providing for their personal needs. It can be argued that networks of mutual favours and obligations operate in every country, mainly in order to gain competitive advantage for certain individuals. However, in former socialist countries their scope was remarkable. In fact, these unofficial networks were compensating for missing official structures, particularly those that are common place in western societies.

'After work we were running to the shops...they were closing early and then there was not much there anyway...we had to 'hunt' for the goods...it was very stressful...so I had to cook according to what I could get in the shops... you could not plan in advance...'[R 34, p.7].

'The shop assistants were doing those 'exchange markets'. In one shop they got the shoes, in another...bananas or women's stockings. And then they were exchanging it. And everyone had a friend, an acquaintance....they would say 'I managed to get it', so immediately they had a topic for conversation...'[R 40, p.13].

6.5 The prestige of work

The issue of prestige linked to work may, at first sight, appear to be confusing as some informants claimed that work was a source of prestige under socialism, whereas others attributed it with the same quality under the new economic system. This contested symbolic function of work becomes clearer bearing in mind the meanings of prestige and mechanisms through which it is generated. Under socialism, as it was impossible to earn much above the minimum salary or obtain financial resources by alternative means, it was jobs, and to a greater extent, bureaucratic ones, rather than wealth that served as defining features of good social standing and related power. That is, in the Communist system political and social capital were most significant and economic capital existed only very marginally. Nowadays, in the post-socialist transition, in a society moving towards a strongly capitalist regime, the concept of social status is considered multidimensional with parallel ladders (Crompton, 2008) and professional rank and career are just two amongst many other possible sources of social status in life. Therefore, drawing on the narrative data that is presented in this chapter and in the following ones, it can be assumed that prestige connected to work was strong under socialism, and it may have become potentially stronger during the transition but nowadays has to be considered as relative to other indicators of social status (e.g. experiences of

overseas travel, ownership of high class consumer goods and living in luxury properties).

6.6 From work as a duty to work as an option

The main changes regarding the role of work as reported by the informants are mainly underpinned by the basic change of the economic system. Work was no longer a duty as it used to be.

'...We took it as we had to go to work, because it was a duty, so you just somehow clock in the hours... '[R 41, p.4].

Work has become an option, and for some may even be a privilege with this view being endorsed in several of my interviews. Moreover, it was reported that many people appreciate their jobs much more and they also perform them with higher levels of responsibility as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 7 and 8. Moreover, the link between the job and the level of earnings has strengthened, which provides direct incentives for people to work harder (see Chapter 7 Subsection 7.5.2). Another of the important changes often cited by informants was the emergent possibility of having opportunities for self-actualization through one's job. More detailed attention is given to this last aspect in the forthcoming sections of this chapter. The following example illustrates the shift towards this new avenue for self-actualisation.

'[Before] I really was unhappy at work...because it terribly frustrated me that I had to be there and I knew there was nothing to do at that moment. Or when I was asked to do things that I knew were of no use and the boss only assigned them to me so I had something to do. That always made me furious. Now I can do what I want...well, not completely, but I can arrange work in my preferred way...'. [R 39, private entrepreneur].

6.7 Intensification and marketization of work

It was already discussed in other parts of this chapter that the attitude to work in socialism was generally relaxed. For a more detailed account of this subject see Chapter 7: work motivation. This situation changed dramatically with the onset of the market and related patterns of capitalist production. Many informants of this research regarded marketization and intensification of work as the most profound change of the whole transition process.

Respondents pointed out that they enjoyed many good aspects of work intensification such as productivity, a focus on the quality of the outcome, increased involvement

and responsibility. Other comments by informants who worked in companies with foreign ownership noted that employees had a chance to learn a foreign language and they learnt about the organization of work and keeping a good work discipline, which involved complying with systematic work procedures. This was beneficial for the future work careers of the employees.

'Those who could take the demands and managed to cope acquired a plus point, it turned out advantageous for them in the future. You can slander the company [XY] and some do...but the fact is that those who worked here for five years or so did not have problems to find other jobs afterwards. [...]. All those young people who worked there...found new jobs later immediately in good companies...that experience opened the door for them'. [R13, p.8].

On the other hand, several informants offered examples of companies (mostly those with foreign owners) where the work intensification went to unreasonable lengths, as demonstrated by the following opinion. Among the most commonly reported negative effects of work intensification were the high stress levels, inability to cope with the workload/high pace of work/long shifts, non-existent time flexibility, and unreasonable demands on working time and/or productivity.

'Before [in socialist times] people worked at a much more reasonable pace. I am able to compare and this is definitely the case. Now everything is too hectic. [...] I think sometimes it is almost on the edge of abuse...by this I do not mean our company but what I see and hear around because I am obviously interested in this issue, I see that in many cases this is extreme, employees are asked to die for the company, to give absolutely everything, they are treated like slaves, and this is not right. People have their own value as well, and they have their own rights. So I see this approach by some employers as totally extreme, disproportionate. If the employer wants eight hours, or some moderate overtime, that is OK. But I see sometimes it is so hectic, that I really wonder how, given the prolonged threshold for the pension age, the young people will be able to maintain their physical and mental health throughout their economically active lives.' [R 4, p.4].

'It really changed a lot in the last couple of years. [...] We used to arrive at exactly the start of the working day before [in socialist times], even a bit later and it was not a problem. These days I try to leave home half an hour earlier to make sure I will still be on time if I miss the tram or something happens on the way.[...]. Everything today is streamlined towards productivity, which is set on a high level and, you know...if you did not keep up or you are not efficient enough, they will let you go [dismiss]. So

you subordinate everything to your job. Most of all, I hate the related stress...and I hate the stress management training courses we have to attend...because it is just about how to cope with the mechanism but it does not address the source of it all...'. [R 6, p.18].

The testimonies of some respondents provide evidence that in some more extreme cases, the marketization affected not only the working lives of the people but in effect it took over and life became all about work. An example of this is shown in the quote below.

'If you ask how people were taking it [the intensification of work]...well, it was not so great. When there was a lot of work...they [the company] introduced an extra shift...and there were no free weekends. There was a lot of work. The middle aged people took it a bit better...they were grateful to have a job so they adjusted, they were very willing. But there was a threshold of about forty [years of age] and they did not take older employees...because those were twelve hours shifts...and there are some biological limits of how much the body can take. But I think it was worse for the young ones. [...] Yes, they had the money, it was difficult at that time to earn similar money elsewhere...and there were career prospects...but they did not have any free time. They did not have time to spend the money. They disliked that their life was only about work and sleep, no room for anything else'. [R13, p.8].

Some testimonies from women respondents produced evidence of gender and age discrimination as related to work intensification and other specific demands that employers applied, such as esthetical criteria. The following quote shows the negative effects of the new practices on women.

'Around the year 2000, the situation got critical. Many people of [organization XY, public sector] were affected by this but mainly women, and in particular older women. Many of them were dismissed because it was claimed they could not keep up with their workload, they could not learn the new computer systems quickly enough. This was very tough and unfair to them, you know, some of them worked hard here for thirty five years. They skimped their families and children; they did not take sick leave when they had the flu until they developed serious health problems...and this was the way they repaid them...very heartless'. [R 6, p.6].

6.8 Work as a privilege: from security of work to competition

The last quotation in the previous section, together with other opinions shared by the respondents, suggest that in most cases, people had no choice but to comply with the new conventions of work that came about in the transition. Many respondents commented that it was generally understood by everyone that those who could not cope or who were not capable, would be dismissed. Competition became the factor which shaped attitudes of people in this respect. They learnt quickly that if they were not able to keep up, there were always others waiting in line who would be happy to take their place. The basic difference between the two systems is well defined by the following informant.

'In socialism everyone was employed; they did not earn much but they had security; they knew that if they did not get into serious trouble, if they do not go to prison, they could be sitting on their chair in the same office until their retirement if they wanted to. Today this does not exist. For the young generation nowadays, the feeling of existential threat is much higher.' [R 13, p.1].

'Then [in socialism] I knew that when I bought the flat (I have a cooperative flat) that I would have the same mortgage repayments forever, that we will go to work, the children will go to school and then study at the University later...I knew my life will happen in a certain [predictable] order and if nothing bad happens...I mean if my husband does not start drinking for example and there will not be too many unexpected expenses...that I will have a certain decent life standard....and we will only worry about the usual everyday things..like if the children bring up the grandchildren well...but the young people of your age...I think to myself they will have to work extra hard to achieve this same standard that we had [which was guaranteed for us]. [...] This fear I think is a terrible companion in life. [R 13, p. 18].

As with the issue of work intensification, respondents pointed out both good and bad aspects of the workplace competition. Respondents listed the good features of it as including recognition of knowledge and skills and fairness in distribution of rewards. It was recognized that complying with the new rules put pressure on people, however, especially in the case of the young generation this was often perceived as advantageous, in terms of the realization of their talents and future career/life opportunities. According to some informants, the positive side of the competition is generally well accepted by the Czech society. The following quotation documents this view.

'Today people are exposed to a much higher degree of competition and it is valued as something positive, as something good. This is how people perceive it...that this is how things should be that if I know more than the other, if I'm better, I would not be knocked down and seen as a nerd as was the case before [in socialist times]...then it had negative connotations if someone was good and stood out. Before people tried to hide it... Today the times change so much in this respect and knowledge and skills have gained unambiguously positive light...and the same goes for the competition'. [R2, p. 6].

Another informant depicted the positive aspects of competition by means of an anecdote he shared.

'There was this article in the western magazine, in the sixties, at that time there was full employment in most of Europe...and the article was describing what happens when everyone has a job guaranteed...how the people suddenly change. There was a picture there showing some workmen sitting on scaffolding and they were just sitting...they simply got bored of their work, they did not fancy it any more...so they were just sitting and no one can order them otherwise. But they still kept their requirement regarding various advantages et cetera. So this shows what the absence of a certain level of danger might lead to. Therefore now [in transition], on the other hand, the situation stimulates people towards a certain level of performance. [...]. There is an effort now to focus on work and show that I am the competent one'. [R9, p.5].

A distinction should be also made in this respect between the private sector, where the competition is especially strong, and public sector organizations where, while the intensity of work was also reported as being high, the rules of competition did not appear to be as severe and slightly different principles are followed. To some extent, it can be expected that these somewhat more relaxed competitive dimensions might be a heritage of the previous socialist regime in governmental departments. Therefore, in the public sector some employees might try to take advantage of this situation and intentionally seek jobs in the public sector so they do not have to put up with the extremely high intensity of work they face in the business world. The particular setting of the public sector in this respect is well depicted by the quote below.

'I have to say I don't think it has changed that much [when comparing the intensity and patterns of work in socialist times and during the transition in the public sector institution]. Also today, as before, you can find people who only work for the salary

and only put in the minimum effort...in the past it was the same, you had people who would finish and go home after 4 or 5 pm...and those who would take documents home with them and would spend an evening working. But what I think has happened here...the attachment of the 'good ones' [toward the organization XY] got stronger because they appreciated the security [of the job] as compared to the private sector'. [R 3, p.2].

Some informants also commented on particular practices of the employers who took advantage of labour law regulations to exert a lot of freedom regarding hiring and firing their employees. As a consequence, some employees are always watching out and being careful. This is documented in the quote below. Sometimes, as some informants also noted, these practices led to the employees accepting conditions and circumstances of work that they were not happy with, but they decided to keep quiet because they were afraid that if they spoke up, their employer could find a way to dismiss them.

'Nowadays people got to understand that the security of work does not exist anymore. [...]. Even if the employment law determines exactly the reasons and circumstances for which the employee could be dismissed...the possibilities in this respect have opened up and there are more instruments the employers could use to achieve what they want...for example for the breach of work discipline or unsatisfactory results...this was not possible before but today these are reasons why employees could be dismissed. [...].it keeps everyone on their toes'. [R7, p.3].

6.9 Work centrality before and after

Under socialism, work was promoted heavily in the system's ideology, but, in fact, for many people its position in life, in relative terms, was not very high. This is not surprising given the impossibility for most people to gain financial or self-actualizing rewards from it. As one respondent stated: *'You left the workplace at 1 p.m. and went to work in your garden so at least you would have potatoes'*. [R 30, p.7]. On the other hand, nowadays work, in terms of official employment, occupies more space in people's lives. Further to this, there is greater financial motivation and money represents freedom and consumerist opportunities. Both these aspects were missing in the socialist system and were introduced as accompanying features of marketization. In socialist times, work was guaranteed to everyone. In the prevailing conditions of labour market competition, work has become more crucial for securing one's existence.

'Before, everyone took it as everyone had to be employed somewhere, so they had to go to work. A lot of people took work as...well, I don't want to say as necessary evil, but as a stereotype...something unavoidable. [...]. And some people during the working hours managed an unbelievable amount of things...personal, not related to their job at all'. [R12, p.16].

'Before, everyone was placed somewhere. Everything was pre-planned, when you finish University they would give you a placement. You finished as a medical doctor and they need one in the north of the country so you will go there. That was in the beginning...there were times you could not choose much where you got your job. After the revolution there was a big break and totally different practices started...do what you can, assert yourself, show what you know, find yourself a job. So the employment got into a completely different level in people's lives'. [R32, p.20].

Many respondents commented on the fact that people nowadays give much more energy and effort, and more of their life to work. While in the past work used to be for some a place to relax, during the transition it became a place to prove themselves as everyone was aware of the consequences if they did not manage to carry out their job well.

'I do my job as well as I can...and I take it very seriously. [..]. Even my boss was telling me that I have to take it a bit easy [after having had health problems].[...]. But I know many people who do it like this; I think I am not alone. [...]. These days it is a trend, you have to be flexible, know as much as possible. [...]. Before [in socialist times] people were just going to work, not very interested. Now it has turned...when you ask someone where you work...they are looking for a true employment and application of their skills in the labour market...'. [R7, p.9].

'Before 1989, we used to work eight hours. But in these conditions it is not the case anymore, I have to say. [...]. And the private life, I think, especially in the course of the 1990s, was suppressed at the expense of work matters, because it was simply impossible to do it otherwise. Who did not do it like this, could not hold on... because after a while they would make a mistake, not finish things properly..[...]. So in comparison with the previous times, people have to give much more to work than before' [R1, p.3].

Some respondents even expressed concerns that in their view people devote too much time and effort to work these days at the expense of other things. Therefore,

as the quotes below show, this new trend needs to be balanced with people developing compensatory activities, in order to give work an appropriate role in life.

'I think nowadays the young generation, if they want to do their work honestly, it will suck them in. I think that the main problem today is not having the 'financial feeling' anymore...but the main problem will become to learn to relax properly. [...]. We should work to live and not live to work [as is becoming the case often nowadays]'. [R24, p. 3, 7].

'Nowadays you give 80 percent of your energy to your job and about 20 percent to your free time activities. Before [in socialist times] it was the opposite...you would give some 20 percent at work, you would sit and nod and pass the day somehow...but you knew that at 2 p.m. your 'free time activity' was starting, which was work in the garden, mending the cottage or your car etc'. [R27, p.5].

One informant summed up the shift in the meaning and role of work between the socialist and the capitalist systems in somewhat philosophical terms; however the metaphor is very telling.

'There has been a great shift in perception of the categorising of work I think. Before, for many generations we were told that work is the first and the last need of every human, and that we could realize our talents and if we worked very hard we would be well off ...and none of this really happened. Now work is only a tool, the means to an end, but its significance in people's lives has increased dramatically'. [R19, p.19].

6.10 Work as self-actualization

In general, my informants' testimonies support the assumption that most people under socialism were annoyed with the ideology and did not take it seriously. Therefore, they developed a variety of ways of how to cope with the situation. Good illustrations of this can be found in some of the popular jokes featuring work attitudes: *'I only work to match the level of my salary'* and *'We pretended to work and they pretended to pay us'*. Since there was state ownership and thus no material individual involvement at risk, people often had a strong feeling that *'Sure we are not going to work for Them ...the State, the System.'* [R3, p.2].

One of the common ways how to deal with demands and contradictions of the everyday life in real socialism was to 'remain in the average zone'. My informants were most often referring to this coping strategy as 'whatever you do, don't stick out of the line'. Other respondents referred to the same phenomenon as *'fear of*

individualism' [R1, p.2]. This point is discussed further in Chapter 7 Subsection 7.5.1). The first of the following examples provides illustrations of such thinking. It also demonstrates the underlying justification for it and negative consequences of the autocratic, totalitarian political system. Moreover, it clearly refers to the socialist system's sense of superiority to capitalism, and its attempts to eliminate any capitalistic features. The other quotation takes a look from the other side as it illustrates the sanctions for people who happened to step outside the defined boundaries.

'Why I disapproved of the system? Because it was terrible....there was this one state ideology, which was supposed to be the only right one and anything else was wrong. When someone was trying to achieve something, immediately they were labelled the bad guys...the exploiters, you know, all the small entrepreneurs...they called them enemies of the state, the ideology was completely misleading. But unfortunately many people complied with it just for the sake of getting some shady advantages...' [R39, p22].

'I was working in the development section. I was a different character from the others – too active. I even got fired for it once – then they took the dismissal back. They had some of the first computers there...and the plan was to put one in the technical department, one in management of production and one in construction. But I stood up against this conception of the general management, I said that everyone should have their own computer, that it is nonsense to have just one for fifty people sharing. But this was against the system, so I got dismissed. Then they took it back. They were afraid of problems. Later I was also denied access to the workshop ...because I wanted to introduce some innovative measures there, too. Politically...they always ground me down, there was nothing to do about it.' [R40, p.10].

It was noted above that one of the possible escapist strategies the Czechs employed to cope with frustrations of life in the real socialist system was to focus on their hobbies. This was partly by choice as one of the obvious outlets for one's excess energy and need to create something meaningful, partly also a necessity since many goods or services were difficult to obtain or were poor quality. How far the much praised Czech national features such as creativity, ability to improvise and to do-it-yourself are based in distant cultural history or whether they are actually a product of the socialist reality is discussed more fully in Chapter 7. Further explanation of this phenomenon could be sought by drawing on the theory of agency which considers the extent to which individual actors are free to make decisions regarding their

behaviour or how much this is influenced by their external social environment. My informants endorsed both of these possible explanations, however, there was prevalence of the belief that the forty years of real socialist experience had left strong traces on people's life strategies and attitudes, contributing to the formation of the 'national character'.

'...What is so specific Czech...the 'golden hands', do-it-yourself and so on. This was in fact a consequence of socialism...everyone had to do everything by themselves, you know. People knew that at 2 p.m. they will be finished at work, at 2.30 p.m. they will get home and therefore there was room for gardens, cottages etc....that is where everyone found self-realisation and people did what they could not do at work. So all this...various hobbies, breeding animals...all this was a consequence' [of the socialist condition at the sphere of work]. [R27, p. 5]

'...People wanted to escape, somewhere outside the system, and the very handy option was one's own cottage. And there they could do all the work, building, digging...us Czechs are very good with our hands...so we were either working at the cottage or lying underneath the car. Because cars were rusty and spare parts were in short supply, we were doing repairs all the time'. [R8, p.4]

The 'cottage industry' referred to in the last quotation was indeed a very particular Czech phenomenon. From my respondents' comments, the cottages were very popular not only for simply practical reasons but also because they were associated with freedom from control and political surveillance. In many cases this could be the truth as outside the city, many people had a better chance to go below the radar, i.e. avoid informants and other controllers connected with the leading political elites.

Self-actualization as a mental and social concept did not have any place in Communism since logically it would go against one of the main principles of the socialist regime – to work for others, mainly for society as a whole, or for the collective. That is, suppression of the individual and promotion of the collective, were the main distinctive features of the ideology. Willing sacrifice (Kornai, 1992) was expected to such an extent that even personal and family time were to be subordinated, if needed, and dedicated to work or some kind of political activity that contributed towards the good of society. Work in itself, had a strong moral imperative as a duty towards building socialism (see Chapter 7 where work ethic is discussed in detail).

Collectivist tendencies, however, in totalitarian systems were not conceived as teamwork but rather as an opposition (vymezení se) against individualism. Individual and individual actions were potentially dangerous for the governing elites as they could exert no guaranteed control over people's behaviour. Similar function was served by unification and stereotypization of life (Kabat, 2011). Thus, Communist society was often referred to as 'grey', not only by observers from the outside, often influenced by western anti-socialist propaganda, but later also by its own inhabitants. The following example offers comparison between times before and after the transition with particular focus on the sphere of work:

'Egalitarianism created something indeterminate...vagueness...I would say...in socialism people were all the same, they did not stick out of line. Whereas now, in capitalism, it is all very individualistic...and therefore the possibilities for development of individual employees in the process of work are much greater. And the effort to excel, came to the fore...if we can call it this way...is very different now. I met many colleagues in socialism who had abilities and talents to do something different, better, even to get to the top of the company ladder...they did not want to.' [R1, p2]

This quotation illustrates the lowered motivation and the impaired sense of responsibility that were among the main impacts of the Communist order. It can also be seen as offering deeper insight into psychological mechanisms whereby the system asserted its powers in disguised, manipulative ways. By suppressing ambition, creativity and a sense of responsibility, it created passive and lazy employees who were in the end satisfied with mediocre rewards for low efforts.

Creativity was also not supported (Kabat, 2011: 423) – it was dangerous to the governing elite for the same reasons as individuals themselves, that is, it is difficult to have full control over it. Thus activities in all spheres of life were subject to strict control and ideological streamlining. Kabat (ibid) draws the conclusion that, as a result of this influence, when people are faced with some potentially empty free time, they make a choice to suppress it and throw themselves into more activities, often working at home, in the garden or at one's cottage. Numerous recollections of my informants are in line with this hypothesis.

'Life was at that time (in Communism) running this way: eight hours work for the society, and the rest work at home, for your own – which was your garden, various hobbies, cottages, various repairs of mainly cars or flats...and after that was the family, or sometimes these activities were carried out together with the family. [.....]. I worked on shifts...I really managed to do so much at home over the week...I was

planning well, I knew exactly what I was going to do when I get home. I also knew some people who did things for home during their working hours. It was also possible and in fact the trick was to do it so no-one would notice'. [R1, p.3]

Descriptions of the cottage industry often conjure up pictures of domestic and neighbourhood happiness set in the middle of refreshing natural landscapes. The accounts offered here give a slightly different flavour to the whole phenomenon. Many people may not have felt truly fulfilled in life, but at least there was a notion of doing something useful, an aspect which is particularly emphasized in some of my quotations. After all, in the environment of chronic shortages of consumer goods of all kinds, producing things at home or providing amateur services did have an immediate use. Perhaps this particular creativity was not very spontaneous but rather enforced as people had to supply for themselves what the state was not able to give them. Last but not least, it remains as a fact that active, busy, preoccupied people do not usually have room to think too much, especially not about political challenges to the extant regime. The collapse of Communism not only introduced political freedoms but also freedom in creative expression via work, in formal occupation, art; all that can be gathered under the heading of employment. My informants often talked about the great relief and enthusiasm they felt when the transition started for they could finally pursue their dreams, follow careers, set up enterprises, as well as for some, turn their long standing hobbies into professions.

'I don't want to say that people did not work before [in Communism] at all...but it is my opinion that work was more a source of livelihood then, it was a duty, people had to go to work, do their job from...to.... Nowadays it is more about the competition, many people are happy that they have a job to go to, and the feeling of self-actualization is important, that I will do something somewhere, make a valid contribution..'. [R10. p. 6]

This is an optimistic view expressed regarding the competition and new job opportunities brought about by the transition. It is important to note that the informant was an educated woman working in a reputable private HR company in the capital of the Czech Republic. Her statements would perhaps resonate with the opinions of many competent educated people living in the big cities with good infrastructure. It became clear from my interviews that people who are ready to embrace competition and who realise self-actualization in the context of this are mainly educated, competent, young, and generally with good career prospects, and this is explored further when I consider the impact of marketization in Chapter 7. Apart from the age

characteristic, which was compensated for in other ways, most of my respondents shared these features, i.e. they were well educated, lived in urban areas and had a go-ahead outlook, so it was hard to collect opinions and evaluations from people who did not share these characteristics. However, there was some evidence from my interviews indicating that the chance of self-actualization through formal employment was not available to everyone, or at least not to the same degree. That is, it was stratified in the post-socialist economy. Therefore, the change which endowed some with new opportunities and chances to fulfil their lives brought problems, uncertainty, fear and frustrations to others. The following experience which one respondent shared is a telling example.

'I think it is very important to do a job which you enjoy, which fulfils you. However, if this is what I am saying now, what I overheard by a friend from [town XY in the country]...they have to take what is available. That is a completely different perspective. Now I am talking about Prague and my employer, it is however a completely different case in that village where people earn about seven thousand as I learnt this weekend. We were in this place [agricultural, wine-producing region] and I talked with the wine producer, he has lived there all his life...because I am interested in these things, and I asked him what do people do in that region for a living as obviously not all have vineyards and sell wine. And he told me, the situation is desperate. Part of the population travels to Austria for work, because it is close to the border. And the others work in the local agricultural cooperative for seven thousand Czech crowns, [well below the average Czech salary]. So what I am telling you here about self-actualization, they would laugh, a lot. Because they are happy they find any work at all. [...]. And they tell me so what – I have a University degree, I know languages and what is the use of it? How can I get started here [in town XY] with a career?' [R7, p.10]

Self-actualization in work during the transition is linked with the emergence of capitalist individualism and in this context it is understood as having the ability to assert oneself and be successful. The shift from an empty form of work carried out merely as a duty and towards it becoming a tool for self-actualization and financial prosperity was reported by some respondents as a principal change brought about by transition. They claimed that nowadays, rewards, be they pecuniary or psychological in nature, are transparent, clearly defined and based on merit.

'In the previous system, it was completely different [...] the ceilings were there... financial, political – they could be of a various nature but they had in common it was

impossible to get through them. Nowadays nobody is asking you about your political affiliation, your interests...you do your job, on a certain position, related with such and such conditions and perspectives...and that is it, take it or leave it. Usually already at the initial interview all of this is set up, it is all based on a contract. Whereas there [in the Communist system] you did not know what you were getting into [...]. And so that is why young people nowadays pay a lot of attention to this, they want to learn from older colleagues, get experience, travel, see the world, learn the languages, obtain good computer skills...the level of their competency is in many ways incomparable with the situation before...'. [R12, p 13-14]

6.11 Chapter summary

Most informants pointed out the dramatic change in the role of work as a result of the introduction of the market. While in the past employment was not perceived as a significant aspect of life but, according to the testimonies of some informants, as a duty or necessary evil, in the transition it has become appreciated as a source of livelihood, prestige, and status. Also the function of work as a source of personal identity has strengthened through the opening up of new opportunities for self-actualization through it. Moreover, with the increased significance of employment, work has also become more central in people's lives. Many informants repeatedly commented that, in their opinion, people nowadays devote too much time and energy to work at the expense of other aspects of life, e.g. their children and spouses, as well as their hobbies.

In several topic areas explored in this chapter, contradictions appeared as the opinions of respondents were divided, for example, regarding the legacy of the political influencing careers and with respect to the meaning and function of market-driven competition in contemporary society. These contradictions can be interpreted in a variety of ways. On the one hand, people obviously may have different interpretations of the same reality, given their different life circumstances and experiences. The different interpretations also underline the inherent contradictions within the regime. The socialist system was rather complex, that is, things were not all bad, and obviously, they were not all good. One of my informants suggested a very good simile, stating that it was '*like a zebra – black with white stripes. Or maybe not a zebra...there was a lot of the black stuff...but you could find the occasional white bits*' [R9, p.10]. In the light of the data explored here, in the following chapter, I move on to consider the issues raised concerning motivation to work.

Chapter 7. Motivation to work and work ethic

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the issue of the role of work was addressed by drawing on narrative accounts garnered from my interviewees. In this chapter I present the information that respondents provided regarding the matters of motivation to work and the work ethic. As noted in the literature review (Chapter 2), conceptualisations of the work ethic in social sciences vary but a few can be considered as forming its core concern, i.e. the motivations of people to engage in work. With regard to the stance taken by Goldthorpe et al., (1968), work orientations should be perceived as independent from the work situation and, more recently, it has been proposed that they are 'related to expectations and attitudes people form outside work' (Grint, 2000). It is these dimensions which receive attention in this chapter, given that one purpose of the fieldwork was to collect information regarding work attitudes embedded in their context of the transition between two socioeconomic systems.

It is generally assumed that the work ethic under socialism was not strong, mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, work was frequently lacking in purpose because for most of the products there was no consumer demand and therefore, this considerably reduced people's motivation to work. Secondly, there was over employment; therefore people did not feel any pressure to perform at work. It was almost impossible to lose one's job and on the rare occasion of this happening it was very easy to find a similar position elsewhere. Under these circumstances it is understandable that there was not much point in working hard and people used to take it easy at work in most instances. The focus here, is understanding how work undertaken in real socialism was perceived by the people who were actually employed in socialist workplaces, and what patterns emerge regarding this. Moreover, from the point of view of the transition, the question remains as to whether hard work started paying off in the new marketized economy and if so, whether working hard put people in a position of advantage in the transition period. By addressing these and other similar issues, the aim in this chapter is to shed light on the shifts pertaining to peoples' understandings of various aspects of motivation to work, with particular focus on the work ethic.

7.2 The work ethic

I am concerned with eliciting perceptions of the work ethic amongst my respondents in order to respond to the aims of this research endeavour. In detail, it relates to: the understandings they have of the term work ethic, their reflections on how it

demonstrates itself in everyday working life, and what changes these attitudes have undergone during the process of transition from the state controlled to a market economy. First of all, the intention is to identify how the work ethic is understood. From applying the framework analysis to the responses gathered from the informants, it was possible to identify five main areas that could be understood as having direct association with the work ethic. Some of these categories overlap when taken in different contexts, but I consider their meanings distinctive enough to think of them as forming separate ones.

The first category closest to respondents' understanding of work ethic takes it as meaning hard work, referring to matters such as efficiency, good use of working hours, personal responsibility and deployment of one's skills and energy. In addition several respondents also mentioned good communication, with colleagues as well as superiors/subordinates, as closely linked with efficiency. This rightly belongs to this category, as understandably good communication enhances efficiency of work in all of its aspects. Since efficiency of work and production used to be one of the main weaknesses of the socialist production, it is apparent why this feature was associated most often by respondents with work ethic. Several respondents in management positions also emphasized that work ethic at a particular workplace is very much down to the personal example of the manager who has the power to create a working environment by demonstrating particular principles of conduct that the employees will then follow. [R1, p 10]. Apart from hard work, the meaning of this category can perhaps be best captured as 'quality work', which means doing the work as best as one can, and is depicted in the following example:

'Simply, if I work for someone, I will do the job well. And I take money for it, so I feel it is the right of the employer to expect me do the job of best quality. Because if I wanted to goof off, mess around, skimp on it...well, first of all it would be visible very soon...and if not, it is only because someone is covering you.' [R7, p. 28]

The second meaning identified in association with work ethic is the notion of honesty. As one of the respondents noted, this mainly means that one 'does not cheat' [R 2, p. 11], while the imperative can take on different forms in a variety of contexts and be put into practice towards different subjects, such as not cheating on colleagues, superiors, employers, and clients. On a higher level of abstraction, such a take on the work ethic in my view approaches closely the understanding of morality in a broader philosophical sense. This attitude was labelled by some others as having a clean consciousness and humility. In the context of work in the post-socialist transition, this

in particular means that people should be grateful for having good jobs and should not take anything for granted. The following quotation gives examples of particular meanings that can be subsumed under the term work ethic within this perspective:

'What I mean is...humility. I take it as...nothing comes to you by itself. You have to earn everything. This is my philosophy. And I want to have a clear conscience. That means, in the same way as I do not skimp on relationships in my own family...simply if I care for something, I feel some value in it...in the same way I treat my job, as I do approach the work that I am paid for... I take it more as a personal moral, a moral issue... First, I like that work, then I am grateful that I have it, and I am even paid for it... ' . [R7, p.27]

Another meaning of work ethic put forward by my informants was the one of ethics of a profession, professionalism. This was expressed as responsibility towards one's own profession, obligation to follow the prescribed codes of conduct, as well as the responsibility towards clients. In more general terms, this was also referred to as an overarching issue for *'law and norms that stem from it, which are supposed to stabilize things, that are beneficial for all parties, that are supposed to preserve the values, continuity, health, security...'* [R10, p. 15].

As related to the above point, a particular kind of personal righteousness was recalled by respondents, namely the commitment to refuse bribes of all sorts with the phenomenon of corruption being mentioned relatively often in relation to the work ethic. There is a particular problem linked with corruption in the Czech Republic, which is also found in other post-socialist countries, but not in developed western democracies. This problem does not have to do with the acts of corruption and related wrongdoings themselves, but rather questions of transparency and accountability. It can be suggested that the whole debate goes back to the first years of transition when many unlawful and ethically questionable wheeling and dealings took place in all sectors of society, whether it concerned public funds, industry or finance. However no one was made accountable or responsible for the apparent mistakes that later became much more blatant. One respondent aptly recalled a comment of his German colleague: *'You know, people steal in our country as well...but in yours it is nobody's fault'* [R24, p.2]. The ample negative examples from the sphere of politics or public finance often served as ready justification for similar acts perpetrated on a smaller scale.

Another related problem is that of distinguishing between 'good' and 'bad' corruption. Much as this may sound like a joke, there are numerous examples from everyday life

showing that certain types of corruption are understood as tolerable or normal practice. One of the respondents described it in the following way:

'So, good corruption is when something will speed up the coming of something that I would be entitled to anyway. However, it is not legally perceptible...there is such a threshold there. And bad corruption is when someone wants money for something that I am not entitled to. When someone is blackmailing for example...or goes beyond the threshold. So now the question is what has been short-changed in this country...' [R10, p. 15].

In relation to corruption, it was emphasized by respondents that this phenomenon is somehow embedded in the cultural and historical context of the Czech Republic. It has been suggested that corruption is typical for large bureaucracies that have traditionally been in place in the Czech Republic since the times of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This setting has traditionally been recognized as conducive for corruption and similar types of behaviour by Max Weber (cit). Based on this perspective, the work ethic as a concept can be seen as being highly correlative with geographical conditions, as well as cultural and historical context.

This relativity of the work ethic is further emphasized by linking it with the organizational ethic. This is the fourth distinctive category in which the work ethic demonstrates itself, according to some respondents of this research. It is understood as a sense of belonging to the company, and therefore is mainly comprised of organizational commitment and loyalty. However, as recognized by the informants, in this sense it could also include mutual respect and help within the company or organization, between colleagues, superiors and subordinates.

Since the question of organizational commitment in the Czech Republic will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter addressing relationships in transition, it should suffice at this point to mention one specific phenomenon, which, in my view, further validates the idea of the above mentioned relativity of the work ethic. By this, I refer to the issues of anti-commitment and anti-loyalty for it was suggested by several respondents that, as a recent practice in some companies, *'loyalty to a company was intentionally discarded with a purpose of increasing of mobility'* [R10, p.14]. This was identified as a recent trend, dictated by rapid developments and the requirements in certain sectors, for example, the automobile industry which operated on a worldwide footing. As opposed to previous times when loyalty was valued, nowadays a lack of concern about it provides a competitive advantage in terms of advancing one's career. Labour market strategies regarding employees in these

sectors would thus ideally follow this logic and may signal the entry of globalizing market powers into the Czech environment. In accordance with the argument of Sennett (1998), the age has arrived when loyalty as a value has been replaced by flexibility and drifting. Drawing on the overall picture portrayed by the informants, it certainly does not seem to be the case that the effects of globalization are completely taking over. However, there is evidence coming from the narratives that they are shaping considerably some segments of the Czech labour market.

In the social sciences, one of the established ways of investigating the work ethic is by means of applying the so-called lottery question. The theoretical background of this concept is described in detail in Chapters 2 and 3. Besides this being one of the leading concepts in the secondary quantitative analysis of the Czech data on attitudes to work (see Chapter 5), this topic was also addressed in the interviews to gain further understanding of the underlying dynamics beyond the statistical picture. One of the main puzzles coming out of the statistical evaluation of answers to the lottery question was a relatively high non-response rate amongst Czech respondents (12 percent of indefinite i.e. don't know or answer refused cases – see Chapter 3 Subsection 3.3.5 and Chapter 5) as compared to much lower rates found in other countries. This result instigated my further inquiry into responses regarding the lottery question in the interviews.

The first possible explanation concerns the material and ideological conditions of the Czech society. Several respondents thought that due to the situation regarding work and means of gaining a livelihood under socialism, during the early stages of transition it might have been difficult for Czech people to empathise with the situation, i.e. when you can actually live off other sources of income but still work. It is possible that they could not imagine such circumstances as realistic or that they did not feel comfortable with the idea. Several respondents noted in this respect that as yet, the idea of being an annuitant was not embedded in the Czech reality. Moreover, it was not possible to talk about the possibility of inheriting a large amount of money, since private property was practically extinguished during the era of socialism. It is also possible that respondents felt an imperative to give a positive answer to the question, to say that they would of course work regardless of whether they needed the money or not. However, because they did not regard that situation as realistic, they avoided answering altogether.

The second reasoning proposed here stems from the historical and cultural background and is linked with particular features of the Czech character. It was

suggested by some informants that, due to historical reasons and the fact that the Czech nation in the past had to repeatedly defend their national identity as well as their geographical territory against strong neighbours (for more detail see Chapter 1), the Czechs tend to be suspicious and mistrustful. As a result of this, they are reluctant to talk about their dreams and desires, because in the past it was the case that openness did not pay off. One of our informants was in this respect referred to a *'collective reluctance to confide' or 'national laziness'* [R16, p.6]. It was also noted that, due to historical reasons, Czechs may have a somewhat complicated relationship towards property and wealth. In this respect they appear a bit nervous about their possessions because, historically, they never had much, and the little they did have was insecure. The following two quotations give examples that represent this reasoning, while the third offers some insight on why the Czechs are not willing to go the extra mile in order to gain material success.

'Many people, unfortunately, even within the third [historically] political system we have now, which is still changing...they are not happy and that is so rightfully, because they could not claim their rights, someone trampled on them or robbed them of property or something along these lines...'. [R15, p 6]

'Before [in socialism], property did not exist and later [during transition] many people abused the situation and they got wealth by half-legal means...and these examples convince people of the impossibility of gaining wealth in this country by means of hard work...and therefore a feeling persists that whoever has got money...it was not deserved'. [R16, p 13]

'The Czechs do not want to move [for work]. We are not very ambitious, this is the fact, we do not desire the success, it is not a gauge...our success [in material terms] is not a measure of our success...'. [R16, p.22]

Since the historical perspective appears as one of the potent explanatory optics on attitudes of the Czechs regarding work, the following section looks at how the work ethic was proclaimed by the leading political elite under socialism and how it was perceived by the people. As will be seen, these are two significantly different outlooks. It is necessary to take a closer look at the socialist times before assessing the extent and direction of the changes taking place during the transition.

7.3 Perceptions of work ethic in socialism

'It was prescribed and required, it was vividly depicted in various films and novels, but in principle it did not exist. And if it did, it was so only that it would be somehow caricatured'. [R16, p.22]

'In socialism, we had to often pretend to work, and when there was no reason to pretend any more...then the break came to pass'. [R 16, p.22]

As shown in the above quotes, the work ethic under socialism was a significant matter and it received a lot of attention. Strongly proclaimed as part of the Communist ideology, it was part of the commitment to meet the industry plans, as announced on notice boards in factories as well as being constantly implied in reports about production plans being more than met, typically reported as being up to 150 percent more. At the same time, it was a popular target of jokes people used to share. Our research inquired about the reality of it, about experiences of people in the times of socialism. The following quotations give further insight into attitudes to work at socialist workplaces, particularly with respect to the rules of the game that permeated the work setting.

'Before 1989, you know, even at that time there were some people who worked hard, did not cheat at anything, but in general it was more like...you were popular in your work team if you managed to swindle a bit (umeli to olisacit). The ones who were masterfully able to pretend that they were working, and nobody found out. They could bypass things [work tasks], it was almost as if they had fun with it (svejkovani). And it was perceived as if it was still within boundaries, still tolerated'. [R5, p.16]

'I was young, seventeen...and had this summer job at [name of factory]. And after two weeks they told me they were happy I was leaving, because I surpassed all of the norms they had, and that it is not possible to do things like that. Because they [the work colleagues] came in in the morning, read the paper, made themselves a cup of coffee and started to chat, what was on TV the previous night and similar. And I was working all that time... Well, I discussed it with my parents later, what is work ethic...because the colleagues were telling me I was spoiling it for them. While all I was doing was working hard...'. [R5, p.16]

'It was pretty relaxed in the Construction and Production Department... It was...today many people remember those times with a certain fondness, because of this... When my boss came along, he told me 'engineer, you better work hard, because the more you work the more I can relax' and he laughed and continued walking'. [R29, p.4]

'I think...well...the performance [in socialist workplace]...in fact, whatever happened, it was not possible to prove that performance was low...as the results were always entered into a table and they were modified somehow, so the truth...the real truth did not show up anywhere...'. [R3, p.4]

The general conclusion that can be made from the above as well as from numerous other similar responses is that under socialism the work ethic was in fact very weak. Since the value of work was disputable, the genuine interest in the results of work was limited. People knew that they could only lose their jobs under exceptional circumstances and there was no pressure on keeping up output. And so, as often reported by my informants, it was not unusual that people just went to work and were 'sitting through' the working hours. Moreover, the phenomenon of artificial employment was common, which meant some tasks were only performed so that the people in the factory had something to do. This was described as follows by one informant:

'For example, in [name of shoemaking factory], my aunt worked there, and she said when there was nothing to do, they just started some random series of shoes. And nobody was concerned that these were long out of fashion, outdated...[they would say] no problem...these are going to Russia anyway so let's carry on'. [R27, p.4]

If people were able to save their energy during the working day by not giving much to their formal job, it was then used after working hours when the '*leisure activities*' started [R27, p. 5], be it hobbies or 'the real work' as some described it. Very often, spare time was fulfilled by focusing on these hobbies. Several respondents mentioned that it was the pastimes that were 'holding them above the water' and '*...gave me something to do and motivated me so as to survive*' [R30, p.2] since their job did not offer opportunities for achievement or satisfaction and neither did it provide room for self-actualization of professional development. That is, the hobbies served to tie individuals in, keeping up a sense of purpose to life and so helped prevent them from becoming alienated, given that formal employment offered so little in this regard. Moreover, this may partly explain why the Czechs are renowned for their involvement with a variety of hobbies, many of which go far beyond simple pastime activities and require full engagement, based on having a vast range of in-depth knowledge and expertise.

'People were able to find a replacement, it is for example fascinating that many flats had big bookcases full of books...and it is true that people used to resort to that so they could get away from that grey world, where they simply felt that...well, I only

work here, it does not matter whether I have good results or not, it is all the same...and that is how for example those beautiful gardens came into being...'. [R3, p.6]

'And there were plenty of societies, for example I recall Friends for Old Prague, and these people really managed to acquire deep knowledge, almost professional, so it could take their minds off the work environment [often marked with frustration and unhappiness, as well as with the scorned ideology], and those were not only the superiors but also the common workers. It is true that this world then offered perhaps opportunity for deeper interests, to dive into something and get lost in it...if you cannot go out [travel abroad] so you use what was available here.... people would either find a piece of land somewhere and build something, and farm or cultivate it on the weekends, or they would go after a hobby which captured their interest'. [R3, p6]

It has already been noted in the extant literature on the transition that leisure time activities had the typical character of work (Kabat, 2011). Most commonly, these on the side activities were reportedly focused on building or improving homes, cottages, working in the gardens. Various kinds of servicing activities were very common; repairing cars was very popular amongst men, sewing and knitting for women. An explanation for why these types of activities were so popular can be deduced from the interviews and can be linked with practicality and usefulness. In the conditions of the non-functional socialist market, both services and products of various sorts were very difficult to get hold of. Further examples mentioned were building homes by means of self-help and the assistance of friends, growing your own vegetables in gardens, and informants also recalled making clothes for their children and themselves. However, besides these more simple and straightforward ways of obtaining what was needed in order to live as well as possible, there was another justification. It was noted by several respondents that people used to make conscious investments in social capital for the following reasoning:

'It was acquaintances, acquaintances, acquaintances. Because without them, you could not get hold of anything'. [R27, p. 5]

'It was such a system when connections were more important than finances. You know, this was true in any case...you could have money, how much you wanted, but without contacts money was no real use'. [R27, p.5]

'Money had practically no value because there was nothing available in the shops anyway...you had to obtain the contacts first and only then was it the turn for money to come to the fore. This today is exactly the opposite'. [R29, p.4]

While our respondents talked about the general lack of motivation and relaxed attitude to work that typically marked socialist workplaces, they, at the same time, emphasized that the Czech people are very creative when it comes to work and can be very enthusiastic and hardworking. While numerous examples of low productivity and the relaxed attitude to work in people's formal employment were given, the same respondents also highlighted instances when people achieved great results in their job, despite obstacles or unfavourable conditions. Equally, a vast number of illustrations was provided describing achievements outside of work, in people's leisure and private sphere of life, some of which were presented in the above. Given this apparently contradictory information it makes the drawing of inferences about the work ethic complicated. Moreover, before reaching any conclusions, it is useful to take a look at the shifts that were induced in the realm of the work ethic by the economic and political transitional changes.

7.4 Work ethic as subject to changes

Three main reasons have been identified as playing an important role regarding changing attitudes of people to work and shifts in the meaning of the work ethic. First of all, new economic conditions introduced in the transition presented new opportunities for people to gain material wealth. The newly acquired financial means gained additional novel value owing to the fact that there was a new range of consumerist opportunities emerging. People who wanted to make use of these possibilities for enjoying consumer goods, which was the vast majority, had an extra motivation to improve their performance and do well in their job. Since the relationship between the results of one's work and rewards for it strengthened, according to my respondents, there was an obvious incentive to work harder as it started to pay off in terms of them earning a better salary. However, at the same time, a directly related reason for increased productivity was the introduction of competition in the labour market meaning that jobs could no longer be taken for granted which was a dramatic divergence from the situation in the socialist economy.

Furthermore, the narratives of some informants highlight that, as a result of having to deal with competition, both positive and negative forces could be identified as driving increased motivation to work hard. On the one hand, this situation can create feelings of insecurity and anxiety since there is a danger of losing one's job or not getting

enough work to earn one's living, whilst on the other hand, it stimulates performance by making individuals put in more effort, get better at what they are doing and therefore enhance their life opportunities. As such, competition appears to have the potential to increase satisfaction as related to work. The following examples illustrate how competition changed attitudes of some people and their work ethic:

'If you stay still...you will be forgotten, what else...because there are better ones. For example take our drivers. When there was this festival [name] they were taking someone, an artist, to the airport. And our driver – was sitting. And since we have been hiring them on the basis of contracts...imagine, they even get up and open the door for the lady and take her suitcase. This is it. That you always have to have that extra bit, go the extra mile...'. [R7, p.13]

'People already came to understand that ...in this profession they have to work on improving their skills, all the time. Two weeks ago we organized educational seminars for technicians and we put the schedule on the notice board...I was so surprised, all of the courses got quickly booked [and this was not usual before]. And we feel the pressure coming from the people, they are asking us when there is going to be more courses...so definitely there is a lot of interest now...'. [R7, p 12]

As the last quotation suggests, speedy technological advancements in current times can be seen as another important factor contributing to changes regarding work ethic. People have to keep up with technological innovations and keep their skills up to date; this rule is especially the case for certain professions. Refusal to be subject to the imperative of technical progress might result in decreased employability. When combined together with the burdens of competition, this creates a powerful motivational driver making most employees increase their efforts and the amount of energy invested in their jobs.

It was emphasized by several informants that the most profound changes regarding attitudes to work, and in particular the work ethic, have been taking place in the private sector. There is obviously no room for 'taking it easy' in this sector since competition is generally tough and business owners want to make sure their companies prosper. It was pointed out that individual responsibility and the changed system of rewards are the main factors that induced increased efforts. As one of my informants put it, *'...there [in the private sector] people came to realize that customers and work is making our living' [R27, p.2]*. The shift from collective to individual responsibility is discussed in the wider context in one of the following subsections.

Apart from the changes that have been taking place in the course of the transition and that are on-going, some informants at the same time noticed the perpetuation to a certain extent of behaviours continuing on from before. Those respondents who were working in the private sector at the time of the interviews made assumptions that in the public sector efforts at work and the work ethic were still not functioning at a comparable level. It was presumed that employees in that sector would still enjoy a somewhat slower pace of work and would have a tendency to take more frequent breaks while working longer hours. This, however, was not directly confirmed by respondents coming from the public sector, even though some comments made by them could, indirectly, suggest that these trends may still linger on to some limited extent. Two areas that were recognized as bearing the legacy of socialist practices were the continuation of the disparity between perceived reality and reality, expressed as '*...we continue lying to ourselves (nadale si lzeme do vlastnich kapes)*' and the matter of corruption.

The first problem, disparity between the perception of reality and related behaviour, was discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 Subsection 6.2 regarding the ideology of socialism. Therefore, here I focus on the second issue, corruption. The phenomenon is of note in this respect because based on information provided by some informants, it can be treated as both a consequence of the transitional change as well as being a legacy of socialism. Patterns of opportunistic behaviour were present in certain social circles during the times of state socialism and have been perpetuated ever since. According to the opinions of some respondents, these largely relate to corruption in politics and governmental bodies, as well as some high positions in the governmental revenue and public administration services. In addition, it can be argued that certain situations would not have come into being if there was no motive or opportunity for them to occur. A typical example which was recalled by respondents was the redistribution and privatization of state property which took place in the first years of the transition. Consequently, there is a wide-spread belief in Czech society that these models of behaviour served as negative yet powerful examples showing that it is possible to obtain money by means other than hard work. Further, it is believed these models of behaviour have in the long term negatively influenced moral attitudes of people, weakened trust and undermined belief in distributive justice. As one respondent noted: '*...you know, I don't really believe in it [fairness in distribution of property in this country] because the whole strata of entrepreneurs, private businesses...they are all weighed down...by how they obtained their wealth, in so many cases the means were unfair...and this is now part*

of the national consciousness [R2, p.10]. Questions about deserved and undeserved means of rewards still form a lively topic of daily discussions in the public domain. The next section discusses motivation and rewards.

7.5 Motivation and rewards

7.5.1 From collective aims to individual pursuits

Individual responsibility is an important dimension concerning another shift in attitudes, that from collective aims to individual pursuits. This shift can be viewed as one of the most salient features of the transition and, as shown in the reports of my respondents, it was perceived by them to be very significant. It applies to attitudes to work as well people's outlook on issues such as family or personal life.

In terms of assuming responsibility, during socialist times everything was related to the collective at the expense of the individual, for it would have been against the socialist ideology to put forward the latter. Therefore, the collective was glorified whereas the individual was suppressed. Some informants even talked about *'the fear of the individual'* [R1, p.6], which had a strong ideological foundation: *'If the individual was put forward in any way, it was so...you would have to be careful how this would be perceived by others'* [R1, p5]. For the ones whose work related performance was outstanding, there was a tendency of the Communist Party to draw them into their own ranks. Therefore, allegedly, many people did not want to excel. In fact, they made a particular effort to not being out of the ordinary so they did not have to compromise themselves and their beliefs by unwanted affiliation with the Communist Party. This is well documented by the following example:

'Because when someone was good...well, there was always the economic question and then the political question. And if for example someone was good in the economic sphere, at work, but then it would show that he/she was not a [Communist] Party member, that he/she had a different opinion than the others, then such a person would immediately become a negative example for all the others. How can someone be so good if there are much more important issues there...the Party, the Government et cetera... So, on the contrary, there was an attempt by the Party to embody those who were good into their circles. And I know that there were plenty of people who had serious problems with this, they did not want to be good because they did not want to have anything in common with the Party. So all they wanted was to be average, to be at peace, not to stick out, not to have a clash of interests...why would they want anything else.' [R1, p.6].

It was recounted that in the sphere of work the collectivist approach applied to nearly everything. Rewards for success were given to work teams (called 'collectives') rather than to individuals and likewise, mistakes were attributed to collectives resulting usually in a situation where no one was accountable and the failure was simply swept under the carpet. As people got used to these strategies they learned to navigate their way around, without assuming any responsibility at all or only the minimum possible. People would conveniently disappear into the collective.

The strong emphasis on the collective aspect at work was often discussed by interviewees alongside the issue of the prominence of social relations at the workplace. This is discussed in more detail earlier in the thesis (see Chapter 6 on the role of work in socialism). It was also noted that the collective and social dimensions of life within a company typically stretched outside the workplace as colleagues, including their superiors, normally used to go for trips together and spend holidays with each other too. This presents a good example of spending one's free time conforming to the ideological climate of the society. For the same reason, nowadays something like this is for most people beyond imagination. As one informant pointed out:

'I was asking my colleagues, the younger ones, if they would like spending, say one week at some company cottage...and they immediately got goose bumps at the idea of it. They would never want it. In our times [during socialism] this was normal. Every company had their own holiday resort, where we regularly spent – because holidays were long and there we could at least take the kids – one or two weeks, quite happily, at the campfire we would get drunk together, you know, that was normal. But they cannot imagine this. They do not fancy staring at someone from work - not on their holiday'. [R13, p.20]

It has been emphasized by several informants that whilst before the whole of life was lived in the domain of the collective, work and otherwise, nowadays the focus is much more on the individual. Competition at the workplace has influenced human relations to a great extent and they have become somewhat less friendly and more professional. In the sphere of private life, there was still relatively strong family solidarity in the Czech Republic towards the end of the 1990s (Mozny, Pridalova, Banovcova, 2003) but since the changes have been in place for longer, it may be reasonable to assume that the nature of family relations may be moving to take on the shape of individualist ones that can be found in mature capitalist societies.

While there was certainly plenty of evidence available from the interviews showing the shift from an emphasis on collective objectives towards individualism, some of the responses indicated that there persist numerous legacies of socialism, some of them directly in the area of work, and some in related areas. It was proposed that there is, for example, a tendency to avoid individual responsibility. This may be in the sphere of work but equally, a similar approach may appear in other areas of life. One of our respondents reported how this attitude is demonstrated in education, when the parents of pupils are not willing to assume responsibility for their children when they should be more active. That is, parents expect the school to take care of everything, starting with making all the decisions about school curricula and ending with arranging for health and dental care for the children. Possibly this tendency can be interpreted as a perpetuation of patterns from the previous system when people knew they could not influence certain things and so they learnt to not even try.

'When an opportunity appears to play it safe, to slide comfortably into the average, many people happily go for it'. [R18, p.13]

'We [the Czechs], all used to live on the same level, no one was sticking out and so...we were not trying hard in anything....because, you know...someone came straight from school and they got a job. They did not have to look for a job, they automatically got it, and they got a placement. And so your journey was sort of designed for you, and you walked into it, you somehow sailed through, you could not travel anywhere much apart from Bulgaria to the seaside but somehow we lived. Then [after the collapse of the former political system] life got a completely different rhythm...and we are...some people...simply we lack the vigour somehow I think'. [R7, p.17]

Numerous respondents saw the egalitarian attempts of the socialist state as one of the main characteristics of the past, which reportedly affected people's attitudes in many areas of life. The issue of 'sticking out of line' was a recurring topic voiced as a concern with respect to the past regime. The state powers and the restrictive force of the ideology and the ways through which this was implemented to control the population is noticeable. One of the informants pointed out: *'...nothing was clearly defined, everything belonged to everyone, and on the top there was this Sect [the Communist Party], which was pulling the strings of everything'* [R27, p.4]. It was the opinion of many that even after the change of the political and economic system, the mind set of people, especially the middle and older generations, were affected by this experience and thus change was slower than expected.

So far I have presented evidence in support of the view that in socialism the value of hard work was disputable and it was possible, and even a common occurrence, to get by without much effort. However, since one of the aims of this thesis is to capture the changes during transition, it is important to elicit whether the meaning of hard work changed after changes had occurred in the political and economic system in the Czech Republic. The following subsection considers whether there are advantages coming to those who started to care and were trying hard to achieve in the workplace.

7.5.2 From egalitarianism to achievement and merit

It was put forward in the previous chapter (Chapter 6) after the collapse of the socialist political and economic system, that significance and meaning of work in people's lives changed. After the collapse of Communism and under the new economic order, it is not only permitted to 'stand out of line', but, by all accounts, it is recommended and sometimes seen as necessary in order to get ahead both in the sphere of employment and in life in general. That is, focussing on both self-actualization and financial motivation has strengthened significantly. There is strong motivation to come to the fore and to excel, because much better opportunities are available for personal development via work and good performance and these achievements are rewarded. Together these have impacted on motivation.

'In 1979, I was called to the Committee of the Communist Party to answer one cardinal question: Why do you do it, if you cannot get any more money for it? These days, the question is often asked again under different circumstances, but now I can answer 'I do it for money'. And you know, it is not true, you cannot do it only for money, however...this answer nowadays makes sense...'. [R24, p.1]

It was evident from the interviews that salient change has happened in terms of financial motivation and nowadays people have reasons to care about financial rewards. It was confirmed by some informants that the general value of education has increased in the labour market in general and the relationship has strengthened between education, performance and financial remuneration. However, it is mainly the actual skills that appear as crucial and most appreciated, in particular in the private sector, in the environment of fiercely competing companies.

'I think that proper qualifications are a necessary requirement nowadays; of course, it has certainly gained in value. But it is on a similar level as a first impression would be...much more important are the real skills that are behind that. Because I may have millions of certificates, know several languages, have an MBA title and I don't know

what else...but if I do not have the skills and competencies to use in that particular area of my employer, it is all for nothing'. [R1, p.7]

Understandably the main factor that shifted the whole logic of the labour market is competition. Thus career prospects have improved for those who have the required skills and an ability to 'sell them' in the market. It was noted by informants, that in socialism the 'competition' was in fact unreal and had mostly a 'social' character. In the transition it was replaced by real competition between professions and individuals. It was also noted that unlike in the egalitarian environment of the past, when even the term competition had negative connotations because it was linked with the capitalist system, in the new economic order it had acquired a positive label. The same applied to knowledge, skills and competencies; while in the past these were not welcomed as they could make someone stand out from the crowd, in the new order they are crucial for success in one's profession or at work in general.

Besides these prerequisites for a career, career paths also changed. In the socialist past, career progressions typically took place automatically after a certain number of years of work for a firm/company, without any relation to actual outcomes or performance. This is unimaginable in the new environment of the competitive economy. However, these changes have not taken place with the same speed everywhere and there have been different attitudes towards incorporating them with respect to the public and private sectors and also some differences have been noted between companies in terms of their willingness to change.

Of significance to this thesis are the reported differences between generations of workers. The young generation according to the interviewees were most likely to adapt to the career path changes and embrace the new opportunities. From the perspective of the middle and older generation, which was typically represented by our respondents, the young people place more emphasis on financial rewards and they are willing to go the extra mile to get them. They were described by our informants as '*...assertive, capable of recognizing manipulation, fierce, and able to negotiate*'. Also, unlike older generations, they are reportedly more calculative in terms of their employment decisions, but on the basis of some respondents' comments, it can be concluded that this trait does not have to be perceived with any negative connotations. It can simply mean that the young generation does not carry the egalitarian modes of thinking of the past and so they want to make sure that their remuneration fits their qualifications and invested efforts. It was, however, indicated that due to their youth, generally good competencies and flexibility, young people

usually have a rather strong position in negotiations in the labour market and this is not always the case for their older counterparts. Moreover, career prospects are influenced by the fact that criteria for career progression have changed substantially. The following example illustrates some of these trends:

'Nowadays, it is not about the slow rise in the company hierarchy as before. It is much more important to find a job which will look great on the CV, so at the first chance when I change that job I will get a pay rise just by the mere act of making the change. Today this is not suspicious. I used to see it as negative when someone was applying here who had a history of changing employers but today it clearly does not have the negative label. The business calculation has got stronger. Now it is normal to ask what the salary is and what am I supposed to give for that. If they want too much, I do not take it and will go elsewhere, where they give me better money. The world [of employment] was not like this before and of course could not be, by any means'. [R8, p.6]

In addition, some other implications of equalization practices under the former system were emphasized by my informants. One of them concerns the perception of differences in income, financial rewards and life style options. According to their expressed opinions on this matter, the informants can be divided into two main groups. The first category can be described as people who believed that equalization under socialism meant that people relationships were better because there were no possibilities for significant differentiation to occur; everyone was similar, and this made people feel close to each other. Respondents in this category reported that after the change of the economic order people relationships changed for the worse as a result of the ever-present competition. The second group of respondents were those who maintained that people relationships were far from ideal under socialism, and equalization was partly to blame. The following quotations illustrate this second point of view:

'The former equalization resulted in much greater envy between people as compared to the open opportunities of today. Because then, even a small difference was acutely perceived...'. [R9, p.5]

'The differences in salaries were negligible in socialism. And the value of money...well, you could not buy much for it anyway. I can tell you...when I was made director in that bank...I brought home my salary assessment and showed it to my wife... she was shocked and said we absolutely cannot tell anyone. That salary was

five thousand three hundred [Czech crowns]. ...And the average salary was around two thousand, two and a half. So, you see...the differences.....'. [R8, p.6]

It was generally agreed by the respondents that the legacy of equalization left significant traces on peoples' attitudes for a long time into the transition. These are specifically demonstrated in attitudes towards distributive justice. *'There is still the notion in this country that the fact that the cleaner earns less than the director of the company is some strange injustice'* [R8, p.7]. However, it was also pointed out in this respect that the young generation does not see things in the same way and that their attitude is much more 'business-like'.

To sum up, it appears that there was a robust consensus amongst the respondents that egalitarianism and universalism were strong characteristics of real socialist life, in the sphere of work as well as in other spheres. This feeling which was expressed by many can be well documented with the following quotation:

'It was all spread on the surface, fuzzy, diffused...and all manifestations were always the same, all the reports...you could only exchange a few little words, and it would fit for the production factory as well as for budgetary [public sector] organization...it was all spread out thin and grey. I would say that the greyness of the blocks of flats [typical for socialist housing] was somehow reflected also in the workplace relations...'. [R3, p.4]

After the change in the political and economic system, the 'one size fits all' approach was thoroughly revised. In the new conditions, differences in approaches and attitudes started to crystallize and become the norm, as is apparent from respondents' narratives presented here.

7.5.3 Hierarchy, status and reward for work: winners and losers of transition

'There were two revolutions taking place here; the first one is about freedom, the second is about redistribution of [former state] property. And both have their winners and losers. But the second revolution has many more losers than the first'. [R 43, p. 7]

As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the Communist system taught people passivity and to rely on the state. This, however, also resulted in people using the circumstances as a ready excuse, for one could always say that since individuals are not able to really influence anything, there is no point in trying. This has dramatically changed after the collapse of Communism, as seen in the new political and economic

system, and, by and large, those people, who took responsibility for themselves and their own lives, got the best deal. The first years of the transition were all about new opportunities and several respondents adhered to the opinion that everyone who wanted could take advantage of those opportunities and those who did not, ended up making feeble excuses. There were, however, substantial differences among the population regarding who enjoyed favourable positions that enabled them to take advantage of the novel opportunities. Many respondents pointed out experiences that are clearly indicative of this.

One of the important factors that determined to a great extent how much one could use the new opportunities that has emerged from the collected data was age. It transpires that it was generally the new young generation who were favoured by the transitional changes; those who were flexible, energetic, enthusiastic, and ready to learn new things and adapt to novel situations, and keen to take risks. This was admittedly important for the economy, especially in the beginning of the transition in the early nineties, when many new private enterprises were starting and young people were not afraid to go ahead, i.e. they had the 'right drive' [R22, p.7]. The situation was quite different for the older and middle generations. It was often noted that for these people, who were in their early forties and older at the time of the collapse of Communism, the change came too late because they had limited chances to catch up with their career or to start something new from scratch. This is illustrated by the following opinion:

'The situation was worst for the generation of current pensioners, which means those who became pensioners shortly after the change of the system. They are very frustrated that they in fact invested [their work, energy etc.] at the time of socialism, and they expected the social advantages of socialism they were promised, and instead capitalism came along. And they, in fact, do not have any other option but to live their life on as they live now. Most of them do not anyway. Of course, a few individuals can try something new but their success is much less likely I would say'. [R1, p.11]

Another important issue that made a difference in terms of taking advantage of the new opportunities was the sector of production and the professional position in the hierarchy of production to which an employee belonged. Some professional categories were famously favoured by the Communist system, such as miners and workers in heavy industry. In addition, greengrocers and butchers were proclaimed as prominent, as they were often closely linked with the system and its functionaries.

This is attributed to the fact that when there was a shortage of products, they were useful and reportedly easily corrupted. Moreover, due to their easy access to strategic information, some of those people turned out to be collaborators of the secret police. However, after the collapse of the system, the tables turned for many. Since numerous mines were closed due to industrial restructuring, a lot of miners in the new economic order not only lost their privileged positions but in several regions they were made unemployed. Other sectors of industry suffered downsizing such as the heavy textile industry and some areas of heavy machinery production.

In the previous sections, it was pointed out that the working class was, under socialism, a celebrated and prominent one, in keeping with the socialist ideology. It was placed above all other classes and proclaimed as the elite of society. This often resulted in ludicrous situations whereby the subordinates in industry could exercise free will regarding what they would do at work and their superiors did not have any means to demand otherwise because better informed, higher levels of knowledge and technical qualifications were not valued. This changed substantially in the new system and a profound shift towards valuing education and qualifications occurred which can also be identified as a shift from a reliance on improvisation towards more specialism and professionalism in the workplace. While improvisation and self-help were very useful life strategies at home and at work in the past, nowadays, as one of our informants noted, *'...it is much better to work hard and pay for the services than become a do-it-yourself guy'* [R22, p.13]. In the early stages of the transition especially, there was more focus put on skills and 'know-how' than formal education because at that time many new businesses and enterprises were emerging and they needed people with applied capabilities.

From my data analysis, geographical differences emerged as significant influences when people were trying to make use of the opportunities opened up by the transition. Those regions with good infrastructure, especially the capital and the big cities in general, were places where most opportunities were concentrated. In contrast, small settlements that had few amenities, located far from big cities, and possibly in traditionally agricultural or remote mountain areas were the least likely to offer opportunities. This geographical disadvantage is potentially compounded by the different professions of individuals, as illustrated by the following example:

'I know that in the village I originally came from, some managed to hold on to new opportunities. For example he [a friend's friend] is a serviceman of washing machines and today he can also repair dishwashers and many other things, and he managed

to establish himself again but he had to work on it a lot [in terms of improving skills and the range of expertise]. But then you have some who work for seven [thousands Czech crowns] before tax in the local agricultural cooperative. And they see the situation completely differently, they would tell you 'I have a University education and I know languages and what is it for? Nothing! How can I find a good job here? I would have to move. But my children go to school here'. [R7, p.10]

It was emphasized by several respondents that the low willingness of the Czechs to move home is often an obstacle in terms of making use of opportunities. This can be partly put down to structuring of the housing (flats) market as in the first phases of the transition the liberalization of this market was slow. However, even later, when many opportunities were already obvious in other aspects of life, flexibility in this respect was still weak. This could be understood as a legacy of the socialist system whereby people typically used to work in the same job, in the same company for a lifetime. Moreover, strong family ties and intergenerational solidarity in the Czech Republic (Mozny, Pridalova & Banovcova, 2003) is still evident during the 1990s, and is possibly a factor affecting the readiness of some people to move for a job. One of the informants commented:

'I have to say that in the village I come from in Moravia [agricultural region in the south of CR] the rhythm of life on the surface is similar to what it was before [during socialist times]. They go to work early in the morning and they come back from work early. Then there are a lot of hobbies, a lot of work around the house, they have gardens, some domestic animals. And then they meet and talk about how they go through hardships.' [R 33, p.30].

It has been noted earlier that due to a lack of opportunities and consumer goods and services, people in socialist times invented ways to deal with this situation in terms of creating a 'second society' of social networks and contacts. Perhaps the importance of having a strong network in one particular neighbourhood or locality was another reason why people were reluctant to uproot themselves and move away. Moreover, making investments in developing and cultivating the right sort of social relations proved a valuable strategy in preparation for when the transition arrived. As articulated by one respondent: *'Before money did not have in fact any real value because there was nothing to spend it on anyway, and you had to acquire social contacts and figure it all out first and only then the money came to the fore. Today this is exactly the opposite [R29, p.4].* In fact, during the first phases of transition, for some particular individuals the social capital that they had accumulated in the past

became a very important asset. Those who had appropriate connections had a wealth of opportunity to readily convert these reserves into the (suddenly) much more valuable economic capital. New lucrative opportunities were there for those who were prepared, who had the right personal contacts and possessed strategic information.

The individual's personality and inclinations can be seen as another factor that influenced chances of getting ahead during the transition. In the earlier parts of this chapter, how the socialist system promoted mediocrity and passivity was explained. To sum up, the typical person who was doing well under those circumstances was described by the informants as someone who was rather dull and passive, morally weak, was readily changeable with regards to their opinions, opportunistic or perhaps even malicious in outlook, and was certainly linked with the Communist Party [R 29]. On the other hand, the new conditions in the main have been favouring the assertive individual, with a go-getting personality and one who is business oriented. This is not to say, however, that the intentions of this new type of person were always sincere. As the legal system in the early years of the transition was not very firmly established and there were many loopholes, this occasionally meant that ferocious people, without scruples, could grab opportunities and reward themselves with undeserved advantages. As one respondent shared: *'The transition and privatization and various 'tunnelling' [privatization fraud – using the loopholes in the legal system to get ahead of others] were opportunities that appear once in five hundred years. And there were people who were ready for that due to the sort of information they could get hold of and their personality. Both were crucial. [...] And there was this guy [name] who got this privatization fund running...he could stomach it...well, I don't mean to say he was honest...'. [R43, p.2]*

With regard to the situation prevailing in the early phases of the transition, it can be considered from the perspective of the Foucault Pendulum (Jean Foucault, 1851) as the development in society went from one extreme to another. On the one extreme, in society everything belonged to everyone and there was no private property. The swing which then took place shifted society towards the situation whereby some people could acquire properties and other assets quickly and under conditions that were not transparent or later occasionally turned out to be on the edge of being legal. As already discussed above in the subsection on the work ethic, given the people's mind set, work was perceived as the only fair way to acquire rewards. This considerably influenced public opinion regarding distributive justice and many informants commented on the shift of values as having introduced a negative aspect.

Moreover, even wealth that had been acquired through hard work may not be perceived as justified. As explained by one of my informants:

'Before [in socialist times] not to work was a shame. And even during transition it was perceived in the same way, the one who was unemployed was viewed as inept by their own fault. And having money from somewhere else...that is not so great either, you know, wealth in this country is generally not perceived well....' [R14, p.5]

On the basis of the interviews, the relations of the Czechs towards property seem somewhat complicated. It was proposed by some respondents that the tendency of the Czech nation towards egalitarianism could be traced back further in history beyond the socialist system, possibly back to the seventeenth century. Be it as it may, if the social differentiation that appeared as a result of the transition is not perceived as just by the majority of the population, then it may be reasonable to posit that there are many more losers from the transition than there are winners when we count all those who did not acquire substantial assets through the process.

Notwithstanding the issue of the distribution of wealth, the political freedoms and freedom of opportunity are appreciated by the vast majority of the population. As one interviewee interjected: *'In socialism we also had the freedom of speech but in capitalism there is freedom also after the speech'* [R43, p.7]. While the collectivism and egalitarianism of socialist times were often criticised, the current tendencies of extreme individualism do not appear to go down well in contemporary Czech society either. In the case of the Czech Republic, one general conclusion that could be made on the basis of the interviewees' comments is that perhaps a balanced system embodying both equality and freedom is what some people are seeking.

7.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the outcomes of my analysis have been presented under the theme of motivation to work. It has emerged that this has undergone significant changes during the period of post-socialist transition. One of the main driving forces behind these shifts is the process of marketization and the related competition specifically in the labour market. These changes, however, have not affected the whole Czech population to the same extent and both the opportunities and the risks coming from the transition in the economy are stratified. The young generation is generally in a better position to take advantage of the new opportunities as they have the skill sets required in the new post-socialist labour market. By contrast it has emerged that the risks and disadvantages tend to be distributed more towards older workers and those

living in regions with weak infrastructure. In general, both the insecurities arising in the competition found in the new capitalist-orientated labour market together with the novel consumerist opportunities are the main driving forces behind the changes occurring with respect to the motivation to work. In the following chapter, attention turns to consider the narrative evidence that addresses the issue of relationships, and the impact of the transition on these.

Chapter 8. Relationships in transition

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter (Chapter 7), the transition was addressed by presenting the interview data collected with respect to motivation and the work ethic. It is evident from the respondents' accounts that for many people, the effects of the transition in terms of economic changes could be seen as stretching far beyond the immediate realm of work and employment. It is to the area of relationships that I now turn as, through the process of analysing the collected narrative accounts, this emerged as one of the key themes of this study. In this respect, two main areas are considered. The first one concerns relationships in the workplace; those with colleagues as well as supervisors. Moreover, organizational commitment is a further aspect in which relations manifest themselves, that is, those with regards to the company/organization. This field has been well documented in the sociology of work scholarship, some of which is noted in the literature review in Chapter 2. The second category considers the positive and negative ramifications of marketization for the domain of private relationships. With regards to this, extant feminist research (see also Chapter 2), concerning the reconciliation of private responsibilities with the demands of the capitalist workplace is of note.

8.2 Relationships in the workplace

Workplace relations in socialism generally exhibited a high degree of solidarity and familiarity. This was demonstrated in a variety of ways, some of which were linked purely to the relationships between the employees themselves, while others extended to how the outcomes of work (or lack of them) were presented. A high degree of informality was reported by a majority of the respondents as typically found in the Czech socialist workplace, and for many people, it used to be the case that their circles of friends overlapped with groups of their co-workers and the workplace was often a space for social gatherings, celebrations and parties of all sorts. Employees would typically spend a considerable proportion of their working day socializing and discussing personal matters with their colleagues. When there were not enough organised social activities, people would create some. This is depicted in the following example:

'When the Communists were in power, there was – at least here at [organization XY, public sector] – somehow more fun, you know, because people got together, and for example they were celebrating birthdays or...well, they were looking for opportunities,

really, where they could relax, where it would be...some work related things could be solved there as well, eventually...'. [R20, p15]

Social activities in some workplaces could develop into such curious lengths that they would occupy a substantial part of the working day. This was partly a consequence of the fact that in the socialist system there was over employment which meant 'security of the working positions but not security of jobs'. [R 29, p. 9]

'In the office the typical day started with eating breakfast and reading the papers. This lasted for about an hour, one colleague was cooking a goulash, another one mushrooms, the third one something else. I was always studying English or German until about seven or quarter past seven, which was regarded with resentment by my colleagues because I was doing something else than they did. Then a bit of morning happened...then we sent the secretary to bring the midmorning snacks – cheese for one, salami for another. In the middle of that all we started a bit of work, while telling jokes...it was a rather entertaining company of intelligent men who did not work very hard; two of us were engineers. After the lunch in the factory canteen, we said 'Hanka, go and bring it, which meant she would go out and bring wine off tap. And so she brought two or four litres of wine for us, depending on the day and the mood...and we started drinking which was carried on for the whole afternoons. And the gentlemen usually continued in the pubs after the end of working hours. And in the middle of it all we were dealing with some occasional work tasks [...]. So it was all rather relaxed at the department of construction and production'. [R 29, p 3]

Somewhat paradoxically, the ideological situation provides another reason for this high level of informality as there was a clear disparity between the officially pronounced rules and guidelines, and the 'internal' status of things, including opinions and practices. This was based on both the need to express resistance against the system as well as highlighting the unreasonable nature, or sometimes simply nonsensical background of some official guidelines (e.g. to meet the plan by 150 percent). The direct and straightforward pathways were rarely followed since 'shadow politics' was present everywhere and one could never be certain who was pulling the strings from behind the scenes or who was behind the directives, and who he was associated with, as well as to whom he was obligated.

It is remarkable that the obfuscation and restrictions felt at the formal level was accompanied by unusual openness at the personal level. People usually knew all about the personal lives of their colleagues and this information was a favourite subject of direct/indirect discussion and advice. An example of this was provided by

a respondent, indicating that when someone made a big mistake at work, the biggest fear was not related to job/career concerns but rather social consequences: *'People were not scared of losing a job; that as such simply did not denote punishment. The true precaution in regard to causing trouble was that everyone knew his/her closest colleagues would be debating it'. [R 10, p. 4]*

On a similar note, it was often recounted by the informants that it is typical for Czechs to discuss interpersonal relations in the workplace. Personal and emotional lives were an integral part of people's working lives. The way the informants mentioned this issue suggests that they saw it as part of the national culture. That is, not only were personal lives brought to the attention of others, but also personal dimensions of their professional lives were important to people and they devoted a lot of energy to dealing with these issues. According to informants, this was still a common occurrence seven to ten years after the post-Communist transformation at work and the focus on the personal dimension was reported as causing distractions, lowering levels of professionalism and often resulted in long but not necessarily productive working days. Moreover, people's wages were not subject to privacy in socialist factories and organizations and were not treated as something that should be kept secret. Rather the opposite was the case since co-workers knew all too well how much money others were making. After all, this was not a considered a big issue under the egalitarian system of rewards when everyone's salaries were very similar.

These conditions and the atmosphere found in the workplace changed rapidly after the collapse of the Communist order and during the transition to a market economy. Numerous factories and organizations were privatized by foreign owners and this changed completely the culture of work. The other companies that remained under Czech owners had to adjust quickly to new circumstances and rising competition, as well as align their processes and modes of production with internationally accepted standards. This brought about greater formalization of processes and higher levels of professionalism, while space for familiarity and the relaxed attitude largely disappeared, not to mention the social events held during working hours. These changes are well illustrated by the following examples:

'After the collapse of Communism the banks gradually started changing. There was prescribed clothes code; we could not wear sweaters and t-shirts, a jacket was prescribed [...] stockings, formal shoes. And when we were there in the summer, without air conditioning, 35 degrees, this was not ideal. But since it was required, we had to respect it [...]. Before...the contact with clientele was familiar, cordial, such as

'hello, what have you brought us today'. Later we had to say the phrase according to the American model 'good morning, what can I do for you'. [...]. And the clients were not accepting it well. But it was a strict directive, and the manager was behind our backs and if not...there were sanctions. So, no matter if you identified with it or not, you had to adjust'. [R6, p 2]

'Things like that [social events during working hours] are not happening now. And people also do not want it. For example we would say come on, let's go and have a drink somewhere but it is not...everyone is in a hurry now and they look at their watch and it is not any more...[sought after]. Before they were looking for opportunities where people could relax even at work and people were inventing incredibly funny things... now it does not exist anymore, there is not anyone who would organize it and there is not the mood either...[...] before people wanted to relax and they had more time and not so many extra obligations and activities...and maybe there was no fear that they could put down themselves in front of others...[...] today people are more guarded...'. [R20, p 15]

'Before, because everyone was equal...there was no secrecy about salaries, which reward someone is getting, it was all even publicly announced. Now this absolutely does not exist. And I do not even think it would be ethical somehow...[...]. I was talking with this young director recently and he told me you would be surprised how people to try to hide information from one another, even colleagues within the same department, they do not want to pass on information...they do not want to confide in anyone...everyone just wants to do their own thing...maybe we are not used to it because then [in socialist times] it did not matter much...no one could move up to a higher position if he/she was not in the Communist Party...so there was no secrecy and people did not envy anything over one another...and we carried this over to here but now there are things to envy, and because there are different, better and broader opportunities, I think this also got reflected in interpersonal relations...'. [R 20, p. 8-9]

The new workplace comprising competition and formalization led to the formation of new varieties of interpersonal relationships. While under socialism typically people's working and private lives were intertwined, afterwards a much greater division was apparent. In an environment where competition for jobs was at the top of the everyday agenda, it was not safe to reveal too much personal detail.

The main shift that happened after the collapse of the Communist system can thus be described as the change from closeness and disguise to openness and a direct

approach in terms of work tasks, processes and management practices. When it comes to relationships between people, the transitional change appeared to affect these in almost an opposite direction, i.e. from openness and solidarity towards formality, reserve and watchfulness.

8.3 Colleagues and supervisors

Relationships between supervisors and managers and their subordinates in socialism were subject to two major aspects of the socialist workplace – the ideological underpinnings and egalitarian practice. Supervisors and managers in factories were often closely connected with the Communist Party and higher management positions were habitually directly appointed by the Party. This sometimes created curious and (from today's perspective) questionable situations whereby supervisory staff did not have much professional expertise in the area of production which they were managing. It is not a surprise that in such situations the managers, while formally having to have their directives followed, didn't enjoy much respect from their subordinates. This phenomenon is well depicted by the testimony of one of the respondents. He emphasizes that workers were usually trying to keep their distance from the superiors who were known to be closely linked with the Communist Party as one never knew what to expect; they were 'dangerous'.

'In here [Czech Republic] it is still the case that being superior is automatically an entitlement for respect'. [R10, p 11]

'There were some superiors who had the chair only due to their affiliation with the Party, or it was rumoured that they could be reporting to the StB [Secret Police] or something like that. And those were avoided by people. But if the superior was normal, then...there were not too big differences...between the superior and the subordinates. [...]. For example in the institution where I was working, the construction manager was travelling in the same tram and reading the same newspaper and queuing in the same queue for bananas...and wearing the same underwear because generally there was not much choice, not much differentiation ...and no possibilities for it'. [R5, p 14]

Another phenomenon which was also a result of the ideological side of the system was termed the dictatorship of the proletariat. As reported by the respondents, ideological forces in this instance penetrated deeply into everyday workplace practices.

'The working class was placed above others. Then there was a derogatory term 'working intelligentsia; as if there was also some non-working intelligentsia, you know, when not having a job was a criminal offense of 'parasitism', so everyone had to work [...] Dictatorship of the proletariat, I know, nowadays sounds amusing, but it was a real dictatorship when the proletarian could tell off his superior and he could not say anything back... that is how things were'.. [R 29, p. 5-6]

The second part of the quotation refers to the egalitarianism which was characteristic of the socialist workplace but was not entirely restricted to it, for equality was represented in all aspects of life including people's lifestyles and levels of income. That is, practically, social divides didn't exist, apart from the governing elite, the so-called 'nomenklatura', which was in fact the only distinctive class in the socialist classless society. Opportunities and rewards were to a great extent equally distributed regardless of achievement. Thus wages were very much equalized and the superiors/managers did not take home considerably more when compared to the ordinary workers. Under these circumstances, there was really no distance and the superiors were part of the team, on the same level as the workers. Often, the only distinction that their position merited, was to be the subject of many jokes coming from the subordinates.

The two types of superiors, the ones 'closely interconnected with the system' and the 'friendly informal ones' as described above are more or less ideal types. The reality of the ways in which supervisors conducted themselves differed considerably according to the particular workplace and it can be assumed that most supervisors/managers carried out both of these roles to some extent. In light of this, it is suggested that the true position of the supervisor/manager in a socialist workplace can be described as that of a 'bridge' between the ideological sphere and the practical level of production. As one of the respondents noted, the managers often had to take up the decision regarding how to adjust unreasonable plans in order to meet the ideologically based objectives. The practical solution to this scenario could go as far as the deliberate production of large amounts of low quality goods.

'I have to say that before [in the socialist economy], the plans [of production] were imposed from above, and then the discussion [management of production on the level of the factory] was about how we are going to do it, and when we realized the plan was unrealistic, how we are going to trick it, yes, literally how we are going to cheat it, how we are going to lie. At that time, really, there was intentional manufacturing of defective products; because it was clear that time was too short for manufacturing

the number of [prescribed] good pieces, so the number of pieces was produced but there was a high proportion of defective ones in it'. [R 1, p. 8]

As already described above, the levels of informality and collegiality were very high. Further, the collectivist spirit strengthened mutual solidarity, which was not expressed only between co-workers but often also between superiors and their subordinates. It was mentioned above that friendly relations in the workplace typically extended into the private sphere and people had a tendency to socialize with their work colleagues after work. The subordinates were no exception and they often had friendly and informal social ties within their whole team. These traits in terms of the emphasis placed on social and human aspects of life and work may not only be down to the organizational characteristics of the socialist workplace, but it is possible that they may be more deeply rooted in Czech history. This is because these tendencies of work-related behaviour did not cease with the onset of transition completely, however, they did get generally weaker as competition took hold at the beginning of the 1990s.

With regards to handling subordinates, it was stated by the respondents that Czechs are typically creative and independent workers and they don't submit to authorities very easily, that is, respect needs to be earned or formally required. As a result of this, the word subordinate is not used very frequently in the Czech employment context, as it is perceived as having almost negative connotations. It was also reported by some of my informants that the Czech Republic in transition was a very good setting for the establishment of partnership-based methods of management. This, however, was nothing new as these management approaches have a distinctive precedent in the Czech environment as pointed out by the informants when they referred to the companies: Bata Zlin and JZD (agricultural cooperative) and Slusovice. They became famous beyond the borders of the Czech Republic and the first of them, the Bata factory, at their peak was almost a synonym for successful entrepreneurship mainly due to the specific organization of production it applied.

It is commonly known that entrepreneurship did not exist during socialist times for all activities that were outside the framework of socialist collectivist ownership were suppressed. There were, however, some exceptions to this rule; namely two companies which during socialism introduced forms of management aspects of which can be seen as capitalist enterprises: the shoe production Bata company in Zlin and the agricultural cooperative Slusovice. In the environment of generally low efficiency of production, these firms were able to show astonishingly good results. Under

socialism they introduced methods of management with specific motivational incentives for the employees which included co-ownership and rewards according to merit. These approaches aimed to involve employees in the organization and made them interested in its economic results. Consequently, this also generated increased workers' solidarity towards the company, high levels of organizational commitment and general feelings of prestige and pride by those who were employed in a successful and forward-looking organization. Therefore the motivators for the employees were twofold: financial (extrinsic) and intrinsic (addressing self-actualization and achievement). The latter needs were generally rarely met under socialism in relation to employment. In this respect, the forms of organization used at that time appear to be in accordance with contemporary popular motivation theories based on intrinsic motivation strategies (Cagne & Deci, 2005; Ledford et al., 2013). It comes as a challenging question then to assess whether and, if so, to what extent can this particular Czech heritage in terms of its specific management strategies serve as a point of reference for the continuation of practices in contemporary firms and organisations.

Despite some persistent tendencies towards informality and social thinking, the transition brought about formalization and increased control with the respondents explaining that the changes typically took place in several stages. The beginning of the 1990s brought about profoundly new styles of management summed up by the respondents as 'things got much tougher'. Under the new regime, there was pressure for increased productivity and efficiency. Moreover, when numerous formerly Czech companies were sold into foreign ownership, the new managements introduced new practices of conduct and work ethics. The new managers were often young and inexperienced, preferring a directive style of management which they combined with practices that were often perceived by employees as forceful. This, understandably, didn't please many of the employees. However, informants agreeably stated that such methods, accompanying the novel organizational arrangements that were almost opposite to what was common during socialism, were generally adopted for only the first several years of transition. As the transition progressed, things settled down and more balanced practices in management and production processes were gradually achieved in most places.

The informants evaluated recent developments at the Czech workplace as marked by increased professional aptitudes of both the managers and the employees as well as increased levels of work ethics in general; a professional approach is required and valued. This is a sharp difference from before, when *'people who truly wanted to*

achieve something ran the risk of becoming a laughing matter of the whole team'. [R 16, p 10]

8.4 Czech management

Recruitment for management and high supervisory positions was in the socialist system typically carried out on the basis of a candidate's political affiliation. The Communist Party took special care to put 'their people' into supervisory positions in all sectors of production and these managers were then supposed to promote and overlook compliance with meeting the ideological goals in a given factory/organization. As emphasized in Chapter 6, the sphere of work and employment was one of the main channels of control imposed by the Communist totalitarian system over the population, and the strategy of appointing management serves as an example of how this incentive was fulfilled. According to the informants of this research, another important principle when it came to filling supervisory and even management positions was seniority. This mechanism was often operating together with the political connection, so people who got to higher positions in the company had to be both experienced and senior, as well as members, or even better, officials of the Communist Party. In terms of gaining experience, this usually meant that for the duration of their career, which typically happened within one and the same organization, employees were taking time to 'grow' in the hierarchy from lower manual positions to higher supervisory ones. These principles were brought to my attention by several respondents.

'Some management positions were [in socialism] perceived simply as political decisions. Now it is very different...For example here in [name of organization] the position of editor in chief was entirely a political position. His main task was to maintain the theme, the ideological content. And everything was then filtered through this...everything was adjusted, censored. [...] Now the managers should be perceived as professionals. [...] It makes such a difference if they truly know the profession, the job'. [R7, pp.22-23]

'So if you take for example how it could be for blue collars, so the worker, say he was a locksmith, was doing this job for ten years, then he was promoted to foreman, because he was experienced with his job and he could advise the others, he knew how to put that tool into the lathe, then later he could be promoted further to a higher supervisory position, for example head of production, then he would take up evening classes and complete technical college...so, you see....despite all the obstacles he would rise up the ladder and possibly reach the top one day. These days the trend is

exactly opposite, it means a young guy with a university degree in a technical or business related subject goes straight to the management position, but this managerial education is not sufficient to do the job well'. [R6, p.13]

Sometimes the seniority principle described above and the political imperative of filling management positions were combined together, resulting in a phenomenon described as 'working cadres', which was rather commonplace in socialist factories. Hence, there were some managers who did not have the adequate education and expertise to meet the requirements of their position, and therefore could not make competent decisions. Nevertheless, they were making decisions or at least pretending to do so. In the socio-political scheme of things, application of this strategy was meant to amplify the leading role of the working class in socialist society, and as such, it represents another example of the victory of ideological standards over practicalities. It does not come as a surprise then that, within this given framework, efficiency of production and economical results of each factory were not a priority.

Close analysis of respondents' testimonies revealed that while supervisors usually had close and friendly relationship with their team members, there was a different, more detached relation between top management and their subordinates. Thus it appears necessary to make a distinction between levels of management, as noted by one of my informants. This would explain the disparity of evidence on this subject received from respondents. As with many other occurrences at the workplace, this has political and ideological reasons. The top management signified a distinctive group which was rather remote from all other categories of staff in a factory/organization, and removed even from the mid-level management, precisely because of their political connections. Therefore, they were often 'avoided' by most of the other employees, because it was not transparent what the nature of their connections was and how 'dangerous' they could be in terms of passing on certain information and causing trouble for individuals.

When evaluating the qualities of Czech management, most informants were in agreement that during the middle and towards the end of the 1990s, general standards were not so good but there was certainly a trend towards improvement. Czech managers were perceived by my informants to be lacking in experience, manners and in communication skills. As for the first, poor levels of experience are understandable since the transition required managers with new sets of skills and they had to learn these, often being self-taught. Missing continuity and being unable to draw on the experience of previous generations, combined with general lack of

resources, made the entry of the first generation of managers in the new environment of the transition economy difficult and their experience was, more often than not, hard earned. As one respondent pointed out, everything was 'fairly raw' at the beginning [R29, p.18.]. The situation is illustrated in more detail by the following:

'The managers here complain a lot...that the employees are not capable...but I think the real problem is the low level of management skills and lack of experience. At first [after the change of the economic system] we used to learn everything ourselves, then we had some trainers from western countries, that was quite a phenomenon. Our trainer was Mr [name], a former emigrant, who always got training himself on the topic a month before he was teaching it to us. And for us it was something fascinating, and it all seemed perfect, and the others did not know it...but I still think there is a big room for improvement here. And if they say the employees are not capable...well...I get offended by this, the people are what they are, and you need to know how to work with them. I think it is a problem of the managers in the first place, reluctance to work on themselves, pride, arrogance,... lack of humility. The experience shared and passed on from previous generations is missing. I have an advantage because my father was a manager so he gave me lots of good advice in life, but most of my peers were not this lucky...they learnt everything themselves, really. Also it is obvious that if your grandfather was an owner of a factory, and your mother was an owner of a factory...well...there is continuity in the family, someone gives you advice and tells you who to consult with'. [R29, p.18]

In the first years of transition, a new phenomenon appeared in Czech management, namely the young manager. As pointed out before, in socialist times it was exceptional that higher supervisory positions would be filled in by young people. In the new economy, this was very common and in direct opposition to the 'seniority principle' of the socialist economy. It is reasonable to suggest that the new sets of qualities and skills were thought necessary for managers demanded revision of recruitment criteria and policies. It needs to be emphasized that these changes understandably paralleled and reflected other important changes in society in general, and the sphere of production in particular, such as profound technical developments, including computerisation of the office. It should be noted that some of the informants dated the onset of these changes in the Czech Republic as happening even before the collapse of Communism. This supports my contention of the unsustainability of the Communist system from both a political and an economic perspective.

'The Czech managers are relatively much younger compared to managers in other countries, and at a younger age they get into high positions...so this naturally changed the atmosphere of mutual relations...simply said, the human qualities and life experiences were suddenly much less appreciated than flexibility, professional expertise, general productivity, vigour etc. Suddenly...there was something which did not exist before...'. [R2, p.11]

'I still remember this from my times...seniority was, to a great extent, the source of authority, when someone was already working in a firm for some time, it [automatically] generated authority, and I think this is gone now, completely. The older people now, of my age, don't have as many skills as the young ones...for example regarding work with computers; they are not as well-travelled...in fact everyone in our company travelled more than me. [...] Big changes came around due to computer processing and similar things, because those [young] people have particular skills thanks to which they surpass the older ones. The moment the system will be directed by a thought and not by means of learnt procedures, I think it will level out again. When a person controls the processes on the computer intuitively and not by learnt skill, just because he/she took cybernetics or programming at school, then I think it will level out'. [R10, p.13]

The opinion of the last respondent suggests that the strengths and competitive advantages of young people in supervisory positions are based on their having particular skills and being familiar with processes. This, however, may not always be sufficient in order for someone to be a successful manager. There is perhaps a need for something beyond that, what the respondent refers to as 'a thought'. In this context it could be interpreted as having a specific conceptual frame, a higher or deeper level of knowing; i.e. more experience. The majority of informants who commented on this subject pointed out that, according to their observations, the practice of young managers was often rather ambiguous. While many of them had formal education and high ambitions, what they were lacking was relevant experience, which, according to the respondents more often than not created serious problems. A lack of qualifications was often compensated for by adoption of directive management practices, which, combined with insufficient communication, rattled some employees. Respondents' observations about the absence of appropriate open and direct communication were very common. This was typically combined with a tendency or preference to avoid confrontations, and a lack of openness, which was described as maintaining the difference between what one thinks and what he/she says or actually does. In addition, lack of manners was often mentioned as a negative trait of Czech

management. The informants shared numerous examples from factories/organizations where they worked of various young managers who 'burned out quickly' or 'crashed into the wall at high speed', and simply finished their career as quickly as they had risen to the top.

'It is very important to 'not lose contact with the outside world' as I would put it. [...]. The young people have a bit of a different way of thinking, and I appreciate their approach very much, but I say it is important to pay attention, and when they come here and get the opportunity, they should not think they know it all. Never should we underestimate the people around us, because without the army, there is no commanding general. [...] It is important to listen to people, be engaged with the real problems. [...]. [Being a manager] You need to get people to support you, and you can't achieve this by being arrogant. If I don't know the area, I need to familiarize myself with it first. Young people like to take risks, make quick decisions, and that is great, I agree, but you need to get some experience, too. That girl [name] who was here under [name of former director] was a prime example. She broke out all her teeth here. [...] She was one of those who absolutely did not listen. She did not communicate...she was only managing. She didn't want to work, really, or solve any problems. [...] She was walking the corridors all the time, speaking on the phone, she did not greet anybody, just continuously making phone calls [...]. Well, she only lasted eight months...'. [R7, pp. 25-26]

'Our people [young managers] always think that getting into the position and buying a quality suit is the end of it. I think this is not the point. There is nothing better than, when you are coming to work, someone in higher position greets you, and he is a young, handsome man, this is a really pleasing experience, as opposed to a situation when someone is arrogant and even professionally you don't have great opinion about him...that is the last drop if he has no manners either. [...] I think I made this positive experience in our firm thanks to foreigners, but I don't want to say Czech managers can't do it...they are learning it from the foreign ones. They need to get used to it, identify with it. You know, in the totalitarian system there were no young managers, and this is the beginning of it, because when someone had the 'old school' when it comes to gallantry, and he was not just some ill-bred blue collar who got into a management position through politics, then certain things were alien to him '. [R4, p.14]

'[In foreign countries] they communicate rather openly, directly but [here] he [the subordinate employee] is getting questions that are very detached from what the

manager is actually thinking. So...I would say...I don't think it is done completely on purpose...but this is often the case. For example I spoke with this manager from South Africa and he told me: 'but I agreed with this guy [a Czech employee] on everything, and in the end he did it his way anyway, and this attitude is not only restricted on the scope of work, you can find it in the personal domain, too. So many things work this way, indirect, no one wants to go into any confrontation....'. [R 23, p 18]

It is possible to explain lack of manners by loss of continuity from earlier times before socialism, and thus the impossibility to follow the example of previous generations. However, some other undesirable qualities such as the avoidance of open communication and insincerity could be cases of the legacies of socialism, manifesting themselves in the attitudes and behaviour of the first generations of Czech managers in the marketized economy.

Above I pointed out that the respondents reported that Czech employees commonly introduced emotions and personal relationship issues to the work environment. Those who commented on this with respect to managers commented additionally that Czechs in management positions were not always to the point, and showed a tendency to complicate things. This may have been because the attention given to social dimensions makes it more difficult for them to delegate work tasks and responsibilities. That is, they feel they need to have a trusting relationship with their employees, perhaps one that they have fostered through shared experiences. By contrast, respondents who had experience of foreign companies observed that foreign managers were far more instrumental and factual in their management practices, such as getting tasks completed by subordinates. The foreign managers' clinical ways of operating are balanced against Czech managers' concerns for maintaining relationships as shown in the extract below.

'We [the Czech managers] sometimes lack that matter-of-fact approach, we are not enough goal-directed. We tend to make things harder rather than easier, and we take a long time before we start something. And also delegation of responsibilities, it is not the point if I have the trust or not. He/she [the subordinate employee] is in a certain position simply, and getting paid for it, so he/she will get the task and carry it out. If not, I can tolerate it only so many times and if it still does not work, I will have to fill the position with someone else who will do it. Us the Czechs were still...I felt we could not carry out this professional approach simply, without emotions. They [the German managers] were even a bit cynical about it, when someone did not do what they

wanted, they simply replaced him/her and tried someone else. When a similar situation happens to us...we cannot say directly how things are, how they will be and that is it. We put something personal into it...that something...it is hard to express...we get emotional about it'. [R 29, p 19-20]

Even though this respondent, a Czech manager who had worked for a German company for a long time, and said he liked the German style of working, it seems evident from his testimony that he had some difficulty with fully complying with their management practices. Even though he had learnt to adapt his management style, it is noticeable that although he acknowledges its advantages in terms of efficiency and achievement orientation, he still could not identify with it fully. In his words the managers were a bit 'cynical' towards employees as they were prepared to fire an underperforming person without hesitation whilst he expressed the view that a Czech manager in a similar situation would find it emotionally challenging.

There was, however, evidence in the data that awareness of the social aspects of work relations, could possibly become an advantage in managerial work. Regarding this, it emerged from some interviews that women usually have a different management style compared to men, one which is more democratic, based on being closer to people, empathising with their needs and being able to reflect on the human aspects of situations. However, despite recognizing the difference, the women managers interviewed did not come across as especially confident about their specific management styles. They were often reluctant to admit that women managers could have a different style, or if they confessed to it personally, they were next to apologetic about it. None of my respondents explicitly expressed a belief that women in supervisory positions should build upon their specifics that stem from being a woman. They were not very sure about their practices and rather eager to emphasize this uncertainty being careful not to make any broader generalizations on this topic. The first quotation presented below illustrates this point. However, when describing their experience and recounting the results that their management style typically generated, it was fairly apparent that it was successful. Their heightened social sensitivity and awareness appeared in this case to be a noticeable advantage, for example in terms of being able to assess people better and having a deeper insight into complex situations.

'I think we are a bit different [women managers as compared to men], it cannot be denied or said this is simply not the case because it is true. As for myself, for example, I think I involve emotions in my management style, unfortunately. [Do you think it is

unfortunate...?] I don't know, maybe it can be perceived as fortunate as well, just because here we are a department of human resources, but maybe it would also work in other departments. Maybe it could be an advantage that I involve my emotions, because here we deal with people, not numbers, you know. So then when someone asks me, I do not know what the discussed figures were exactly but I know what the expression on the boss's face was. So, I do follow feelings, very much, but I do not want to say that it is always an advantage...even though I have to say that at my age I do attach importance to this ...and I even laugh about it with my colleagues...the fact that the first impression, the first opinion, based on intuition or common sense...usually turns out to be true'. [R4, pp. 6-7]

'I have always been an advocate of the rule that an atmosphere of repose, calm and possible clarification can achieve much more than an atmosphere of pressure, unease and stress. When everything turned out well at the end of the day, we sang the song 'Good thing has been achieved' [a prominent aria from a famous Czech opera], that was our anthem at the end of the working day. When something did not work out, everyone, literally the whole team, got up to look for the hidden problem. And, really, for me, it was just enough to say one word... So I had...for me there were such mechanisms operating...we [me as a manager and my team] were communicating almost without words...'. [R6, pp.3-4]

One of the previous sub-sections described what respondents perceived as the negative traits of Czech managers and indicated the main areas of improvements that were wished for. A higher level of professionalism based on trust was what was seen as most clearly improving the quality of managers during the course of the transition. Due to this, many informants were hopeful that there was indeed a bright future for Czech managers and for the progress of transition in general. Below are some comments on how these informants viewed the future:

'The main difference between what was before and what is now, I believe, is trust. When there is a relationship based on trust, then also the exchange of information and communication and the whole management is... more real. You cannot create two different worlds, the world of the manager and the world of subordinates, and then the manager gives out orders that are not applicable at all...and he will get feedback that orders were met, even if physically it was not possible...then this would set apart the two worlds even more...and then it will explode'. [R1, p.1]

When it comes to positive traits, ingenuity and inventiveness were frequently cited. In the words of some respondents, *'they know how to cope, how to deal with things'*

[R2, p. 10]. This trait was also often reported as typical of Czech employees in the broader sense. For supervisory and management positions it appeared to be a valued quality. This is because, as is discussed in the following section, managers are often assumed to be the ones who set an example for their employees and they to a large degree create the working atmosphere of a particular company/organization.

Another aspect of the transition change that was highlighted concerned the arrival of the younger managers. There was a lot of evidence that indicates a real shift will happen, gradually, when young people who did not experience the totalitarian system will prevail in the labour market and get into supervisory/management positions. The older generations, and the older management strata are no exception from being influenced by the legacy of the previous system. In this respect, informants often pointed out the differences in their upbringing as compared to the current generation, and explained that this could be the main reason for difference in their attitude. Even though the influences of the legacy are diminishing, the process is not a fast one.

'I think it will be all right. I can see the change happening now...when I go to golf these days, there are young people there, eighteen years old, they play a good game, and they are great, open. They are looking forward to going to France next week, they travel here and there. Or the older ones who are at University, they are doing a professional placement in a good company, you know, the contemporary kids, they do not carry the burden of these silly things [of the previous system], they have parents who are able to provide a decent base for them...you know, one can tell they are completely different people'. [R 29, p. 18]

'We do not have the skills [new sets of skills required for good management practice] as we did not have anywhere to learn them. This new generation has not grown up yet. [...]. The Czechs as a nation never profited from being assertive, and this is still the case now. Because here [in the Czech Republic], you get punished for making mistakes, here mistakes are not perceived as a natural part of the working process. When something is not perfect, it is a tragedy. But this is not right. [R39, p.3]

'It is down to a different upbringing. Take for example schooling, in my youth the children were not praised for anything, it was exceptional that the teacher would praise anyone; they always used to say Joseph [a typical Czech name] you messed up again. And even when Joseph did it well, he would not be praised, because it was commonplace then that you should do things well, because everyone is doing it well. And parents at home did the same, and it was the same at work. So it settled. If you do something well, what is the big deal'. [R14, p. 9]

'Today the young people know languages, they are friendly, dynamic, assertive...our generation, brought up in the totalitarian system, did not have these qualities, it was impossible, we could not be different to what we are. This started with our upbringing at home, no one was praising us, if I had all A's at school that was a matter-of-course thing...'. [R6, p. 6]

8.5 Organizational commitment

As discussed in the previous sections, the relationship of managers towards their subordinates was generally disordered under socialism, and the authority of superiors was low. With respect to organisational commitment, there was a consensus amongst my respondents that this too was very low and practically non-existent: *'A relationship towards employer, loyalty or something like that, was in the sphere of fables' [R2, p.10]*. This can be linked with the fact that employees were not encouraged nor explicitly required to form relations of loyalty towards their organization. As the evidence from many interviews suggests, there was not much awareness of loyalty at all under socialism; it was not brought up for discussion in companies and it was not defined in any way. As the ideological domain took over, other, more important areas were emphasized as those to which citizens were required to express their loyalty, namely, towards the Party and the socialist society in a broader sense. The following quotation shows the lengths to which the lack of a concept of loyalty toward an organization/employer could go:

'For example in our house there were two families, members of which were employed at [Organization XY, International business] so they were in contact with commercial privacy. And ordinarily, when they were outside in front of the house beating the carpets, they were casually talking about it all, but this was evidently the sort of information that no one else was supposed to have access to, and they obviously did not find it strange at all'. [R5, p.9]

According to the respondents, when there was some sort of relationship towards the employer expressed, it was often done in negative terms. When informants shared this type of information, they, however, would do so with the intention of making a contrast with the new circumstances after the collapse of the Communist system, in order to emphasize how much the situation had changed. The creation of incentives by the employer for being loyal is a significant point here:

'I would say that back then [in socialist times] everything was negated, everything was wrong. So, the relationship was largely negative towards everything, there was

a critical, almost mocking attitude. Nowadays this is not the case; it cannot be the case anymore, because these days work has a different meaning compared to before. Today work is something positive that happened to me, and so I am glad I have a job and I feel that my good attitude towards the company will be rewarded. If this one works, and if I know I can influence this somehow...there is a good chance that my attitude towards that job and that company will not be negative'. [R 8, p. 11]

Judging by the interviewees' comments, the wider context is an important factor to consider. In this respect, organizational commitment can be also seen as a cultural matter, and in the context of Czech transition this aspect played a significant role. One possible reason for this is that many companies were at the beginning of the transition subjected to foreign ownership and therefore both the Czech managers and employees working there had to adjust their strategies and behaviour. Some cultures were perceived by informants as closer to 'us' (e.g. the German) and some more distant, namely the Asian ones. The cultural distance or a clash of cultures was reported on as often being problematic and in the case of daughter companies of multinational firms, there were significant processes of adjustment taking place, usually manoeuvred by Czech managers, as reported in the following example:

'I think it is very much down to the manager. Of course, a big role is played by the mother company, or the international company, where some culture already exists, but I do not think the foreign culture could be adopted fully because every nation is different. Intercultural differences are well known and if we said the company should adopt American or Japanese culture completely, I know that for sure many people will have big problems with that. So it requires the skill of the manager to look at that culture and take what is needed and communicate, negotiate and make sure we understand because otherwise that would create serious problems. And then take it from there and carry it on. I have to say I admire colleagues who work for Asian companies as I believe it is more difficult there...'. [R1, p. 10]

'For example here, in [name of city] it is interesting, that many people do not want to work with Japanese firms. Well, because it is too much control and they do not seem to be making use of the Czech creativity'. [R5, p.10].

The previous point demonstrates that organizational commitment is closely linked with organizational culture. As already illustrated in the examples above, it is an opinion of the respondents that organizational culture to a large degree depends on the personality of the manager, as they are the ones who instil the culture of an organization. It was already commented above that one Czech specific is that

employees in Czech organizations typically tend to be rather critical and they do not accept authority very easily. Thus, they are also reflective regarding the personality of the manager and the practices that he or she follows. In cases when the managers would try to assert themselves too much at the expense of the employees, it was not perceived well in the Czech environment and employees fail to form feelings of loyalty.

'I believe it is very important how the manager behaves. If they are only focused on building up their career, but the blame for any mistakes falls on their colleagues and subordinates...that is perceived very negatively. And I think this Czech environment has seen many very successful careers and many unsuccessful. People can see what is happening if he or she [the manager] really achieved something good and if they managed to build a good team, good environment...'. [R1, p 13]

It has been concluded from our interviews that the transitional change in terms of organizational commitment has been profound. As already mentioned above, the very meaning of work and jobs changed for people. Most respondents believed that the attitude of many employees towards their organization is mainly positive these days, and their level of commitment often stretches beyond the prescribed tasks of their job or designated working hours. They are often happy to go the extra mile for their organization. By the same token, this attitude may not be entirely positively motivated and stem from enthusiasm for an organization but according to some respondents, can also be a result of the simple fact that people are afraid to lose their job. Therefore, it can be assumed that attachment with the organization still happens mostly only at the superficial level; the feelings of identification with the organization on a deeper level that would truly engage the identity and values of the employees are not generated. As one respondent described the sources of organizational commitment, it takes place because nowadays people are more aware and careful. While in the past the employees often tried to get away with less and cheat a little, nowadays these negative legacies of socialism are reportedly disappearing. However, contemporary organizational commitment mainly takes the shape of instrumental affiliation, as one respondent put it, *'...fear is a strong force which is eliminating these residuals'. [R13, p. 22]*

8.6 Private sphere – partnerships, families and gender

In this part of the chapter the issue of private life and people's relationships outside of work are the focus of attention. One of the central outcomes to emerge from the collected data regarding the transition and the shift in the perception of work is that it

has gained importance under the new economic and social conditions. The impact of such shifts is probed to reveal the consequences of this for the private sphere. To start, some evidence that refers in general to relationships is presented and this is followed with narratives that comment on the experiences of women.

In the socialist past, promotions at work typically depended on criteria other than qualifications or personal performance, namely on political affiliations as already explained in the previous chapters. With collective responsibility and no pressures on achievement, it was easy and common place to just go through the working day without much effort and by the end of it *'...one could go home with a clear head'* [R 41, p.4]. In the situation of competition in the labour market this has significantly changed as people reportedly have to try harder and dedicate more time and effort to work. Work therefore penetrates all areas of life and *'...takes more from people, physically and psychologically'*. [R41, p.4]

This change directly impacted on people's private lives as *'...people nowadays work much more than before...and it is at the expense of family partners, children...after all, there are fewer children born now than before'* [R22, p.13]. The 'time famine' was mentioned very often, being one of the main consequences of the intensification of work. Besides the more visible changes as spending less time with the family, relatives and friends, the observations of our respondents also put forward evidence regarding far reaching consequences in this respect such as the weakening of intergenerational solidarity and strengthening of individualism. The quotations below give examples of how the consequences of the rising demands of the labour market were viewed by respondents:

'The times were slower before, everything was more relaxed, I think people had more time for each other. People used to visit friends a lot; they were planning activities for weekends together. Nowadays, you meet someone, and all you say is 'bye, let's keep in touch, I will call you sometime'. [R39, p.20]

'There was really time for family, much more time. It is true that not everyone was making good use of that but for us, in socialist times, we simply finished at four or five in the afternoon and after that we devoted all of our time to the children'. [R34, p.13]

'The older generation today...it is difficult. In the socialist system they were taken care of [by the state]. Nowadays, their adult children have their own work, their own life. The old people get ill, they need care...but maybe the children cannot do it. So they put them into an old people's home. And then maybe the parents think I gave

them life, education, I brought them up and now this...it is ingratitude. But it is all complicated. And the old people might say well under Communism it was better, the doctor was completely free and also in old age I would have been taken care of '. [R38, p.16]

'I think before [in socialist times] people had more time for each other. They were spending more time together and they had more friends, the real ones. I remember, for example, I used to go here [the city XY] to one pub, we were always the same people...and sometimes others joined or someone brought their friends. Every Wednesday all those who could make it would come, and we were usually a rather big group. After the velvet revolution this all disappeared in an instant, everyone got into business, nobody had time any more'. [R38, p.12]

'You know, people were closer. Because they had more time...even in the team of work colleagues we were cultivating friendships, and we were going to visit each other'. [R 36, p.6]

A profound break with the past is that private life and working life are not as closely linked now as they used to be. It was pointed out earlier that for people nowadays, work and private life are perceived as two separate entities. For example, employees cannot imagine spending leisure time or even holidays with their work colleagues, whereas under socialism this was the norm. This divide between work life and private life is associated with changes in the nature and quality of relationships, both at work and in private life. The older generations who spend all or most of their working lives under socialism still maintain the old patterns of organizing their social lives. The following quotation illustrates these well, and underlines the changing tendencies:

'What I know is that the generation of pensioners, the work teams of former colleagues, they are still in touch. They organize meetings after five years, ten years, fifteen...or even every year...to confide to each other how they are getting on, how they do things. And I am not sure how this is going to be with my generation, if there is any chance we will be meeting like this in the future. Because what I have noticed about my generation is that we are together at work but we have friends outside work. Therefore there is quite a big difference...because them [the older generations] they were really close and they used to stick together also after work...those were the main friendships. Nowadays it is more individualistic...and some of us say that...it is inconvenient...it is binding your hands when you are making decisions at work, that personal relation with your colleague, if you know his or her family...'. [R1, p. 12]

'In normal life...when there was trust and outside the scope of politics...we were casually telling each other political jokes; that was normal. And we were closer to each other, you know... And that team of colleagues, which we used to have...we are still in contact and we seek one another even now. We still remember the good times that we used to have...in the old system I mean...because we were very close and that was a good base for everything'. [R8, p.7]

From the above, it appears that some respondents were of the opinion that relationships used to be closer and people used to be friendlier and more honest with each other in the socialist era. This is also related with the fact that people used to have more free time in general, which they often devoted to the cultivation of friendships. On the other hand, there were informants who felt that people relationships are better nowadays, mainly because people are more transparent, since no political or ideological agendas are involved. Moreover, these respondents point out that there are more opportunities for spending quality time together, be it travel, culture, sport or visiting quality restaurants, which is also an outcome of there being more consumer choice in the contemporary economy. It can be surmised that these particular respondents saw the past less idealistically and recalled circumstances that could be taken as a reminder that not all was rosy in the realm of people relationships.

'In socialism it was common that people did not communicate in fact because they were afraid what could come out of it. So I think they were not closer. Maybe there were exceptions in some groups of friends or some families, those which were not dysfunctional. In general people had to help each other much more because nothing was readily available... Or how they were supporting the children, too much, in my view this was unhealthy, you know, it was common to build a house for the kids...and of course the material was stolen from somewhere... So, maybe some people were closer within families but they tried to influence the others too much, which is not good. You can see this in the period soap operas how the conflicts emerge by means of people trying to talk others into things...'. [R31, p.11]

'And I don't know but I think that maybe the relationships are not so good anymore, not so straight. They are often superficial and two-faced...I will make friends with him because he has money and a villa with a swimming pool...'. [R38, p.12]

'Nowadays...the young colleagues...I'm not so sure their friendships are as open and sincere as ours used to be. Maybe there is more rivalry, because they have ambitions,

they want to...maybe they are not exactly aspiring to a director post but they want to get a better position somewhere or a post abroad...this is hard to say... [R36, p.6].

The changed circumstances in the labour market interfered significantly with private lives in a number of other ways. Some people could make good use of the new opportunities that enabled them to earn significantly more money than others. The opening up of income differentials created new and previously unknown tensions not only between neighbours, friends and family but also produced new dynamics inside marriage relationships. For instance, the phenomenon of so-called 'green widows' emerged. These are the wives of suddenly rich husbands who did not have any job and stayed at home. For most of them this was a completely new way of life and they did not have strategies passed from previous generations of women in terms of learning how to cope with this new found freedom from employment outside of the home. What seemed like an extremely attractive lifestyle in the beginning, looked different after some time. It was reported to the researcher by several informants that they personally knew some of these women. Ultimately these marriages often failed, and this would usually leave the wife in an unenviable situation with no partner, no job, no qualifications and no money to live on.

Another common scenario was when women in two career relationships started earning significantly more money than their partners. This was an unprecedented situation in the Czech environment where 90 percent of women (see Chapter 4) in socialist times were employed but their careers were typically secondary to their husbands'. Many Czech men still kept this traditional mind set from the past, even in the new economic conditions. This situation could lead to problems in partnerships as illustrated by the following examples.

'When women decide for a career nowadays, the partner often creates various tensions and the partnerships and marriages can suffer. You know, these are new conflicts that did not exist before, as the division of roles in partnerships was clearer, the man was the breadwinner and the woman was more likely to look after the house and the children, the model which today does not have to be adopted anymore. Nowadays it could easily be the case that the woman would earn more than her husband...and then the guy has to put up with that somehow, which is not easy for them and it can seriously disturb the dynamics of the relationship'. [R38, p.6]

'Nowadays it can happen that when the man is successful when it comes to job and earnings, and his partner is not, he might start acting superior. Or, on the other hand, if he is not doing well, he might take it out on his wife. I think this is partly heritage

from the past... everyone was employed somewhere, not having a job was seen as parasitism, and this mind set is still in play to some extent, in particular for men. They want to have the dominant role...in partnerships as well as in employment. They want to build up a career and rise up in the professional hierarchy, and now imagine that someone kicks them, and since they cannot take it up at work with their superior, for example, they take revenge on their wives...the confidence he lost at the workplace...he will try to compensate for it at home...(I know many examples of this ...). [R28, p.9]

The problems due to changes in earning power in general, as well as the challenges generated by related shifts between genders, assume different shapes depending on the educational and professional background of the individuals concerned. One of the examples presented above documents the situation at the higher end of the pay scale and social spectra. Nonetheless, similar issues are faced by those in lower earning categories. In both cases women appear to be the ones in the disadvantaged position.

'Many unhappy women would leave their relationships but there is the social fear. Imagine if he was earning thirty thousand and her only fifteen. If she left and rented a flat...the rent for an average flat is about ten thousand...so she would be left with five! And now you need to pay the rent, the food, and all the expenses for the children...a woman with less than a university education would find it very hard to make it'. [R 28, p.13]

The disadvantaged position of women during the transition can be recognised in areas far beyond their family situation. While there were some women in couples who decided to become stay at home wives, as described above, in reality this 'western model' was adopted very exceptionally. The vast majority of Czech women want to work, as employment is part of their identity and life style. This attitude is partly a continuation of the former socialist pattern when employment of women in the former Czechoslovakia was very high (nearly 90 percent) and the living standards of families were based on two salaries. For the majority of the Czech population, this is still the case under the new capitalist economic system, and families with both parents working are the standard. However, according to the testimonies of my respondents, it does not seem to be the case that the new employment opportunities and generally better career prospects that came with the labour market changes in the transition period have eased their situation. This is especially the case for women with children, as balancing family and employment responsibilities appear to be harder than before.

The women I interviewed often gave accounts of the fact that the demands on their time and the levels of productivity demanded by their employers steadily increased compared to before. However, at the same time, the understanding of gender roles remained rather skewed towards the traditional, so women are still expected to look after the household and the children. While in the socialist past there were ample amenities of inexpensive childcare provided by the state, nearly all of these facilities were withdrawn shortly after the turn of the regime. Therefore, as the quotes below highlight, the new times brought with them new obstacles that women had to face. These, in fact, appear to have made it harder for them to reconcile their work and family lives.

'I just cannot imagine I would have a small child these days, and come back to work after maternity leave...today everything at work is much more demanding, and the employers do not tolerate it if the children are ill [they do not make allowances for mothers with children, as they did in socialism]...[they would say] your child is ill but it is up to you how you arrange things, you have to do the work in any case...and I think it is getting worse now...you can work reduced hours but they will want you to do the full time work load, so you will struggle. Before the revolution [in socialist times] when the child got ill, you would just take sick leave, the boss would make a funny face but they would accept it, it was perceived as completely normal that if you have a small child, that child will be ill sometimes, so you need to stay at home to look after them...but this is something I absolutely cannot imagine nowadays'. [R41, p.1]

'I guess if necessary [if I'm ill or the child is ill] they [the company] would be able to bring all the work home to me or [they would say] arrange it how you want, come here in the evenings, you have to do this work. Also, it is perceived as a matter-of-course [in this company XY] that if there is an urgent deadline, you have to stay here until late at night, just to finish all the work. Things did not used to be so tough before. I'm lucky, my kids are grown up now, however I still don't appreciate it when these situations happen, but for a woman with small children...I just cannot imagine how she would cope'. [R 41, p.2]

It has also emerged from the informants that the situation is not the same for all women, and that their coping strategies vary accordingly. Several respondents noted that in the socialist past there were two common ways used by the mothers to solve their childcare issues; the state childcare facilities (available very cheaply or for free) and the help of grandparents. It was however noted that neither of these sources are an easy option nowadays. Firstly, nearly all public child care facilities have

disappeared and the only available ones are expensive private kindergartens. Secondly, the research also shows that relying on the help of grandparents is not as straightforward as it used to be. Many people in the older age groups have encountered financial difficulties in the new economic system, so they take part time jobs to make ends met. Therefore, they do not have much time left to look after the grandchildren. The situation is not the same for all women, and their coping strategies differ, mainly according to their level of education, profession and financial situation. The quotes below give examples of this.

'I think it is most difficult for women who want to return to work after maternity leave. You know...I'm not surprised that women delay motherhood these days. I don't really envy my younger colleagues' situation. Only if you have a very good established career and earn a lot of money, can you afford to pay for private care or a nanny, so that would make it easier to cope with the childcare problem. I think the worst situation really is not for women with a good career but for the lower middle class women. You know, let's say a secretary or an accountant...it would be very difficult for her to manage [in terms of childcare demands as well as finding a job after maternity leave]'. [R4, p.14]

'I think it's difficult for women nowadays but maybe easier for the younger generation. If we take my daughter for example, she simply studied under different circumstances, she is young, with good prospects, excellent language skills...I believe she will be able to find a job where she will earn enough to be able to afford private childcare or a nanny. This was not an option in my times. I hope she will be able to find someone or somewhere to put away the child when they are ill'. [R41, p.2]

The above quotations address another related topic which was often raised by women interviewees, postponing motherhood. It emerged from my interviews that this phenomenon is very common during the transition. Several reasons have been identified as drivers behind this trend. While some women want to take advantage of opportunities to travel, study and get established in their career, for many others, poor financial circumstances are the main reason. The quotations below show some examples of this.

'I can see it in many of my younger colleagues, they are over thirty and they do not have children...you know, when I was their age I had two children. I think women postpone motherhood very often nowadays...and if they decide they want children, they have to have everything planned, who is going to look after the children, how

they will deal with the challenges...[otherwise they do not do it, it is difficult]'. [R41, p. 2]

'I have a daughter (she is in that age group and I expect I will become a grandmother)...you know, she is not a career woman [in Czech this term has a negative connotation, meaning a woman who would sacrifice everything for a career] but...she ended up like this because this is how things are in this time and age...men also want a career...so my daughter is very successful at work, but she is not able to catch up with her private life...most of the men her age want a career and they do not want to make a commitment. So even if the women were ready and the men were not, what can we do? This is how it is for young people nowadays, especially in the big cities. So it is good that we have the country after all...where people are a bit more normal...and often for practical reasons, because they cannot get good jobs there...at least they have children'. [R4, p. 2]

'Nowadays young people work all the time, during the week and at weekends...so they do not have children...and if they have them, they do not have time for them'. [R42, p.4]

The changes, however, are not only about disadvantages, and it was noted by the informants that many good things have appeared with the new capitalist scenario. One of the changes which is welcomed by many is the freedom of choice in terms of employment and lifestyle. The most important shift relates to the fact that while under socialism almost all women of working age were in employment, they usually did not progress very much with their careers, as under the previous economic and political system women's careers were secondary to men's. Therefore, in the post-socialist transition, work and employment gained different meaning for women as they had a chance to develop their careers. On the one hand, this means that women started postponing settling into marriages and having a family until they were older, as discussed above. On the other hand, some women may choose to focus entirely on their careers and not raise a family; an option which was not socially accepted before. As one of our respondents pointed out, under socialism, for women who were unmarried or without a partner like her, life was very hard.

'I do not have nice memories of those times. The borders were closed, I could not travel, so I lived a bitter life, there was nothing and I felt that life was unfair to me...so I was very pessimistic, I did not have a partner... I lived in the country and there was nothing going on there'. [R38, p.3]

Having choices and alternatives in life occurred not only in the private dimension but across people's lives in general. To consider the changes under the transition more widely, it needs to be pointed out that the transitional changes in the labour market have been interlinked with the profound technological advancements that have taken place in the course of the last few decades, particularly regarding computerisation and rapid expansion of new communication technologies. Many informants emphasized these changes and saw them as very significant, with respect to the increasing speed of life, opening up to the world, being flooded with information and having a large choice, including enjoying a variety of life style choices. This represents a huge difference from the previous system when there was unification or standardisation of everything, and practically no alternatives existed. These new opportunities, however, also bring new challenges to peoples' lives.

'Today young professionals are subject to extreme pressures and when I look at my two sons, who both work very hard, and try to compare...our generation was exposed to these extreme pressures for twenty years, they will face them for forty. Will they cope? I think, nowadays the main problem of this generation may not be any more having the 'financial feeling' as I mentioned before...but the challenge is starting to be to learn how to relax properly'. [R24, pp. 2- 3]

Diversification of life styles and life paths creates the necessity for people to make choices and develop an ability to cope well in a world full of alternatives. This applies to both men and women in the post-socialist transition period. As already discussed in the previous chapter, informants pointed out that one of the main features of life in the socialist system was that events in the lives of the people were planned and designed in advance. As depicted by one respondent, '*...[in the previous system] it all used to be clear...you go to this school, you finish it, you get a job in this city, you have children and you get old in the house for old people'. [R18, p.18]*. However, even though it was reported that the previous system was convenient for those people who did not want to make much effort and wanted security and certainty, the seemingly comfortable circumstance of being taken care of came at a price. Even the privacy of people was affected by state control and the anxiety this induced was wide spread. This all changed rather dramatically during the course of the past twenty years, since the collapse of the Communist regime. From a situation where everything was pre-planned and predictable, most people's lives moved to a place where they have to assume responsibility for their own life and actively make things happen, be it in regard to work life or in the realm of leisure and their personal and family life. The security and predictability of the previous system was replaced by

personal accountability and necessity to make choices in an uncertain world. As my respondents summed it up, *'nowadays conditions are harder but there is more freedom'* [R27, p.11] and, *'today it is necessary to put up with greater risks...but you can live life to the full if you want to...'*. [R34, p.7].

8.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has looked at the impacts on relationships during the economic changes that occurred in the transition. It emerged from my interviews that the relationships at work are best described as a shift from being relaxed in attitude, with solidarity and informality being commonplace, to formalization, competition and professionalism. This holds for relationships between colleagues as well as those between superiors/managers and their subordinates. Moreover, this second category of relationships has lost the ideological and political load typical in socialist times. The main effect of marketization on private relationships is the 'lack of time'. In the sphere of private life, the impact of the transition appears more profound for women compared to men. While the transition offered new opportunities for women, in terms of study, travel and advancement of careers, new obstacles emerged that made it more difficult for many to reconcile working life and family life. This, together with other noted indicators, suggests that the impact of the disadvantages as related to the introduction of the capitalist society is gendered.

Chapter 9. Discussion

9.1 Introduction

It has emerged that attitudes to work are shaping and being shaped by post-socialist marketization. The outcomes of my research suggest that both sides of the relationship, the macro and micro structures, are significant and linked in a manner of interplay, that is, the formal institutions shape the attitudes and are consequently affected by them in return. The mutual interactions between ideological, political and economic structures of society on the one hand, and the social structures and people's attitudes that are shaped in response to these forces on the other, are perceived by this researcher as the most intriguing aspects of the social change. While the swift social transformation that has taken place in the countries of central and Eastern Europe after the demise of Communism is very inviting for social analysts, it is a very complex process, as this research has demonstrated. Yet, a number of noteworthy outcomes can be established as a result of this investigation. In this chapter, the findings from the empirical chapters are drawn together and discussed below.

Overall, the results of this inquiry indicate that the effects of post-socialist marketization can be found in all aspects of life, and there has been a change of values which has accompanied the economic changes occurring during the course of the transition. Drawing on my findings, it can be assumed that the main factor which dictates the new values and the new 'rules of the game' is the market itself. With respect to this, the values and behaviour of the people are driven by principles of efficiency and profitability.

Below, a short review of the outcomes of the empirical exploration is offered, where the core themes of the grounded analysis are used to cover the general outlining of the interview findings. The following text (Sections 9.3 to 9.7) engages in more in-depth discussion and analysis of the key results of the empirical investigation and relate them to relevant theoretical concepts introduced in the literature review and subsequently relied on in this study.

9.2 Drawing together the outcomes of the empirical analysis

9.2.1 Role and meaning of work

The results that emerged pertaining to this show that the role and meaning of work has significantly changed in the course of the transition. The main driving forces identified behind this are marketization and competition. One of the major findings in

terms of the factors underpinning the changes in the area of employment in transition concerns the intensification and marketization of work. A number of respondents offered evidence on increased demands on their productivity, time and individual responsibility. The informants complained that the new ways of working results in people not having time for anything besides work. In the novel circumstances of labour market competition, having a good stable job is valuable in itself as well as representing the means to obtaining other ends. A job provides the wherewithal for living and, unlike in the past, is a valued step towards self-actualization. That is, a good job also gives people prestige and confirms their personal value. Last but not least, employment is perceived as a strategy for success in life, as a decent job with a good salary can secure material goods and consumer opportunities. While in the socialist past, according to my informants, employment was mostly perceived as a matter of fact thing and a necessary feature of life. During the course of the transition both its significance and value increased. This is to the extent that, according to the collected evidence, people often devote too much of themselves and their lives to work at the expense of other important aspects.

9.2.2 Motivation to work

The evidence from the interviews suggests that attitudes in terms of work motivation have undergone several significant changes during the transition. Several dimensions of work ethic have been identified based on the reflections of the informants, namely, the work ethic is taken to mean: hard work, honesty, professionalism or an organizational ethic. While notable shifts have been observed in all of these areas, the most noteworthy ones appear to be a trend towards harder working, and a growing level of professionalism. These findings indicate that in socialism, the working class was promoted as the main strata in society, but in the course of the transition, there has been a reinstatement of education and qualification as the criteria for performance, getting recruited to certain jobs as well as for rewards. At the same time, levels of education and qualification have become elements of social status and together with personal wealth, form fundamental aspects of social stratification.

The main driving forces behind the changes of attitudes relating to work motivation are according to the narrative accounts identified as changes in the labour market becoming subject to marketization and competition. In this respect, the transition in the sphere of employment has not been only about new opportunities but also about new risks and related anxieties as well. Both the new risks and the new opportunities

are unequally distributed across the Czech population, mainly along the lines of gender, age and geographical location. Moreover, new rules of the market have resulted in specific attitudinal changes in terms of the rejection of collectivist tendencies and egalitarianism and towards embracing of individualism and achievement. These shifts also bring about instability, fragmentation, lowered predictability and increased insecurity.

9.2.3 Relationships in transition

Overall, the evidence suggests that people do not have time for those close to them and they seem to invest less effort into their relationships, much to the advantage of other daily dimensions of living, such as those revolving around work. Some data obtained on this point may indicate that personal relationships changed from being close and warm to being colder, less sincere and even more opportunistic and instrumental. In contrast to those pertaining to the private sphere of life, relations concerning the sphere of work, in general, improved according to my respondents. At the same time, the relationships at work are marked with increased formalization, competition and more emphasis on professionalism. This shift represents a break with the socialist past when relationships at work were typically based on informality and a relaxed attitude to work. There is, however, one aspect of workplace relationships that could be perceived as a persisting legacy of the past, which is the increased importance of social relations. According to the testimonies of my respondents, who saw this aspect as typical for the Czech work environment, it could be also understood as part of the national cultural setting. Another shift in terms of relations has taken place on the level of organizational commitment, which seems to have strengthened significantly in the course of the transition. The evidence elicited from my interviews however, shows that these new forms of commitment are not based on deep identification and value compliance of employees with the organization; rather they appear to be fierce workplace competition and related anxiety of losing one's job.

The findings of my analysis offer evidence that the effect of marketization and competition stretches beyond the area of work and employment; not only are work relations affected but the ramifications of the economic side of the transition can be found in the sphere of private relationships as well. While the whole population is affected by these shifts to some extent, my findings show that the implications of the economic transition are more profound in the lives of women as compared to men. There are certainly many advantages that Czech women could enjoy as part of the

transition; however, these new opportunities came at a cost. For Czech women, the main challenge was reconciling private/family life and employment; in this respect, the transition has not made their lives easier but rather the opposite.

9.3 Primacy of the market and the enduring centrality of work

This researcher set out with the main purpose of assessing changes regarding attitudes to work in the post-socialist transition with a focus on the Czech Republic. Eliciting the factors and forces shaping attitudes to work in the context of the profound social change typifying the period after the demise of the Communist order in Central and Eastern Europe forms the central drive of this study. The dominance of the market and market forces impacting upon working life, as well as other spheres of life, is therefore put forward as the principal finding emerging from this research. Marketization is the common denominator underpinning the changes that the majority of informants recounted as they narrated the key ups and downs their lives were subject to during the transition. According to these testimonies, the transition has revolved around competition in the labour market and increased responsibility regarding economic provision, but the level of job insecurity that has accompanied these has had a tendency to penetrate all other areas of life. Some of the respondents' testimonies show that people value their jobs much more under the new circumstances, whereas under socialism they took them for granted. By the end of the socialist era, jobs were perceived as being an obligation, a burden, or something to be avoided and joked about, however, in the transition period, good employment increased in value and it became something to be esteemed and appreciated. In the words of one informant: *'Today work is something positive that happened to me'* [R8, p.11]. It has emerged that an important finding of this research is that the centrality and significance of work in the transition has strengthened.

Concerning the role of work in people's lives in a broader sense, it is important to recall the end of work discourse and literature which originated with Rifkin (1995) who counselled about the increase of information technology leading to the destruction of jobs on a large scale. Some scholars following this stream of thought claim that the significance of work and employment in people's lives in most societies is decreasing, and they predict this trend to strengthen over time (e.g. Bell, 1976; Beck, 2000; Gorz, 1999; Drucker, 1993, Rifkin, 1995). An opposing argument has so far been formed predominantly referring to the Anglo-Saxon context. Moreover, it has been brought to the attention of social scientists that these claims are founded on shaky grounds and deny the transformative power of human agency (Strangleman, 2007). Rose

disproved these claims and asserted that previous predictions about the 'growth of disaffection from work' and an 'anti-work syndrome' (1985, p.140) were overstated and had been demonstrated to be false. Further, he advocated that work and economic life remained central to people's lives and would continue thus for the foreseeable future. More recent evidence is available in this respect (Parry, 2003; Stenning, 2004) which indicates that work continues to be a vital force in the lives of contemporary Western societies. The results of this current research provide further support for the counter argument to the end of work idea, as they offer evidence against the postulate of the demise of the labour force and market economy. Moreover, these findings contribute to the existing research by testing the hypothesis about the end of work in the context of post-socialist Eastern Europe. Hence, the findings suggest that, as a result of globalizing forces, the centrality of work is a significant factor beyond the boundaries of Western developed economies.

Caution should be made however, in drawing a parallel between the findings that originated in Western countries (with their established market democracies) and conclusions drawn from Eastern European countries. We need to bear in mind that, even though the mechanisms of the social processes might be similar, the contexts in which these developments took place differ greatly. Disaffection from work in the developed Western economies can be regarded as linked with post-industrialism and according to Rose, a significant role in this was played by movements such as 'anti-productivism and anti-authoritarianism' (Rose 1985: 140). By contrast, in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the context is determined by forty years of state-controlled economy and authoritarian political rule, followed by the rapid introduction of a market economy and globalizing trends. These countries have been subject to these changes for the relatively limited time frame of the last twenty years. Moreover, the shift in Eastern European countries was from a situation of generally low productivity, little demand for work output and the habitual shortage of consumer goods, towards the imperative of efficiency, competition for jobs and rapidly growing consumerist opportunities. Nevertheless, it is believed that the parallel drawn above is valid and noteworthy similarities in the trend have been observed. Some limited research from other former Communist countries is already available that supports the argument about work regaining its significance in Eastern Europe (Mrozowicki, 2011). Nonetheless, further research needs to be undertaken to illustrate the trend and its wider implications.

Consumerism is an important concept which may serve as an explanation as to why the hypothesis about the end of work has not reached fulfilment, in the West as well

as in Eastern Europe. This account has been recently proposed by Graeber (2013) who argued that the end of work postulate simply did not count on the immense increase and spread of consumerism. According to the author, this is the reason why all technological advancements of the last few decades have not resulted in the demise of work. While Graeber refers in this respect mainly to the countries of the West, he extends his perspective to the globalised trends in China and India. Based on the results of my research, showing evidence of profound marketization as the main feature of the Czech post socialist transition, we can assume that gradually similar trends will apply to most of the countries of the former Communist Eastern territory. At least the case of the Czech Republic shows that the spread of consumerism is an inseparable feature of the shift towards capitalism, resulting in an increase of service jobs. The bright side of this trend can be seen in the fact that the profusion of jobs in the service sector has curbed unemployment during the course of the transition. It should be left to other discussions, possibly in the form of prospective future research, to investigate whether, in fact, the jobs that have been created and are in demand are of a service nature, the ones that Graeber rather negatively defines as low quality and pointless, referring to them as 'bullshit jobs' (2013:10).

9.4 Socio-demographic determinants of the effects of marketization

9.4.1 Age

Is it really true, as one popular Czech saying goes, that everyone could make use of opportunities in the transition to improve their life, if only they really wanted to and tried really hard? The outcomes of this current study contradict this assumption and indicate that life chances and opportunities related to the formation of the new economic system in the Czech Republic have been significantly stratified, mainly along the lines of age, gender, level of education/skill and geographic location. Depending on how people perceive the economic changes, whether they are women/men, rural/urban dwellers and depending on their age, they employ specific coping strategies. As far as age is concerned, my research shows that the shift pertaining to the economic system has been most welcomed by the younger generation as they happened to be the ones who could take best advantage of the change and embrace fully the new opportunities that came with it. It can be concluded from the testimonies of my respondents that those who were at the beginning of their careers at the time when the break with the socialist system came along, perceived the change mostly as an opportunity for adventure, a chance to build up a good career

and earn a respectable salary. These were near to unachievable under the previous socialist economic order. The advantages that young people could enjoy in relation to employment opportunities in the new system were especially beneficial to those who had the character traits and skills that the new system required.

The perception of the market environment and its related demands was quite different in the case of the middle and older generations. My interviews indicate that the economic transition and its related challenges have significantly different meaning and consequences for these age categories. Despite often being acknowledged as promising and offering potential, unfortunately the change came too late as members of these generations often regretted not having had enough time to build up a career in the new system. Some of the older employees who lost their jobs as a result of the industrial restructuring faced unemployment in their late fifties when chances of finding a decent new job were very slim, especially in regions where there was weak infrastructure. Often their only chance of staying in the labour market was to go through requalification or accept work in a different area of production, often with lower pay. This was especially problematic when the level of pay received in the last few years of economically active life significantly determined their pension. Therefore, instead of new opportunities, for the older generation the economic change often resulted in lowering of their living standards. Worsening of their life situation often led to feelings of resentment towards the transition in general. This negativity is understandable given that the socialist system gave promises of providing lifelong employment and social benefits as the proverbial 'carrot' in order to secure the loyalty of the population. Their disappointment was multiplied by not being able to take full advantage of emerging opportunities either. In the eyes of the older generation, the comment made by some of their younger counterparts, that everyone who wanted to make use of the new prospects had a good chance to do so as *'those opportunities were plenty for everyone'* [R24, p.2] sounds like a bad joke. However, even if they felt the transition with all the opportunities it brought was not for them, they simply did not have the chance to opt out; they still had to come to terms with what the market forced on them and handle competition and unemployment, as well as the rising everyday cost of living. Consequently, the findings of this study serve as clarification regarding the insensitive allegation that the coping strategies of the older generation can more often than not be regarded as passive or self-justifying.

9.4.2 Skills

The most feasible explanation relating to the difference in both perception and reality of employment (and life) opportunities faced by the different generations can be found in the divergence between the skills valued in the past and those preferred in the newly arrived economic system. The current study found that sets of skills valued in the transition significantly vary from those appreciated in the socialist past. That is, my evidence shows a striking contrast in the attitudes to work revealed before and after the demise of Communism. In relation to the socialist past, respondents' testimonies demonstrate that passivity, conformity, political membership and especially the ability to not attract unnecessary attention to oneself (i.e. not sticking out of crowd) were the most useful strategies. As one respondent pointed out, *'...before (in socialist times) there was a fear of the individual. It was necessary not to stand out. Because when someone was really good...there was the political question then...if it came out that this person was not a member of the Communist Party, that he had a different opinion...that was a huge problem...then he had to be treated as a negative example for all the others [R1, p.6]*. In the transition, however, the skills that are valued are largely determined by the market and appear as nearly the opposite of those required before. In order to be successful in the competition for jobs, one would ideally demonstrate good education and qualifications (often with a focus on technical abilities, good computer skills and language skills), flexibility, enthusiasm, initiative and willingness to learn new things and to take on risks. Those who managed to go with the tide and actively took advantage of the new opportunities while banking on the skills that were appreciated in the newly emerging labour market usually managed to get ahead. As my research indicates, the younger generation is typically the bearer of the newly required sets of skills. Furthermore, these findings are consistent with current literature on the Czech Republic that recognizes that professionalism and responsibility were the main values that were shattered under the real socialist system because these dimensions of human capital were suppressed at work; what was rewarded, on the other hand, was obedience and political loyalty (Vecernik, 1992).

9.4.3 Gender

Another important finding elicited in my study is that the economic transition in the Czech Republic had different implications for women and men. Generally speaking, men were in a better position than women to use the new opportunities in the labour market. My research revealed two main areas where Czech women have been

disadvantaged in regard to employment in the course of the transition: their access to the labour market and the conditions and circumstances of employment. While there was a pattern of high levels of employment for Czech women in the Czech socialist past, which continued into the transition, this investigation reveals that despite the heritage of high female labour force participation, the new economic circumstances did not lead to emancipation of women but rather the imposition of the double burden and increased strain being placed on them.

The inequality between Czech men and women, when it comes to making use of employment opportunities and the progression of their careers, can be, to a large extent, explained by traditional ways of thinking about gender roles and particularly that of women. That is, it is the women who are expected to look after the children and the household. In this respect, the legacy of the past persists and infiltrates into all spheres of life, that of employment being at the forefront. My data shows that very often Czech employers perceive women as being less competent relative to their male counterparts and they also assume that younger women will have interrupted careers due to family responsibilities, with anticipated absences and lower work engagement.

Considering the evidence from my interviews, it is clear that women typically differed from men in their perceptions regarding their employment and career chances. They reported on the fact that, unlike for men, for them to be taking advantage of the new opportunities comes at a cost. The testimonies of my female respondents highlights the fact that many women during the course of the transition needed to make concessions in their private and family life, so as to satisfy the demands of the job and to be able to progress with their careers. The following quote shows how the situation is for the younger generation of women: *'I have a daughter (she is in that age group and I expect I will become a grandmother)...you know, she is not a career woman [in Czech this term has a negative connotation, meaning a woman who would sacrifice everything for a career] but...she ended up like this because this is how things are in this time and age...men also want a career...so my daughter is very successful at work, but she is not able to catch up with her private life...most of the men her age want a career and they do not want to make a commitment. So even if the women were ready and the men were not what can we do? This is how it is for young people nowadays, especially in the big cities'. [R4, p. 2]*

Therefore, the consequences of the new labour market situation are, for women, more tightly linked with the sphere of personal life. While in general, the life

circumstances overall were confirmed by informants to be better for women in the current system compared to under the previous socialist one, this does not mean that they have perceived women's current situation as easier. There is some evidence in the interviews in support of the view that women are still discriminated against in the labour market. Some possible explanations for these attitudes concern social patterns and cultural stereotypes, as was already mentioned above.

Hence, while it can be supposed that the transition to a market economy offered a chance for women to progress in terms of achieving greater equality, especially in their labour market related opportunities and standing, the evidence so far does not support this. In this respect, the results of this investigation are in line with other research in the field. Vecernik (2009) demonstrates that in relation to the socialist past, some extant patterns of inequality, which show that despite the fact that Communist Czechoslovakia was the country with the highest wage equalization in the world, there were still differences in earnings. One of the possible explanations for this is that some jobs with low earnings were typically held by women and this is still largely the case in the contemporary Czech Republic. Recent research on the situation of women in Central and Eastern Europe (Mysikova, 2012) claims that while the gender wage earnings gap has substantially diminished in many countries such as Hungary and Poland, it has remained or only slightly decreased in the Czech Republic. Therefore, most Czech men still enjoy greater flexibility which is highly valued in the labour market and, in general, experience better employment and career opportunities than women.

The bottom up approach adopted in my research enabled me to gain further understanding regarding strategies adopted by young women to reconcile the demands of employment and family. These vary according to their personal preferences as well as their socioeconomic situation. Typically these tactics are: receiving help from the extended family which was typical before, but nowadays not so readily available as often other family members themselves have to cope with increased demands in their own lives; paying for external help which is an option for those who are fortunate enough to have an income on which they can afford it; and finally, postponing starting a family until later. All of these strategies carry possible difficulties for women and the last one mentioned embodies more serious prospective risks and setbacks. As my respondents noted: *'I can see it here, many of my younger colleagues, they are over thirty and they do not have children...you know, when I was their age I had two children. I think women postpone motherhood very often nowadays...and if they decide for it, they want to have everything planned, who is*

going to look after the children, how they will deal with the challenges...[otherwise they do not do it, it is difficult]'. R41, p. 2]

'For example my daughter...she is a biologist, in the Institute of molecular biology. She is extremely busy, everything in her career depends on how hard she works... and so you know she is single. I think it is much more difficult today to find a partner...every girl thinks she has plenty of time (and wants to secure her career first) and then later they are surprised'. [R37, p.14]

The in-depth interviewing, which elicited rich narratives, allowed me to capture information showing that the decision to focus on careers at a younger age and postponing having a family and children might have unexpected and unintended consequences in later life in terms of finding available partners, and maternity related problems. There are, however, significant broader consequences of such attitudes and behaviour adopted by women as a result of the economic transition, especially in relation to recent demographic trends such as the decline of the family and decreases in fertility rates.

9.4.4 Geographic location

Geographic location has been found to have a significant impact on market forces and the coping strategies people employ to deal with their effects. This study showed that the difference between urban and rural dwellers stands out in this respect. Likewise, the young generation, and also those who live in big cities, are in a better position to take advantage of the prospects that the transition brought about in terms of good employment opportunities. This is especially the case in the capital where jobs are plentiful and the unemployment rate has been typically near one percent. The situation in rural regions with a poor infrastructure is quite different. As the results of the interviews suggest, the value of good jobs, on the one hand, versus the value of social ties and solidarity in a close-knit community, on the other hand, is a difficult trade off which marketization seems to impose on some people. This is mostly the case in agricultural districts where people have great difficulty in finding good jobs in which they can utilize their qualifications and skills.

During this fieldwork, examples were given of young, university educated people who live in a small rural town and work in the local agricultural cooperative, or as shop assistants for very little money. They manage to get by relying on the support of their extended family and by means of self-subsistence such as growing their own vegetables. Even though they are not happy with the situation, they see the only

possibility for change is moving to the city. However, they are reluctant to do so as their lives are embedded in the local social networks and their community. Therefore, even for young, educated people who enjoy the qualifications usually desired and rewarded in the contemporary labour market setting, other factors such as geographic location and related social reasons may be a contradicting and possibly overriding issue affecting their chances of finding jobs and obtaining good living standards. For the older generation in rural regions with poor infrastructure facilities, the chances of a change in life, or at least a significant improvement, are even scarcer as their lives are typically more deeply rooted in the local community than is the case for younger people.

In general, in light of the findings of this research, it appears that the effect of age is linked closely with the region in which an individual lives. However, another issue that emerged from the interviews is the importance of up-dating qualifications and experience when it comes to improving job prospects for older employees. The importance of continuous learning in order to overcome the age barrier in the labour market has been confirmed by other recent studies (e.g. Kozlova, 2011). As one respondent put it: *'The main shift since 1989 [the beginning of the transition] is that people got to understand two things: firstly, that nowadays nothing comes to you for free, and secondly, that we have to keep learning all the time, because if I don't want to work with this new system that my employer installed today, that is OK, they will show me the door, because there are many other people waiting to get this job'*. [R7, p.3]

The determinants discussed above affect not only attitudes, but they also shape the life chances of the people. Therefore, their effect is not only in terms of variability but also stratification. While inequalities in the Czech Republic still remain low by international comparison (Bojgar, 2011; Winkler, 2011), there is a trend showing an increase since the beginning of the transition (e.g. Bojgar 2011; Dudova 2009). Some commentators present this observation as a warning and they appeal for concrete steps to counteract this development. For example, Winkler (2011) points out that despite the low level of social inequalities, society is increasingly stratified according to education, gender, health status, and type of household etc. The wider changes with respect to the changing patterns of relationships, family and other related demographic trends (e.g. growing numbers of singles in society, lone mothers, women postponing motherhood and remaining childless etc.) are documented in recent studies (Formánková & Křížková, 2010; Hašková, 2010; Hašková et al., 2013; Keller 2011a; Křížková & Vohlídalová, 2008).

In relation to inequalities, implication can also be made about social class finding its way back into the dynamics of Czech society and so could also be used as a lens through which the society could be usefully studied. It appears to be the case that the link between education, property relations and lifestyle, typical especially for the middle classes, has been re-installed (Vecernik, 2010). A number of Czech authors have adopted the lens of class dynamics and consequently use class as a pertinent category for the analysis of the new Czech society (Katrnak & Fucik, 2010; Keller, 2010, 2012; Machonin & Tucek, 1996; Mateju, 1988; Vecernik, 2010).

9.5 Motivation to work and the work ethic

9.5.1 Socialist motivation

When assessing attitudes to work as an aspect of the socioeconomic transition, motivation to work has come to the forefront. I have shown in Chapter 4 that when taking a view from the outside, the transition has been mainly about the changes brought about in wider economic structures and labour market institutions. When taking an inside stance, the outcomes confirm that motivation to work is a useful and significant lens. Under this optic, what the transition has meant for people regarding work is, to a great extent, reflected in the nature of motives and incentives. Therefore, when the transition is perceived as a shift from one place/situation to another, one version of this is the move from a socialist to a capitalist work ethic.

From the results of this fieldwork, it is possible to highlight the striking difference between work motivation under both socialism and capitalism. This study brings evidence, under the socialist regime, of it being very weak as a result of the principles of socialist production and relationships in the workplace, and thus we can almost sum it up in negative terms such as demotivation and disinterest. Numerous narratives obtained for this study regarding socialist workplaces provide almost anecdotal testimonies on how employees used to pretend to work, socialised and attended to personal business at work, and occasionally, would even leave the workplace in order to do something more interesting, and given the status quo, possibly more useful. During working hours they engaged in activities such as shopping, going to the hairdresser, sunbathing in the park or going to the cinema.

These activities can possibly be explained as strategies the employees used to deal with their lack of challenges, lack of perspective related to their jobs, and the absence of promotion prospects as well as very restricted chances for salary increase. Furthermore, under the system of target driven production and the large supply of

cheap labour leading to general overemployment, the labour capacity of the population was simply not used. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that such attitudes would be a reaction to the lack of a necessity to work hard or even the lack of work. My results are consistent with some feasible explanations offered in the extant literature. For example Vecernik (1992) recalls the restrictions in terms of job choice and the weak relationship between performance and reward, as the main factors causing indifference towards the products of working and the general lack of interest in work under socialism.

As the results here suggest, at first sight, the functioning of real socialist enterprises might appear as a charade. That is, everyone knew there were higher expectations regarding the internalization of the value system of the organization and potentially that promoted by the whole of Communist society, however, everyone knew that the workers themselves did not really believe in any of it. Moreover, the managers did not seem to mind. For, while employment was for the leading elite an instrument to control the population and maintain their power, it was at the same time used by the employees as a means to express their resistance against the system. The attitudes and coping strategies identified in this investigation can be classified in three main categories: resignation, which refers to employees pretending to work, e.g. attending to personal business during working hours, doing the minimum anyone could get away with; escapism, signifying that they focused their life around hobbies, social and family life, or developed cottage industries; and lastly, resistance under which there was avoidance or sabotage of work, as well as expressions of opposition against the system either secretly or openly. It is therefore clear that, despite the attempts of the Communists to elicit emotions by means of ideological appeals and control of work, the true moral engagement of the majority of the population in the system was never fully achieved. In fact, rather the opposite prevailed. In socialist workplaces one could easily observe the unintended consequences of management attempts to direct workers, which most often translated into expressions of resistance. Such a line of reasoning could be a possible explanation for the apparently two-faced attitudes so common amongst people who used to live under the Communist totalitarian leadership. That is, on the surface they would do and say what was expected of them, however, in reality they thought something else.

The results of my research are in keeping with the findings of Ogbonna & Harris (1998) in the field of organizational culture. Their studies report on various failed attempts to implement the inner set of meanings which would then inspire a willing compliance with the aims promoted by the management and leading political elite

under socialism. Another feasible explanation accounting for the above, described behaviour typical of socialist workplaces when employees are giving convincing performance while, in reality, they distance themselves from the task or its substance. In the relevant literature this tendency is recognized as surface acting (Hochschild, 1979, 1983). This is in opposition to deep acting where people's real emotions are engaged. However, it may be proposed that the totalitarian nature of the regime and the ever-present threats supported the choice of surface acting, or what Ogbonna & Harris (1998) define as instrumental value compliance. This also throws light on the origins of typical socialist humour, the aim of which was to ridicule the system and, given the central place of work under socialist ideology, not surprisingly, work and the workplace were very popular targets of these jokes.

This study adds to the existing literature in the field of organizational culture (e.g. Schein, 1984; Ogbonna & Harris, 1998) by demonstrating that the concept of organizational culture can be applied to socialist reality, despite the fact that it originated in the study of workplaces in developed market economies, i.e. with respect to capitalist enterprises. By addressing the query to what extent can compliance of the employees with the values of the organization be achieved, this concept is useful in shedding light on what often appears as an internally contradictory and paradoxical reality of socialist workplaces. By these means, the above described attitudes which this researcher elicited as being typical in socialist workplaces can be explained. Furthermore, attitudes to work as discussed by scholars regarding organizational behaviour in the Western world, are not that dissimilar to those observed in real socialist workplaces, thus the central idea of the organizational culture debate could possibly be claimed to have universal applicability. This can be further demonstrated by extending the application of the same concept to the discussion of transition scenarios where there is emergent capitalism.

9.5.2 Capitalist motivation

Motivation to work under the transition relates directly to the economic dimension of life in the new capitalist system. The centrality of the market and related economic and social imperatives have become the main driving forces for people's incentives and behaviour. However, the highest levels of corporate culture aspire to initiate the moral involvement of the workers in Durkheimian terms of social morality. In other words, the employees' deep value acceptance and free-willed participation in achieving the common goal, rather than simply performing given tasks and exhibiting

desired behaviour (Dahler-Larsen, 1994) are sought. However, the question remains as to whether it is possible to achieve social morality under capitalism where the driving force behind everything is profit. For this very reason, the desire to achieve the moral dimension and its feasibility as part of organizational culture has been already challenged in the extant literature (Dahler-Larsen, 1994). The serious internal contradiction in such an endeavour and aiming for moral engagement in capitalist enterprise has been labelled as impossible or by its very nature wrong (ibid). The question emerging from this relates specifically to the issue of attitudes and work ethic. At the individual level it addresses the role of motivation as a personal driver in work. On the broader level, it possibly serves as an adhesive in corporations which can be regarded as salient work-based collective forms in contemporary society. From the findings in this research and from broader published sources, it can be deduced that social morality and cohesion are challenging aims to achieve under both forms of ideological/economic systems that have prevailed in the last century, in this case, in the Czech Republic. It remains to be seen whether the future of society will be dogged by ever present fragmentation, or whether a state of true employee commitment is impossible under capitalism and socialism, alike.

9.5.3 Motivation and ideology

Another avenue through which we can explain the unfeasibility of social morality and positive motivation is the ideological view. By adopting this perspective, it can be suggested that all types of work organization schemes throughout history feature some sort of manipulation. Motivation appears problematic in this light as management practices always feature aspects of coercion and therefore lead to alienation, rather than true engagement in work. This is the case regarding the technocratic American tradition which started with the scientific management system of Frederick Taylor, continued with Fordism and Mayoism, and resulted in the Human Relations Movement. Despite the fact that some of these more advanced forms of management appear to be concerned with social needs and satisfaction of the workers and claimed to practice 'humanistic supervision', they still remain tools aimed at increasing productivity. The notion of work satisfaction was later developed by Herzberg (1976) who argued that in order to increase productivity, managers needed to address these higher needs because focusing merely on working conditions and pay could not produce satisfaction. In all of these systems, however, when inspected more deeply, some worker alienation is evident because the employees don't perform solely in accordance with their own will and certain amounts of coercion, with

technocratic approaches or manipulation being more typical for the humanistic approaches, can be detected (Burawoy, 1979). In the British tradition, Goldthorpe & Lockwood's analysis (1968) found that the workers were involved in work on an instrumental basis as they strove mainly for money. This can be understood as further supporting the case that alienation is linked with this type of attachment to work. More recent scholarship on organizational culture (as discussed above in Chapter 2) has been concerned with employees' commitment within the context of increasing economic productivity. While commitment is apparently promoted by prompting employees to identify with the values and wider moral-based aims of organizations, we can wonder whether these endeavours might lead to alienation instead. Evidence from the available research carried out so far could be interpreted in this way since these incentives have not met with much success (Ogbonna & Wilkinson, 1990; Dahler-Larsen, 1994).

The concept of the work ethic has an important place within the notion of the ideology of work. It was used in socialist ideology to reflect the moral aspect of the imperative to work hard on building the socialist society, and also to justify the attempts of the Communists to control the labour force and to keep them under submission. Regardless of all of the efforts in this respect, the requirements of the socialist ideology of work were never internalized by the workers. Moreover, it appears that the basic postulation behind the role of the work ethic in the capitalist ideology as put forward by Anthony (1977) is similar, for it is voiced as a defence and rationalization of subordination. The notion of the Protestant work ethic can be interpreted likewise as it advocated regular, systematic work and discipline, combined with asceticism and frugality (Weber, 1967). However, as stressed by Rose (1985), since its origins in Weber's writings, the notion of a work ethic has developed in many forms as it has been utilized in the sociology of work in a variety of contexts. Therefore, Rose denotes it as '...primacy of work as a domain, quest for 'success' through work achievements, and diligent performance as a moral duty' *ibid*, p. 124). Therefore, in light of this, the level of ideological engagement with the concept of the work ethic appears as somewhat flexible.

Drawing on this last point, an inherent contradiction relating to work motivation appears to be part of any ideology of work, the Communist as well as the capitalist one. At the core is the notion that people are not involved in work as much as they should be (Anthony, 1977) or in other words, they are forced to do something they would not choose to do otherwise, and doing it for someone who tries to convince them to adopt aims that are initially external to them. Therefore, it can be suggested

that it is the ideological umbrella which excludes social morality from being part of the system of work organization. Turning to the study in hand, considerable hopes were linked at the beginning of the transition with the revival of a work ethic in the new capitalism; however, we need to ask which work ethic this is? For as explored above, the dehumanizing aspect of work has been typically considered as an integral part of the capitalist system, whilst based on the analysis of work under real socialism carried out in the course of this investigation, employees at that time were also estranged from their work, albeit for different reasons.

9.5.4 Intrinsic and extrinsic incentives

Yet another possible explanation offers itself as to why true commitment is a difficult aim to achieve in corporate organizations. It is possible that economic incentives are simply not compatible with any higher motivations typically defined in terms of self-actualization, achievement and recognition. To some extent this typology can be seen as a parallel to the debate featuring compatibility of economic and social/moral aims which was addressed earlier. The results of my research, however, somehow surprisingly, contradict the mutual exclusivity of the motivators hypothesis. The Czech cases of Zlin and Slusovice (very successful enterprises based on co-ownership and rewards according to merit) suggest that under particular conditions it is possible to successfully combine financial (extrinsic) and self-actualizing (intrinsic) motivators in order to generate high levels of employee commitment and satisfaction. As discussed in Chapter 2, the literature on intrinsic and extrinsic motivators to work has developed in two main streams with the evidence in my research, even though based on a specific depiction of one country, can be considered as being in favour of the approach advocating a possibility of successful mixing the two motivators together. That is, the outcomes from my research support the idea that extrinsic and intrinsic motivators do not have to be seen as opposite sides of the same coin, but rather as independent and possibly mutually compatible phenomena. This finding is parallel to Herzberg's influential two factor theory of work motivation (1968, 1976), asserting that satisfaction and dissatisfaction at work can exist alongside each other as two separate entities.

Set against the backdrop of a former socialist country in transition, my study offers another distinctive contribution to this debate. The new circumstance of the economic transition provided incentives for the development of both extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, while the data from the interviews suggests that these two types of motivation are not mutually exclusive but, rather, can be mutually supportive. It may

be the case that the transition created unique circumstances for employees in terms of work incentives, especially those with high levels of education and qualifications. After the experience of multiple frustrations during the course of the real socialist experiment, when neither economic nor self-actualizing needs could be met, some employees, particularly the well-educated professionals, appear to be happily embracing the new opportunities which the transition created in both these arenas.

9.6 The twofold function of the socialist legacy

9.6.1 Significance of social and cultural change

The change in the economic system after the demise of Communism did not only affect economic institutions and structures, but also the social milieu of Czech society. One of the most noteworthy findings to emerge from this study concerns the importance of the social and cultural change and the finer and more complex shifts that are still in progress. It should be highlighted here that the economic side of the transitional change was the first to arrive and the most straightforward in terms of its implementation as well as being the more clear regarding its results. On the tenth anniversary of the collapse of Communism, most commentators reviewing the success of the transition noted that the economic part of the revival of Czech society had been completed and that market economy mechanisms had been implemented (Vecernik, 2009). Accordingly, the institutions of the labour market have undergone marked change as they rapidly adjusted to the demands of the new economic system. The situation is very different, however, regarding the social and cultural implications of the change in the economy to a market-based one. These wider effects of the profound economic shift are much less visible and tend to lag behind the initial implementation of novel structures. This researcher, however, owing to the in-depth insider approach taken to investigating the transition, has been able to shed light on these effects.

The social and cultural aspects of the change can make themselves noticeable in a variety of ways. This study discovered their manifestation mainly in the area of relationships. This involves relationships at the workplace as well as those in the private sphere of partnerships and families. It also became clear on the basis of the information gathered that there is a considerable variation in terms of the level of progression of these social and cultural dimensions. While some may be showing more advanced stages of transformation, others may be much less well developed.

9.6.2 Relationships in transition

The interview outcomes show that as a result of marketization, the generally relaxed approaches and tendency to take work easy (which were characteristic of the socialist workplaces), gave way to their opposites. In the new more competitive economy, which focused on production targets and related job insecurity, it is evident that the whole atmosphere in workplaces changed, including the practices related to work and working relationships. Most often, this meant that people started to appreciate their work much more than before, as well as recognising the fact that they have a decent job which pays them a regular, secure wage. Avoidance of work practices which often typified socialist workplaces gave way to hard work and increased responsibility, and the tendency to hide by being a comfortable average person was replaced by initiative. More specifically, achievement has become viewed as something positive and necessary in the contemporary workplace, which is in contrast to past times when *'...people who truly wanted to achieve something ran the risk of becoming the laughing matter of the whole team'*. [R 16, p 10]

This study found that the market changes of economic institutions have considerably affected relationships amongst co-workers. It also affected the ways in which supervisors and managers related to their subordinates (and vice versa), as well as the characteristics of Czech management. Taken together, the results suggest that Czech workplaces during the transition have become a platform where the effects of the profound change in the economic system interplay with historical and cultural forces as well as with the forces of globalization on a larger scale. The following paragraphs sum up some of the most notable aspects.

The centrality of ideology in the socialist workplaces coexisted with a relatively high degree of informality. Relationships amongst co-workers, and to a degree, relationships between superiors and their subordinates, used to feature high levels of familiarity, and shared social activities were a common occurrence at the workplace. The authority of the supervisors was weak and they were perceived more as members of the team than superiors. In the course of the transition as a result of the change of the economic context, the aims of the organizations changed and with them their practices as well as their relationships. Political affiliation gave way to professional expertise and the relations became, in general, more formalized. Productivity and achievement became the driving forces and as a consequence, the social aspects of work became weakened and social activities at the workplace rather scarce. On a similar note, egalitarianism, as one of the key characteristics of socialist

organization changed, and the workplaces, and society, became more stratified. The distance between subordinates and superiors at the workplaces can be generally assessed as having increased.

Dynamic young employees by dint of their nature and position in life to some extent, embody the requirements of the new working environment with its inherent flexibility, low levels of loyalty and the requirement that employees are prepared to take risks. They are also better equipped to deal with the negative consequences of such working environments, for example anxiety and ambiguity. For the older generation, it appeared more difficult for them to adjust to these new conditions than the transition brought about. Difficulty in embracing the new working practices, including technological advancements, comes together with resistance to using the new language and terminology of the marketized workplace. This is shown in the following example from one prominent Czech bank: *'It came as a model from America, we were instructed to greet the clients with this formal phrase 'good morning, what can I do for you'...the older colleagues...they did not accept it. And if you made a phone call to the regional bank, the women there were saying it in the local dialect...well, that was downright ridiculous'.* [R6, p.2]

This is all not very surprising given the fact that the older generation have grounds for resistance in the face of the emergent rules of the game (see Section 8.4.1 above for further details). In the literature, the various constituent areas of the post-Communist transition have been identified with dissimilar speeds regarding different types of transitions being described early on in the nineties (Dahrendorf, 1990; Offe & Adler, 1991). Dahrendorf asserts that the success of the initial stages of the transition is associated with deep changes in the political and judicial system and these shifts are intense and fast acting. However, the subsequent phases depend on changes in social structure and upon the value orientations related to the perception of the system. The predicted time frame for social changes and value shifts was much longer with them viewed as generational shifts. Sztompka (1993) depicts this in his concept of civilizational incompetence. The findings of this current study provide evidence to support this prediction and confirm the long term aspect of these transition irregularities, particularly as my investigation was conducted during advanced stages of the transition. Recent studies from the Czech Republic provide some evidence that the happening value shifts and changes regarding social structures are also subject to the effects of globalizing trends. For example, Keller (2011a) argues that the immediate link of each individual with the market mechanism enhances their vulnerability towards new risks of the post-industrial society, and this

in turn, leads among others, to significant changes regarding family and reproductive behaviour.

At the same time, the data from this inquiry suggests that even the less visible social forces may be very important in the years to come, as these often carry with them significant and unprecedented changes. One example of this is the new terminology as mentioned above. While the new formal language required by management, or which seemingly spontaneously emerges in some companies, may at first sight appear to be a relatively inconsequential idiosyncrasy, in fact these language twists most likely signify a noteworthy change in the social discourse. Following the theories of the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, 1991), language is one of the main tools contributing to the formation of reality and the bonding of all of its aspects. Moreover, a notable consideration is language as a tool of ideological foundation (Bakhtin, 1981; Verdery, 1991a).

9.6.3 Legacies of the past as mediating social forces

During the course of the transition, working relationships have become more professional and generally reflect increased accountability and individual responsibility, as well as aspects of competition. While this evidence indicates that significant changes have occurred as a consequence of the move towards market-oriented relations, some contradictory findings indicate that solidarity and camaraderie so typical in the past have not disappeared completely, although they may have been suppressed in the new system as a result of the globalization and marketization (Dahrendorf, 1997). That is, persisting patterns of behaviour carried over from the past can be distinguished in the social sphere in the form of: social ties, relationships, networks and solidarity. The occurrence of these surviving models of social ties and their form is mainly associated with individuals from older age groups. This is discussed below using my evidence.

The socialist firm did not offer much of a career outlook or fulfilment in work, and neither did it pay the employees more than just a basic income as a reward for their work. However, it did offer them grounds for enjoying social solidarity because of the collectivist principles it promoted by means of commonly organized holidays and free time activities. Moreover, social undertakings were often tolerated and even promoted at the workplace with these resulting in dense networks of social ties, typical of the socialist system. The findings of this investigation confirmed the commonly known fact that during socialist times, most of one's friends were actually

co-workers or people encountered in the work context. As the following quote shows, this feature remains important for the older generation even today. *'Then (in socialist times) the work group really used to hold together even after working hours...those were the most important friendships. I know from several examples that even nowadays, those work teams from the past...they still have get-togethers...and they confide in each other how they are dealing with life. I don't think this will be the same for our generation, we will not keep meeting like this, because what I can see now in my generation and those younger than me, we are together at work but our main friends are outside work'. [R1, p.12].* Therefore, when we talk about the legacy of socialism in the new socio-economic system formed during the transition, it does not come as a surprise that even after the collapse of the socialist system, people belonging to the older generation continued their extant social practices and strived to maintain the social networks and collective solidarities they had fostered in previous times.

By contrast, the tendency in the new economy has been to eliminate these legacies of socialism, because their effect in the new capitalist system is that they may reduce the strength and impact of market powers. In the new competitive environment which is focused on efficiency and output, this is seen as undesirable. In the companies that are engaging in marketized competition, there is no longer room for camaraderie or even social activities, unless they increase productivity. The evidence from my research revealed cases where, in some workplaces, these endeavours were taken rather too far, almost trying to create the opposite to past practices. Examples were given of particular occasions when the management were attempting vigorously to remove or prevent practices that could be reasonably seen as bad habits from the past, such as: excessive socialising and chatting with colleagues, attending to personal business during working hours, and making personal phone calls. On occasion they even tried to implement a strict formal code which applied to how colleagues were supposed to relate to customers and business partners, as well as to each other. There were also reports about the foreign management in one firm attempting to eliminate nearly all forms of spontaneous social life in the workplace and trying to replace it with organized teambuilding activities. This, as reported, did not go down well in the Czech environment which has traditionally been very socially oriented and where people like to foster a spontaneous social life. As one respondent noted with regards to teambuilding; *'I am not interested in being forced to spend my private evenings in organized work related activities and learn how to cook Thai cuisine...they can go fly a kite with that'. [R28, p.6].*

Whilst evidence of the legacy of socialism, indirect or implied, comes forward as one of the more significant findings of this research, it needs to be pointed out that my respondents often appeared inhibited when talking openly about topics that shed light on this. One of the underlying reasons for this may be their awareness that many of these forms of behaviour clearly belong in the past, and in the transition there has been a clear tendency to leave that past behind. Moreover, there may be certain consciousness that some patterns of social behaviour developed as unintended consequences of the socialist practices of management in the organizations. Perhaps these emerged as a way to deal with failures and related disappointments, as unwanted side effects of the ever-present control that the Communists tried to exert over the population, or perhaps as acts of resistance against it. In other words, these forms of behaviour appeared as coping strategies people established in order to deal with the circumstances they had to face in socialist workplaces, or survival strategies to overcome problems and difficulties in everyday life. For these reasons, and owing to the perceived obvious label of the socialist legacy, these patterns of behaviour may be challenging to recall and some interviewees may have found it uncomfortable to relate to them.

Based on the findings discussed above, the legacy of socialism in many ways reaches beyond mere nostalgia and encompasses real social and cultural forces as well as patterns of behaviour that are deeply rooted in the life of the society. As I have outlined above, these forces are still part of the Czech reality after the collapse of Communism and during the transition they are still surviving. This can be taken as evidence that these social and cultural forces, being a significant part of the social milieu, perform irreplaceable functions as they continue playing their role, regardless of the political or economic system.

9.7 Beyond national culture, towards organizational culture

9.7.1 National culture

It is noteworthy this investigation revealed that particular characteristics of Czech employees and management are often perceived in terms of specific national features. Since this was brought up by the respondents of this study so frequently, it may be indicative of the significance of cultural and historical characteristics that are interacting with the effects of market forces during the course of the transition. A number of informants perceived Czech employees as typically being resourceful, creative, flexible, and readily able to improvise and tackle any problem. It was noted that Czechs at work are often enthusiastic and spontaneous and they like to pursue

a task intensely until it is completed, or work on a problem until it is resolved. Because of these features there is disinclination towards prescribed and tightly organized processes. The saying about 'golden Czech hands' was quoted numerous times. Czech people were also described as independent with only limited respect for authority and dislike of formal hierarchies. Their non-confrontational attitude together with a high preference for self-discretion and low respect for authority was noted, as shown in the experience of a non-Czech manager '*...but I agreed with this guy [a Czech employee] on everything and in the end he did it his way, anyway...*' [R23, p.18].

The role of the national identity in the Czech political and economic transition has been emphasized by other studies on this topic in social and cultural anthropology (Holy, 1996; Verdery 1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1994). In this respect, Holy (1996) recognizes shared historical knowledge as an important part in the formation of the Czech identity. Besides the effects of the cultural and historical context, another possible explanation for some specific attitudes and behaviour patterns found amongst the Czech employees is the concept of surface acting (Hochschild, 1979) discussed above. Linked to this explanation, a reasonable interpretation involves the legacy of the past, for it was rather typical in socialist enterprises that superficial agreement to directives and instructions was followed by employees using their own judgement and taking action as they saw fit. In fact, this used to be a widely adopted strategy of coping with the unsatisfactory work circumstances. An additional interpretation addresses the role of national and cultural traits discussed in Hofstede's theory pertaining to national characteristics in cross-cultural communication (2001), (see Chapter 2 Subsection 2.3.6). His emphasis on the impact of society's values on its members can help explain some of the national characteristics of the Czechs portrayed above. Drawing on this, the Czech culture may appear as individualistic, pragmatic, and feminine in the context of an analysis of the world of work and with respect to organizations. Some of the typical traits of the Czechs, such as their pragmatic orientation, could explain the openness to change, flexibility and dislike of formal rules found in the Czech work environment as well as in life in general. Moreover, the feminine quality could shed light on the emphasis placed on relationships and maintaining the quality of life. Finally, an apparent change has understandably taken place on another dimension, the power distance index (Hofstede, 2001), defined as a shift from an autocratic to a democratic power distribution. Therefore, this study extends the agenda used by Hofstede by indicating that it can serve to understand individual dimensions of the transitional change within

one country. That is, to some degree, Hofstede's framework helps us to shed light on the ramifications of the change in the socio-economic system and accompanying profound cultural shifts. In relation to this researcher's focus of work related attitudes and values, Hofstede's approach has however many limitations.

9.7.2 Towards organizational culture

Hofstede's theory (ibid) fails to explain how identities are formed in the working environment and in relation to the labour market. Therefore, in order to get a better understanding of the attitudes of the Czechs to work, and especially at the point of transition, the concept of organizational culture is useful. This theory brings our attention to the debate on the meanings of work, attitudes to work and organizational behaviour. On a different level, it addresses how identity is formed within an organization. Of particular interest is how organizations develop cultures which are supposed to provide people with identity, create bonds and give them meaning and significance in relation to work as well as in broader terms. With respect to this Schein (1984) distinguishes three layers of the organization, as was discussed in Chapter 2 (see Subsection 2.3.7). Of particular relevance here is the third, deepest layer, the one consisting of underlying assumptions which develop out of internalized values (ibid, p.3). Reaching this level means that the employees understand the culture as they completely identify with the group values.

The findings of my research give supportive evidence for the theory of organizational culture. They add to it by providing further support for the hypothesis that the way through which organizations try to develop this identity based on internalized values are similar under socialism as well as in capitalism. In Chapter 6 (see Subsections 6.3 and 6.4), it was proposed that the Communist state tried to achieve identification of the population by a combination of constraints and incentives. The findings of this study indicate that the requirement for cultural identification is present in the newly formed capitalist organizations in a similar manner. The deeper layer of the organization during the transition period is taking on a particular shape in accordance with the corporate and market forces that affect it directly. An example of this is demonstrated in employees adopting the new terminology. As one respondent put it: *'We were instructed to greet the clients with this formal phrase 'good morning, what can I do for you' [new formal requirement representing the new philosophy of institution X, a prominent Czech bank]...I could not bring myself to take this in, at all...and the clients did not like it either...and some would even respond in a rude way, but the commands were strict, and if you did not [submit to them] there were*

sanctions. And so we did...and the situation was getting more inflamed in this respect
' [R6, p.2]

Here the language becomes a symbolic expression of the cultural change taking place alongside the economic change as part of the new era, and the on-going shift towards a new socio-economic system. However, the fact that the new terminology denoting the values of the capitalist system and corporate world may not be entirely established in the organizations, neither always completely understood and internalized by the employees, serves to underline how the cultural changes lag behind the shifts of economic structures. Moreover, formation of this deepest level of identification with the aims and values is problematic in itself in contemporary post-socialist organizations, since they are profit oriented and market driven enterprises (Ogbonna & Wilkinson, 1990; Dahler-Larsen, 1994).

To sum up, the findings of my research offer indicative evidence in support of the existing literature highlighting the significance of cultural and historical context. The numerous examples of national traits that have come forward in this research can be interpreted as a strong national identity emerging in the form of identification with the national character features and a strong awareness of them. Therefore, it can be assumed that the national sentiments played a significant role in the process of post-Communist political and economic transition. While Holy (1996) in his study focused on the general setting in respect to the formation of national identity, this study offers more specific evidence. It shows the role of cultural and historical forces in the particular case of work related behaviour and in the context of the social change of the post-Communist transition. In particular the theoretical concepts of organizational culture are relevant to the socialist as well as new capitalist setting of the Czech Republic. In the context of the socialist work environment it serves to explain the not so obvious unintended effects of the attempts toward excessive control and the mechanism behind people's resistance against the system. In addition to being applicable to capitalist reality, as presented by Dahler-Larsen (1994), during the transition the concept of organizational culture has the potential to explain obvious inconsistencies as features of the newly formed mode of capitalism that demonstrate some problems in adopting to new corporate models and templates. Therefore, here I offer grounds to support the wide ranging applicability of the theoretical framework of organizational culture.

9.8 Chapter Summary

The selected key findings of this research have been discussed in relation to the broader theoretical framework. One of the main findings is the primacy of the market in transition and increased significance of employment in people's lives. In this respect, the findings of this study are contradictory to the end of work idea (e.g. Bell, 1976; Beck, 2000; Rifkin, 1995). Age, skills, gender and geographical location have been identified as main determinants of attitudes to work in the transition. This research offers evidence that the effect of these factors results not only in variability of work attitudes amongst the Czech population, but also generates inequalities and leads to stratification, which has been also shown by other Czech studies (Katrnak & Fucik, 2010; Keller, 2010, 2011a; Vecernik 2009, 2010). The interviews elicited evidence that employee motivation has increased during the course of the transition as did organizational commitment. The attachment towards the organization does not happen on the deep level and does not truly affect values and identities of the employees. In this respect, the findings of this study from this post-socialist context are in agreement with the theories of the organizational culture from a Western capitalist perspective (e.g. Schein, 1984; Ogbonna & Harris, 1998). Unlike the economic transitional changes that were rather straightforward and happened quickly, the cultural and social changes have a much slower pace. The findings of this research offer evidence that the cultural and social milieu of the Czech society carries signs of the legacy of the socialist past, mainly in the sphere of social relationships and networks. The effect of this legacy seems dual; while in some instances these influences may be seen as disadvantageous (e.g. the persisting tendency for socialising in the workplace) in some other contexts they can be perceived as beneficial, such as the maintenance of social solidarity, especially given that globalization generally tends to suppress solidarity (Dahrendorf, 1997).

Chapter 10. Conclusion

10.1 Contribution to knowledge

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the impact of the post-Communist transition on attitudes to work in the context of labour market developments and the related consequences for changes to social structures in the Czech Republic. The project was undertaken to assess changes in attitudes to work that occurred during the course of the transition, and to compare these attitudes to those held under socialism. At the same time, the aim of the research was to determine the incidence and scope of the socialist legacy in the realm of work, and possibly in other areas of life affected by employment. A working hypothesis was formulated, that surmised that remnants of socialist reality are perpetuated in the new market-based society, and are manifested in people's mind-sets, attitudinal patterns and value schemes. Research on the legacy of socialism to date (e.g. Ekiert & Hanson, 2003; Myant & Drahoukoupil, 2011; Klicperova-Baker et al., 1999 a,b; Lane, 2002; Markova, 1997; Murthi & Tiongson, 2008; Potucek, 2000; Sokol, 2001) highlight its significant albeit rather negative (or even hindering) impact on the developments of the newly formed Czech capitalist society. However, the objective in this study was to elicit whether this was always the case. Another aim was to evaluate the effect of various factors, mainly socio-demographic variables, on attitudes to work. The inquiry was expected to reveal variability regarding the impact of the economic transition on the Czech population, primarily as a consequence of factors such as gender, age, education, skills and professional qualifications. A number of contributions to theory have been made, particularly to the sociology of work and the discipline of organisation studies. These are highlighted in the following Subsection 10.5 in order to show where and how the outcomes from this research fit with and extend extant knowledge.

The research employed a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches with the main focus on in-depth interviews, while it also features some aspects of ethnographic investigation and historical analysis. This particular mixture of methods is seen here as a significant prerequisite in achieving successful research. That is, an innovative mixed methods design was adopted whereby the quantitative methods were used as an exploratory tool to sketch the basic framework of existing patterns. These were further explained by means of in depth qualitative examination. Therefore, besides drawing an objective picture of the effect of marketization on labour market structures and work attitudes, which provided a brief evaluation of their development during the transition, the lived experience of how

these changes are perceived by the people themselves was central. So far, only a small number of works address particular local experiences with transition and marketization (e.g. Dunn, 2004; Ghodsee, 2005; Mrozowicki, 2010; Trapmann, 2013), however, these mainly take the form of case studies. In addition, a few accounts report on the wider perception of transitional changes in the population (Ghodsee, 2011; Pyzik 2014). To my knowledge, there are almost no extensive studies to date, recording the perceptions of the change according to the people whose lives have been transformed, either in the sphere of work, or in the Czech Republic. One exception is the work of Pollert (2000). In this respect, my research is unprecedented both in the Czech Republic and in Central and Eastern Europe.

10.2 Policy implications

In conjunction with transformations of economic structures, the developments in the Czech Republic have been shaped by changes in the social sector represented by a system of social security provisions and policies that form part of the welfare state. The formation of capitalism since the beginning of the transition has thus been influenced by this long standing and strong tradition of placing an emphasis on social justice in the Czech Republic. This accent on social welfare reflects differences between the European cultural backgrounds as compared to the American orientation towards individual responsibility (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

As pointed out in Chapter 1, the developments of the welfare state have taken a particular form in post-socialist countries, with substantial development occurring after the Second World War (Brdek, 2002). This took a different turn during the period of real socialism, and in keeping with the uncritical acceptance of the dominant ideology, Communist society was presented as being free of any serious social problems. However, the Communist state still needed to keep a relatively extensive system of universal social provisions, in order to secure the loyalty of the population. Within the European welfare tradition, the case of the Czech Republic is thought of as characterised by even stronger social influences and social policies, work-related and otherwise, when compared to other countries of the region. This may have emerged as a result of the specific historical and social background, as discussed in Chapter 1. All of these factors have played a significant role in terms of the development of the Czech society from the beginning of the transition and to some extent they have mediated the effects of marketization on the Czech population and may have led to a particular Czech version of capitalism.

Since the Czech Republic became a member of the European Union in 2004, efforts have been made towards the harmonization of Czech social policies so that they are in line with the defined aims of the European Social Model. However, at the beginning of the 21st century it has become evident that some European social measures are not sustainable and revision of the European Social Model is essential. These reforms are linked with the necessary reforms of the economics of the European Union member states. The main aim of the revised social model is ensuring sustainable economic growth combined with social cohesion; at the same time emphasis is on maintaining good standards of social provisions in keeping with the traditional practice of the European Union (Rogowski, 2008; Andor, 2013). This requirement needs to be reflected in the specific policy measures and economic programmes rolled out in the individual member states.

While the Czech welfare state has been arguably showing better results compared to other post-Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, perhaps with the exception of Slovenia (Potucek, 2000), it still needs to deal with globalisation and other challenges that the European Social Model is facing, such as: demographic changes, sustainability of public finance, as well as unemployment and rigidity of the labour market. Therefore, predictions for the future are not straightforward as future developments can take several directions. There is a risk of strong market forces in combination with the weakening position of the state, as found under the emergent Czech capitalism. This can result in lower levels of public satisfaction and possibly bring in to question the legitimacy of the leading political elites. Therefore, measures for strengthening and revitalising the welfare state and establishing a balance between the market, the state and the civil sector require special attention. More specifically, in terms of employment policies, this for example means an augmented focus on attempts to increase employment and create new employment opportunities. Therefore, the role of the European Union and its social model in this direction of development will prove to be crucial (Potucek, 2011).

My own research for this thesis contains some evidence suggesting that the particular situation of the Czech Republic should be taken into consideration when contemplating avenues for future development. The specific cultural and historical traditions, especially those concerning national identity and the strong social dimension of life are deeply rooted, and provide testimony with respect to the values and expectations of the population that need to be taken into account. These social forces should be given sufficient space, for on the basis of the outcomes of this investigation they are tangible powers that operate irrespective of political and

economic arrangements. An implication of this is that a way forward is one which takes these trends into account, relies on them and incorporates them actively into policy and social arrangements.

It is no secret that the Western form of capitalism is facing serious troubles in terms of its legitimacy and its economic sustainability in general. Thus, there are many reasons to believe that the revival of the social state, which is delimited according to the pure market economy model with the liberal state on the one hand and socialism with a centrally planned economy on the other, could be a potential direction for the Czech socioeconomic order. The success of its economic development has been directly linked with the efficiency of the welfare and social policy settlements. Therefore, any future model should follow the principle wherein both economic efficiency and social solidarity are recognized as being integral elements of current and future socioeconomic arrangements (Sirovatka, 2009; Winkler & Zizlavsky, 2011).

10.3 Limitations

Despite a number of theoretical, empirical and methodological contributions having been made, several limitations of this study need to be acknowledged. Specific limitations were discussed in Chapter 3 regarding the methodological approach undertaken, with Subsection 3.3.3 focussing on quantitative and Subsection 3.4.5 focussing on limitations to the qualitative methods. This section takes a broader outlook and considers some additional issues.

Firstly, the methodological approach used in this study has proven to be a fruitful tool as related to the main aim, which was to reveal the hidden and less obvious forces and factors which are operating behind the shift in the socio-economic order and especially in relation to work attitudes. However, it would be useful to extend the sample of the interviewees and aim for a better representation of different socio-demographic categories of the population, especially regarding respondents' age and educational/professional background. While the mixed method approach utilized in this study appears a suitable tool in tackling the research questions, the scope of this study was based on extensive primary qualitative research and for limited secondary quantitative analysis. Future research would ideally involve a good balance of primary quantitative and qualitative data. Moreover, while this researcher utilized cross-sectional data for the quantitative analysis, future investigations would preferably incorporate time series to allow for comparisons over time.

Secondly, while the trustworthiness of the interviewees is strong in terms of the credibility of the study, there is a problem related to retrospection. In the case of retrospective interviewing, the information provided can be affected by the memory and willingness to recall of the respondents. The information about the socialist period may also be marked by a certain degree of sensitivity and thus, the issue of providing socially desirable responses could play a role here. For example, the employees of the public sector were often reluctant to admit to any remnants of socialist practices or relationships still operating in their workplaces. The awareness of this possibility and the reflexivity that the researcher employed have hopefully mitigated the extent of this bias in this respect.

Thirdly, the post-socialist transition is a slippery subject to investigate given its complexity and somewhat blurred nature, especially concerning its delimitation in time. While it is clear that in the Czech Republic the onset of the transition was associated with the Velvet Revolution and demise of Communism in the last few months of 1989, it is much less certain when the transition ended, or whether the country is still in transition. My research covers the period of the transition in several instances from the early years (by means of quantitative data analysed in Chapter 5) to the advanced stages in 2010 (concerning the qualitative data presented in chapters 6, 7 and 8). As the data comes from different points of the transition process, the coverage is not perfect because the data was collected through a variety of techniques, possibly at different stages of the transition, and involved respondents who had been exposed to the transition shifts for different amounts of time. Therefore, caution needs to be employed when drawing firm conclusions from the results of this study. Lastly, the focus of this research on the period of transition up until 2010 could be seen as a limitation by those who would argue that the process of transition is not completed yet, and that the Czech Republic may still be experiencing the early stages of change.

10.4 Future research

This research has thrown up several issues in need of further investigation. My findings indicate evidence of the effects of the national and cultural context in terms of shaping work attitudes. This is an intriguing area for future research. While there is a great variety of cultures due to Czech society becoming increasingly more differentiated (such as diversity developing along the lines of age, gender, economic and education status), our inquiry suggests that the common unifying notion of 'Czechness' as the Czech cultural identity remains a strong force. The Czech culture

and its sharing are much appreciated by the Czechs and it plays an important role in shaping their attitudes, opinions and behaviour. A future investigation might be directed towards other aspects of the impact of the cultural and historical forces in the transition, as well as focusing on the mechanisms of interplay between the local cultural forces and broader social structures as well as globalizing forces of marketization. Moreover, the applicability of the organizational culture concept could be tested in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

In relation to inequalities, based on the findings of this thesis, some implications can be made about social class finding its way back into the dynamics of Czech society, and so could also be used as a lens through which to study the society. It appears to be the case that the link between education, property relations and lifestyle, typical especially for the middle classes, has been re-introduced (Vecernik, 2010). A number of Czech authors have adopted the lens of class dynamics and use class as a pertinent category for the analysis of the new Czech society (Katrnak & Fucik, 2010; Keller, 2010, 2012; Machonin & Tucek, 1996; Mateju, 1988; Vecernik, 2010). More evidence in this respect ought to be elicited by means of qualitative methods and/or in relation to the sphere of work and employment.

The main conclusions and reflections made by this researcher as well as potential policy implications based on them can be further supported by the results of existing inquiries into the perceptions of the social state by the Czech population, because it has been shown in my study that work and attitudes to work have significant consequences for people's relations and overall well-being during the first decade of the 21st century. Rabusic & Sirovatka (1999) in their relevant study suggest that, after the initial period of support for the individualistic solutions, there was a strong shift from liberal towards socio-democratic values in Czech society during the course of the transition. These researchers conclude that the Czechs have high expectations as related to the social standards of life as part of the social networks provided by the social state and there are clear preferences for more equality and collective social protection. Moreover, in the 1990s successive Czech right-wing governments asserted a liberal model with a residual form of welfare state. It appears that the low legitimacy of the Czech social policy system and the critical attitude of the public towards measures which were perceived as unjust, costly and mismanaged could mean that the Czech public did not appreciate this political orientation (ibid). There are no corresponding studies for the period covering the subsequent stages of the transition and this could provide an area of interest for future research.

The body of evidence collected for this enquiry indicates that in the Czech Republic in particular, its specific cultural and historical circumstances play a role in terms of shaping perceptions regarding events, as well as in influencing values and expectations. It is suggested that the concept of national culture needs to be suitably combined with other theoretical dimensions to achieve stronger explanatory capability. Further targeted research is needed to explore this area in a complex way. The focus of this study has been solely on the Czech Republic and even though some inferences can be made as for the similarity of some revealed patterns for other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, in other respects extensive variations can be expected. Moreover, it should be remembered that the aim of this thesis was not to produce outcomes that could be generalised to other similarly situated countries, but rather to make contributions to relevant theory in the field of the sociology of work. Nonetheless, considerably more in depth study could be undertaken to determine commonalities and patterns of differences in post-socialist development, as well as to identify their sources. What is now needed is more international comparative research into post-socialist transition as the study of transition societies and social change in general offers an excellent opportunity for unprecedented insights to be gained regarding complex social processes.

10.5 Concluding remarks

Here to conclude my study, I present a synthesis of the empirical findings and their broader meanings that have been explored in the previous discussion (Chapter 9). This is set out within the structure set by the main research questions outlined at the beginning of this thesis.

The most significant findings to emerge from the study, is the central role of the market and its forces as the main driving force of the transition, both in the area of work and in other spheres of life. This outcome envelops the whole of the analytical discussion of my research outcomes. This research, which originally started as an investigation of attitudes to work, has during the research process gradually turned in its major part to shed light on the effects of marketization as this has emerged as the overriding outcome unearthed in my interviews. This study reveals that while on the one hand the new market circumstances lead towards greater appreciation of jobs and employment and increased productivity, on the other hand the change has brought with it heightened anxiety and stress related to work life, as fear of unemployment has become a real threat for many and figures in their everyday conversations, worries and aspirations for the future.

My research offers evidence suggesting there has been a considerable attitudinal and value shift in Czech society, encompassing the sphere of work and employment, but also stretching far beyond. That is, as part of the transitional change, the principles of collectivism, shared responsibility, egalitarianism and passive attitudes to formal jobs were replaced by those of individualism, independence, assertiveness, orientation towards careers and work performance. Accordingly, as a result of marketization, it may be said that the values of individualism have penetrated the whole society and, as findings of this research indicate, these are evident in all areas of life including personal and family living. These outcomes are in line with other research studies that have underlined the effects of the market economy on the overall value change in Central and Eastern Europe. They point to individualism becoming all-pervading in society (Kolman et al., 2003) with particular impact on partnerships and family life (e.g. Křížková & Vohlídalová, 2008; Machovcova, 2012; Sirovatka, 2002). This is part of the wider change, in which the transition is considered to be a process marked by a return to capitalism, in other words, a capitalist revolution.

While the effects of marketization in the Czech society are profound, my investigation shows that the consequences of market forces, including work and life insecurities, are not equally distributed across the population. As the second key finding of this study, my research asserts that the impact of the economic transition and its hardships are markedly stratified in Czech society along the dimensions of age, gender, geographical location and the level of education/ skill/ qualification attained. This is an indicator of the move from an extremely equalized society to one marked with disparity and multiple inequalities. The social divides in Czech society have increased significantly during the transition to the extent that we can talk about 'winners and losers' resulting from the transition. Those who belong to each of these categories, especially as defined by age and gender, perceive the transitional changes differently, to the extent that we can conclude by saying the meaning and evaluation of the change 'is in the eye of the beholder'. Moreover, the results of these socially stratifying forces are perceived by most of the Czech population as unjust, mainly due to specific experiences that were associated with the early stages of the Czech economic transition.

Gender has been identified in this study as one of the main diversifying and stratifying factors. In the Czech Republic, the transition has brought about a worsening of the situation for women at work in several respects. While, on the one hand, the capitalist transition introduced new and better opportunities for both genders to develop a

career and achieve success and self-realization through work, on the other hand, making use of the new job prospects and trying to comply with the new imperatives of the job market for women has meant that they face increased hardships when trying to reconcile work and family life. The extensive state provisions common under socialism in terms of childcare and support for mothers with children during the course of the transition have been largely abolished. Moreover, as the results of this research also confirm, Czech women are still seen as the main care providers in the family. This finding is in keeping with other similar studies conducted that bring evidence of the continuing feminization of family care in the Czech Republic (Uhde, 2009; Winkler, 2011) and penalization of motherhood in the context of the achievement oriented market society (Haskova et al., 2013; Krizkova & Vohlidalova, 2008; Kucharova, 2005). Therefore, on the basis of this study's findings, it is suggested that economic changes in the transition have not eased the double burden put on women, and in some aspects have made their situation worse, as compared to socialist times. Other available research discusses increasing new risks in terms of involuntary unemployment, their being overburdened as a result of the double role situation, and related social and psychological consequences for Czech women (Buchtová & Snopek, 2012; Buchtová, 2013; Haskova et al., 2013; Pollert, 2003).

In addition, this study also offers indicative evidence that there is variation between women regarding the extent to which they are affected and in terms of coping strategies they typically adopt. It has become apparent that these are defined mainly by the levels of education and qualifications of the woman. In this respect, given their particular position in the labour market, in combination with their level of income, middle class women appear to be affected by the adverse effects of the economic transition to a larger extent than other categories. The findings of my research, however, cannot be taken as representative for the whole population as there were insufficient women of the younger age category represented in my sample. To compensate for this, the perceptions and opinions of the younger women were in some instances deducted indirectly from the testimonies of older women, typically their mothers, relatives, superiors in the workplace and older work colleagues. Therefore, possible future research needs to be conducted to study this phenomenon in more detail so as to capture its full complexity.

The disadvantaged situation of women at present can be explained to a significant degree by their link to the labour market. There has been a long tradition of Czech women enjoying full employment and thus work in terms of paid employment has been a long-standing dimension of women's identity. Therefore, it cannot be expected

that the double burden or work related problems can be dealt with by policies aimed at lowering the level of female participation in the labour market. Consequently, the situation for women in the labour market needs to be addressed directly. In this respect, Czech women seem to be disadvantaged in two main areas; access to the labour market and the conditions of their employment. While unemployment appeared as a new phenomenon as a result of the economic transition, the feminization of unemployment has developed as an integral aspect of it. Particularly at risk of unemployment and related social problems such as exclusion and poverty are mothers with small children. Unlike during socialist times, motherhood no longer has the label of a prestigious status and neither does it warrant special advantages or benefits for women in the labour market. Notably, many women of middle and older age who were interviewed for this research recalled the times when they were having children and remembered the multiple advantages that were granted to them by their employers at that time. Given the required workload in their jobs nowadays, in the interviews they reported that they struggled to imagine how these conditions could be compatible with care of a young family. While in the past there was a different attitude from employers towards women and men as employees, nowadays the levels of engagement and standards of output are set the same for both genders. This, however, does not put both genders on an equal footing. As stems from my interviews with women, against the backdrop of competitiveness in the labour market, motherhood is usually seen as a disadvantage by employers because women with children are perceived as less capable, potentially troublesome and inflexible. Therefore, they have lower chances of being hired than their male counterparts. The stigmatization and penalization of motherhood in the Czech labour market is confirmed by other researchers (e.g. Krizkova & Vohlidalova, 2008).

To sum up, the results of this investigation show that strong competition, high workload, general overwork and fear of losing a job have consequences for young women as they postpone settling down and having a family until later, and sometimes this may result in their not having children at all. Therefore, notwithstanding the opportunities for building a career, travel and the advantages of rich life style choices, one potential implication of the economic transition is that the life challenges and problems that the younger generation of women are facing nowadays are even more complex and demanding than those that their mothers experienced during their own youth. These outcomes serve as indicative evidence of particular broader effects of the economic changes for younger generations of women in the transition countries. These issues have not been sufficiently tackled by relevant research so far, but

should be considered as a pressing area for further research given the recent demographic trends in Europe such as declining rates of fertility, increasing trends of marriage breakdown and the ageing population.

The third main conclusion relates to the twofold function of the legacies left by the old system. Based on the findings of this research, these are defined primarily in terms of social and cultural forces. Returning to the hypothesis posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that, while in some instances their effect may impede the progress of the transition, such as certain inflexibilities and a weak work ethic, in other cases the fragments of the old system may paradoxically have a stabilizing function for the new social structures (e.g. social solidarity) and their removal creates a vacuum which is difficult to fill. This situation can be seen as confirming the assumption that developments of social structures during transition lag behind the changes made to economic structures. While the argument of Dahrendorf (1997) contending that globalization suppresses social solidarity indeed appears to be the case in the Czech Republic, the outcomes of this research indicate that this process is not one sided because globalizing trends collide with local social forces that can have a notable influence.

Unlike most other existing studies to date, because of the methods of in-depth interviewing and qualitative analysis applied here, the mechanisms of a deeper value change have been elicited. Similar scholarship is rare in the context of the transition across Central and Eastern Europe in general, and lacking in the sphere of employment and work attitudes in particular. For example, it has been possible to arrive at an understanding of how it was possible in the socialist system to be employed full time and 'go to work' regularly without actually working, i.e. without producing any valuable outcome as a result of the particular job. This study brings insight into particular implicit contracts that the socialist regime had created with its citizens in order to preserve its legitimacy and total control over the population; recall the popular saying: 'we pretended to work and they pretended to pay us'. It also became apparent that many attitudinal patterns that people developed under Communist rule were often in fact unspoken acts of protest against the system or escape mechanisms that helped them to cope with the restrictions and limitations of life in the totalitarian system. Therefore, it becomes understandable why solidarity and social life flourished alongside general demotivation and frustration at work, and further, why cultural activities, social gatherings and even widespread jokes with just a slight undertone of ridiculing the socialist system were very popular and, at the same time, tolerated by the leading political elite. On the other hand, my empirical

findings document how solidarity and rich social life partly vanished as a result of the market reform, because employees had to start working long hours, hold down multiple jobs and consequently, as reported by interviewees, simply 'no one has time for friends any more'. Taken together, these results suggest a substantive attitudinal and value shift in the new capitalist society where success, identity and social standing have different definitions as compared to those under the previous socialist social order.

The fourth significant finding emerging from this study is that in line with neoliberal capitalist doctrine, and in opposition with the end of work hypothesis, work has gained an importance in people's lives since the introduction of the market economy in the Czech Republic. It may be contended that as a result of globalization and marketization, work and employment are the central point around which people's lives are organized in the capitalist society which has been formed in the transition. With the influx of capitalism and its value system, the post-socialist regime has been facing the appearance of new inequalities that could not have occurred before, namely those based on property ownership and those related to employment status. My research shows that, rather than losing significance, the sphere of employment has become an arena of increased importance, and employment status carries considerably more weight than before since one's social status and life prospects very much depend on it.

This new function of work appears to be a striking contrast to the role of work under socialism, when its significance was fabled and symbolic, but in reality was degraded. Evidence is presented that the significance of work and working life embedded in the neoliberal doctrine has also brought about an impact of these principles being witnessed in other spheres of life such as family life, private life and leisure. Moreover, while the overall significance of work and the ramifications of it for people in general have increased, the meaning of work has itself morphed over time. The evidence from this study suggests that in the competitive capitalist environment, formal work and employment have become for most people the main source of their income and thus a chief means of securing their livelihood, as well as sources of identity, self-esteem and social standing. Under socialism it was put forward as a duty towards society. This took the form of a proclamation which, however, was not taken seriously by the majority of the population, whereas under capitalism it has become a true social imperative. These findings about the augmented significance of work and employment in contemporary Czech society have been confirmed by other authors (e.g. Keller, 2011a,b; Sirovatka, Winkler & Zizlavsky, 2009).

At the same time, in accordance with the focus of the capitalist society on work, performance and career as crucial measures of success in life, different skills have become valued in the new capitalist society, such as: qualification and competence, initiative, assertiveness, risk taking and taking a dynamic approach. However, this also means that as a result of this competitive work environment which thrives on change, the world of work is marked with more fragmentation and instability than before. Taken together, the findings of this study are in support of the argument proposed by Wacquant (2009) viewing neoliberalism as being not only an economic doctrine but a lot more than that; it is a political project encompassing a complex transformation of the state, market and consequently the whole of society. Furthermore, the results of this research are in line with the idea of Sennett (1998) delineating instability and constant drift as the main characteristics of the contemporary capitalist world of work. Whether and to what degree this is also followed by the general corrosion of character, as suggested by Sennett (*ibid*), is yet to be explored in the Czech case through future research endeavours.

This inquiry established that the globalizing tendencies in new capitalism were resulting in growing inequalities being a prominent feature of the Czech transition. This emerges as the fifth main conclusion of this thesis and is recognized as a pressing issue that needs to be addressed in the Czech Republic, as well as in other transition countries. In this respect, the findings of this study underline other research focusing on the Czech Republic that has also confirmed the deepening of inequality in society (Dudova, 2009; Mateju & Vlachova 1999; Mateju & Strakova, 2006). Besides gender, the findings of this thesis provide evidence that education, skills and qualifications, as well as age, are other most significant stratifying factors. In this respect, comparison of the profile of a 'winner' in the previous system, to one in the contemporary system offers clear evidence of the shifts in the attitudes and values in the labour market and in society in general. These results clearly indicate that in the context where the market dominates, different skills are more valued as compared to the socialist state controlled economy of the past. That is, the model of the 'winner' during the new era of transition can be put forward as being a young educated and well qualified man, oriented towards cutting edge developments and technologies. In addition, he should be flexible and dynamic, achievement oriented, able to easily adapt to new conditions and fashions, predict emergent novel trends, and always be looking forward, ready to take risks. To sum up, many of the desirable qualities and skills identified by the informants of my research as strategic prerequisites for

success during the transition coincide with those quoted by Sennett (1998) as characteristics of the new fluid, low-loyalty and low-commitment form of capitalism.

One of the crucial implications arising from this study is in the area of social solidarity. It is seen as the sixth core outcome of this study. Social solidarity is directly embedded in the context of the labour market, and thus in the economic dimension, relates to the role and functioning of the capitalist organization. The findings of this investigation show that while ties and commitment-based relationships are being formed in contemporary capitalist organizations emerging in the transition, their nature is defined, by and large, in accordance with the instrumental capitalist imperative of profitability. It was shown in this study that the nature of relations amongst employees, between employees and their superiors and especially between employees and the organization, are marked with the notion of commitment and responsibility, unlike in real socialist organizations. However, these still happen at the surface level. The deeper level of commitment that would reflect genuinely shared common values and a notion of morality is missing. Based on this evidence, this study consequently confirms previous findings suggesting that contemporary corporate culture finds itself in a vicious circle (Dahler-Larsen, 1994; Ogbonna and Harris, 1998; Schein, 1984). While it aspires to develop solidarity and social morality, its very nature and functioning based on materialistic purposes appears to be in direct contradiction and thus ultimately prevents the development of such value systems.

The above recounted findings about increasing social divides, inequalities and weakened solidarity as accompanying features of marketization can be seen as signs of far reaching changes regarding social structures during the transition. Furthermore, they logically result in another phenomenon, that is, the reinstating of class. This is the seventh key outcome of this study. While the socialist egalitarian society was regarded as classless in principle, notwithstanding that official talk identified the 'three friendly classes of industrial workers, agricultural workers and working intelligentsia', differentiation of society in terms of property and power relations was minimal, with the exception of the governing Communist elite. The results of my research offer indicative evidence that in the new capitalist society, which has been forming during the transition, social stratification has become profound and the social groupings that have appeared as a result of this process no longer relate to each other on the basis of solidarity. In fact, rather the opposite is the case, for they display many attributes of the very much opposed classes that were criticised in Marxist theory. Several Czech scholars have also commented on this phenomenon, especially in relation to

the crystallization of the middle classes in Czech society (e.g. Katrnak & Fucik, 2010; Keller, 2010, 2012; Mateju, 1988; Vecernik, 1999, 2010).

The observation has already been drawn above that the transitional changes of the labour market and in other spheres of working lives are direct reflections of the change regarding the economic system. In addition, it was pointed out in Chapter 9 that the main aspects of organizational culture, notably those relating to unintended consequences, are applicable to socialist organizations and companies as well. When it comes to capitalist organizations during the transition, however, it appears that the changes at the level of the organization can be largely described as shifts regarding different forms of control and power, as well as the sources of their legitimation, while their underpinning mechanisms are not dissimilar. The power structures underlying organizations and economic arrangements thus remain the decisive factor imposing not only the formal rules of the game but equally shaping values and social relations. This eighth major finding of this study reinforces the argument of Braverman (1998), set out at the beginning of this research, which suggests that the perspective of power relations is most fruitful when seeking out an explanatory tool in regard to understanding workplace and economic relations.

When assessing the viability of the conceptual framework applied in this study, one other conclusion emerges. While the concept of national culture (Hofstede, 2001; Holy, 1996; Verdery 1991a, b) as discussed in Chapters 3 and 9, has shown only limited explanatory properties in terms of attitudes to work and their determinants, the concept of organizational culture (Schein, 1984; Dahler-Larsen, 1994; Ogbonna & Harris, 1998; Ogbonna & Wilkinson, 1990), analysed in more detail in Chapter 9, has proven significantly more useful in terms of the main focus and aims of this study. At this point we can see that it figures here as a potent explanatory concept underpinning the sixth, seventh and eighth main findings advanced from this study.

Having addressed the salient changes in the Czech labour market during the transition and the related structural, attitudinal and value changes, broader ramifications of the key findings of this thesis call for attention. One significant issue concerns the type and shape of a desirable social order in the Czech Republic. The results of this study indicate that neither real socialism nor market capitalism are particularly suitable social arrangements for several reasons. Firstly, neither of these systems in their extreme form takes fully into account the specific cultural and historical circumstance of the Czech Republic. One of the clear findings from this study is that the particular context of the country is potentially an important aspect,

as it has an impact on the development of social, economic and political structures as well as the attitudes and values of the population. Not only are social and cultural forces affected by the predominant socio-economic system, but they also function as a filter through which particular aspects of the economic system are mediated and consequently become altered in shape. This mechanism might explain why Czech capitalism, although introduced on the basis of following the neoclassical economic model, did not produce severe social problems for the population as its consequences were cushioned by the traditionally well-developed system of social security. Although the remnants of the previous system of social provisions persisted for some years at the beginning of the transition, these were largely abolished as time progressed. The results of this study indicate that the contemporary capitalist system struggles to address a variety of social issues including growing social inequalities. Therefore, it can be suggested that both systems – real socialism as well as modern capitalism – in the context of the Czech Republic fail to create the optimal environment which would ensure a combination of sustainable economic development with guaranteed social rights for the whole population and therefore foster social conciliation. While the current economic system has proven rather successful in economic terms, especially when compared to other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, it has also demonstrated the capacity for causing social divides and reduced public satisfaction. It appears that mechanisms of social solidarity in the Czech Republic are disrupted and therefore, as discussed in Chapter 9 Section 9.6, creating and then strengthening these social ties should come as a policy priority in order to prevent any potential social unrest.

The current status of things, therefore, raises serious questions about the sources of social cohesion in the conditions under the new capitalism. The results of my research suggest that previous foundations of social solidarity are either weakened or no longer in place. In this respect, my findings are in line with the prediction made by Dahrendorf (1997) that global capitalism would in effect inhibit social solidarity. Thus, in the context of the individualized striving for career and material success, there is a danger that levels of societal fragmentation and disintegration could increase. In the particular case of the Czech Republic, the reasons for concern are heightened by the results of recent public opinion polls regarding attitudes to distributive justice. Moreover, the political orientations of the population reflected in the results of the recent elections (2013) point to a degree of dissatisfaction with recent developments in the country. While the Czech tradition of upholding social justice and a social democratic political orientation has been an important integral

part of the general social climate, the prevailing levels of social awareness and governmental ways of addressing social issues that have come to light recently are called into question. In some instances, innovations in policies do not always reflect appropriately the present day circumstances. For example in the case of some particular social groups (e.g. single mothers with small children, young unemployed, long term unemployed, disabled employees and ethnic minorities) the current labour market policy arrangements are falling short in terms of the prevention of poverty and social exclusion. Therefore, addressing these issues at the policy level should be considered a key priority for the near future.

In conclusion, in social science scholarship, the transitions faced in Central and Eastern European states tend to be perceived in a rather simplistic manner as involving a straight forward shift from one economic doctrine to another. However, the findings of this study suggest that the post-socialist transition is a very complex process during the course of which the state, the labour market and social relations have had to become accustomed to the logic of market ideology. Therefore, the outcomes of this research contribute to existing knowledge regarding the transition processes. Moreover, my aim has been to understand what effect globalization and marketization has had on the role of work in people's lives and their work attitudes, and this has involved shedding light on the part taken by social and cultural forces in the process of restructuring society towards neoliberal capitalism. The empirical findings generated in this study provide novel understanding of the legacy of socialism and its role in the transition. To date, it has been generally assumed that the relics of the socialist system are maladies afflicting the new capitalist system and their existence impedes the necessary new developments. This assumption usually relates to all forms of these remnants, be they structural and institutional features or the habits and attitudes of people. The evidence provided by this study, however, brings deeper insight into this subject as it has shown that the role of the socialist legacy in the new Czech capitalist system is more complex, and in some cases it may have an important cohering function, which the new market-oriented social order is unable to secure.

Appendix 1

List of informants (respondents)

- R 1 - M, director of private sector firm, 49 years
- R 2 – M, director of department, public sector institution, 55 years
- R 3 – F, head of section, public sector institution, 52 years
- R 4 – F, HR manager, private sector firm, 53 years
- R 5 – F, HR manager, private sector firm, 56 years
- R 6 – F, section manager, banking sector, 57 years
- R 7 – F, HR manager, public/private sector, 55 years
- R 8 – M, director, banking sector, 53 years
- R 9 – M, head of department, public sector research institution, 58 years
- R 10 – M, HR manager, private company, 50 years
- R 11 – M, head of section, private company, 60 years
- R 12 – M, director of private company, 59 years
- R 13 – F, former head of accounts/HR (recently retired), 60 years
- R 14 – F, head of department, public sector institution, 54 years
- R 15 – M, director of private sector company, 55 years
- R 16 – M, manager, private sector IT company, 56 years
- R 17 – M, vice-chancellor, public sector educational institution, 52 years
- R 18 – M, director of grammar school, 58 years
- R 19 – M, manager, private sector company, 60 years
- R 20 – F, head of section, public sector institution, 58 years
- R 21 – M, director of department, public sector institution, 59 years
- R 22 – M, manager of private sector company, 54 years

R 23 – M, commercial director, private sector company, 61 years

R 24 – M, director of regional chamber of commerce, 59 years

R 25 – M, dean, public sector educational institution, 68 years

R 26 – M, deputy secretary, public sector educational institution, 57 years

R 27 – M, entrepreneur & owner of construction company, 49 years

R 28 – F, barrister, 54 years

R 29 – M, manager & entrepreneur, private sector company, 55 years

R 30 – M, manager, private sector company, 48 years

R 31 – F, editorial copywriter, 57 years

R 32 – M, owner of private sector company, 67 years

R 33 – M, manager of private sector company, 49 years

R 34 – F, manager & owner of pension for the elderly, 53 years

R 35 – F, HR manager of private sector company, 57 years

R 36 – F, official of public sector institution, 56 years

R 37 – F, researcher, head of department, public sector institution, 58 years

R 38 – F, manager of guest house, 60 years

R 39 – F, owner & manager of travel agency, 57 years

R 40 – M, director of private sector company, 60 years

R 41 – F, HR manager, private sector company, 58 years

R 42 – F, head of section, private sector company, 59 years

R 43 – M, vice-chancellor, private sector educational institution, 60 years

Appendix 2

Preliminary index categories of the qualitative analysis

1. Meaning of work and attitudes to work in socialism

1.2.1 Motivation to work and relation of financial and non-financial incentives

1.2.2 Function of work in socialism

1.2.3 Typical character features of the Czech employee

2. Perceptions of work in socialism

2.1 Definitions and conceptualizations of work ethic

2.2 Lottery Question revisited

2.3 Work ethic as subject to changes

3. Socialist reality and the changes in attitudes to work after 1989

3.1 Work and life in socialism – coping strategies

3.2 Structural changes – labour market and the workplace

3.3 Changes of attitudes – motivation and expectations

3.4 New perspective and opportunities

4. The changing role of qualifications

4.1 Qualifications, skills and remuneration

4.2 Emphasis on general knowledge

5. People relations at the workplace

5.1 Relationships with supervisors

5.2 Relationships with colleagues

5.3 Characteristics of the Czech management

5.4 Organizational commitment

6. Careers in the Czech society

6.1 Perceptions, definitions and terminology

6.2 Emphasis on a career with a new meaning

6.3 Selected correlates of career in the Czech Republic

7. Residuals of socialism

7.1 Attitudes to work

7.2 Attitudes to social (distributive) justice

7.3 Socialist nostalgia and 'socialist mind'

Appendix 3

Final index categories of the qualitative analysis

1. Role of work (reasons of working and work centrality)

- 1.1 Ideology and Reality
- 1.2 Professional and political careers
- 1.3 Changes in the role of work
- 1.4 Work centrality before and after
- 1.5 From duty to self-actualization
- 1.6 From security of work to competition
- 1.7 Intensification and marketization of work

2. Motivation to work (hierarchy, status, reward and the work ethic)

2.1 The work ethic

- 2.1.1. Perceptions of work ethic in socialism
- 2.1.2 Definitions and conceptualizations of work ethic
- 2.1.3 Work ethic as subject to changes

2.2. Incentives and Repayments

- 2.2.1 From collectives aims to individualist pursuits
- 2.2.2 From egalitarianism to achievement and merit
- 2.2.3 Winners and losers of transition (hierarchy, status and reward of work)

3. Relationships in the transition

- 3.1 Identity, lifestyle and values (marketization and intensification of life)
- 3.2 Relationships at the workplace
- 3.3 Colleagues and supervisors
- 3.4 Characteristics of the Czech management
- 3.5 Organizational commitment
- 3.6 Private sphere – partnerships and families

Appendix 4: Results of the secondary quantitative analysis

1. Centrality of Work

Table 1: Important values in life: CR in course of the transition

Area of life evaluated	1990 % of important	1999 %of important	2008 % of important
Work	96.8	93.6	82.2
Family	98.2	98.3	96.1
Friends	79.5	85.9	89.3
Leisure time	75.5	78.2	85.2
Politics	37.1	33.0	21.6
Religion	26.8	21.4	19.6
N	2109	1908	1821

The percentages are a sum of categories 'very important' and 'quite important'
Source: EVS 1990, 1999, 2008; own calculations

Table 2: Aspects of work ethic 1 – international comparison 1990

Aspect of work ethic	CR % of chosen	Poland % of chosen	GB % of chosen	France % of chosen
Work is just a business transaction	12.3	8.1	9.2	5.9
I do the best I can regardless of pay	23.3	31.3	39.5	35.5
Working is just a necessity for living	9.1	32.2	22.2	21.5
I don't let work interfere with my life	28.7	12.8	21.7	30.7
Work most important in my life	23.5	11.4	4.0	5.8
Never had a paid job	0.2	4.1	3.4	0.5
N	2109	982	1002	1484

The percentages show the proportion of those who selected the particular aspect as important
Source: EVS 1990; own calculations

Table 3: Aspects of work ethic 2 : International comparison (1999 & 2008)

Statement indicating work ethic level	CR % of agree		Poland % of agree		GB % of agree		France % of agree	
	1999	2008	1999	2008	1999	2008	1999	2008
One needs job to develop talents	80.2	73.6	91.4	76.9	52.1	56.8	77.7	78.1
It is humiliating to receive money without work	48.7	48.8	65.2	48.4	38.6	46.6	43.6	47.1
Who doesn't work turns lazy	80.3	69.8	77.4	64.4	42.9	54.5	54.1	57.0
Work is a duty towards society	64.1	53.4	74.2	47.3	49.2	68.8	55.8	71.4
One should not have to work if they don't want to	31.6	NA	65.1	58.9	18.7	NA	32.7	NA
Work should always come first	57.0	48.7	64.4	37.8	25.0	36.3	33.5	38.3
N	1908	1821	1095	1510	1000	1561	1615	3071

NA = the question was not asked in this particular year of the survey
The percentages are a sum of categories 'agree strongly' and 'agree'
Source: EVS 1999, 2008; own calculations

Table 4: Important values in life: Development over time (international comparison)

Area of life evaluated	CR			Poland			GB			France		
	% of important			% of important			% of important			% of important		
	1990	1999	2008	1990	1999	2008	1990	1999	2008	1990	1999	2008
Work	96.8	93.6	82.2	96.7	95.2	91.5	77.1	78.8	69.3	93.5	95.0	94.4
Family	98.2	98.3	96.1	99.6	99.4	99.5	97.1	98.8	98.1	97.5	98.6	97.9
Friends	79.5	85.9	89.3	80.1	85.4	92.5	92.0	97.0	96.8	86.7	94.3	91.1
Leisure	75.5	78.2	85.2	84.7	80.9	87.2	86.8	92.8	90.1	80.2	87.9	85.4
Politics	37.1	33.0	21.6	36.5	31.3	28.9	41.4	34.0	44.5	32.6	34.9	47.8
Religion	26.8	21.4	19.6	88.5	83.9	75.1	46.0	36.7	43.9	42.7	36.4	37.8
N	2109	1908	1821	982	1095	1510	1484	1000	1561	1002	1615	3071

The percentages are a sum of categories 'very important' and 'quite important'
 Source: EYS 1990, 1999, 2008; own calculations

2. Rationales to paid work CR 1993

Table 5. Priorities of **rationales to paid work** according to **gender**

Q6 A-G Priorities to work rationales						
Reasons for working	Total		Men		Women	
	% Yes	Rank accord. yes	% Yes	Rank accord. yes	% Yes	Rank accord. yes
Is normal thing to do	47	3	49	2	45	4
Need money for basics	83	1	84	1	83	1
Want money for extras	37	5	41	4	33	6
Want money of my own	35	6	37	5	34	5
company of other people	39	4	31	6	47	3
Enjoy working	50	2	48	3	51	2
Want to follow career	11	7	14	7	9	7
N	2009		1005		1004	

Table 6. Priorities of **rationales to paid work** according to **professional status**

Q6 A-G Priorities to work rationales														
Reasons for working	Total		Prof/man		Routine		Selfempl		Foreman		Skilled man		Unskilled	
	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes
Is normal	47	3	48	3	44	3-4	45	4	60	2	49	2	41	2
Basics	83	1	82	1	80	1	82	1	85	1	85	1	89	1
Extras	37	5	37	5	33	5	46	3	32	4	37	4	34	4-5
Own money	35	6	35	6	30	6	41	5	25	6	38	3	34	4-5
Company	39	4	46	4	46	2	36	6	27	5	29	6	35	3
Enjoy working	50	2	61	2	44	3-4	59	2	49	3	33	5	32	6
Career	11	7	17	7	11	7	17	7	8	7	4	7	3	7
N	2009		796		209		282		73		359		286	

Source: ECRS 1993

Table 7. Priorities of **rationales to paid work** according to **education**

Q6 A-G Priorities to work rationales												
Reasons for working	Total		Basic		Vocational		Secondary		Higher Non-Uni		University	
	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes
Is normal	47	3	40	2	45	2	48	3	51	3	49	3
Basics	83	1	85	1	87	1	83	1	79	1	79	1
Extras	37	5	33	4	37	4	35	6	41	5	42	5
Own money	35	6	29	5	35	5	37	5	35	6	35	6
Company	39	4	37	3	34	6	41	4	45	4	44	4
Enjoy working	50	2	25	6	40	3	51	2	67	2	65	2
Career	11	7	6	7	6	7	10	7	12	7	24	7
N	2009		89		659		773		84		404	

Table 8. Priorities of **rationales to paid work** according to **age**

Q6 A-G Priorities to work rationales												
Reasons for working	Total		20-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-60	
	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes
Is normal	47	3	39	5	46	3	46	3	51	2	58	2
Basics	83	1	80	1	86	1	84	1	85	1	77	1
Extras	37	5	40	4	40	5-6	36	5	35	5	34	4
Own money	35	6	54	2	40	5-6	26	6	28	6	18	6
Company	39	4	39	6	42	4	38	4	39	4	31	5
Enjoy working	50	2	44	3	56	2	48	2	50	3	48	3
Career	11	7	15	7	17	7	10	7	8	7	3	7
N	2009		298		488		477		551		124	

Source: ECRS 1993

Table 9. Priorities of **rationales to paid work** according to **marital status**

Q6 A-G Priorities to work rationales						
Reasons for working	Total		Living with a partner		Living alone	
	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes	% Yes	Rank yes
Is normal thing to do	47	3	49	3	41	4-5
Need money for basics	83	1	84	1	82	1
Want money for extras	37	5	36	5	40	6
Want money of my own	35	6	29	6	50	2
Company of other people	39	4	38	4	41	4-5
Enjoy working	50	2	50	2	49	3
Want to follow career	11	7	10	7	14	7
N	2009		1418		591	

Source: ECRS 1993

3. Work ethic: Answers to the 'Lottery Question'

Table 10: Answers to the 'Lottery Question', Czech Republic 1993

Category	n valid	Would continue working %	Would stop working %
Total Sample	1480	58	42
Men	681	61	39
Women	799	55	45
Age category			
20-24	226	54	46
25-34	337	62	38
35-44	366	60	40
45-54	392	59	42
55-60	96	49	51
Prof. category			
Prof./man	503	66	34
Routine	172	61	39
Foremen	75	64	36
Skilled	388	55	45
Unskilled	343	46	54
Educational level			
Basic	166	48	52
Vocational	608	53	47
Secondary	484	58	42
Higher	57	75	25
University	164	81	19
Marital status			
With a partner	1041	60	41
Living alone	438	54	47

Table 11: Answers to the 'Lottery Question', UK 1992

Category	n valid	Would continue working %	Would stop working %
Total Sample	3413	67	33
Men	1779	68	32
Women	1634	67	33
Age category			
20-24	451	84	16
25-34	1059	71	29
35-44	886	69	32
45-54	730	56	44
55-60	222	51	50
Prof. category			
Prof./man	1192	73	27
Routine	885	67	33
Foremen	157	67	33
Skilled	375	64	36
Unskilled	759	60	40
Educational level			
Basic	1207	60	40
Vocational	861	65	35
Secondary	396	75	25
Higher	383	72	28
University	513	78	22
Marital status			
With a partner	2475	65	35
Living alone	938	75	25

Source: 'Employment conditions, labour market insecurity and work motivation of the employed and unemployed' (ECRS) 1992 (UK), 1993 (CR)

4. Job Facets

Job-facet priorities factor analysis

Factor analysis was employed in order to, first, reduce and simplify the studied area of job-facets (and to get more insight into the inner structure of this area) and second, to conduct further analytical steps aiming at revealing possible determinants of job-facet priorities.

Step 1: **Recoding**

All variables in the battery Q8a – Q8o were recoded (into Q8a_r – Q8o_r). The aim was to reverse the scale so its order is increasing from the lowest value 1 – not very important to the highest 4 – essential. The assessment of missing data showed rather low proportions (ranging from 0.2 percent as for Q8c to 5.2 percent for Q8i, with one exception of 7.5 percent for Q8e), so the missing data were dealt with as assigning them a mean value of 2.

Step 2: **Condition of interval ratio data**

One presumption of factor analysis is that our data should be normally distributed ratio data – which is not the case with the scale 8a – 8o.

However, we can test the scope of difference from the normal distribution by comparing Pearson's R and Spearman's coefficients in correlation matrix. If both coefficients are roughly the same, we can treat our data as if they were interval ratio data. As we can see in table 1, this condition of the proximity of coefficients is satisfied.

Step 3: **Reliability analysis**

Testing internal consistency of the battery of job-facet questions – **scale Q8a_r – Q8o_r** (15 items).

Alpha = 0,79 (N = 1480). The result confirms that the scale of job-facet prioritised items is internally consistent (all items - components should measure - relate to – the same thing).

Table 12. **Correlation matrix** of job facets (CR 1993)

	8a_r	8b_r	8c_r	8d_r	8e_r	8f_r	8g_r	8h_r	8i_r	8j_r	8k_r	8l_r	8m_r	8n_r	8o_r
8a_r Pe	1														
Sp	1														
8b_r Pe	0.32	1													
Sp	0.32	1													
8c_r Pe	0.11	0.23	1												
Sp	0.11	0.23	1												
8d_r Pe	0.28	0.20	0.16	1											
Sp	0.27	0.20	0.16	1											
8e_r Pe	0.17	0.20	0.28	0.25	1										
Sp	0.17	0.20	0.29	0.25	1										
8f_r Pe	0.25	0.35	0.03	0.23	0.09	1									
Sp	0.25	0.35	0.03	0.22	0.09	1									
8g_r Pe	0.28	0.28	0.04	0.20	0.10	0.52	1								
Sp	0.28	0.29	0.04	0.20	0.10	0.53	1								
8h_r Pe	0.13	0.09	0.17	0.21	0.20	0.12	0.14	1							
Sp	0.12	0.09	0.16	0.20	0.20	0.12	0.13	1							
8i_r Pe	0.12	0.15	0.11	0.15	0.09	0.20	0.13	0.40	1						
Sp	0.11	0.14	0.10	0.14	0.08	0.19	0.12	0.38	1						
8j_r Pe	0.25	0.33	0.09	0.18	0.08	0.51	0.49	0.14	0.24	1					
Sp	0.26	0.33	0.08	0.17	0.09	0.50	0.49	0.14	0.23	1					
8k_r Pe	0.05	0.10	0.20	0.17	0.20	0.04	0.03	0.26	0.25	0.10	1				
Sp	0.04	0.10	0.20	0.16	0.19	0.03	0.02	0.24	0.23	0.09	1				
8l_r Pe	0.0	0.01	0.09	0.14	0.16	0.02	0.01	0.26	0.26	0.02	0.30	1			
Sp	0.0	0.01	0.09	0.13	0.14	0.02	0.03	0.24	0.23	0.00	0.30	1			
8m_r Pe	0.20	0.34	0.10	0.18	0.12	0.41	0.34	0.08	0.20	0.48	0.16	0.11	1		
Sp	0.20	0.33	0.09	0.17	0.12	0.41	0.33	0.07	0.20	0.47	0.15	0.08	1		
8n_r Pe	0.21	0.25	0.28	0.21	0.22	0.19	0.18	0.18	0.22	0.24	0.28	0.14	0.31	1	
Sp	0.21	0.25	0.27	0.21	0.24	0.19	0.19	0.17	0.20	0.25	0.26	0.12	0.30	1	
8o_r Pe	0.21	0.24	0.07	0.17	0.05	0.41	0.33	0.21	0.22	0.40	0.07	0.11	0.33	0.28	1
Sp	0.21	0.24	0.07	0.16	0.06	0.41	0.33	0.20	0.20	0.40	0.05	0.09	0.32	0.30	1

N = 1480, Source: ECRS 1993

Step 4: Factor analysis

A) *Principal component analysis* is employed to decide how many factors should be used for representation of the data. The following three models were examined under principal component analysis.

A1. Eigenvalues < 1

Table 13. Principal component analysis, 3 factors (rotated factor solution, rotation varimax)

Job-facets prioritised	F1	F2	F3
Use initiative	0.78		
Use abilities	0.77		
Work you like doing	0.72		
Variety in work	0.63		
Training provisions	0.63		
A secure job		0.68	
Good pay		0.68	
Relat. with supervisor	(0.22)	0.48	(0.16)
Working conditions	(0.27)	0.48	(0.28)
Promotion prospects	0.48	0.48	
Friendly people	0.39	0.44	
Easy work load			0.69
Convenient hours			0.66
Choice in work hours			0.67
Fringe benefits			0.59

N = 1480 Source: ECRS 1993, multiple loadings highlighted in blue

Three factors were selected, explaining 47 percent of the total variance.

A2. Choice of **2 factors** to be **selected** only – attempt at maximum parsimony (but less explained variance)

Table 14. Principal component analysis, 2 factors rotated factor solution (rotation varimax)

Job-facets prioritised	F1	F2
Use initiative	0.77	
Use abilities	0.76	
Work you like doing	0.73	
Variety in work	0.60	
Training provisions	0.64	
A secure job		0.51
Good pay		0.50
Relat. with supervisor	(0.31)	0.40
Working conditions	(0.34)	0.48
Promotion prospects	0.56	
Friendly people	0.48	
Easy work load		0.59
Convenient hours		0.61
Choice in work hours		0.52
Fringe benefits		0.66

N = 1480, Source = ECRS 1993

Two selected factors account for 38 percent of total explained variance.

A3. Choice of **4 factors** to be **selected** – attempt at more explained variance but less parsimony

Table 15. Principal component analysis, 4 factors rotated factor solution (rotation varimax)

Job-facets prioritised	F1	F2	F3	F4
Use initiative	0.76			
Use abilities	0.77			
Work you like doing	0.69			(0.28)
Variety in work	0.63	(0.23)		
Training provisions	0.68		(0.31)	
A secure job			0.48	0.50
Good pay			0.72	
Relat. supervisor				0.68
Working conditions	(0.32)		0.62	
Promotion prospects	0.47		0.40	(0.29)
Friendly people	(0.30)			0.65
Easy work load		0.68		
Convenient hours	(0.26)	0.70		(0.33)
Choice work hours		0.68		
Fringe benefits		0.52	0.47	

N = 1480 Source: ECRS 1993

Four selected factors account for 53 percent of total explained variance.

B) *Principal axis analysis* is further employed for the sake of interpretability (in order to make better sense of chosen factors).

B1. Eigenvalues > 1

Table 16. Principal axis analysis, 3 factors rotated factor solution (rotation varimax)

Job-facets prioritised	F1	F2	F3
Use initiative	0.73		
Use abilities	0.71		
Work you like doing	0.65		
Variety in work	0.53		
Training provisions	0.55		
A secure job			0.50
Good pay			0.50
Relat. with supervisor	(0.23)		0.35
Working conditions	0.27	0.25	0.40
Promotion prospects	0.44		0.40
Friendly people	0.35		0.32
Easy work load		0.51	
Convenient hours		0.53	
Choice in work hours		0.56	
Fringe benefits		0.46	(0.28)

N = 1480 Source: ECRS 1993, multiple loading highlighted in blue

B2. Choice of 2 factors to be selected only – attempt at maximum parsimony (but less explained variance)

Table 17. Principal axis analysis, 2 factors rotated factor solution (rotation varimax)

Job-facets prioritised	F1	F2
Use initiative	0.73	
Use abilities	0.71	
Work you like doing	0.66	
Variety in work	0.52	
Training provisions	0.56	
A secure job		0.40
Good pay		0.38
Relat. with supervisor	(0.27)	0.34
Working conditions	0.31	0.43
Promotion prospects	0.48	
Friendly people	0.39	
Easy work load		0.46
Convenient hours		0.50
Choice in work hours	(0.21)	0.43
Fringe benefits		0.55

N = 1480 Source: ECRS 1993, multiple loading highlighted in blue

B3. Choice of 4 factors to be selected – attempt at more explained variance but less parsimony

Table 18. Principal axis analysis, 4 factors rotated factor solution (rotation varimax)

Job-facets prioritised	F1	F2	F3	F4
Use initiative	0.73			
Use abilities	0.71			
Work you like doing	0.65			
Variety in work	0.53			
Training provisions	0.58			
A secure job			0.51	
Good pay			0.48	
Relat. supervisor	(0.22)		0.38	
Working conditions	0.26	0.24	0.40	0.25
Promotion prospects	0.43		0.39	
Friendly people	0.35		0.35	
Easy work load		0.50		
Convenient hours		0.61		
Choice work hours		0.55		
Fringe benefits		0.45	(0.27)	

N = 1480 Source: ECRS 1993, multiple loading highlighted in blue

C) *Principal axis analysis – rotation oblimin*, eigenvalues > 1

Table 18. Principal axis analysis, 4 factors rotated factor solution (rotation oblimin)

Job-facets prioritised	F1	F2	F3
Use initiative	0.76		
Use abilities	0.73		
Work you like doing	0.67		
Variety in work	0.53		
Training provisions	0.54		
A secure job			0.51
Good pay			0.52
Relat. supervisor	(0.17)		0.31
Working conditions	(0.19)	(0.17)	0.35
Promotion prospects	0.39		0.36
Friendly people	0.32		0.29
Easy work load		0.52	
Convenient hours		0.53	
Choice work hours		0.56	
Fringe benefits		0.43	

N = 1480 Source: ECRS 1993, multiple loading highlighted in blue

The results of principal axis analysis suggest that the ideal factor solution would be the one consisting of 3 factors. As seen in table 3.2, 4-factor model is almost the same as the 3-factor one and thus the extra factor does not seem to add much in terms of improved interpretability. Moreover, as can be observed already from the principal component analysis, adding the fourth factor improves the proportion of the explained variance only slightly – increase from 47 percent to 53 percent.

Thus, the ideal factor model seems to consist of 3 factors. For the best interpretability, the solution extracted by using principal component analysis, varimax rotation (table 13) and principal axis solution, oblimin rotation (table 18) appear very similar as for the composition of factors and thus they can be considered of similar convenience in terms of interpretability and how well they represent the data.

When looking at the individual factors, the *first factor* (table 18) could be understood as related to the *intrinsic* aspect of a job. Opportunity to use initiative in a job has the strongest relation with this factor, followed by use of abilities and interest in work. Variety in work and good training provisions also group with intrinsic incentives. The

second factor was labelled provisionally as '**convenience, advantages and benefits**'. It is suggested that, as aspects of convenience related to a job, the following components should be considered: easy workload, convenient hours and choice in work hours and fringe benefits. The *third factor* relates to the **extrinsic** rewards – these are dominated by instrumental (materialistic) work rationales such as financial rewards (good pay) together with job security. Promotion prospects also come up as extrinsic rewards of the job, presumably as they are related to prospective increase of earnings. Promotion prospects, however, also have the same strong loading with the first factor, suggesting that their function is not only to satisfy the prospects of the material wellbeing but also personal fulfilment.

It is more difficult to explain why working conditions and relations with supervisor group together with extrinsic work incentives. Surprisingly, also friendly workmates appear as connected with the above-mentioned instrumental aspects that employees value in their jobs. However, as these ambiguous items load at more than one factor at the same time (table 18, highlighted in blue), it remains a question whether they should be retained or rather dropped from the model.

To conclude, the presented results of FA suggest that it is reasonable to think about three latent aspects of preference that are associated with job-facets priorities and using 3 extracted factors could meaningfully reduce the complexity of this area. (However, there is considerable loss of information associated with this reduction - 54 percent of variance remains unexplained).

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