

Center for Social and Economic Strategies
Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Sciences
<http://vize-cr.fsv.cuni.cz>

GUIDE TO THE PRIORITIES FOR THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Martin Potůček et al.

Executive Summary

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The collective of authors headed by Prof. PhDr. Martin Potůček, CSc., MSc. consisted of Mgr. Aleš Bednařík, Ing. Jiřina Dienstbierová, PhDr. Pavol Frič, Mgr. Martin Kreidl, M. A., RNDr. Miroslava Mašková, CSc., RNDr. Peter Mederly, RNDr. Pavel Nováček, CSc., Ing. Libor Prudký, Ing. Jan Příkryl, CSc., PhDr. Miroslav Purkrábek, CSc., PhDr. Antonín Rašek, PhDr. Jana Segethová, Prof. Ing. Luděk Urban, CSc., Mgr. David Václavík and Mgr. Arnošt Veselý.

Summary

The study provides a concise summary of the over five-hundred-page study presenting results of the year-long work of the Center for Social and Economic Strategies, Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Social Sciences. The team focused on the research topic “Guide to the Landscape of Priorities for the Czech Republic” that followed up with the “Vision of Development of the Czech Republic until 2015”. The CESES work relies on the assumption that systematic research of possible futures should offer a better orientation and should serve as a basis for decision-making of the representatives of the public, commercial and civic sectors. Based on this postulate, the research team tried to assemble, process and interpret all significant information contributing to the search for priorities for the Czech Republic. The research work starts from clarifying theoretical points of departure and from considering optimum research methodologies. It offers a model of the development of the Czech society and its modernization in the global context, the identification of developmental potentials, formative regulators, a set of priority issues and their solutions and the formulation of synthetic strategic concepts. The criterion is the quality and sustainability of life.

The study of possible paths of the future development of the Czech Republic represents an extensive research task. In order to be able to fulfil this task, a relevant theoretical background is required. In social sciences, however, this is very difficult because there does not exist a single all-embracing theory, only a number of different expositions and incentives. We have therefore deliberately opted for the theory of modernization that is nowadays regarded as an instrument of analysis of contemporary societies, especially in the context of theories of the global development of the human civilization. The modernization process itself has been examined in its following aspects: theories of the transition from the traditional to industrial society, theories of the post-industrial (information) society, character of the second modernization transformation, the knowledge society, criticism of modernization and reflexive modernization. Among the theories of the global development of human civilization, the attention has been mainly focused on the theory of sustainable development, the concept of the open society, the globalization concept and the theory of the world system – the dependence of the periphery on the center.

Based on these prerequisites, the concept of the development of Czech society and its modernization in the global context were outlined and the problem-oriented approach was

adopted. This resulted in embracing the reflexive theory of modernization that completes the humanist paradigm of modernization as a complex social process oriented towards the quality and sustainability of life. The potentials of development were determined to be social solidarity, knowledge society, labor market, population development, external and internal safety, environment and territorial potentials of development and economic development. The formative regulators directing the developmental potentials were determined to be the formation of national identity, the development of legal, constitutional and political system, regulatory operation of market, state and civic sectors in mutual relations and the preparation for the entrance into EU and full-fledged membership in EU. Based on this analysis, in the present 11 fields, 77 priority problems were identified and 30 strategic concepts were outlined. The inquiry into regions formed a separate part of our research.

The collective of authors presents the study both to the expert and general publics and to political and administrative representatives of the country as a sincerely-intentioned proposal and invitation to a further cooperation on systematic efforts to learn more about our possible futures and on drawing responding conclusions and recommendations for the practice of management.

I. Theoretical and Methodological Starting Points

Our task – to examine possible paths of the future development of the Czech Republic – represents an extensive cognitive assignment that cannot be solved without an adequate theoretical background. The nature of the social sciences, however, is multi-paradigmatic as they do not provide us with a single guideline or a complete interpretative framework. On the contrary, social sciences offer a number of theoretical starting points and expositions, which may be once complementary, the other time contradictory. Therefore we have to make a deliberate decision. In the case of our study, we opted for the **theory of modernization** that is nowadays broadly recognized as the most influential instrument of the analysis of the development of contemporary societies.

The theory of modernization was inspired by unprecedented changes induced in the Western civilization by the industrial revolution. The revolution brought technological progress, changes in the employment structure, urbanization, increase in anonymous social relations, individualization of social life, secularization, increase in the number of large organizations, bureaucratic system of rational management, new large organizations and administrative units, weakening of the traditional authoritative systems and, last but not least, the existence of national states. All the theories of the transition to the industrial society presuppose that individual societies develop from lower forms to higher ones, from simpler and undifferentiated forms to more complex and differentiated ones. As early as the end of the 1960's, however, some authors began to point out that the industrial (modern) society was approaching the limits of its possibilities and within it the contours of a new, postindustrial society were looming. Daniel Bell is regarded as the most important propagator of the idea of postindustrial society. In his book with the telling title “The Arrival of Post-Industrial Society”, Bell concludes that the Western world is experiencing **the second modernization transformation** characterized by the development of services and information technologies. From a historical standpoint, the transition from the pre-industrial (traditional) society to the industrial (modern) society is replaced by the era in which the industrial society is transforming to the postindustrial society. Later on, the term of “postindustrial society” was largely superseded by the new term of **“information society”** that better suited modernization changes under way. Toffler argues that the origins of the postindustrial society

are connected to the development of new technologies enabling to overcome time and space limits of industrialism.

In consequence these changes entail individualization, universality, decentralization, territorial dispersal, loosening of time structures (instead of synchronicity). Blue-collar workers are no longer majority representatives of the new era – in typical pictures showing our present time they are replaced by white collars from offices and administration who specialize in the information production and processing. Bell, Toffler, followed by other authors (Reich 1995, Drucker 1993, Naisbit 1984, Castells 1989, for example) even arrived at the conclusion that information technologies determine the character of the social structure of new societies and that information is becoming a key strategic source upon which these societies are dependent. Those who can access and make use of information – the symbolist analysts – are becoming a new elite, similar to industrial magnates who were the leaders of the industrial epoch.

Under the pressure of criticism, however, the emphasis on the determining role of technologies within the theory of modernization is gradually being lifted. Voices calling for the humanization of modernization are becoming more pronounced. Therefore the notion of the “**knowledge society**”, also bearing a significant human dimension, nowadays completes and even partially replaces the term of the “information society”. For the conceptual model of the knowledge society does not show a dehumanized, technocratic society managed by an artificial intelligence, but a society that founds its development upon human resources and human potential. The human being is not an object but a subject of action (Provazník et al. 1998: 205). The concept of the “**reflexive modernization**”, placing the main emphasis on the critical discussion about unintended consequences of modernization, is also moving to the foreground. The reflexive modernization, however, does not imply mere elementary reflections on modernization in public discussions or in public criticism of unintended consequences of modernization. The reflexive modernization implies, above all, a self-confrontation (Beck, 1994: 5). In an undirected and unforeseeable way, the reflexive modernization identifies itself as a problem and hereby undermines the modernization as such (Beck 1994: 176). Critical reflections question the very principles upon which the reflexive modernization relies. Results of this process can be both positive and negative for a society.

The positive outcome of the reflexive modernization is characterized by the true **individualization** (which does not imply atomization, isolation or loneliness, on the contrary, it suggests a deliberately chosen solidarity) and by the activation of the so-called **sub-politics** (referring namely to the opening-up of politics and the entire society – especially its institutions – to political activities initiated by interest groups and civic initiatives, and to individuals). “The sub-politics means to form the society from below” (Beck, 2000: 22-3). A. Giddens also tries to complete the image of the second modernization process with the concept of social and political transformations, which he bases on the imperative of the **“democratization of democracy”**. In this connection he further talks about the emergence of the so-called emotional democracy (in the sphere of sexual orientation, relations between children and parents, and among friends), about the tendency to strengthen institutional reflexivity (i.e. the transformation of bureaucratic hierarchies into more flexible and decentralized systems of authority), about the development of social movements and self-supportive groups (whose mission is to cultivate social potential and strengthen communities) and, finally, he also discusses the emerging “super-politics” (i.e. democratization tendencies on the global level). (Beck, Giddens, Lash 2000: 193-4)

The concept of modernization as a primarily technical and economic development has thus been complemented with the concept of the **“social modernization”** (Machonin 2000: 200). According to Pavel Machonin, one of the outstanding Czech protagonists of the modernization theory, this implies a radical shift in the focus of the modernization theory, as a result of which this theory is interpreted as a complex process whose individual components are mutually conditioned (Machonin 2000: 158). The concept of reflexive, or social, modernization highlights the role of actors in the modernization process and of their conflict with respect to the direction and nature of this process. The quality of life becomes the central criterion for the evaluation of modernization and all those who participate in public discourse aimed at its solution are regarded as a part of the reflexive modernization. This group of people does not include merely politicians, representatives of the global super-capital and symbolist analysts, but also ordinary people, civic organizations, the so-called “techno-rebels” (Toffler) and new social movements seeking ways to the sustainable development of our civilization.

I share Pavel Machonin's opinion asserting that the modernization endeavors do not have a complex character in the Czech Republic. This fact is finally also reflected in growing difficulties that the modernization process in our country encounters. As Machonin points out, the awareness has been growing for some time that "political, and especially economic, reforms under way in the Czech Republic have not been accompanied by development, but by the **increasing absence of social modernization**. And precisely this absence is beginning to represent one of the principle obstructive factors in the further progress of social transformation" (Machonin 2000: 200). "The development of modern political institutions or of the participatory democracy, corresponding decentralization of state administration, protection of minorities and the balance of legislative, executive and judiciary power" have been and still are being neglected (Machonin 2000: 112). Further on, "the importance of law, ecology, public health care, protection of consumer rights, fight against criminality etc." are still being underestimated (Machonin 2000: 113).

Our finding that the actual modernization process in the Czech Republic lacks, most of all, precisely the social modernization is an important lesson that we applied in demarcating a space in which the priorities of the development of Czech society were to be searched for. Our first publication "Vision of the Development of the Czech Republic until 2015" was already marked by the tendency to focus our attention primarily on the sphere of the social modernization. In the present text "Guide to the Landscape of Priorities for the Czech Republic", we try to consciously reflect upon this tendency and cultivate it into a more compendious concept. We also try to elaborate this concept whilst being aware of its imperfections, which are, for instance, apparent in a smaller space given over to the elaboration on economic priorities for the Czech Republic.

The notion of "**social modernization**" refers to the publicly discussed conflicting process of the innovation of social potentials, institutions, legal norms, values, cultural models and informal rules of social life conditioning and regulating the technical and economic development towards the increasing quality of life of broadest sections of population. Social modernization is not just a process occurring synchronously with, and adjusting to, the processes of technology development and production management, i.e. it does not simply fulfill a sort of a "cultural gap" (Ogburn, Nimkoff 1947) between the material and immaterial aspects of the society life. Social modernization coexists with these processes in a reciprocal

relationship (Inglehart 1997) and substantially influences the resulting effects of modernization. It can inhibit or reinforce, but also cultivate, ecologize, humanize or, on the contrary, dehumanize and barbarize the modernization.

The central issue in the priorities of the modernization process is a choice, or rather a solution of the conflict between our orientation to an “economically super-efficient **turbo-society**” (Beck 2000: 54) and the orientation to the quality of life. In this respect, they were the **theories of sustainable development**, or a sustainable way of life, and the concept of an **open society**, usually connected with the name of Karl R. Popper, that significantly helped us in our orientation. The idea of realizing a humanistic social paradigm, however, needs to be imbedded in a larger **context of relevant theories** that would provide a framework for our understanding of the modernization processes. At this point we are dealing with general debates related to the globalization processes and with the theories of the world system.

From a methodological point of view, we believe that it is important to observe the principle asserting that the most fruitful studies on social sciences are those that successfully combine reliable research methods with sound theories of their subject that is both problematic and relevant for a society. In the present work we therefore try to follow the given theoretical concept with the so-called problem-oriented approach to the analysis of topical ongoing modernization processes in the Czech Republic. The identified problems in the modernization in the Czech Republic are recognized as priorities. Ways or directions of modernization processes are viewed as strategies, or strategic concepts of problem solutions.

It is apparent that, for instance, politicians, entrepreneurs, state officials and scientists would define modernization problems in various ways. Even members of the individual aforementioned groups may define the same issues in different ways and may propose various solutions for the equally defined problems. We therefore believe that the selection of modernization priorities for the Czech society cannot be treated on the basis of a single, even if perfectly objective and closely elaborated, theory of modernization. Moreover, there is no such a theory. Neither does the above-mentioned survey of modernization concepts aspire to such a role. Our concept of social modernization represents a general framework within which priorities of the development of the Czech Republic are to be searched for. This framework may influence a selection of priorities, however, it does not determine them. The selection of

priorities is, first of all, the matter of a **democratic discussion** led by all participating actors.
And we have always tried, and will try, to conduct such a discussion.

II. BASIC CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CZECH SOCIETY AND ITS MODERNIZATION IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

The interpretative structure serves as a theoretical model of fundamental connections between the development of the Czech society and its modernization in the global context. It represents basic developmental causalities that are grounded in the criteria-based foothold of reflections on possible and desirable futures (block A – The Quality and Sustainability of Life), in the selection of seven significant potentials of development influencing the given criteria (block B – Developmental Potentials) and in the four areas that contribute to forming those developmental potentials by generating conditions for the use and activities of differentiated social actors (block C – Formative Regulators).

The **quality of life** is a result of mutual interactions of social, health, economic and environmental conditions of the human and social development. In our concept the quality of life represents objective conditions for good life. This objective aspect of life quality comprises the fulfillment and the potential of fulfillment of social and cultural needs of a human being. **Sustainable development** is such a development that meets the present needs without jeopardizing the needs of the generations to come. In our work, we have tried to answer the question of how to express the conflict between the quality and sustainability of life of present generations, who can defend and assert their interests themselves, and the quality and sustainability of life of generations who have not been born yet and whose interests can be therefore neither directly represented nor defended.

Social solidarity is understood to be social relations, shared identities, interpersonal credibility, social control and solidarity, as well as loyalty and mutual expectations that people prove and demand from one another in their relationships on the everyday basis. Social solidarity originates in everyday interactions among people who step out of their individual anonymity, participate in public and collective life and accept their share of responsibility for events exceeding their narrow individual interests. The most important institutions participating in the creation and/or maintaining of social solidarity are the family, school, civic society, churches, geographically defined communities (neighborhood, municipalities, towns), social state and cultural and value climate in a society. As the social capital gets

established only through everyday actions of individuals, it is such a complex and autonomous phenomenon and **there does not exist a direct path to the construction of social solidarity from above**, for instance, by means of an administrative decision. Nevertheless, **what can be efficiently supported from above are the institutions that represent resources and catalysts of social capital as they alleviate certain social tensions and inequalities**. The level of social solidarity **favors both the life quality of individuals and the life conditions of entire communities**.

The social capital of a society can be approached in two different ways. The opting for the “institutional” support of sustainability and development of social solidarity presupposes an extensive involvement of a social state, not only in the role of an organizer and a service provider, but also as a supporter of the above-mentioned communities and institutions. Such an approach raises hopes of maintaining, or even increasing, the current level of social solidarity. At the same time, however, it brings the risk of the low legitimacy of such activities and of their refusal on the side of the public who may not identify itself with them. On the other hand, the “civic” approach towards the development of social cohesion lets the development of social cohesion be carried only by informal communities and civic institutions. This approach would probably lead to a possibly weaker and fragmented, but also naturally legitimate social solidarity.

SCHEME: MODEL OF BASIC CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CZECH SOCIETY AND ITS MODERNIZATION IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

A Quality and sustainability of life

B1 Social solidarity

B2 Knowledge society

B3 Labor market, employment and employability

B4 Population development, health, family and housing

B5 Internal and external safety

B6 Conditions of the environment, territorial potentials of development

B7 Economic development

C1 Forming of national culture, national identity and national interests (in the context of human values)

C2 Development of legal, constitutional and political system of the country, Communication in public space

C3 Regulatory operation of the market, state and civic sector in mutual relations

C4 Preparation for the entrance into EU and full-fledged membership in EU

Caption:

A – Criteria block

B – Developmental potentials

C – Formative regulators

No matter which of these paths the Czech Republic will follow, both the state and all the other actors will always have to respect fundamental values of humanism, freedom and responsibility, equality, solidarity, social justice and subsidization.

As knowledge is now becoming a decisive factor in economic success, the investment into knowledge (know-how) is being increased at the expense of the investment into raw materials and the quantity of human labor. The ever-increasing global competition cuts down the profit from mass production (i.e. the production of uniform, routine and standard goods) and the most successful companies of today are characterized by a highly developed ability to gain and commercialize “hard-to-imitate”, top technological knowledge. The key terms in economic success and competitiveness are “innovative ability”, “human resources”, “immaterial investment”. In our study we refer to these tendencies as to the “**knowledge society**”.

Knowledge, know-how and information play multiple roles in our society, being namely related to the economic growth and competitiveness, development of democracy and quality management of society, development of human beings and their individuality, support of healthy life styles, continuance of cultural traditions, including ethic codices and models, maintenance of high employability of each individual, low level of unemployment in the society and support of social solidarity in the society.

The fundamental principles of the strategy of the education development are diversity and individualization, transparency and permeability, life-long study, key competencies, decentralization, autonomy and innovation of the educational system, high level of monitoring and the evaluation of quality (reflection and evaluation), information literacy and ICT utilization, development of human resources, broad economic support. The strategy of the support of research and development (RD) relies on the interconnection of various RD institutions into a communicative and collaborative network and on the close cooperation with international RD institutions (the synergic effect principle), on the interconnection of RD institutions with practical needs, concentration of means into a smaller number of coordinated programs and projects, orientation towards results and exacting evaluation criteria (according to the world standard), transparent, efficient and diversified division of financial means, coordinated and professional state administration of RD and functional organizational settlement and motivated human resources.

Labor market is a place where the supply of and the demand for labor force meet. The principal aspects of the labor market are employment and unemployment, the wage level and income disparities. For many reasons, however, the labor market is not a market in the proper sense of the word as labor is not a mere commodity. The labor market is strongly regulated by the state that intervenes, first of all, by way of the social state and economic policy. **The position on labor market has a crucial impact on the quality of life of people and their families.** This relationship is generally acknowledged and empirically documented and is not limited merely to the issues of the living standard.

In general, the strategy of the labor market development must strive to **achieve equal labor opportunities** and dignified conditions of human life. Modern states acknowledge the **right to work**, i.e. the right to freely choose a job in satisfactorily working conditions and at commensurate award, the right to get a job within the limits of social possibilities or a financial assistance in unemployment. In a short-term perspective, the labor market policy strives to **achieve full employment**, in a long-term perspective, it aims at the **employability growth**. The long-term strategy of the labor market development may be composed of three fundamental elements: the development of human resources, the support of enterprise and the support of mobility on labor market. Even in a short-term perspective, however, the acceptable stability on labor market can be achieved by means of the **public support of employment while the growth of wage increase is limited, the active policy of employment** and the suitable **correlation of the minimum wage and social income levels.**

Population development significantly interferes with all the processes whose actors are people. The necessary condition of the growth process is the **family** in any form, i.e. at least as a temporary couple of two people of different sexes. At the same time, the family fulfils a number of functions important both for its members and for the entire society. According to the WHO, **health** is defined as a condition of total physical, psychic and social wellbeing. Last but not least, **housing** is essential for full life of every individual. Housing does not represent merely one of the fundamental living conditions of individuals, but also advances social integration and upbringing of individuals. The variables in the field of the demographic development, health conditions and health care have become the subject of the measurement of **the quality of life and the sustainability of development.**

The basic strategic principle of the existence of a society is the **stimulation and sustenance of such an age structure of population that will not become – in the process of increasing the life expectancy (and, consequently, the population aging) – an obstacle for the further successful development of a society.** This principle relates both to economic aspects (the relationship between the economically active and non-active groups of population) and to mental aspects (the increasing number and participation of elderly people should not induce the tendency leading to the conservation and stagnation of thinking and the conduct of the entire society). That is why it is necessary to **create an environment favorable for the founding and existence of families with children**, to assist them in their child-caring responsibilities by direct and indirect means and to **create motivation for selective immigration.**

The primal objective of each strategy focused on health is the **improvement of health conditions** of individuals, and hereby of the national population as a whole, i.e. the **strengthening of the health potential.** The health care policy must be based on international and national legal norms on health care: health is **one of the fundamental human rights and the equality in health and in the access to health care** based on solidarity are recorded in the Constitution of the Czech Republic.

Housing policy should **search for the balance between two antagonistic criteria: high efficiency**, determined by the market, and **social justice**, which is established by the state and its interference with the housing market.

International **security** can be defined as a condition in which all the subjects that participate in a complex of international relations are ensured the same degree of national security. Internal security refers to the establishment of such a state of order and settlement in a country that guarantees flawless functioning of a democratic civic society. The establishment of the external and internal security of the Czech Republic represents a fundamental prerequisite for the **life quality and sustainability.** The relationship between the level of freedom and the level of security shows an apparent tension. We cannot be contented with the argument that a higher danger to the security of people is a tax for the freedom hereby acquired, but we must search for a proportionate relationship between the two acceptable for all the citizens.

The fundamental principle of ensuring the external security is the **civil management and control** that should be introduced into all the armed forces. Its primal task is to base the state security policy upon the synthesis of international political, military and internal security of the state. The second task is to **professionalize the armed forces, at the moment particularly the army**. The basic principles of internal security are, first of all, **prevention, civic participation and an alternative system of sanctions**.

The **environment** is that part of the world that human beings are surrounded by, to which they adjust and which they transform (the UNESCO definition). Human environment is a complex system that – in order to be better understood – can be subdivided into the following categories: the environment, factors that either positively or negatively influence the quality of the environment and the consequences of human activities influencing the quality of the environment. As for the **territorial potentials of development**, first of all we should emphasize the basic fact that by far not all the social and economic activities that “take place” in space, in a particular territory, can be reduced to the territorial potentials of development.

The environment is very closely related to the quality and sustainability of life. The tendency to protect the environment originated in the 19th century and culminated in the report entitled *Our Common Future*, issued by the World Commission for the Environment and Development in 1987 (The World Commission 1987). This report linked the environmental issues to the development and brought a definition of the **sustainable development**. The **relationship between territorial potentials of development and the phenomenon of the quality of life** expresses the well-known catchphrase of ecological movements: think globally, act locally.

Ecological literacy, especially of young people, brings a positive impact on people’s conduct and value orientation compatible with sustainable development because education is a necessary prerequisite for understanding and ecological education is a prerequisite of compassion and solidarity with nature. In a middle-term perspective, the most effective means of the assertion of environmental care are the **economic environmental instruments**. The enforcement of the economic environmental instruments necessarily presupposes a political will that can originate only within the framework of the **democratic political system**. The fourth strategic pillar are **legal aspects of the environment** since in preserving components of

the environment and natural resources, the conflict between the traditional ownership rights and the principles of sustainable development is going to exacerbate. The traditional juristic definition of the ownership as an unlimited power over an object is no longer tenable in the modern society. The ownership is to be used for the benefit of a larger whole and should not merely serve exclusive interests of the owner. For this reason, it will be necessary to further elaborate on the “ecological function” of the ownership. Another strategic approach to the environmental care is the emphasis on the **environment-friendly technologies** and on ecological efficiency.

The evolution of the territorial potentials of development is largely conditioned by the idea of **the equality of developmental opportunities** of individual elements of territorial systems of the country and the **dialogue between more levels of municipal governments and subjects in private sector.**

Economic development can be divided into four sections: economic policy and institutional framework, prospects of economic growth, moves of price level, Czech economy in economic globalization – competitiveness, foreign investment, globalization.

Among all the aspects of life quality, the most important one appears to be the relationship between the economic growth and the **standard of living**. The standard of living is influenced by the development of economy, for instance, by changes in the economic growth. Comprehensively conceived economy creates an environment in which the growth of living standards is to be expected.

Economic policies in modern economies are typically oriented towards the price and exchange rate stability and steady growth. With view to the future development of the Czech Republic, the most important developmental circumstance is now the prospective entrance of the Czech Republic into EU. Macroeconomic stability and opportunities for further growth can be strategically supported by the increase in GDP, the increase in employment – which is significant especially in regions with high unemployment rates as employment helps to reduce criminality rates – by the increase in efficiency and competitiveness of enterprises and by the increase in the purchasing power of inhabitants as one of the factors of the living standard. The perspective of the entrance of the Czech Republic into EU significantly influences present and future competitiveness and efficiency of Czech companies, with the legislative preparation for the entrance into EU playing a key role in the process. **The primal strategic**

principle of the economic development is the implementation of the so-called Maastricht criteria. The high speed of economic growth can be achieved by maintaining the high level of investment.

Forming the national culture, national identity and national interests in the context of human values.

Without an articulate personal and collective identity it is impossible to determine a sense of life and personal, collective, national and state goals (Krejčí 1993). This implies the necessity to search for resources enabling a greater number of people to gain a foothold in well-defined relationships that contribute to the growth of life quality in the country.

Culture is defined as a collection of habits, symbols, objects and activities that generated in the past, have been passed from one generation to another and are still regarded by the contemporary community acceptable for the present. These attributes permeate the society, become shared values, perform identifying functions and are to be protected because, in so doing, the existence of the society is protected as well. This leads to the founding of institutions, organizations, instruments of power and control, the existence of which is affirmed by upbringing. This process approximates culture to power institutions and the state until they eventually merge in the form of a national state.

Among individual identities (local, institutional, age-generation related, professional, ethnic, religious, political, family related, municipal, interest group related etc.) there exist close relationships, mutual diffusions and influences. In the present type of communities, the civic dimension of identity appears to be particularly important. Interests can be also understood as an expression of reflected values. They are always related to the definition of the content of notions such as individual, group, community and institution, expressing the reflection of the world in our minds, in our consciousness and subconscious, personal structures or in the structures of the social climate of groups, national and state solidarity. Without understanding the values integrated by individuals in the course of their socialization it is impossible to understand the content of their personalities, to recognize the differentiating borders between individuals, to orientate oneself within groups and among groups. Without this understanding it is also impossible to recognize the process of accepting transformations in the value offers of a society.

The nation is thus defined by its culture and will that merge into the notion of value: culture as a collection of accepted and cultivated values and the will as an expression of values spontaneously shared by a community. Identity, both in an individual and group form, is directly derived from the level of shared values.

The most significant general characteristics of value offer in our civilization remains to be the unprecedented chance of the evolution of human creativity and, at the same time, the unprecedented need to secure this space of freedom and creativity against external and internal threats. However, there exists the danger of hedonism and xenophobia.

The analysis and characterization of individual generations in our country from the perspective of their participation in the population of the Czech Republic at the turn of the millenium reveals that the generations oriented towards fight, confrontation and competition prevail over the generations oriented towards cooperation and consensus. The prevalence of the confrontational value orientations over the cooperative ones generates considerable tensions in the society and brings an impetus to solve social problems from the perspective of victors rather than from the perspective of problem settlement. At the same time, however, it becomes evident that over the past few years the participation of the generations whose value system is oriented towards cooperation has increased. We can assume that the confrontational trend might become weaker in the forthcoming years and the orientation towards the victory of fight might gradually give way to the victory of the most effective settlement.

As for the national identity, the participation of population who is not interested in the issues of national identity prevails: their search for identity does not show any prominent endeavor (either approving or disapproving) to put the awareness of national identity to the foreground. Only minor sections of population consider the search for national identity a meaningful and rewarding process. The participation of population showing negative attitudes towards the national identity related to the Czech Republic is very small. There are certain trends of increasing interest in national identity but the view of the national identity as unimportant in the composition of identities will still remain prevalent.

However, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the manifest interest in the national identity is linked to the tendency to close ourselves from our surroundings, from transformations and creative trends and tendencies. National identity and national interests may not take up the central, or very conspicuous, position in the structure of identities but

they represent those interests that are closely connected to the refusal of the alien, the refusal of ethnic and other culturally-defined differences and the defense of our own uncertainty in front of “attacking outlanders”. Under these circumstances, the national identity and interests rather represent potential impediments on the road to the increasing quality and sustainability of life.

The ambiguous developmental trend of the offer of values in the European context is related to the pronounced differentiation in the stability (instability) level of the order between individual parts of Europe and state formations or blocks, and simultaneously to the unifying attributes of globalization, also stemming from European impulses. Both processes generate but a small space for the development of the European identity. The institutionalization of Europeanism is rationally grounded and accepted, however, the development of the value offer does not suggest that it could largely rely on the long-term trends of the development of values in our country. Indeed, there is rather a tendency counter to the institutionalization in the European context. This is evident especially in the gradual turning away from religious institutions (churches) towards religious communities. This process can result in the search for individual identity, including national identity, in certain parts of Europe. But the paradox inherent in these trends should not bring any threat of conflicts. These trends simply expand possibilities of national identities in the united Europe.

Legal, constitutional and political system of the country, space for public participation in policy-making

This formative regulator represents the axis of the construction of the democratic social order. Its function is to protect, maintain and develop the democratic foundations and conditions of the existence of an open society, to organize and control the arrangement and activities of single components of political power, to moderate the articulation, formation, acknowledgement and enforcement of partial interests of differentiated social actors and public interests. It focuses on the quality of social management where desirable and practical, on the formation of institutional and other conditions and prerequisites of coordination, cooperation and communication among various actors, and on the support of the development of relatively independent processes in which interests are formulated and enforced. This particularly implies that policy and administration are to concentrate on strategic goals of the society, both as a whole and its important developmental potentials, and on their attunement

to solutions of short-term and middle-term acute and developmental problems. It also relates to the prevention of predicamental situations in the society and adequate reactions if such situations do occur. Another significant function of this regulator is to ensure democratic control of law enforcement, especially constitutional foundations and legal principles of the state and economic power.

Being a regulator with extensive and concentrated competence, it can effectively protect the fundamental political values of the democratic regime – freedom, equality, legally consistent state and the system of fundamental human rights and freedoms. It participates in the building and cultivation of the space for public participation in policy-making, where media have resumed a specific position and are gradually becoming ever more prominent. This formative regulator combines the constitution, law, policy, media and citizens, i.e. the basic components of the democratic order.

Czech society is facing the need to set up and cultivate the space for public communication as a prerequisite for building an open pluralistic community. This space represents a vital precondition of the existence of the democratic political system. The space for public communication provides a platform for numerous simultaneous and mutually influential processes. This space offers, first of all, an opportunity for a dialogue with the power, enables the formulation of public interest agendas, including their alternatives, confirms and strengthens the awareness of prevailing values, attitudes and expressions of life styles. The conditions of public communication are determined by the existence of three spheres – civic, political-administrative and market. Media are an autonomous actor in these spheres and, at the same time, also an instrument of the other spheres. The civic sphere is not yet on a par with the other spheres: it is not accepted as an actor but merely as a potential elector, consumer etc. The political-administrative sphere is also being gradually weakened as the legitimacy of its power is derived from the processes rooted in the national state and the national state is becoming an ever-weaker partner in the globalized world. Media and market, on the contrary, have succeeded in liberating themselves from the historical conditionality, and therefore they gain new powers, transcend borders of national states and behave globally.

The legal and constitutional system of the country is to be further cultivated so that its democratic foundations are strengthened and its political system and space for public participation in policy-making become more open. This entails the adjustment of relationships

between the key agents and functions of the constitutional system of the country (including the process of elections to legislative bodies). The very process of legislation and inspection in public administration require considerable improvements in capacity and quality. The political system should further open towards the institutions of civic society and towards citizens themselves with the aim to functionally complement the enforcement of mechanisms of representative democracy with the mechanisms of participatory and direct democracy. The improvements in professional preparation of future politicians and the better transparency of the funding of political parties seem to be promising for the future. Laws and political culture are to expand the space for the political and party neutrality of public administration and, at the same time, to minimize the space of conflicts between public and private interests.

Over the past decade, media have fast emancipated in the space of market, state and civic sectors, becoming important not only as a mediator of information but also as their selector and, first of all, as an initiator of agendas for political dialogue. At the same time, the scene has been radically invaded by market. In those areas where media are active in the space of public communication it is therefore necessary to search for possibilities of renewing the disturbed balance between market and state in order to create favorable conditions for a dialogue on important issues of public life and on possibilities to articulate and enforce public interest in this space. This will primarily mean to ensure the maintenance and functional operation of media providing public service, to prevent the monopolization of media market and to empower self-regulatory bodies active in this sphere.

Regulatory functions of market, state and civic sector

Market, state and civic sector create conditions for decision-making, activities and value orientations of social actors. **State**, as an expression of political power, forms a general framework for the functioning of a society and mediates the formation of political power while relying on law, administrative activities and fiscal regulators. **Market** mediates exchange and is a self-regulatory system in which supply and demand and the achieved profit and loss allocate valuable resources in a more effective way than the other available mechanisms. **Civic sector** represents the institutionalized expression of the solidary way of life of a civic society (composed of non-profit organizations) as a form of voluntary associating of citizens sharing common values and willing to cooperate on joint work. The concrete form of the operations of market, state and civic sector as formative regulators in

mutual relations is always conditioned by the history, culture and a particular situation, however, there also exist disproportion, deformed relationships, developmental tensions but also possibilities and reality of synergic influence.

Until November 1989, the state dominated over market and civic sector. Regulation mediated by state was always subject to the will of the ruling party and was characterized by excessive centralism. The remaining two regulators were thus allowed to be active only in deformed conditions, in non-transparent environment, their actions were curbed and therefore ineffective. Following November 1989, a new search for balanced relationships among market, state and civic sector began. But none of these regulators has found a firm position in the new conditions yet. The functioning of the state retains remnants of directive administration and management and the market often takes on uncultivated semi-legal, or even criminal, forms without being corrected by legal and administrative regulations and by generally accepted and shared values. The civic sector is still being constituted. The present situation, however, is being further complicated by the radical rise of economic globalization that emancipates market from traditional regulatory frameworks represented by national states. It is therefore one of the key strategic tasks of the Czech society to harmonize the operation of these regulators and thus achieve a positive synergic effect of their overall regulatory operative functions (Potůček, 1997).

The fundamental strategic principle is to cultivate the regulatory operation of state, market and civic sector in mutual relations: to make the state more efficient, to cultivate the market and to expand and improve activities of the civic sector. Besides defining instruments specific for individual regulators, it will be necessary to minimize possibilities of their permeation, e.g. the risk that the state becomes controlled by influential economic groups and the risks of corruption, clientelism and mafioso practices. The state occupies a pivotal position in the cultivation of regulatory operation, creating universal legislative and fiscal conditions both for the operation of its own institutions and for the activities of market subjects and non-profit organizations even though it does not depend on these agents. The ability of market and non-market subjects to organize themselves and the quality of communication between them and state representatives is important here as well.

Public administration forms the general framework for operations of a society and, at the same time, mediates the formation and performance of political power. It should serve as

an impersonal representative and mediator of what is declared to be a general or public interest. The strategic principles of the reform of public administration appear to be its democratization, professionalization, efficiency, orientation towards citizens and the accomplishment of European standards.

It will be further necessary to keep seeking productive, optimally coordinated and formalized forms of cooperation between the public administration and the civic sector. The latter must be able – better than to this moment – to defend its interests primarily by means of self-organization, decentralization and regionalization of its activities. The significant – but so far insufficiently accomplished – task of the state will be to create an appropriate legal and institutional framework for the enforcement of market mechanisms. It can be expected that the cooperation between the market and civic sectors will develop especially in the spheres of services, interest advocacy, charity and sponsoring.

Preparation of the Czech Republic for the entrance into EU and its full-fledged membership in EU

The entrance into EU will require compatibility with the other member states, which presupposes the unconditional – perhaps only with the exception of transitory periods – adoption of the present and future European legislation, respect for EU rules and establishment of institutions ensuring the enforcement of European legislation. The approximation process may not be accompanied with unexpected economic and social shock, it may, however, have an impact upon economic dynamics, employment, foreign trade and prices.

The Czech Republic will participate in the work of EU bodies and it should be able to make use of all opportunities in order to defend its national interests and to influence decision-making and thus also to strengthen its international position. Our membership in EU will empower our political stability, the principles of the legally consistent state, the institutions of the democratic state and will enable us to adopt and acquire the institutional culture of advanced democracies along with market economy and the guarantee of fundamental human rights. We will be able to preserve our national identity while benefiting from the subsidization principle, we will be able to participate in European sovereignty, to become a part of the most important world economic association, including its extensive internal market, we will be able to acquire new foreign investors, to benefit from the structural

funds for the development of weaker regions, from the traffic infrastructure and educational institutions, especially universities, we will be further able to profit from a favorable geographic position in the center of Europe, neighboring with Germany and Austria, and also to contribute to the establishment of tighter links among European nations.

The fundamental strategic principles of the accession of the Czech Republic to EU are the following: to avoid social and economic shocks while preparing our accession to EU, to make the most of possibilities and opportunities offered by EU and, at the same time, to benefit from strong points that the Czech Republic has to offer. These requirements will necessitate a new follow-up strategy focused on our participation in the EU endeavors to coordinate economic policies of the member countries, on our integration in the monetary union and preparation for the period following the year of 2006 when a new European budget for the next middle-term period is to be set.

This strategy will also comprise the policy of animating competitiveness of the Czech economy, the policy aimed at maintaining social conciliation, supporting the development of the information society, strengthening professionalism of public administration, preparing the entrance into the monetary union, preparing the migration of labor force in both directions and preparing the free market of land and other assets (after the expiry of agreed transitory periods and postponements).

III. Priority Issues

The priority issues are defined as a **discrepancy between the present and desirable states of certain conditions of life in a society, the solution of which makes way for settling other problems.**

The priority issues were identified, evaluated and elaborated in three rounds of prognostic examination by tens of experts. The collection of the priority issues has a primarily heuristic function, i.e. it serves to demarcate space for the elaboration of strategic concepts, which was the subject of the third synthesizing round of the prognostic examination. The priority issues are dynamically transforming, for instance, in the category of the external security the issues had to be completely redefined after the events of September 11.

Owing to the fact that the explication of 77 priority issues takes up 100 pages in our final report, we can only quote their titles here. However, even these titles can tell us which priority issues have been identified by experts in seven developmental potentials and in four formative regulators within the framework of the given model of the development of Czech society and its modernization in the global context.

1. Priority issues in the category of social solidarity

Social solidarity

1. *Neglecting the development of institutions and organizations that generate social solidarity on the side of the state*
2. *Erosion of social solidarity induced by the increase in social differentiation*
3. *Neglecting the development of middle classes and the methods of its renewal, spreading the risks of destitution into a broad spectrum of social stratification*
4. *Risk of the marginalization of individuals and entire social categories on labor market, formation of the “underclass” and the culture of destitution*
5. *Formation of specific forms of destitution, especially the ethnic-related destitution and “underclass”*
6. *Enduring social and economic inequalities between men and women*
7. *Growing intergenerational differences in Czech population*
8. *Insufficient elaboration of a thought-out and coherent national policy*

9. *Insufficient education in the issues related to the co-existence of the majority and ethnic minorities*

10. *Erosion of the identity and social structure of the Romany population*

State of public social services

11. *Deficiencies in the system of social assistance*

2. Priority issues in the category of the knowledge society

Education

12. *Insufficient capacity, structure and quality of educational institutions (especially on the tertiary level and further education)*

13. *Educational institutions do not cultivate the stimulation and development of long-lasting general (comprehensive) abilities and skills that are fundamental for the accomplishment of the concept of lifelong education*

14. *Low importance attributed to education and qualification*

Research and development

15. *Unreadiness of the spheres of research and development (organizations, teams and individuals) for transforming roles and position of research and development in the society*

16. *Deficiencies in the organization and management of research and development*

17. *Deficits in the funding of research and development*

ICT expansion

18. *Insufficient exploitation of possibilities offered by the information and communication technologies (ICT)*

19. *Growing inequalities in population induced by different qualifications, experience, use and direct access to the information and communication technologies (ICT)*

20. *Insufficient protection of information and data while working with the information and communication technologies (ICT)*

3. Priority issues in the category of labor market, employment and employability

21. *Discrepancy between the present character of unemployment and the ideal full employment*

22. *Unbalanced relations on the domestic labor market and further untenability of the low cost of domestic labor force*

4. Priority issues in the category of the development of population, family, health and housing

Population development

- 23. Unfavorable population climate reflected in the low level of birth rate*
- 24. Insufficient treatment of the implications of the future development of demographic aging in the spheres of social and health care*
- 25. Necessity of a systematic approach to the migration from abroad*

Family

- 26. Weakened position of the family and children in confrontation with the requirements and conditions of labor market imposed on wage-earning members of the family*

Health

- 27. Medical sciences offer more ways of illness treatment than the current system of public health insurance is capable to accommodate from its funds*
- 28. Insufficient elaboration of the prevention of health-threatening or health-damaging activities reflected mainly in the life style of the population (smoking, alcoholism and other forms of addiction, lack of movement, transgressions against healthy nutrition, stress)*

Housing

- 29. Decreasing accessibility of housing for specific groups of population*

5. Priority issues in the category of external and internal security

External security

- 30. The NATO does not determine proportions between the claims on its defense and security functions*
- 31. Implementation of the European Security and Defense Policy within the EU framework will lead to setting up expensive security and defense institutions*
- 32. Uncontrollable fight against terrorism*

Internal security

- 33. Inadequate and passive attitude of a large part of political elite and citizens towards internal security risks*

- 34. *Absence of adequate security, defense and military strategies that would found an optimal model of defense and army commensurate with threats to security and resultant risks, and with our alliance commitments and economic and human resources*
- 35. *Untimely professionalization of the army*
- 36. *Failure of the democratic administration and civic control of the army*
- 37. *Inefficient fight against the organized crime*
- 38. *Corruptive symbiosis of the élites*
- 39. *Low efficiency of the sanction system and of the prosecution methods of malefactors*

6. Priority issues in the category of environment and territorial potentials of development

Environment

- 40. *Persistent overloading of the environment (especially in industrial regions) caused by the excessive consumption of raw materials and energy in national economy*
- 41. *Ecological illiteracy of the overwhelming majority of the population in the Czech Republic*
- 42. *Overburden of the environment due to individual transport*

Territorial potentials of development

- 43. *Increasing territorial differentiation of the socio-economic standards of the population*
- 44. *Low level of the territorial mobility of the population*
- 45. *Low level of the passenger public transport*
- 46. *Insufficient development of the infrastructure*
- 47. *Negative tendencies in the settlement structure*
- 48. *Dysfunction in the management of urban processes, territorial planning, territorial development funding and in the definition of public and private spaces*

7. Priority issues in the category of economic development

- 49. *Low innovative capability, dynamics and adaptability of Czech economy*
- 50. *Sustainability of external balance of the Czech Republic in accelerating the economic growth*
- 51. *High deficit in public finances*
- 52. *Macroeconomic unbalance expressed by the so-called double deficit*
- 53. *Unpreparedness for the potential entrance into EMU*

54. *Great discrepancy in the price level and price relations between the Czech Republic and the European Union*

55. *Enduring difference between the real wages of qualified professionals in the Czech Republic and abroad*

8. Priority issues in the category of the formation of national culture, national identity and national interests

56. *Difficulties in the search for a generally acceptable historic model*

57. *Non-existence of a general and generally accepted social idea and values derived from this idea*

58. *Neglect of national heritage (protection, maintenance, reconstruction and regeneration of historical monuments)*

9. Priority issues in the category of the legal, constitutional and political system of the country and of the space of public participation in policy-making

59. *Insufficient law enforcement*

60. *Low level of public participation in political decision-making and the “narrowing” of the political democratic system to the parliamentary representation*

61. *Serious defects in political culture*

Space of public participation in policy-making

62. *Unreflected disintegration of the traditional constitutive role of media – gradual disappearance of journalism and the transformation of media into the post-journalistic phase*

63. *Insufficient balance in the space of public communication*

64. *Insufficient background of the expert and public discussion on media and popular culture, absence of the institutional background of a complex research on this sphere*

65. *Outstanding question of funding of media in public service*

66. *Insufficient competition on the present media market*

10. Priority issues in the category of market, state and public sector in mutual relations

67. *Insufficient warranty of public ownership*

68. *Degradation of the enterprise value*

69. *Low authority of local governments*

- 70. *Low level of citizens' confidence in the institutions of public administration*
- 71. *Insufficient coordination among the departments of public administration (departmentalism)*
- 72. *Confused division of labor and responsibilities among politicians and officials in public administration*
- 73. *Great preponderance of ad hoc decisions over concept-based decisions in public administration*
- 74. *Low level of public participation in the management of public affairs*
- 75. *Insufficient subjectivization of the civic sector*

11. Priority issues in the category of the preparation of the Czech Republic for its entrance into EU and its full-fledged membership in EU

- 76. *Inconsequent approach and insufficient preparation of the political and administrative elite of the Czech Republic for the entrance into EU*
- 77. *Low adhesion of Czech citizens to the idea of the accession to EU*

IV. Strategic Concepts of the Development of the Czech Republic

Priority issues of the development of the Czech Republic, as described in the preceding chapter of the Guide to the Landscape of Priorities, represent a dynamic potential that can be updated in various ways and directions. Each priority issue has its own solution and each of these solutions can even have a number of variants. As we have already pointed out in the Theoretical and Methodological Starting Points, individual solutions of various priority issues are not independent of one another. As the processes proposed in these solutions are mutually intertwined by many-sided links, individual solutions continuously interact and influence – either backup or impair – one another. These dynamic links therefore largely condition the success of strategic solutions of individual priority issues. In order to respect – at least partially – fields of interaction among the processes of solving priority issues, we decided to elaborate such a strategic concept that would incorporate collective solutions of more issues or entire clusters of priority issues. In a certain respect, we attempted to synthesize the field of priority issues. Strategic concepts represent relatively complex action priorities, e.g. priorities of what needs to be done in order to solve the entire group of priority issues at once.

1st strategic concept:

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY OF THE CZECH SOCIETY

The objective of this strategy is to introduce such an institutional environment into the Czech society so that everyday interaction would generate social capital in different parts of the society. This namely relates to the changes of the value climate and to the changes of the institutional environment in which the resources of social cohesion generate. Expanding the volume of social capital in the Czech Republic will entail improvements in numerous aspects of the life quality and sustainability.

2nd strategic concept:

PENSION REFORMS

The present concept suggests a solution of the problem pyramid in the pension scheme, on the top of which there is a serious threat in the form of a system crisis. However, in a long-term perspective some crucial political decisions are dependent on the future development and

therefore leave the organization of the society open and only outline alternative directions of solutions. In a short-term perspective, the concept proposes to establish the Social Insurance Company as an independent organization taking care of the pension scheme. The state can thus perform the functions of the system regulator and surveyor in an efficient way. It also immediately becomes possible to unify and further increase the retirement age for both sexes beyond the age of 65. Over a short period of time it also becomes possible to expand the scheme to involve the entire group of wage-earning people. In a middle-term period it is possible to improve the offer of complementary systems so that each person would have an equal opportunity to choose an optimum system suiting their needs. Along with this step the present concept underlines the necessity to create investment opportunities for the administrators of capital funds of complementary systems. In a long-term perspective the concept highlights the necessity to make a decision on the status of self-employed people in the system and on their possible participation in these complementary systems. Only then would it be possible to consider modifications of the system foundations and its principal objectives.

3rd strategic concept:

EXPANDING THE OFFER OF QUALITY, ACCESSIBLE AND RELEVANT EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

This strategic concept pursues the objective of expanding the offer of quality and relevant educational opportunities on the tertiary educational level in the context of the European integration. The fundamental measure is the structuring and more precise profiling of the educational offer materialized by means of a larger involvement of many actors in the evaluation of tertiary educational institutions.

4th strategic concept:

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AS A PRODUCTIVE COMPONENT OF THE SOCIETY AND ECONOMY AND AS A GENERATOR OF INNOVATIONS

The sphere of research and development in the Czech Republic still has not fulfilled its task of a functional transformation from the structure imprinted by the previous regime into a structure corresponding to the needs of the democratic society, market economy and

globalized world. Therefore it has not become – unlike in the other countries comparable in size but much more successful in their achieved research and development results, such as, for instance, Finland and Ireland – a significant productive factor in the social and economic development. The proposed strategic concept describes the conditions and individual steps that would lead from the prevailing stagnation in the sphere in question towards its dynamic development and functional exploitation in practice. It starts from political preconditions and desirable legislative and administrative transformation and proceeds to the need to conclude strategic alliances among all outstanding bearers and users of research and development who are able to subordinate their immediate partial group interests to a common goal.

5th strategic concept:

DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW ECONOMY

The present concept proposes certain measures to prevent a possible negative impact on the Czech society in case of a delayed reaction to the challenge of introducing modern information and communication technologies. Short-term economic effects of modern technologies cannot be realistically expected and that is why the concept focuses on the support of production and demand for modern electronic equipment. The concept therefore attempts at pointing out the effects of the transition to the new economy feasible in a short-term perspective. In a long-term perspective, the concept emphasizes the role of education, especially the need to acquire the capability of abstract thinking on the level of elementary and secondary schools. Having met this condition, further programs of lifetime education, necessary for the adaptation to the new equipment, can be designed.

6th strategic concept:

MINIMALIZATION OF THE AFTEREFFECTS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND OF THE DISCRIMINATION OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND EQUALIZATION OF CHANCES ON LABOR MARKET

This strategy focuses on the elimination of discrimination, enormous unjustifiable inequalities, social exclusion and marginalization in all spheres of life. The core of the strategy consists in the equalization of life chances by way of legislation, education and enhanced flexibility on labor market.

7th strategic concept:

DEVELOPMENT OF VOLUNTEERISM AND CIVIC LABOR

This strategic concept is based on the cognition that the vision of full employment is untenable. It proposes to empower the institutional background of volunteerism, perseveringly disseminate the ethos of volunteerism and hereby prepare the ground for the introduction of the remuneration of civic activities. However, its objective is not to fully compensate for failures on labor market but to contribute to the strengthening of civic confidence and social solidarity, which appears to be a vital condition of the survival of the post-industrial society.

8th strategic concept

COMPLEX SUPPORT OF THE FAMILY AS A PRIMARY SOURCE OF HUMAN, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITALS

The family finds itself in a transitional period when its inner structure is being transformed and when there are new powerful external pressures destabilizing it. Albeit the mission of the family, both individual and social, has not changed and is still crucial and attractive. In order to accomplish this mission it is necessary to develop new relevant instruments that would support the family in an efficient way and, at the same time, strengthen its autonomy. These instruments, however, have to form a nation-wide system. Individual attempts to transform the family therefore cannot be regarded as a strategic concept – only the support of the successful operation of the family by the entire society can be referred to as a strategic concept. Without such a complex support the position of the family in the modern society would keep deteriorating.

9th strategic concept:

MAINTAINING THE ACCEPTABLE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

Due to a significant decrease in birth rates and the concurrent increase in life expectancy, and considering the fact that people born in strong population years are just about to retire, the age structure of the Czech population is going to largely deteriorate in the forthcoming years. There will be fewer children and youths and the increase in the number and percentage of elderly people will accelerate. Even on the condition that the age limit for claiming the old

age pension is differentiated, the relations between individual age groups are going to deteriorate, which will have a negative impact on many spheres of the societal progress. The process of the population aging cannot be ceased completely, however it can be decelerated – by means of an active pronatalistic policy, needful mainly in transitional periods when the living standard of young people setting up families deteriorates, and also by increasing the selective immigration. By the year of 2015, the two processes would show only partial effects, however, they would change the prognosticated situation in the following periods. Most demographers regard the efforts of the state authorities to decelerate the population aging by means of the pronatalistic policy (creating more favorable conditions for newlywed couples and families with children) as more advantageous compared to the subsequent eradication or easement of negative consequences of the objective aging process. The maintenance of the acceptable age structure of the population must be considered a consequential part of the efforts after the sustainable life of the Czech Republic. However, neither the improvement of the population status nor the increase in immigration will prevent the continuing decrease in population.

10th strategic concept:

HEALTH CARE

This strategic concept proposes to conceive and introduce a new health care policy based on the application of analyses and research. Actors participating in this policy must publicly participate in determining objectives and priorities in health care from the perspective of the settlement of current problems and also from the perspective of international experience and recommendations. The aim of this strategy is thus to achieve a better health condition of the population and to preserve its health.

11th strategic concept:

GUARANTEEING ACCESSIBLE HOUSING

The accessibility of satisfactory and appropriate housing for all social classes represents one of the underlying issues and permanent tasks of the authorities accountable to the society. This factor co-determines the living and cultural standards of the country. It cannot be separated from the overall social and economic development of the country. It is one of the

preconditions of social solidarity, citizens' contentment, development of human individuality, labor mobility and – last but not least – also a precondition of more favorable trends in the population development. In the democratic society with market economy the flat and housing represent – due to their high price and irreplaceableness – both a private and public matter, i.e. both a public ownership and goods. The right to the accessible housing in the sense of the responsibility of both citizens and public authorities is also stated in international documents. All these facts indicate that a satisfactory standard of housing for the entire population cannot be accomplished without heeding a long-term strategic concept.

12th strategic concept:

GUARANTEEING COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY AND DEFENCE OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC AS A NATO AND EU MEMBER COUNTRY

The recent escalation of coordinated acts of international terrorism and the new requirements issuing from these threats to security have proved that in ensuring the security and defense of the republic it is no longer possible to take merely partial transformational, reformist or rationalizing measures in individual sections of the security and defense system. Let alone is it sufficient to solve emerging crises by however apprehensive improvisations. On the contrary, the new requirements have endorsed the vital objective need to elaborate a strategy of comprehensive security and defense of the Czech Republic as the Alliance member and a future EU member, for which a favorable social climate has arisen as well.

13th strategic concept:

STARTING EFFECTIVE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

This strategic concept is based on the assumption that the starting of an effective fight against corruption is not primarily possible without an authentic participation of politicians. To involve politicians in this fight will be feasible only if civic organizations manage to expand the scope of public control over decision-making processes in public affairs and to curb corruption pressures on political parties. In so doing, they can use the strategy incorporating both elements of cooperation and elements of conflict with institutions of state administration and local governments.

14th strategic concept:

ECOLOGIC TAXATION REFORM

This strategic concept focuses on the ecological taxation reform, i.e. the imposition of higher taxes on raw materials and energies that would be offset by lower taxes on human labor. The objective of this strategy is to contribute to the reduction of high consumption of energy in the Czech Republic and to a more effective and frugal management of natural resources.

15th strategic concept:

ADVANCING THE CZECH PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

This strategic concept focuses on the financial boosting and institutional backing of the Czech program of foreign development assistance. Its objective is to prove that the Czech Republic is capable of sharing responsibilities for the development in the world, especially in developing countries. Besides expressing human solidarity with the poor, this program would also help to prove that the Czech foreign policy is active and self-confident – both at present and also following the expected accession of the Czech Republic to the European Union.

16th strategic concept:

SETTLEMENT, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The structure of settlement (especially in the Czech Republic) represents a very conservative phenomenon even though it has become more dynamic over the last few decades and the speed of transformations is likely to keep increasing. This brings along pressures on the new definition of functional use of territories. Active agents of these pressures are found in the capacity of the transport and technical infrastructures and in the projection of transformations of the living standard into housing. All these factors contribute to the increase in the expenditures on housing development and on the operation of settlement structures. These expenditures have to be optimized by further development of strategic planning, more extensive use of land planning, transparent process of public commissioning and by establishing a public-accessible system providing information on individual territories.

17th strategic concept:

OPTIMUM TIMING FOR THE EURO INTRODUCTION

This strategic concept analyzes various alternatives of monetary policy before our accession to EMU and alternatives of maintaining the price stability after the EURO introduction. It points out the danger of a potential conflict between the necessity to sustain a low rate of inflation during our membership in EMU and the pressure to unify the price level in domestic economy with price levels in the EMU countries. This strategic concept considers advantages and disadvantages of both basic variants of the EMU entrance timing, i.e. either to enter the EMU as soon as possible after our accession to EU or not to enter immediately after the required two-year waiting period following the accession to EU.

18th strategic concept:

DYNAMICS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

This strategic concept aims at restoring and sustaining the dynamics of economic growth that would enable the real convergence of fundamental parameters of Czech economy towards the European Union and would create conditions for its accelerated adaptability and thereby also for more dynamic innovative abilities of the entrepreneurial sector.

19th strategic concept:

SUPPORT OF CONDITIONS FAVORABLE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE OPEN SOCIETY

Learning how to live in freedom is one of the pivotal sources of the development of human creativity. The infiltration of the principles of the open society into all spheres of life lays the foundations for the increase in life quality. The expansion of freedom is crucial in asserting those human values that relate to the respect for life, the uniqueness of an individual human being, human and civil rights and the rights of the Earth. Decision-making centers should primarily concentrate on the support of civic activities, clearly expose and enforce the efficiency of professing and fulfilling civic virtues in the society for every citizen and improve the application of the principles of subsidization and decentralization. Further on, these centers should enable the monitoring of their own work, offer differentiated approaches to communication between state, municipalities and citizens, open up institutions of all levels to citizens etc. Through their conduct, the political centers contribute to the forming of a value

system in the society. The relation between words and deeds, between requirements and their fulfillment in accordance with law, occupies a crucial position here.

20th strategic concept:

SUPPORT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIC AND NATIONAL SELF-CONFIDENCE

The more national self-confidence is rooted in civic self-confidence, the more consistent it is. The fundamentals of the cultivation of civic self-confidence consist in the broadest possible application of the principles of the open society. Only on this footing is it possible to cultivate national identity. It is crucial that the state, regions and municipalities become much more involved in the cultivation of cultural, artistic and other specific activities primarily by promoting activities spontaneously initiated by citizens. Goal-directed presentation of the Czech culture abroad, especially in relation to our accession to EU, can play an equally significant role. It is also necessary to cooperate with media and thus contribute to the strengthening of the civic and national self-confidence.

21st strategic concept:

SUPPORT OF THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURAL APPROACHES TO THE WORLD

We live in a multicultural world. To date our society, however, has been rather dismissive of this fact. Reversing our approach towards the understanding of multicultural influences as incentives to further development is inevitable. In the foreseeable future we ourselves will become a minority within EU, needless to say that through the coexistence with the others in the multicultural world individuals confirm their ability to live in an open society. Measures enabling such a transformation must maximize the understanding among cultures, ethnic groups and other minorities in our country, extend cooperation among cultures and improve conditions for the cultivation of communication among cultures. The priority is to learn the basics of multiculturalism in local conditions. Success in this sphere is conditioned by a coordinated cooperation among state, regions, municipalities, civic initiatives and media. And the articulate multicultural orientation of education on all levels is of vital importance in these long-term processes.

22nd strategic concept:

MODERNIZATION OF MANAGEMENT (both in public and private sectors)

Over the past few transitional years, management in the Czech Republic has been lagging – more than any other coordinating activities in the society – behind the development and needs of democracy, market and communication among the state sector, civic sector and economic organizations. Contacts and relations among these sectors lack a common speech and, most of all, they lack institutions that could serve as examples for codes of conduct, for concluding contracts, clarifying competence and, in general, for running cooperative activities. The solution of this strategic concept consists in the orientation towards strategic management, in overcoming the overly centralized management, in creating an atmosphere imbued with responsibility, in preventing the politicizing of public management and businesses and in establishing an institution accountable for ethic standards and codices.

23rd strategic concept:

COMPLETING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The low level of public participation and political decision-making, and the reduction of political democratic system to the parliamentary representation, lead to failures in interest mediation. The operation of the political system lacks an efficient coordinated focus on long-term requirements of the democratic and economic transformation of the society. Serious deficiencies in the political culture of representatives of political parties and of the state and public administration and the backwardness of the political culture of electors hamper the establishment and development of certain institutions that would lay down the “codes of conduct in the political arena”. This strategic concept presents proposals for such a completing of the political system that would eliminate the aforementioned deficiencies by way of constitutional amendments, by asserting political and party neutrality of public administration, by cultivating internal management and operation of political parties and by empowering the mechanisms of participatory and direct democracy.

24th strategic concept:

MEDIA DEVELOPMENT

Media and the media discourse form a part of a complex network of relations. The local media discourse is characterized by an unbalanced condition in the space of public communication (SPC) as the general public still have not fully resumed its roles of a partner and a contender of media and the political elite. Marked by this deficiency, the media discourse has entered the new millenium, which is generally characterized by a discrepancy between the globalized media on one hand, and the public and political elite defined by the borders of the traditional national state on the other hand.

25th strategic concept:

ACTUAL DECENTRALIZATION OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The reform of public administration lacks a decisive and well-elaborated political consensus. That is why the reform is confined merely to elementary, institutional aspects. Consequently, a paradoxical situation arises when the formal decentralization of the administration is accompanied with the actual centralization. The most afflicted link in the public administration network are regional municipal governments that – due to the extreme unbalance between potential duties and actual rights – are threatened by getting politically discredited in the eyes of regional communities. And this discredit subsequently jeopardizes the fate of local governments as such. The systemic amendment to the law on the budgetary tax assessment is therefore a key step in this strategic concept.

26th strategic concept:

PUBLIC SERVICES ACCESSIBILITY

The Czech Republic is regarded as a country that has completed its transformation from the plan-based system to the market economy system. However, from the viewpoint of public administration and public sector, this statement holds true only to a certain degree – the content of public administration may have changed and the institutional transformation of the settlement of local municipal governments may be in full swing, but the system of public services remains untouched due to its argued indispensability: it is institutions that receive funding, not the needs of citizens. Transferring responsibilities for the accessibility of public services from the state to the municipal governments – as a by-product of the reform of local public administration – is a process that creates space for a reform of the public sector.

However, if this process is left to an unmethodical development, there will appear serious risks both in the catering for fundamental needs of citizens, in the potential formation of substantial territorial differences and in the further deterioration of efficiency parameters of provided services.

27th strategic concept

REFORM OF THE CENTRALIZED STATE ADMINISTRATION

The objective of this strategic concept is the transformation of the centralized state administration from its predominantly superordinate role into a role determined by the service to citizens. A particular emphasis must be placed on the introduction and observation of the order in its organized structure. This is an extremely exigent strategic concept consisting of several mutually interconnected moves, namely: transforming the process structures, transforming the organizational structures, transforming the working methods, transforming the qualification of employees and transforming the approach to work. As the subject of this reform is the centralized state administration itself, it is required that the implementation process of this strategic concept is guaranteed by other actors – in this case by the Parliament and local municipal governments.

28th strategic concept:

REFORM OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR

The public sector in the Czech Republic has not still undergone a satisfactory functional transformation from the structure imprinted by the previous regime into a structure corresponding to the requirements and needs of the democratic society, market economy and responsible preparations for the entrance into the European Union and the subsequent full-fledged membership in EU. The reform of the public sector, a process of complex political, legislative, administrative and institutional transformations, will pursue one single objective – to prepare the grounds for the services of public interest so that they would guarantee the civic rights stated in the Constitution and related laws, would be provided efficiently and in correspondent quality and would be generally accessible, thus contributing to the general life quality and sustainability.

29th strategic concept:

CULTIVATION OF THE INTER-SECTOR DIALOGUE

The inter-sector dialogue in the Czech Republic is being successfully conducted merely on the local level. Its productive application on higher levels is hampered by the low preparedness of state administration to take over the intermediary role in the inter-sector dialogue in coordinating and conceiving this cultivation. At the same time, it is impeded by the insufficient maturity of business and civic sectors. By eliminating these impediments, by taking supportive measures and, eventually, by adopting a law (law on strategic planning), a space would be created for a more effective use of irreproducible estates, the concentration of national resources of development and for a more efficient use of public resources.

30th strategic concept:

CONSOLIDATION OF THE CIVIC SECTOR

This strategic concept starts from the hypothesis that the consolidation of the civic sector is particularly impeded by its low capacity to work on itself. By strengthening the infrastructure (the network of service organizations) of the civic sector, this concept aims at achieving such a state in which the civic sector will be able to play the role of a self-confident social actor and autonomous partner while interacting with the other sectors. This strategic concept of empowering service networks (conceptual, coordinative, advocatory, informatory, self-regulatory etc.) within the civic sector relies on the initiative support from both local and foreign foundations. These foundations are to elaborate programs focused on the support of individual networks and announce grant programs of the implementation of their programs. Civic organizations can then submit their own projects and apply for these grants.

V. Socio-Map of Strategic Concepts

The research team faced the problem of how to provide a universally applicable, readable, lucid and comprehensible depiction of relations, interactions and bonds between individual strategic concepts. These requirements are partially met by the macro-socio-mapping method developed in the Center for the Research of Stress at the Military University of Land Troops. The method is based on quantitative pair comparisons of mutual conditionality of the selected 25 (out of total 30) strategic concepts. Eleven members of the team carried out these comparisons.

The examinations have revealed that the strategic concepts **Institutional Support of Social Solidarity of the Czech Society** and **Support of the Development of the Civic and National Self-Confidence** are the most prominent ones. These two strategic concepts form the first dominant block further supported by the strategic concepts **Development of Volunteerism and Civic Labor, Health Care, Social Integration on Labor Market** and **Comprehensive Security and Defense**. The second most prominent block is formed by the following strategic concepts: *Inter-sector Dialogue, Reform of the Public Sector* and *Dynamics of Economic Growth*. The Comprehensive Security and Defense is linked to the Research and Development and to Quality, Accessible and Relevant Educational Opportunities, which are strategic objectives that in stabilized societies frequently assume dominant positions.

VI. Priority Issues and the Vision of Their Solutions in Regions

Regional communities represent specific elements in the social structure of the Czech Republic since they are more open than the national community: being exposed to the external influences, they have to behave in a more flexible way, orientate themselves rather towards the action and make full use of opportunities. But, at the same time, their social structures represent equally complex entities in which the central actors are local companies, households, civic organizations, regional and municipal governments and state administration. It is crucial for them to conceive their own sustained and simultaneously relatively autonomous strategies of development based on their own priority issues. What counts next is the degree to which citizens participate in these strategies, embrace them and are willing to implement them. A suitable form also appears to be participatory planning within regional local governments, as it is performed when elaborating strategies of regional development. However, in these activities there do exist certain theoretical and methodological varieties: differently generated definitions of the criteria block of the synthesis of solving priority issues (effort to maximize benefits for a regional community), different combination of the inductive and deductive methods (preference given to the deductive method), the level of universality and concreteness (higher level of the content concreteness and lower complexity of the scope), the level of the rational and the irrational (compared to the rationally-conceived vision of the development of the republic, here the two components are balanced) and the proportion of the operational and inspirational content of outputs (the selection of priorities substantially determines their feasibility). In the treatment of regions, individual themes are up-to-date and operational (similar to the vision of the republic, demographic development, labor market, national and regional identity and political system, but also the reform of the public administration, regional development, infrastructure development and tourism, stand in the foreground), however the level of abstraction is lower and global influences are absent.

The regions are characterized by the incongruity between the structure of qualified labor force and its spatial availability on one hand, and, on the other hand, the current and future requirements of the labor market (e.g. the small number of employees with a university degree, especially in engineering, the underdeveloped system of further education, the low spatial and professional mobility of labor force and the insufficient motivation of labor force to work, which is connected to the parameters set by the social benefit system, and in many

regions also by the low wage level). These incongruities signalize a threat of present and future failures on labor market. Another potential danger resides in the deepening intra-regional disparities in economic and social development issuing from the low-efficient and low-functional use of territorial potentials and, finally, in the low degree of authority of regional governments. The list of priority issues is further completed by the unfavorable demographic structure, the insufficient level of transport infrastructure, the insufficient use of the potentials of tourism and spa industry, and the insufficient readiness of entrepreneurial subjects to adapt to the conditions of the EU unified market.

Conclusion

In searching for the priorities for the Czech Republic we are and we shall always be *on the way*. The itineraries and the landscape itself may change and will change. However, some aspects of our efforts are significant. First of all, it is the *openness* of our efforts – anybody interested can participate in our search. Another characteristic feature is our *effort to search for meaningful implications*. So far, we have been able to offer the readers of our study only a sort of a model construction kit out with which one can – provided there is enough will, methodic skills, theoretical and empirical knowledge and time – build more comprehensive visions. We would like to try to do that along with you. In 2002, we would like to complete our teamwork, relying on our cooperation with tens, perhaps even hundreds of other experts and citizens, by presenting the *identification of key strategic moves*. These moves refer to such social innovations that significantly outreach the common functioning of the state and society and the implementation of which presupposes concentration and coordinated use of available resources. These moves as such could become an impetus to guarantee the high quality and permanent sustainability of life in the Czech Republic and could also contribute to pursuing this criterion in the life of the entire humankind.

Guide to the Landscape of Priorities for the Czech Republic

Martin Potůček et al.

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Brief Characteristics

The present study is to serve as a manual for those interested in possible futures of the Czech Republic and those who try to determine the priorities in decision-making in the spheres of politics, public administration, and the civil and commercial sectors. The guide overcomes the borders of single departments in its attempt to capture connecting points in the development of various spheres of life of the society in a holistic view and in a long-term perspective. It is an open document that can be adjusted by any one to suite their particular needs.

How to Use This Study

The introductory part offers four possible approaches to our manual, depending on the orientation of readers: a reader interested in the given theme, a reader interested in a particular area, a reader-theoretician and a reader-globalist.

Chapter I: Theoretical and Methodological Starting Points

The first chapter outlines a survey of theories that provide methods for the examination of future developments of the Czech Republic. The theory of complex modernization is singled out as the most suitable one. This theory is currently recognized as a tool of the analysis of contemporary societies, in the context of theories of the global development of human civilization.

Chapter II: Basic Connections of the Development of the Czech Society and Its Modernization in the Global Context

The future development of the Czech society is perceived as a complex social process oriented towards the quality and sustainability of life. Developmental potentials of this process include social solidarity; knowledge society (education, research and development, IT development); labor market, employment and employability; population development, family, and health and housing; external and internal safety of the country; condition of the

environment, territorial potentials of development; economic development. Formative regulators directing developmental potentials are the following: formation of the national culture, national identity and national interests; legal, constitutional and political system of the country, space for the public participation in policy-making; regulatory functions of the market, state and civic sector in mutual relations; preparation of the Czech Republic for its entrance into EU and its full-fledged membership in EU.

Chapter III: Priority Issues

This chapter lists 77 priority issues that are defined as tensions between the present and desired states of certain conditions of life in the society. It also presents suggested strategies of solutions while these solutions make way for solutions of other problems.

Chapter IV: Strategic Concepts of the Development of the Czech Republic

This chapter consists of a group of 30 strategic concepts presenting relatively complex action priorities that can solve the entire group of priority problems at once. Each strategic concept is introduced by the description of the present situation, followed by methods, objective(s) and sequences of steps to be taken in pursuing a suggested solution, and describes actors and instruments necessary for its implementation.

Chapter V: Socio-Map of Strategic Concepts

This chapter offers the results of the experimental verification of the application of the macro-socio-mapping method (MSM) based on pair comparisons of mutual conditionality of the given group of 25 strategic concepts.

Chapter VI: Priority Problems and the Vision of Their Solutions in Regions

The results of the CESES work, represented by priority problems and strategic concepts of their solutions on the level of the entire society, have been confronted with parallel views of regional communities. This confrontation was carried out by means of a series of regional workshops with representatives of recently established regions, in which the Vysočina, Karlovy Vary, Olomouc and Pardubice regions came up with groups of specific priorities and visions of their solutions.

Conclusion

In 2002, the CESES research is to continue especially in identifying the key strategic steps, e.g. such social innovations that significantly outreach the common operations of the state and society. Their implementation presupposes concentration and coordinate exploitation of extensive resources. In addition, a representative research of life orientation of the citizens of the Czech Republic is to be carried out and, on the basis of newly acquired data, the scenarios of a possible future development of the country will be reformulated.