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**Mentality of the Oppressed: An Analysis of Czech
Inferiority Complex Towards the West**

Master Thesis

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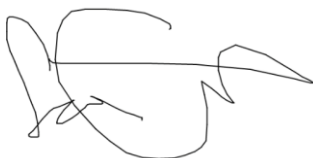
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Signature: Sinan Ertin

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Sinan Ertin', written in a cursive style.

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we examine what we see as a Czech feeling of inferiority towards the western nations. Though the so-called post-communist syndrome seems to be a popular way to explain the negative self-perception of Czechs, we will argue that this phenomena stems from the trauma, which Czechs experienced when transitioning from communism to the globalized capitalistic market. We believe that this trauma was brought about by the rhetoric of "coming back to Europe" as it is based on a heritage of orientalism in Europe, in combination with the general mentality of the oppressed, as thematized by the post-colonial theorists such as Franz Fanon or Paulo Freire. To verify our hypothesis, we conducted a survey with 189 respondents from all the regions of the Czech Republic.

KEY WORDS

czech, nationality, orientalism, inferiority, self-perception, moral duplicity, post-communism, post-colonialism, capitalism

1 INTRODUCTION

In common Czech discourse, when one speaks of what a typical Czech is, an array of images become prevalent. It is common for Czechs to think of such a character as an overweight man with a beer gut and a beer in hand. They usually wear socks, sandals, and are overall, terribly dressed.

These images are common in the Czech comedic discourses (PPPeter 2018). Such an image is commonly used not just for jokes, but it is standard to hear in conversations with every-day Czechs as well. In the YouTube video: *“Do You Feel Like a Typical Czech?”* by the YouTube channel *Easy Languages*, interviewers go around asking Czech people on the streets the question: *“Do you feel like a typical Czech?”* Only a minority of them end up saying yes, they do, and an even smaller minority say that typical Czech characteristics are positive. In the duration of the vast majority of the video, respondents instead say adverse characteristics like typical Czech wears *ponožky v sandálích* (socks in sandals), and the aforementioned traits that accompany that image (Easy Languages 2021).

While that in itself may not be surprising as many peoples around the world also have negative stereotypes about themselves. What we interestingly enough see here, is that Czechs have a large magnitude of negative opinions versus that of positive ones. It then comes as no surprise that in a 2012 poll, when asked: *“Do you think your country’s future will be more positive or more negative”*, the overall majority chose the answer: negative. For this reason, Czechs were ranked the second most pessimistic country in the world. Placing even lower than post 2010 earthquake Haiti (Manchin 2013). Another poll from 2019 showed that when asked who they

thought were the most corrupt country in Europe, Czech Republic voted the most for themselves. While this particular study did not include a significant amount of participants, we could see that the only countries to assess themselves like this, were non-western European countries, namely Italy, Poland, Greece, and then of course Czech Republic (Bydžovská 2012). A further point could be made about the fact that coincidentally enough, the two of these countries, which do not have the reputation of being Eastern European, are known in Europe for something we could call a perceived economic digression – Italy had experienced a dramatic economic crisis between 2008 all the way to 2012, (Piazzalunga and Di Tommaso 2016) and Greece became infamous after their financial crisis, which led to a bailout by the European Union in 2010 (Baltas 2013). Poland and the Czech Republic, of course, find themselves on that peculiar line between West and East, which we shall talk about later in this paper.

What is truly interesting about Czech negative self-perception, is that it sharply contrasts with their national identity only a century prior. This identity had been shaped since the latter half of the 18th century. Which brought together themes from, then contemporary modes of thought such as the Enlightenment and romanticism, but also borrowed from neighboring nations' nationalist movements (Černý et al. 2004).

Based on observation and testimonies of locals, we dare to say that pessimism and negativity seem to be common attitudes of the Czech people. Such attitudes, many attribute to the Czech Republic's communism past, as they share behaviors prevalent within other people in many post-communist countries. We will however argue against that, as we will later explain. However, before we can do that, we have to look at modern Czech history, in order to understand why is the post-communist interpretation so tempting.

Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to outline the many arguments surrounding Czech identity in regards to self-perceived place in Europe. This position has less to do with a geographical location, but more with symbolic/ideological standing. We will discuss what it means to be central European, and more importantly Czech, as there are many historical events that lead to the shaping of those identities. We will discuss what it means to be central European, and more importantly Czech, as there are many historical events that led to the shaping of those identities. From data already collected on the issue, we believe the hypothesis will test certain observed attitudes of Czechs, on how they view themselves, and how they view themselves in regard to Western Europeans. We assume that the majority of these attitudes about themselves are negative in nature, while those attitudes towards Western Europe are overly positive.

This thesis is divided into two parts: a theoretical-methodological one and a practical one. In the first part of this paper, we shall look at the discourse behind Czech national identity from the time of the First Republic to present day. We will look at how the image of what constitutes an average Czech, has changed and what it has shifted to.

In the second part of this paper, we will present the outcome of our own research on this topic. With data from 189 respondents, we will attempt to analyze where does the contemporary idea of Czech nationality lay and why.

2 BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CZECH HISTORY

In order to understand where negative sentiments of Czechs towards themselves come from, we have to present a brief introduction of Czech history. When examining Czech history, and

specifically the communist era, we can observe a line of thinking explaining the situation in regards to the post-communist syndrome.

As many point out, modern Czech history can be looked at through a series of disastrous events. At the end of the First World War, on 28th October 1918, the Czechoslovak Republic or The First Republic, as it later became known, was founded. This first Czechoslovak Republic, gained its independence after three centuries of Austrian (and later also Hungarian) rule (Tuma 2006). Under the rule of the Austrians, the Czechs almost lost their language and culture due to a process called Germanization. It wasn't until the 1870's that it was 'revived' during the period aptly known as the *Czech national revival* (Auty 1956). Though the name Czechoslovakia may suggest that the country consisted largely of Czechs and Slovaks, the fact is that The First Republic was a multiethnic country with Germans actually being more numerous than Slovaks. Among other ethnicities were Jews, Roma and Poles. The reason for the combination of Czech and Slovak groups, was political, as they were trying to create a predominantly Slavic nation. Though equals in the constitution, there was a superiority on the side of the Czechs, with Czechs seeing themselves as superior to Slovaks, who were seen as lesser due to the fact that they has never had their own state (Černý et al. 2004). The Czechoslovak First Republic ended in 1938, after the Munich agreement on 30th September 1938, in which the then world powers – Italy, Germany, Great Britain and France - divided the Czechoslovak nation, in order to prevent another world war. This agreement greatly affected the Czechoslovak view of the West who were and still are blamed by the Czechs for their demise. So, the so called Second Republic was born, 1st October 1938 and lasted until 15th March 1939, when Nazis forces entered Czechoslovakia to take the rest of the land. Czechoslovakia became part of the *Third Reich*, and

during that time it became known as the *Protectorate* (Černý et al. 2004). We believe that the rhetoric of the oppression that the Czechoslovaks experienced under Nazi rule was akin to the oppression of colonized peoples by their colonial overlords.

“When Hitler borrowed the word ‘protectorate’ from the rhetoric of French colonialism in particular, in order to indicate that the Slavs were incapable of ruling themselves—and when he launched an incomparably more brutal colonial policy in Poland and Ukraine – it was as if he were bringing to life the nightmare of Central European societies, in other words the sharing of the fate of colonized countries” (Slačálek 2015:35).

Since the Munich agreement had soured the relations of Czechoslovakia with the West, after the end of Nazi occupation, and the re-establishing of the Czechoslovak nation, attention was turned towards the East.

Czechoslovaks saw themselves as the bridge between the East and the West, and thus, in a 1948 takeover, the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, which had been a steady player since the 20s, became the de facto only influential political party in the country (Černý et al. 2004). The period of early communism in Czechoslovakia and the enthusiasm for building a social state, that came with it, started to decline over the years, and there were those in power who sought to reform the present system, namely Alexander Dubček who attempted to establish a “socialism with a human face”(Country-studies 2010).

This led to disastrous consequences; in 1968 the event known as the *Prague Spring* occurred, in which the Soviet Union, paranoid that Czechoslovakia’s reforms could weaken the position of

the bloc in the Cold War, came along with armies of the allied countries of the eastern bloc, to invade the nation, replacing the reformists with orthodox communists (Tuma 2006). This event ended the Czech perception of Czechoslovakia being the bridge between the East and the West, arguably, damaging its relationship with West to this day (Černý et al. 2004).

Following the Prague Spring, there was a period of normalization; a period characterized by a strict control of the population, in which all of the reformists and anti-communist sentiments were snuffed out of the country. Czechoslovak communism was never the same after the period of normalization. Anti-communist sentiment continued to mount, culminating in 1989, when the Velvet Revolution took place, ending the rule of communism in the nation once and for all. Since then, attempts to revisit this history and identify its impacts, have been taking place. One of which being the aforementioned post-communist syndrome.

3 PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF COMMUNISM

It can be argued, that due to the oppressive nature of the communist system, and the trauma many people had experienced living in such a system, this led many to develop a mindset that Václav Havel calls a '*totalitarian syndrome*'. Such a syndrome is characterized by a series of "specific pattern of cognitions, attitudes and behaviors developed in order to adapt to life under totalitarian circumstances" (Havel 1977). One of the ways in which the communist system operated, was distributing a multitude of government propaganda.

Its aim was to show that *communist states valued prosperity and freedom*, whereas the nations of the West were plagued with inequality, exploitation, and imperialism. Although we can safely assume that, this sort of attitude was not believed by the entire society, it arguably still

sowed the seeds of doubt within the general population regarding the contemporary reality of the world (Klicperova, Feierabend, and Hofstetter 1997: 40). This doubt of reality coupled with the official narrative created, what is called, a *double standard of morality or moral duplicity*, in which different versions of one's truth were practiced in completely different social situations. A person could not show what they truly believed in public if it came at odds with the official narrative.

“One version of truth was practiced in public, at work, and at school, and was strictly enforced. The other was practiced in private” (Klicperova, Feierabend, and Hofstetter 1997: 40).

The *double standard of morality* gave individuals a flawed process of growing up, leading to a degradation of their psychological health, resulting in a method of lying and deceiving others in order to survive (Klicperova, Feierabend, and Hofstetter 1997).

The *double standard of morality* and the continued actions of the communist governments, executed in order to control and maintain order, such as the 1968 Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia, ever worsened people's psychological states. Leading to a withdrawal inward, resignation of personal ambition, which in turn, gave way to the people being sucked deeper into the system. They themselves, although most likely subconsciously, were contributing to the maintenance of the system.

“A sense of inefficacy was already introduced (...) and was reinforced for the next generation by the Soviet invasion in 1968 and by the subsequent process of ‘normalization’. This experience led to a state of collective helplessness and to a

defensive withdrawal into privacy and to resignation and alienation in public life” (Klicperova, Feierabend, and Hofstetter 1997: 40).

The feeling of hopelessness, infantilization, disillusionment, alienation, and fractured individuality from the national oppression and humiliation from the communist rule, permeated into the psyches of those who have experienced it, and it continued affecting them well after communism ceased. These attributes, coupled with an array of other traits, are aptly known as *post-communist syndrome* (Klicperova-Baker 1999).

3.1 POST-COMMUNIST SYNDROME

Post-communist syndrome is a concept, which encompasses a large plethora of symptoms. Klicperova and Baker, who coined the term, say, that there are three main indicators of the syndrome, which become prevalent when examining the post-communist nations. Those are: *learned helplessness, specific immorality, and a lack of civic virtues.*

Learned helplessness is understood to have the following symptoms: low self-confidence, fear of change, collectivism, and envy (Klicperova-Baker 1999). Low self-confidence along with envy are the things, which we have observed as a predominant characteristic of Czech people and therefore, we plan to look further into, with our own survey. Envy seems to be a characteristic that Czech people attribute to themselves the most, which might be due to their low self-esteem and feeling of inferiority, as we can see in Hypoteční Banka’s survey from 2014. Their research shows that 67% of people think that others do not deserve what they have, with 25% percent not making an exception, even for their own family. At the same time, the recipients believed that Czechs are the most envious people in Europe (Hypotecnibanka.cz 2014).

As for the fear of change, one could argue that in the Czech society, the fear of change might be manifesting especially through the xenophobic tendencies, which seem to still be on the rise in the country (Kafkadesk Prague Office 2018).

From *learned helplessness*' description, collectivism is the one thing that doesn't seem to apply to the Czech Republic, which presents itself as very individualistic in its nature. Both last points are in accordance to Geert Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory, where the Czech Republic marks high in Individualism and Uncertainty Avoidance. For individuality they explain: "(...) there is a high preference for a loosely-knit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of themselves and their immediate families only" (Hofstede Insights 2022). Their provided explanation for Uncertainty Avoidance is even more telling with description, fitting our depiction of the country like a piece of a puzzle.

"The Czech Republic scores 74 on this dimension and thus has a high preference for avoiding uncertainty. Countries exhibiting high Uncertainty Avoidance maintain rigid codes of belief and behavior and are intolerant of unorthodox behavior and ideas. In these cultures there is an emotional need for rules (even if the rules never seem to work) time is money, people have an inner urge to be busy and work hard, precision and punctuality are the norm, innovation may be resisted, security is an important element in individual motivation" (Hofstede Insights 2022).

The second indicating factor of post-communist syndrome is *specific immorality*. Characterized by a person being in a state of so-called *anomie* – meaning the absence of norms, rules or laws. (Klicperova-Baker 1999). The state of anomie can result in a disregard for moral values and legal

norms in a society (Serpa and Ferreira 2018). As we could see above, societies characterized by Uncertainty Avoidance tend to be rule-based. We would argue that Czech society is in two minds about this. On an official level, their bureaucracy is infamously complicated and rule oriented. Outside of official spaces however, Czech individuality trumps their rule-following habit. Additional signs include being: rude, cold, and aggressive in behavior, which is an impression many foreigners seem to get when visiting the country, as we can see from the message board "Rude people in Prague" (Tripadvisor 2013).

The final prominent symptom is the *lack of civic virtues*, which has a serious effect on how one acts as a citizen of a nation. The authors add that a lack of civic virtues is characterized not only by a deficiency in public mindedness, but also by: "manifestations of anti-civic culture, political alienation and chauvinistic nationalism" (Klicperova-Baker 1999: 7). The reason why this is so important is that, a healthy civic culture, being one of the most crucial topics of modern political philosophy, seems also a sign of a healthy nation. Not taking part in one's own civic duties, or not being interested in politics of one's country in general are, at least for Rousseau, all signs of a corroded society. (Rousseau 1984).

As we can see from a 2020 poll, the mistrust of Czechs of their government stands very high with only 12% of respondents trusting the president Miloš Zeman, and another 32% mostly trusting him in comparison with 23% who distrust him and 30% who mostly distrust him. The government itself registered even worse numbers with only 8% of the respondents saying they trust the government, 32% mostly trusting the government in comparison with 18% mistrusting it and 38% mostly mistrusting it. Better results were achieved on a regional governance level (Stephens 2020).

At the same time, participation in elections has been a discussed issue accompanying every Czech election since the beginning of the decade. As Česko v datech states: "It turns out that election participation stems to the greatest extent from expectations that people at given time have of politics" (Ceskovdatech 2017). As we can see on the data from the first elections to the European parliament in the Czech Republic, only 28% of the population participated in them, and 18% participated in those same elections in 2014, which put the Czech Republic in the second-to-last place in the Union. It is therefore safe to say that Czechs have a complicated relationship with executing their civic duties.

Additionally, we have observed a tendency of people to look at communism as the main reason for everything that they see is wrong with the Czech Republic. As evidenced by a blog post on a website for foreigners, called "Mentality of Czech People", where the author explains cold and rude behavior of Czechs towards foreigners and even each other by saying: „(...) Another reason for the distrustful behavior comes from the communist era, when many people were forced to betray even their closest family members or friends" (Stephens 2020).

As we have seen from our research of this topic, explaining negative self-perception and pessimism of Czechs through the post-communist syndrome, is the most popular line of thought and we can conclude that it is understandably so. However, in accordance with our own experience, it is not the whole picture. We strongly believe that the three main symptoms of the *post-communist syndrome* stated above, may be useful in describing the observed attitudes and behaviors that some Czechs seem to exhibit, which is why we will inquire about the individual characteristics through our research. Nevertheless, as we see so far, not all of the characteristics of the post-communist syndrome, fit the Czech society.

3.2 THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE POST-COMMUNIST INTERPRETATION

Applying the post-communist syndrome to the Czech condition is a comprehensive attempt to understand why Czechs view themselves in such a negative light. However we believe that post-communist syndrome does not apply wholly to the Czechs, the label of being post-communist itself, can have damning consequences as it does not give agency to the people and their nation to shape their country on their own terms. Nor does it allow for other processes that occurred after communism, to be analyzed. It only gives us a fairly narrow label, which feeds into the West's idea of post-communist nations being damaged and underdeveloped; it doesn't allow us to see other factors which may have influenced the general Czech nature, other than the experience of communism. As Agata Pyzik writes in her book *Poor, but Sexy*:

"Those years between 1945 and 1989 require a living and lived cultural history, where personal engagement and experience is not a curse, but a value. Many memoirs and accounts have been produced since the dissolution of the soviet bloc, and mine want to simply ask the question--where are we now after 23 years? If the Soviet Union 23 years into its existence wasn't called post-tsarist, why are we still defined as post-communist, why is it relevant" (2014:9).

We would argue that the reason why it seems relevant is the fact, that it was precisely the experience of communism – the arch nemesis of capitalism – and nothing else. If it weren't the West's bogymen, it wouldn't have been such a mesmerizing topic. After the fall of communism in the Czech Republic 1989, the country opened to the international market and slowly started

its transition towards capitalism, which proved to be an essential topic for most of Czech theorists.

As we can see in the book *The Economic and Social Changes in Czech Society after 1989*, the authors draw the following narrative of the Czech society being first:

„(...) an industrial, culturally evolved democratic nation (...) ", turned totalitarian - building socialism of a soviet kind, (...) which came with a civilizational and cultural stagnation and downfall (...) ", all the way to a radical transformation based off of a liberal democratic model of a transformation strategy." (Mlčoch 2000:19).

What strikes us of such an account is the sheer focus on the economic aspect of the nation's well-being. It is a common narrative surrounding our topic, which portrays the era of the First Republic as the Czech golden age, because of the country's economic prosperity, destroyed by communism, only to be revived by capitalism, but too late.

We dare to argue that after the fall of communism, a feeling of inferiority developed among Czech people – seeing the material safety, which they themselves lacked during communism, made them despise it and at the same time, prompted them to place economic prosperity as most important. The chase after financial success thus becoming one of the most notable pursuits of the Czech society for the upcoming decade. Welcome to the Wild Nineties.

TRANSITIONING INTO THE GLOBAL MARKET

Nowadays, it is widely accepted that the communist government in Moscow was inevitably going to fall, which is why it was possible for most of the countries of the Soviet Bloc to gain independence from it, (Janos 2021). Just remember the strength with which only 20 years before in 1968, the Prague uprising was crushed, which luckily enough, wasn't the case of the

1989. As communism was coming to an end in The Soviet Union, Czechs began taking to the streets to demand an end to the oppression as well.

However, the Czech Republic's situation was specific in regards to Czechoslovakia's ecological crisis. Before the November demonstrations of what became known as the Velvet Revolution, an ecological revolution happening in North Bohemia's Teplice, was cut short due to the events in Prague (Vorlová 2009).

Meanwhile in Prague, demonstrators went to the streets chanting 'we want another government' and 'we want change' (Holý 1996:55). These protests were met with strict opposition by the communist government, which in turn, intensified the situation leading to a full-blown revolution.

The transition to capitalism changed many things for the Czechoslovak nation. Notably, the split within the nation, which resulted in the creation of the Czech Republic and Slovakia as two independent states in 1993. Forty years of totalitarian oppression culminated in people being sick of the system and wanting change. Liberation came with many hopes for a renewed nation, returning to what it was before communism. Or so to say: *'getting back to Europe'*,

"The civic principle became one of the leitmotifs in the attempts to re-build the Czech national identity in 1989. It can be based upon the Czech attraction to the West with the consequence of a spontaneous desire for 'getting back to Europe' after the revolution and of the self-interpretation of the Czechs as a cultural European nation" (Černý et al. 2004:18).

We will discuss this concept of returning to Europe, in further detail later, as we believe it is key to understanding contemporary Czech self-identity.

The revolutionary fervor of 1989 was cut short, due to the way in which the transition to capitalism manifested. Transition from a socialist economic system to a *free-market capitalist economy* caused social and economic hardships for many (Klicperova-Baker 1999). This frustration led to people blaming others for the mishaps. Paradoxically, many elites of the former era stayed in positions of power. During this time the act of *tunneling* was prominent. *Tunneling*, a concept unique to the post-communist Czech experience, refers to a wholesale seizure and selling of companies, banks, investments, and institutions (Altshuler 2001). This form of corruption was not technically illegal within the Czech system at the time, and led to massive inequalities within the nation.

“In this respect, those who have been 'winners' in the free market reforms in post-communist states such as the Czech Republic are likely to have systematically different attitudes than those who have not made gains. It seems reasonable to argue that those who gained from the post-communist transition process are more likely to think the Velvet Revolution had positive effects consonant consistent with the ideals of creating a functioning market economy” (Lyons and Bernardyova 2011:1723).

Considering the collective trauma the countries of the former eastern bloc underwent in their transition to capitalism and adopting western traditions, we would like to argue that this period can be understood as a colonization of sorts in Europe. This colonization is different from that of the former colonies, which the West throughout history has exploited, which is why we

decided to call it a symbolic colonization. The similarities between post-communist and post-colonial nations are so much alike, that it caused some to say that post-communist nations, should be treated like post-colonial nations. For example, the writer Agata Pyzik, argues that the 'post' in post-communism, should be understood the same as the 'post' of colonialism as the trauma experienced, and the behavior in those who were colonized, is similar to those of the post-colonial nations.

“Who was the colonizer and who was colonized is not always as obvious as it would seem. By all accounts, many of the post-communist countries, despite the 23 years of 'democracy', still display the elements of traumatic and obsessive behavior typical of past colonial countries. But because things were happening so fast between the late 80s and the first few years of the 90s, today it's hard to say if this trauma comes entirely out of the communist years, or is an effect of the brutal capitalist shock therapy most of the eastern bloc underwent” (2014:13).

To put this in further context, let us use the framework of the Polish-American literary theorist Ewa Thompson. She argues that the post-colonial perspective can be used to understand Polish experience.

Her framework outlines four main aspects that are inherent in the post-colonial situation: poverty, pessimism, necessary fictions, and culturalism (Slacalek 2015). What characterizes poverty is quite straightforward, and we have already discussed the pessimism in Czech society. The notion of necessary fictions is the extreme enhancement of one's own history, in order to comfort them about their current situation. Last is the concept of culturalism, which is characterized as:

“The reduction of all problems connected with the inferior position to ‘bad culture’, and as a consequence, leads to ‘blaming the victims’, who are seen as being responsible for their problems because they are unable to rid themselves of their bad habits and change in a desirable way, to be ‘re-educated” (Slacalek 2015:29).

As we have stated earlier, the transition to Western capitalism greatly disrupted the livelihoods of many in the former eastern bloc. It transformed the power dynamic in Europe, and created a new hegemonic structure. Understanding the transition to capitalism, through the post-colonial lens, can better paint the picture of how central Europeans, and more importantly Czechs, perceive their place in Europe. One way to go about defining one’s own place in the world, is through negative self-determination. In other words, through identifying what one is not, rather than what they are.

4 THE ‘OTHER’ IN CZECH IDENTITY

The category of ‘Other’ is somewhat natural in its essence, as it has served as a tool of self-protection, for much of human history.

“The category of the Other is as original as consciousness itself. The duality between Self and Other can be found in the most primitive societies, and in the most ancient mythologies.... No group ever defines as One without immediately setting up the Other opposite itself” (Beauvoir 1949:6).

However, not even the arrival of modern era changed this survivalist mindset, and the category of Other has been used, not in potential life-threatening situations, but rather in instances of ideological collision.

“For the native of country inhabitants of the other countries are viewed as ‘foreigners’; Jews are the ‘others’ for anti-Semites, blacks for racist Americans, indigenous people for colonists, proletarians for the propertied classes” (Beauvoir 1949:6).

Throughout Czech history the identity of what it means to be Czech has changed, this has been shaped by the many historical events that we have stated earlier. Many would agree that: “The self-understanding of Czechs has been shaped and at times rather dramatically changed, by crucial events in their history” (Auer 2006:412). Because of this the ‘Other’ in Czech identity has also changed with time.

During the early Czech national revival period, Czechs categorized their Other as the Germans, who had ruled over them through the Habsburg state for three hundred years. “Czechs constructed their identity in conscious opposition to the Germans with whom they shared geographical, political, and economic space within the Austro-Hungarian Empire” (Holý 1996:5). During the time of the Czechoslovak nation this concept of the ‘Other’ once again shifted their national identity strictly in opposition to the Slovaks, who they perceived as their most significant ‘Other’ (Holý 1996).

In Czechoslovakia, the notion of the “Little Czech” served as the embodiment of the positive qualities surrounding Czech identity. What was of the utmost importance was the need to not be perceived as unintelligent. Czechs considered themselves to have ‘golden Czech hands’,

which meant that they were skillful, talented, and ingenious (Holý 1996). As these positive concepts of what it meant to be Czech arose, negative stereotypes of Slovaks rose as well. Since Czechs were skilled and intelligent, Slovaks were considered dim-witted idiots (Holý 1996).

Following the end of the communist regime, encounters with countries of the West changed the political ideology of central Europe. This narrative shift can be noticed in the discourse of the Czech commentator Tvorba on the topic of Czechs:

“The other day I was watching the television discussion group *Netopyr* on the phenomenon called Czech national character—our national subaltern tutorship, our regional and intellectual inferiority, our magnificently justified mediocrity, our shrewdly circumvented off-the-peg morality and lack of any high vision, and everything that has made us (and, although we do not like to admit it, still makes us) ‘an open air museum of idiots in the heart of Europe’ (Tvorba 1990: no 42).

The positives of what it meant to be Czech became reserved for those of the West and patrons of the new order, whereas the negatives were self-administered to the Czechs and other people emerging from communism. In a sociological survey of Czech character stereotypes conducted in January 1992, 76 % of the traits most often discussed by Czechs about themselves, were negative. The most common trait was envy, followed by conformism, being cunning, laziness, cowardice, hypocrisy; they deemed themselves devoid of pleasure, and were quick to anger (Holý 1996). To many Czechs the concept of the ‘Little Czech’ transformed to represent all the characteristics they hated about themselves.

“By some people he is seen as the salt of the earth, with a character that has made it possible for the Czech nation to survive its frequent and often lengthy periods of oppression and foreign domination. Many others consider him to embody all the negative Czech self-stereotypes” (Holý 1996:75).

Since this shift came to be around the time of transitioning from communism to global capitalistic market, it is important to inquire into what exactly has changed. We would argue that what happened to Czechs was, what happens to all oppressed nations – in order to escape their low status, in the eyes of the oppressor, they start identifying others as lesser to them, to prove they they themselves don't belong on the bottom. The insidious reasoning behind their actions goes back to a much older concept – orientalism.

4.1 THE LATENT ORIENTALISM IN EUROPE

It can be argued that this shift in perception is notably due to Czechs wish to return to Europe. “The move out of the East into the West was the leading motive of the post-communist transformation, after all” (Černý et al. 2004:125). Since entering communism, the Czech nation was considered part of the Eastern bloc, hence part of Eastern Europe. The negative stigma surrounding the word ‘east’, that for Czechs began with communism, is part of a long tradition of viewing the ‘east’ as the Other of the ‘west’.

This east/west dichotomy began as the Orient/Occident dichotomy, the *Orient* represent the ‘east’ but more specifically the lands of the Arabian peninsula, North Africa, and Turkey (Said 2003), the *occident* represents Europe. Throughout history Europe has had a fascination with the Orient, with sources of Western representation of the orient dating back to classical

Greece. Occidental interest in the Orient was a mixture of fear and intrigue. Fear due to the threat of Islamic expansion, which was not an unfounded fear for European Christians as within a few centuries it had spread from the edge Spain to South East Asia.

“Yet where Islam was concerned, European fear, if not always respect, was in order. After Mohammed’s death in 632, the military and later cultural and religious hegemony of Islam grew enormously. First Persia, Syria, and Egypt, then Turkey, then North Africa fell to the Muslim armies; in the eighth and ninth centuries Spain, Sicily, and parts of France were conquered. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Islam ruled as far east as India, Indonesia, and China” (Said 2003:59).

The fear was so strong that Mohammed can be found in Dante’s *Inferno*, as the character *Maometto*, who could be found in the eighth out of nine circles of hell. This fear of an Islamic takeover of Europe may be the first (thought of something) of the idea of a ‘foreign invader’ invading Europe.

Intrigue with the Orient manifested much later at the start of colonialism, those Europeans (mainly the British and French Empires) that had dealings with the Orient, are known as Orientalists, as the Orient was considered the prized jewel of Occidental colonialism exploits. “The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe’s greatest and richest and oldest colonies (Said 2003:1).

The intention of the European empires to conquer the Orient, was motivated by two major aspects. First there was the factor of exploitation. The birth of colonialism ignited a shift in the prominent power of the then known world. Over time Europeans were able to create global

empires, and eventually they were able to conquer the lands that they feared the most, the Orient. By this time the spread of Islam stopped, as the Caliphate of the time (Ottoman Empire), ceased its Westward expansion. Thus a rhetoric developed in minds of many Europeans: that Europe is on a continual rise, they are 'evolving', while other parts of the world, especially the Orient, are in decline or even 'devolving'. "A line is drawn between two continents. Europe is powerful and articulate; Asia is defeated and distant" (Said 2003:57).

The other aspect was that of knowledge; throughout history the Orient was known to the Europeans as the lands of great civilizations, and now that those civilizations are lost to time, it is up to the Occidentals to rescue and safeguard the knowledge of the past, since those people who live in the Orient are not able to do so themselves. Westerners started acting as the "Heroes, rescuing the Orient's lost languages, traditions, and philosophies from obscurity" (Said, 1978, p.121).

Over time, as Europeans dominated, exploited, and archived the Orient, ideas, texts, languages, and philosophies of the Orient began to make its way back to Europe. This fascinated the Europeans back home, and thus the Orient became a source of literary inspiration.

"It was an Orient whose mixture of beauty and horror could be described and presented to the Western reader through references to the works written by those who had a thorough knowledge of it by having visited and studied it" (Demata 2003:15).

Writers such as Byron, Sacy, Renan, Hugo and many more wrote on the Orient, regardless if they had travelled to it or not. Continual writing, resulted in a conception of the Orient that was different from its actual reality. This conception became known as Latent Orientalism, as it was

an idea of the Orient which was isolated and only existed in the literary space. Regardless of how the Orient changed with time, latent Orientalism stayed static, along with the many stereotypes that became associated with the Orient.

“The centuries-old designation of geographical space to the east of Europe as ‘Oriental’ was partly political, partly doctrinal, and partly imaginative; it implied no necessary connection between actual experience of the Orient and knowledge of what is Oriental, and certainly Dante and d’Herbelot made no claims about their Oriental ideas except that they were corroborated by a long learned (and not existential) tradition” (Said 2003:210).

Such stereotypes included that the Orient was: lawless, backward, savage, degenerate, uncivilized, lazy, religious, mystical, incapable of self-government, retarded, lustful, violent, and everything else that the European deemed was opposite of themselves (Said 2003). The people of the Orient had no say in how the Westerners thought of them, as they were not asked, nor would they be asked as stated earlier, the Europeans believed they were superior and thus knew what was best for them.

Eventually, the Orient became more or less the general ‘East’, it came to represent all that is opposite of the West.

“All the latent and unchanging characteristics of the Orient stood upon, were rooted in, its geography. Thus on the one hand the geographical Orient nourished its inhabitants, guaranteed their characteristics, and defined their specificity; on the other hand, the

geographical Orient solicited the West's attention.... East was East and West was West”
(Said 2003:216).

The Orient are the lands stated earlier, but the East had a much broader scope, even parts of Europe were designated as the 'East'. It is important to what this means to actually be part of Europe. Those colonial powers that delved extensively in the Orient (the Orientalists), are considered Western Europeans nations. The West is reserved for only Western Europe. “When Westerners talk of Europe, they often think about Western European states, which they regard as superior to the remaining part of the continent” (Jokubaitis 2018:82). The motto of Europe went as follows: if they are not part of the West, they are not European.

Such a distinction continued throughout European history, and as the *Cold War* began, Europe was divided into East and West or capitalist and communism. “In the Cold War period, from a Western perspective, the *Iron Curtain* set a clear-cut division between 'us' and 'them' which was reduced, in fact, to geography” (Buchowski 2006:465). This division reaffirmed the civilized 'us', and the exotic more or less uncivilized 'Other' (Buchowski 2006). Thus, as the chapter of communism was at a close in Europe, those that were considered part of the East had a decision to make, if they wished to be part of Europe, they had to adopt the Western Europe values and move under the capitalist fold.

“The revolutions of 1989 created, at least in the European context, confusion, uncertainty, cognitive dissonance, symbolic disorder, a liminal stage in the rite of passage that needed to be worked out. With the old paradigm the simplest solution that

adjusted to the expansion of ‘the free market and liberal democracy’ (Buchowski 2006:465).

In this ‘*New Europe*’ (Boyer 2005), the values of the West reigned supreme, and since the former eastern bloc was not yet wholly part of Europe, they became associated with everything that is not the West. The latent Oriental themes began to represent the people of those nations and at the same time, became their bogymen. “Orientalism is also a specter that haunts people’s minds and serves as a tool for concocting social distinctions across state borders as well as within them” (Buchowski 2006:645).

Since being part of East meant being underdeveloped, barbaric, degenerate, the only way to escape it was by modeling the West. And what was the West characterized by, was their capitalist economy. “The dissolution of communism in the countries involved led to a social desert, in which people are more than others immersed in the Capitalist ‘state of nature’” (Pyzik 2014:4). Thus, the success at which a country integrated into capitalism measured, if they were part of the West, and/or Europe for that matter.

5 GETTING BACK TO EUROPE

As Eastern Europe was subjected to these Oriental themes, the countries that were formerly known as ‘central European’ were part of the same struggle. During communism they were under the label of eastern Europe, but with its fall, these countries now hoped they could return to the West, or so to say back to Europe. As the writer Agata Pyzik regards on the East:

"Association with the East is still nothing positive or to be proud of: for that reason we even designed the term 'central europe' a geographical manipulation, to drag us more West, or more like, away from the East, as much as we can" (Pyzik 2014:2).

The concept of 'Central Europe' has long historical roots in European history. At times it was synonymous with the term 'Central-Eastern Europe', depending on whether one was from the Czech lands and Hungary, or whether they were of Polish origin.

"The concept of Central Europe is close to the hearts of the Czech and Hungarians, whereas the Polish authors have long preferred the term 'Central-Eastern Europe' for various reasons: due to their rich historical experience with the East and in order to differentiate themselves from the Germans who emphasize their Central European origins without the 'eastern' component (Zenderowski and Janak 2018:234).

The label of Central-Eastern Europe, was removed from the discourse in the Czech nation, following the 1989 revolution (Zenderowski and Janak 2018), owing to the fact of its association with the east.

This obsession with getting back to Europe, or moving more towards the west, was exemplified in the countries of central Europe, because they believe that they were 'abandoned' by the west. For Milan Kundera in his essay on the Tragedy of Central Europe, this feeling of abandonment becomes clear. "That said, we can no longer consider what took place in Prague or Warsaw in its essence as a drama of Eastern Europe, of the Soviet bloc, of communism; it is a drama of the West-a West that kidnapped, displaced, and brainwashed, nevertheless insists on defending its identity" (1984:2).

Returning to the West, would place central Europe back in its rightful place within Europe. As for the central Europeans, the concept of Europe and the West is not so much a geographical notion as it is spiritual (Kundera 1984). The motivation to go back to Europe was so major for the Czech people after communism that “back to Europe” was even a popular slogan among Czechs post 1989.

Kundera uses the argument that central Europe is the part of the West, but this connection has been largely forgotten by the West. "By virtue of its political system, Central Europe is the East; by virtue of its cultural identity, it perceives in Central Europe nothing but a political regime; put another way, it sees in Central Europe only Eastern Europe" (Kundera 1984: 13). Kundera puts forth such an argument as to show the legitimacy of Central Europe, and therefore the Czech nation, in the eyes of the West. These countries are important because they are western, and because of that the West should care about their preservation. This fixation on historical relevance in Europe, could be evidence of an inferiority complex (Slacacek 2015), taking an ugly turn, in which the countries of Central Europe compete with one another on which is more relevant to the West.

“The Central European nations compete with each other as to which of them is more modern, which often means which has a more intense relationship with the Western centers of modern capitalism, with the Western states and their metropolises” (Slacacek 2015:33).

However, having the West as a role model to move toward to economically, socially, and culturally, has some undesirable consequences, namely the way in which they treat their

'Others'. Europe and namely Western Europe came to the height of its power through subjugation and exploitation of its colonies. "It is difficult for the inhabitants of Central Europe to develop empathy for the objects of Western colonialism when their coloniser is perceived as a model, and its state the desired goal for which they are aiming" (Slacacek 2015:35).

This coupled with the internalization of the themes of the latent eastern other, makes Czechs continually feeling inferior, and not good enough. To prove that there the pursuit of the idea of catching up to the West, is a sisyphian task, we must look at how it plays out in other oppressor – oppressed relationship.

5.1 STICKING IT TO THE MAN

The French-African theorist Franz Fanon in his book *Black Skin, White Masks*, writes about the plight of post-colonial Black-Africans and on how they understand themselves in regards to their former oppressors the "White man". We believe that there are many parallels between his understanding of the post-colonial's inferiority complex, and that of the Czech inferiority complex.

For Fanon the way in which oppressed speak and act about those they deem superior, affects the way in which they understand their world.

"All colonized people—in other words, people in whom an inferiority complex has taken root, whose local cultural originality has been committed to the grave—position themselves in relation to the civilizing language i.e., the metropolitan culture. The more colonized has assimilated the cultural values of the metropolis, the more he will have

escaped the bush. The more he rejects his blackness and the bush, the whiter he will become” (Fanon 2008:2).

The relationship between the latent oriental stereotypes, and the Czech ‘Other’ stereotypes have become one. Czechs consider themselves envious, lazy, dim-witted, rude, obnoxious, poor, and etc, everything they deem the Western European lacking. For Black-Africans it is the same: “From black to white—that is the way to go. One is white, so one is rich so one is handsome, so one is intelligent” (Fanon 2008:34). This stereotyping language is used to locate the faults within themselves, in the hope of getting rid themselves of it.

Furthermore, those Black-Africans, who had travelled to Europe are considered by their fellow country as demigods (Fanon 2008). The same seems to apply to Czechs who spend a prolonged period of time in the West, upon their arrival back to the Czech Republic gain social capital. He writes that the post-colonial black-African had been shaped immensely by the white man, because before the white man had arrived, those black-Africans never had to think about the color of their own skin. “He is something because the white man has come, this has led him to ask the question whether he is a man because his reality as a man has been questioned” (Fanon 2008: 98). In the Czech context, after the fall of communism, those of the former *Eastern Bloc* were made apparent their place within the whole of Europe. The remedy to this question for the Black-African is to simply model themselves after the image of the white man, so that eventually they will acknowledge them as truly equal (Fanon 2008), and for Czechs it is to try to ‘return to Europe’.

5.2 ORIENTALIZED BECOMES THE ORIENTALIZER

This mindset of becoming 'normal' has divided European society into *winner*s and *loser*s. We believe this division continues to effect Czech self-perception even after they have become part of the EU, leading to of both inferiority and superiority. To Czechs "(...) if the EU was Europe, then whatever country was not or should not become member of the Union, was actually excluded from Europe as well" (Černý et al. 2004:123). The ascension into the EU, Czechs can rightfully say that they are on the side of Europe. Their nation represents the image of Europe: economic prosperity, complex culture/civilization, political stability, democracy, and social security (Černý et al. 2004).

The feeling of Europe superiority, also in turn shows that there is a need for those who are inferior. We believe, for Czechs this is reserved for those who aren't completely up to date with the European/Western project. For example, who have nostalgia of time spent under communism, those who embody Eastern stereotypes, or other countries of the former *Eastern bloc*, who have not 'succeeded'. "One can ask, how did it happen that after decades of a common historical experience with real socialism in Eastern Europe that some people have been able to curtail 'bad habits' within them, and other have not?" (Buchowski 2006:470). Within the society new order of pseudo-Social *Darwinism* emerges, where there are clever people who through tactful decisions and quick wit have been able to make their way in the system. Whereas there are others who cause problems, unfit, uneducated and unable to adapt (Buchowski 2006).

As we have said earlier, those countries like the Czech Republic, who continually push towards Europe, in turn reuse the same rhetoric of the West. "Above all, crusaders of the 'new deal'

uncritically accept Orientalizing rhetoric, or politics of marginality” (Herzfeld 2005:143). As Paolo Freire would put it, the oppressed have become the oppressors. In moving back to Europe, they have merely adopted, the tools, which once and still oppress them.

“The oppressed having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility” (Freire 1998:29).

The orientalism continues within the Czech nation against other Czechs and their neighbors. We believe that this has trapped the Czech people into a continual state of imprisonment where these themes will ever be prevalent, as long as they embody the West-East distinction, as long as they view their history from the narrative of being abandoned by the West. To be eastern is to what Czechs are not, they are European, and always have been. As Kundera would say their fates are intertwined with the European condition. "The people of central Europe are not conquerors. They cannot be separated from European history; they cannot exist outside it; but they represent the wrong side of this history; they are its victims and outsiders” (Kundera 1984:9). The Central European and moreover the Czech condition is in a vein to how Czeslaw Milosz described Polish literature: “(...) like a jacket with one sleeve for a dwarf and the other for a giant. The larger sleeve symbolizes our ambitions of being a part of Europe, the smaller one is the expression of the oppressed nation fighting for Polishness. On the one hand, there is the idolization of the West, and on the other hand -contempt and a sense of superiority towards the East” (Pyzik 2014:143). Thus, in the end the system ever-perpetuates. “The

colonized were also the colonizers, and the orientalized were in the same orientalizers” (Slacalek 2015:33).

6 METHODOLOGY

6.1 GOAL OF THE RESEARCH

Throughout the theoretical portion of the thesis, we have discussed the history of Czech Identity, and how it has changed over time. The self-perceptions of Czechs show a negative trajectory. Many essays cite the cause of this trend to communism, and its lingering effects, but as we have shown we believe this is only part of the overall understanding of Czech negative self-perception. With Czechs hopes to become more like Europe, have embodied the negative the stereotypes of the ‘Eastern Other’. Applying it themselves and all other countries breaking away from the *Eastern Bloc*. Having these stereotypes implies that one is not European, and that they have a long way to go before becoming fully European. Even though Czech Republic has been considered one of the successful countries of the transition into a free-market economy. We can see that contemporary Czechs still have lingering feelings/self-perceptions of inferiority when compared to Western Europe.

6.2 HYPOTHESIS

Our task is to determine whether the inferiority which Czechs personify is due to the time spent under communism or that of capitalist experience. We will attempt answer this by using the independent variable ‘Age of Respondent’, and through correlation analysis, compare the age of respondent with the various independent variables. Thus, our hypothesis statement is the following:

Does the age of the respondent affect how Czechs view themselves, their neighbors, and how they regard themselves versus the West?

Our additional research questions were the following:

Do Czechs have a particular negative opinion of themselves, other Czechs and their nation?

Are the negative perceptions of themselves still prevalent amongst Czechs?

Do Czechs still believe that they are behind Western Europe?

7 STRUCTURE OF SURVEY AND PREDICTIONS

The Survey was comprised of 31 questions, 28 of those questions were had multiple choice answers, whereas three of the them were open-ended and optional. Questions were divided into the following sections: demographic questions, communism, Czech identity, statements on Czech Nation, communism vs capitalism, statements on whether Czech Republic is behind, Czech Republics place in Europe, Czechs comparison to Western Europeans, and open-ended questions.

The first five questions of the survey were labelled under the category of demographic questions. These questions were targeted to determine the basic characteristics of the population, which we shall later use for interpretation of the collected data. The questions were the following.

7.1 DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

What is your age?

This question was comprised of five possible age groups. Instead of using general dividing by generations, we decided to sort our groups by the lines of key historical events, which, we assume, significantly shaped their childhood experience.

The first group was people aged 75+ years. This is a generation, which either experienced the Second World War or which experienced Czechoslovakia in the years following the end of the war, however, they were born before the 1948 communist takeover. Seeing that the socialist movement and the Communist party were a steady and useful presence in the country since the 20s, they were grateful for the liberation of Czechoslovakia through the hands of Russians and thus, were happy to build a new, free, socialist republic. We therefore predict this age group to be the most positive in regards to Communism due to the role childhood nostalgia may play in reminiscing about the time. We also expect to see that this age group is the most critical of the western countries, out of all the age groups. The national pride in this age group should be strong and their feelings towards fellow Czechs the warmest.

The next generation is between the ages of 54 and 74, which corresponds to the twenty years between the 1948's takeover and 1968's invasion. This period is characterized by the early years of communism under the Stalinist regime, and the following reformist period. We expect this generation to still be positive on their perception of communism, but not overtly enthused as they had experienced the traumatic events of the 1968 *Prague Spring* and the subsequent normalization period. We expect their attitude towards the West to be less negative than the previous generation's and to hold their fellow citizens in high regard.

Next, we have the generation from the years 1969 to 1989, yet again marked by a twenty-year period. This generation is between the ages of 33 and 53. Those born in the 70s are also known as “Husákovy děti” (in English, Husak's Children), which is the Czech Baby Boomer generation. They were born after the occupation by allied communist countries and hence experienced the disillusionment of the normalization era, which brought about a lot of resentment towards the regime, along with idealization of the West. This generation, we believe, will have a strong opinion that capitalism is better for the Czech nation than communism, as they saw the worst that communism had to offer and experienced the revolutionary year 1989 mostly as children, which may have provided them with a nostalgic outlook on it. We expect the feeling of inferiority to be very present among this generation, since they had to face the shock of their entire society changing values as they entered the global market. On the other hand, they got to profit out of the change economically the most from all the generations, as they started building their careers in a climate of the country’s economy rising and building a seemingly merit-based economy.

The generation of the ages 22 to 32, corresponds to the years 1990 to 2000, and the generation represented these years were children through what we know as the “Wild nineties”. It is the first generation, which had no direct experience of living under communism. During this time as we stated earlier, the many negative stereotypes Czechs reserved for others, and latent oriental themes converged on the Czech condition. Being born to parents who had mostly negative experience with communism, they themselves have no nostalgia for the arguable positives of communism. Growing up, they have been told the narrative of the post-communist syndrome and therefore it is most likely, that they will have very negative feelings towards communism.

We believe this generation will have the strongest feelings of inferiority among all the other generations and they will hold the western countries in high regard.

The final generation reflects the years 2001 to 2022. This generation is usually called Generation Z or Alpha. This is the first generation, which grew up with access to a global online community. We therefore expect them to share similar characteristics with other people of their generation around the world. Just like the previous generation, they were also taught the narrative of post-communist syndrome and therefore, will probably look at the era of communism critically and will display a feeling of inferiority. At the same time, Generation Z is characterized by a deep interest in climate change and social justice. It wouldn't therefore be surprising if they displayed similar kind of mistrust towards capitalism as well, and were less judgmental of their fellow citizens than previous generations.

What is your sex?

This question is used just for demographic purposes, and we do not predict a reasonable difference in type of responses due to biological sex.

What economic class do you consider yourself part of?

This question was comprised of five economic classes. These economic classes are commonly used in other Czech surveys. They are: working class, lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class, and upper class. We expect that the majority of the respondents will feel to be a part of the middle class. In regards to the expected answers of these respondents, we believe, that the those of working class, and lower middle class, will have stronger opinions of communism, and because of that will have less of a negative stereotype of themselves, being

that they associate themselves more with communism and therefore the east. We believe our expectations of the rest of the population will lean more negatively, since because of their current economic standing, they may favor capitalism and the new current hegemonic more. Thus, imposing more negative stereotypes upon themselves, stereotypes, which they don't think are suitable for their country to move forward with.

Which city/region do you come from, and Which city/region do you currently live in?

One of our hopes of this research was to obtain a sample that reflected the opinions of the entire Czech Republic, therefore, we asked two questions regarding the location of the respondents. "Where do you live" being a standard question, we decided to also ask where were the participants born, as that might give us a better understanding of where they are coming from with their answers. One of the expectations we have, is that those, that currently live in the major cities, such as Prague, will have more negative opinions of other Czechs as major changes of the 90's transition was felt more intensely in the key cities.

7.2 QUESTIONS ON COMMUNISM

In order to determine, how is the communist era viewed in today's society, we posed direct questions around the topic of communism.

What is your opinion of communism?

Even though in our theoretical portion we stated that we do not believe that communism is the sole responsibility for how act and perceive themselves today, knowing how a respondent feels about communism may allow us to make the conclusion on how they think Czech Republic is

behind or inferior to the rest of Europe. Therefore, this question has five options to choose from. Respondents could either choose the answer: very positive, positive, neutral, negative, or very negative. As we mentioned earlier in the different age groups part of this paper, in our survey, we expect the majority of the respondents to have a negative opinion of communism.

7.3 CZECH IDENTITY SECTION

This section consists of a series of statements focusing on one's individual Czech identity, how they feel about being Czech, their comfort with other Czechs, and how they compare Western Europeans to Czechs. The respondent must choose between: agree, somewhat agree, I don't know, somewhat disagree, or disagree.

I consider myself Czech.

Is the first of the statements on the individual Czech identity. We expect the respondents of this statement to be almost in unanimous agreement. We think this because of two reasons. First, the Czech Republic seems to be very protective of its homogeneity within its society. Roma and Vietnamese being one of the few minorities that stand out. The other reason being that even though we are positing that Czechs may dislike their nation and/or themselves, but that does not mean that they would not consider themselves to be Czech.

I consider myself to be Slavic.

This statement does not signify how Czechs feel about themselves or other Czechs, but may be telling of other factors. We decided on asking this to see, if Czechs still abide to the *Pan-Slavic* movement. In our opinion, the majority of our respondents will disagree with this statement as

we assume the pan Slavic tendencies to have died out with the fall of communism. This is because of two reasons; firstly, since the oppression and rule of the Soviet system amongst the Czechs and the 1968 invasion. Secondly, in an act to push more forward West, the concept of *Pan-Slavism* becomes undesired, as it focuses on bonds with other Slavic nations which are all located in the Central, East, and South.

My ethnicity (Moravian, Roma, Vietnamese, etc.) is more important than my Czech Identity.

With this statement, we hope to answer the following questions: How strong is the Czech identity to those living in the Czech Republic? Is it an imposing identity, or does it allow for other identities? We expect Czech national identity to stand stronger to their possible ethnic identity. We chose the example of the Moravian ethnic identity for the reason that we have observed many Moravians to affectionately proclaim their belonging to Moravia. Roma identity, along with the Vietnamese one is due to the fact that both groups are of a considerable scale and are a well-known presence in Czech society. At the same time, both groups were racialized as non-white, which stands in opposition to ethnic Czechs and therefore have most likely a harder time acclimating to the Czech society and might therefore feel closeness rather to a different side of their identity.

I am proud to be Czech and I am glad to be Czech.

Both of these statements are linked together. As they point to two different distinct sentiments of how one feels about their own country. I am proud to be Czech, shows national pride, but pride is linked to *nationalism*. Whereas, I am glad to be Czech, shows not a pride of the success of one's own country, but just a general liking of being Czech. This, we believe, is an instance of

patriotism; or a general affection toward one's country and people. We expect there to not be much national prideful sentiment with Czech people today, due to this self-imposed inferiority complex we have been discussing thus far. For one to be glad they are Czech, the same sentiment is not required, thus, our opinion is that the positive number of responses for this question will be much higher.

I would rather be born in a country other than the Czech Republic.

We expect respondents' answers to this question to vary depending on their age with elderly being more opposed to the idea, while younger generations, specifically those who group up after 1989, being more for it as they have grown up seeing through media a picture of what the West has to offer, which Czech Republic doesn't. We are interested to see the data of the Generation Z, as during their childhood, the Czech Republic joined the European Union, thus allowing free movement through most of Europe. We shall see whether this or the fact that, these people are the children of the previous generations, whom we believe are the main spouters of the negative stereotypes applied to the Czech population, shall affect the way this statement is answered.

I feel good in the company of other Czechs.

We expect Czechs to lean towards disagreeing with this statement, because of the stereotype of the typical Czech. From the data stated previously, we have seen that the concept of what a typical Czech is, is portrayed overly negative. We shall therefore see a) whether this sentiment truly exists, and b) if it does, do our respondents see themselves and their loved ones as an exception to this rule?

I consider myself a typical Czech.

After comparing Czechs to Western Europeans in various categories, we hope that the respondents will have in mind what are the characteristics that a Czech embodies. Thus, responding to this statement, would be not too difficult for them. From the Czech condition, we have outlined in the theoretical portion, and citing previous data, we expect that most Czechs will not consider themselves to be typical Czechs.

7.4 STATEMENTS ON THE CZECH NATION

This section consists of a series of statements in which the respondent must choose between: agree, somewhat agree, I don't know, somewhat disagree, or disagree. These statements focus on the feelings the respondent have in regards to the Czech nation as a whole. These questions aren't about characteristics or traits of any particular person, but instead they aim to overall assess the orientalist undertones and feeling on inferiority, which we have much discussed previously. It also aims to show how Czechs feel in regards to politics, social problems, economics, culture, and their place within Europe.

The Czech Republic is a small nation.

Based on our observations, we have noticed that the stated phrase is very common to hear among Czech people. This comes as a shock, because population-wise, when compared to the rest of Europe, the Czech Republic is not a small nation by any means. By land, they rank average for Europe (Wikipedia 2022), by population, they place in the first third of Europe (Wikipedia 2020). As we can see, Czechs and the Czech Republic are by no means factually a small nation. This begs the question, what do we mean by a 'small nation'? We recognize that

there are too many variables that we would need to factor in, in order to give a definite proof of that. Nevertheless, we hope that the foreseen agreement with this statement, works as a rough proof of the internalized inferiority within Czech people's minds, which we have been discussing so far.

The Czech Republic is an important nation.

This statement goes hand-in-hand with the previous one. Importance of a nation within the world or within Europe, may attribute to its self-proclamation of being a small nation. One might think that they are not important because of their recent history, when they were a part of the 'East' which was home to much hardship, toil, and was on the 'losing side' of history. Or they may say they are important, because they are trying to show to Europe that they are relevant. This could be an example of what we explained with the work of Paolo Freire, where we saw how Czechs compare themselves to other central and eastern European countries to show assert their dominance as more modern, old, historically impactful, successful etc. All so that their role model would notice them. The result we expect from this question, is that the answers will be split down the middle; half will lean more towards 'disagree', whereas half will lean more towards 'agree'.

I believe in the future of the Czech Republic.

This declaration looks to see if Czechs are pessimistic about the country's future. Such a statement can be connected to trauma of communism, and the subsequent transition to capitalism, which has led to people being disparaged with the trajectory of their country. If we were to do this survey only a year prior, we would expect different results as we are expecting

now with this question. This is because the 2021 elections in the country have changed the political landscape, whether the new leaders are different from the old, only time will tell, but we can argue that the change of government, met with a huge wave of enthusiasm across the country, might call for a renewed sense of civic duty. Despite all of that, we think that the trauma from the past still weighs heavily on Czechs, and hence, more respondents will disagree than agree with the statement.

I am actively interested in the politics of the Czech Republic.

Like we said before, with the possibility of a renewed sense of civic duty, this question might have had differing results, had we conducted this research one year prior. Although we expect respondents to answer similarly to the previous question, taking into account the trauma of the past, we expect them to disagree a lot more than to agree.

I am interested in world politics.

We want to see whether there is any difference between the interest of Czechs in their domestic politics, versus the politics abroad. As we could see from their lack of interest in the European Parliament's elections, there is a sign that Czechs might be less interested in what is going on outside of their own borders. However, with the same breath, we have to add that the interest in EU's elections is low across all EU member states and therefore could only be an exception to the rule.

I trust my politicians.

It wasn't only communism and the subsequent wild nineties, that led a lot of people in the Czech Republic to be not wholly trusting of politicians and the government in general. However, trusting one's politicians is a common theme, amongst those suffering from the post-communist syndrome and therefore is a point of interest of ours. We will assume that the majority of the respondents will disagree with this statement.

7.5 STATEMENTS ON CAPITALISM VS COMMUNISM

This section consists of a series of statements in which the respondent must choose between: agree, somewhat agree, I don't know, somewhat disagree, or disagree. The two statements presented are declarations on the comparison of Capitalism and Communism in regards to its effects on the Czech nation and its people.

Capitalism is better than communism.

Our hypothesis stands on the assumption that Czechs view capitalism as inherently better than communism. We therefore need to test this by asking them to answer to what extent do they agree with this statement. We, of course, expect them to overwhelmingly agree.

Capitalism benefits the Czech Republic.

This statement is different from the previous one, because it does not ask if either system is better than the other, instead, it poses the question of whether is capitalism beneficial for the Czech Republic. We expect the answers to again be overwhelmingly agree. However, we are curious to see, whether this changes with the younger generations, especially with Gen Z. Since

some people may share the perspective that the Czech Republic is suffering under capitalism due to the exploitative nature of the system.

7.6 STATEMENTS ON WHETHER CZECH REPUBLIC IS “BEHIND”

The next set of four statements on whether the Czech Republic is “behind”. By “behind” we touch several levels such as: economy, culture and social issues. Each of these statements should help us answer our central thesis. The respondent must once again decide between: agree, somewhat agree, I don’t know, somewhat disagree and disagree, for each of the following statements.

The Czech Republic is behind due to the time spent under communism.

This statement is referring to a strong sentiment of the Czech people that they are somehow behind in development, due to the time spent under communism, according to our observations. Many of them believe, that if it weren’t for communism, they would have always “been part of Europe”, and wouldn’t have to go through the traumatic transitioning period. This could possibly turn out to be true since, as we stated earlier, the first republic’s economy was one of the fastest growing economies in the world. But we must also take into account that to associate everything bad with communism, and the ‘East’, is a serious injustice to agency and legacy of the people living within the system. That being said, we still expect the majority of the respondents to agree with this statement.

The Czech Republic is behind economically.

We expect our respondents to overwhelmingly agree. We believe the economic prosperity seems to be the most important aspect of considering a country “developed”, for the West, hence giving Czechs a feeling of inferiority. That is exactly why this is one of the most significant questions of our research and could prove our hypothesis around the latent orientalism of the transitioning period.

The Czech Republic is behind socially.

Although many Czechs might say that their country is behind the West on a number of issues, we believe that when it comes to the subject of their social nation, a lot of the respondents will disagree with this statement. The Czech nation has had a strong welfare state, providing free healthcare and education to its citizens. Therefore, we do not think that Czechs would complain about their country in this regard.

The Czech Republic is culturally behind.

We believe the response of this question will be similar to the previous question, meaning that they disagree with the statement. This is because people of the Czech Republic, like in many of the other central European countries, are proud of their cultural heritage. Czechs say that they are the heart of Europe, this is meant mainly geographically, but there is an inkling that it is meant symbolically as well. Kundera writes that central Europe’s cultural home has always been the West, although the West has forgotten such (Kundera 1984). This sentiment in our opinion, gives Czechs the reason to feel culturally close to Western Europeans.

7.7 QUESTIONS OF CZECH'S PLACE IN EUROPE

The next question asks the respondents about the similarity of other countries when equated to the Czech Republic.

I consider the Czech Republic to be part of:

This question asks the respondents which part of Europe, do Czechs consider the Czech Republic to be part of: Central, Eastern, or Western. We expect the answer to be Central European, but what will be interesting is not the majority the answer, but the second highest answer, being Western or Eastern.

7.8 COMPARISON TO WESTERN EUROPEANS

This part of the survey is crucial to our study as it is a large-scale comparison of Czechs and Western Europeans. The respondents were supposed to complete the following statement: "Compared to Czechs, I consider Western Europeans to be more..." This question was constructed like a matrix, where in the top row were the following options: agree, somewhat agree, I don't know, somewhat disagree, disagree, and the far-left column had a list of various character traits. The traits were as follows: handsome, intelligent, cultivated, talented, hardworking, conscientious, loyal, friendly, honest, generous, materialistic, democratic, polite, humble, hospitable, helpful, arrogant, and racist.

We expect that, on average, the respondents will answer that Western Europeans embody the more positive traits, whereas Czechs will be considered with the more negative ones. Two of the traits we believe will be outliers, and those are handsome and arrogant. Czechs are known

by the world over to be very attractive people, especially Czech women and Czechs seem to take pride in this. Even though we think, they put Western Europeans on a pedestal, it may not be enough to consider them more handsome. The other outlier is being arrogant. Even though it is a negative trait and we expect Czechs to apply the negative qualities to themselves, this one is an exception. If they indeed feel inferior to Westerners, they wouldn't think that they have anything to be arrogant about, hence arrogance is not something they would have.

7.9 OPTIONAL OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

In terms of economy, society and culture, which country / countries is the Czech Republic closest to?

Our hope with this question was to determine which countries do Czechs on average feel the closest to in regards to the various parameters. This question is important, as we want to see how far Czechs have come in how they perceive their nation. Do they still think they are in the 'East' with the likeness of the Balkans, Ukraine, or Russia, are they comparable to other central European countries, or do they think they have completely joined in with the West? That is even though the majority of discussed essays have shown that the stereotypes that Czechs apply to themselves are oriental in nature and that they are still prevalent. When it comes to the answer to this question, we think the Czechs will not think they are still part of the 'East' but that they are part of Central Europe. Therefore, in our opinion those countries to which they will think they are closest to will be Slovakia, Poland, and maybe Hungary. It should be interesting to see, whether they will see themselves as close to Austria, who is undisputably seen as part of Central Europe, while the rest of the region can't say the same.

Which country / countries do you think the Czech Republic should be closest to?

A continuation of the previous inquiry, this question asks not which country they are already close to, but which one they would prefer to be close to. Therefore, it aims to inquire whether Czechs still wish to be closer to the West, citing that they still feel not enough when compared to them.

How would you describe a typical Czech?

This is an accompanying question to the previous inquiry into whether they consider themselves to be a typical Czech. This question is however open ended, and is used to gauge what they really think a typical Czech is like. We expect most answers to be of a negative nature.

8 DISTRIBUTION METHOD

The survey was translated into Czech and then proofread by Czech colleagues. We opted for an online distribution method due to current ongoing health crisis, and due to the surveyor not having strong enough Czech to ask the population face to face. Thus, the entire survey was uploaded on to the Czech website *Vyplnto.cz*, this website allowed for a link to be copied and exported. The website allowed for the option to be posted on to their message board, this allowed the survey to be open to anyone interested in taking it, because of this a portion of the respondents were entirely random.

Another way in which we distributed the survey was by contacting the local governments of the each of the thirteen regions. This was done by emailing them, as well as messaging their

official *Facebook* pages. Sadly, a majority of the regions we contacted this way, did not response, many of those that did response said they couldn't help, and only the region of Olomouc allowed us to post our survey on their *Facebook* page. The final way in which we distributed our survey was through posting it on various all Czech *Facebook* pages. These pages were selected at random, and then asked if we could post the survey.

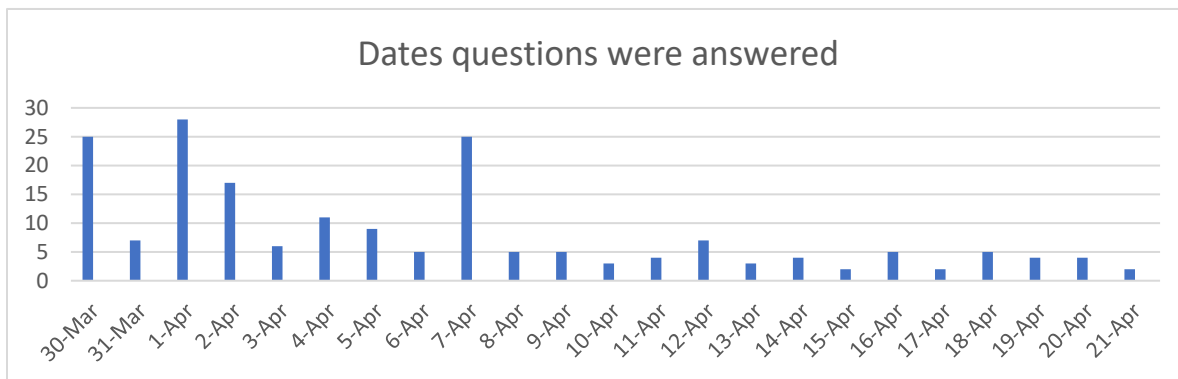
9 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS SECTION

9.1 COLLECTION METHOD

The collection process lasted 22 days from March 30th to April 21st. All of the responses were automatically recorded through the *Vyplnto.cz* website. The majority of the responses were collected at the end of March and the beginning of April. The following chart below shows the span in which the responses were collected, as well as the frequency of the responses on each

given

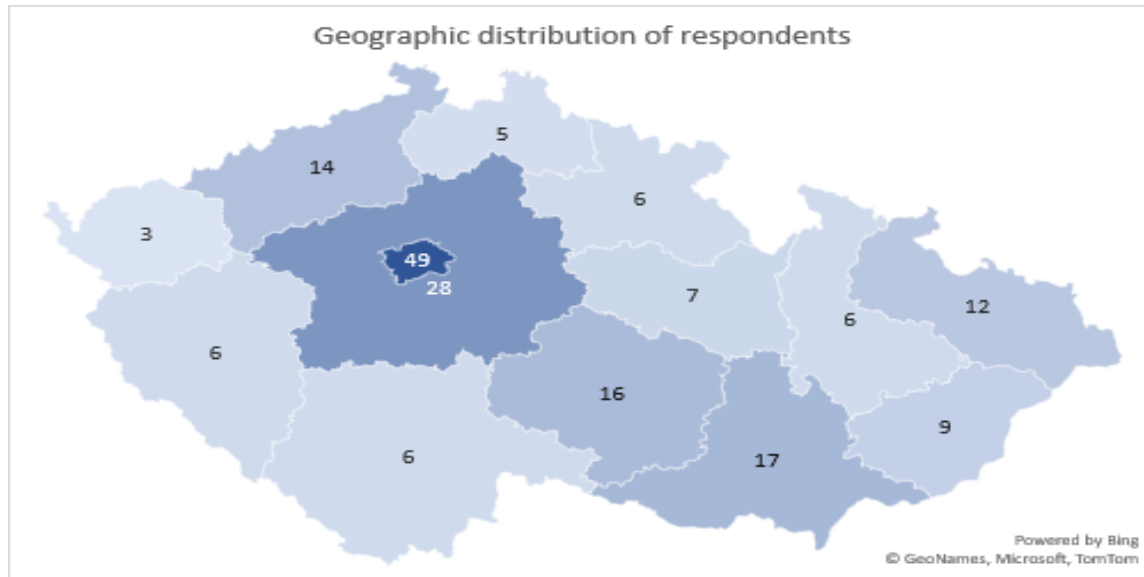
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The highest spike of responses collected was on April 1st, in which we had a total of 28 respondents. Whereas the lowest 2 responses were collected on few days at the end of the collection process.

9.2 SAMPLE DEMOGRAPHICS

The sample that resulted after the 22-day collection process had a total of 188 respondents. The sample is comprised of respondents from all over the Czech Republic. The largest concentration of them is to be found in Prague, total count of 49 or 26% of the whole sample.



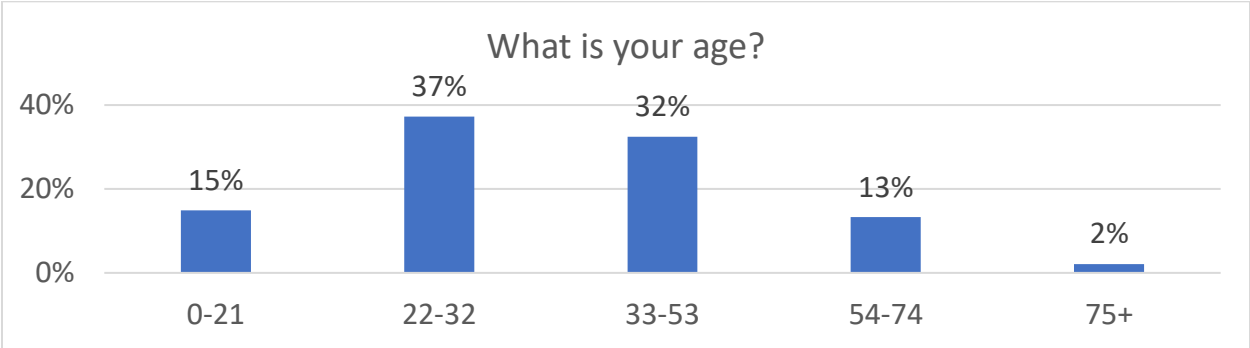
Still living in place of origin	122	65%
Moved from place of origin	66	35%

The distribution of ages within the sample went as follows.

What is your age?

0-21	28	15%
22-32	70	37%
33-53	61	32%
54-74	25	13%
75+	4	2%
Total	188	100%

In the age group from 0-21 we received a count of 28 or 15%. Next the age group 22-32, represented the largest number of responses, the count being a total of 70 respondents or a whole 37% of the sample. The following age group 33-53 turned out to be the second largest of the sample at 61 responses or 32% of the sample. Respondents aged 54-74 had a response count of 25, which is 13% of the sample. Finally, we have the last age group 75+, who responded the least out of all of the other age groups. Here we only have a count of 4, which is only 2% of the sample. The amount received of each of the different age groups was to be expected with the exception of the most elderly age group.



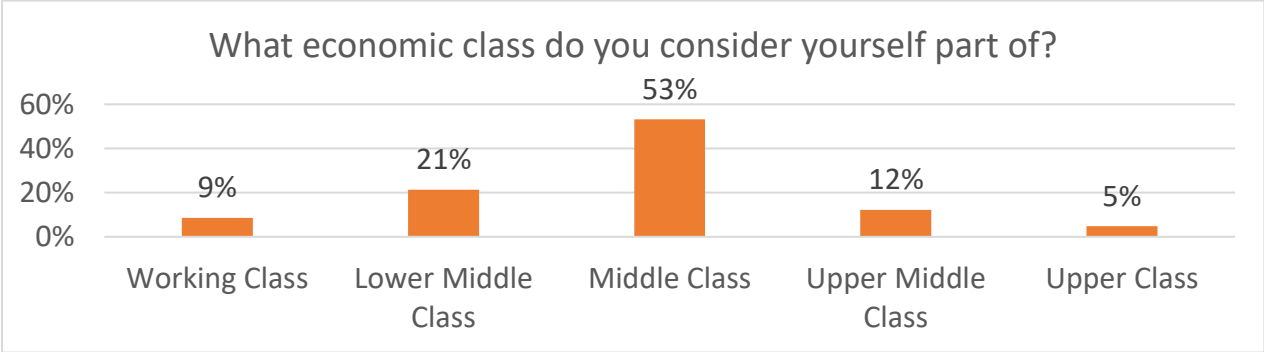
The distribution of sex within the sample was straightforward: males were counted as 81 or a 43%, whereas for female group there was a count of 105 or 56%. The category: prefer not to say, resulted in only having 2 respondents, or 1% of the sample.

What is your sex?

Male	81	43%
Female	105	56%
Prefer not to say	2	1%

We believe that data reflects the population as a whole quite well.

When it comes to the **economic class** each respondent within the sample, the distribution went as follows:



The working class comprises of 9% or a count of 16, the lower middle-class category is just a little bit, and stands at 21% with the total count of 40 respondents. By far the highest number of respondents is in the middle-class category, with a count of 100 total respondents or 53% of the entire sample. After middle class the sample starts to get smaller once again, where the number of upper middle-class respondents totaled a count of 23 or 12% of the sample. Finally, the lowest number of respondents were part of the upper class, they consisted of 9 respondent or only 5% of the sample.

The data can also be viewed by the chart below:

What economic class do you consider yourself part of?

Working Class	16	9%
Lower Middle Class	40	21%
Middle Class	100	53%
Upper Middle Class	23	12%
Upper Class	9	5%
Total	188	100%

We expected the turnout of the respondents to be this way, as it reflects the current data on wealth distribution in the Czech Republic.

9.3 QUESTION ON COMMUNISM

Question: What is your opinion of communism?

The results of this question were similar to what our expected results were to be:

What is your opinion of communism?

Very Negative	58	31%
Negative	86	46%
Neutral	27	14%
Positive	13	7%
Very Positive	4	2%
Total	188	100%

The majority of the responses to this question were either: very negative at a count of 58 which is 31% of the total sample, or negative at a count of 86 totaling 46% of the sample. Those respondents whose opinions of communism were neutral counted to be 27 or about 14% of the total sample. The number of positive opinions were even lower at a count of 13 or 7%, and those respondents whose opinion of communism was that of very positive were only 4 or 2% of the entire sample. To understand this data further, 77% (3 out of 4) of the respondents have a negative or very negative opinion of communism.

When comparing these results, the question: what is your opinion of communism with the various age ranges, we get some interesting results:

Age Range		0-21	22-32	33-53	54-74	75+
Very Negative	31%	54%	27%	23%	40%	

Negative	46%	43%	54%	48%	28%	
Neutral	14%	3%	14%	16%	12%	75%
Positive	7%		3%	8%	20%	25%
Very Positive	2%		1%	5%		

For the youngest generation (ages 0-21), 54% of the sample responded that their opinion of communism was very negative, and 43% of their opinion was negative, that totals to 97% of the entire age range having negative opinions of communism. We expected that the youngest generation may have a negative opinion of communism due their parents most like being in the 33-53 and 54-74 age ranges, but we thought that them not being born until after communism and the transition to capitalism would cause their responses to lean slightly less negative than what we expected of the middle age groups.

For the age range of 22-32, also known as the generation who lived during the transition period, answers were still much more negative than positive. 27% of them consider communism very negative, and 54% negative. What is interesting with this age group is that 14% of them had a neutral opinion. This might be because of the reason we expected, which was because the experience of the transition was so damaging for some, they became indifferent to either economic system.

Next the age range of 33-53, reflected very similarly the results of the previous aforementioned group. 23% very negative, 48% negative, 16% neutral, 8% positive, and 5% had the opinion of very positive. This came to a shock for us, as even though their perspective on communism is mostly negative, we expected them to be the most negative given the time in which they grew up.

Ages between 54-74, also had interesting numbers, they were the second highest when it came to the category of very negative, which was 40% and negative was 28%. But what separates them from the younger age ranges, is that 20% of them were found to have a positive opinion of communism, this data is also similar in the oldest generation of 75+. 75% of that group had neutral opinions, and 25% had positive. Of course, for the oldest generation we had only 4 respondents, thus we cannot make any definite conclusions for that group, but if we compare all the groups together, it seems that there could be a trend, albeit small, that positive feelings towards communism increase with age.

If we take the same question and this time compare it with perceived economic class:

Perceived Class	WC	LMC	MC	UMC	UC
Very Negative	13%	23%	28%	61%	56%
Negative	31%	55%	50%	30%	22%
Neutral	19%	13%	18%	4%	
Positive	19%	8%	4%	4%	22%
Very Positive	19%	3%			

Working class highest percentage at 31% were at the opinion of negative, but there are only 13% whose opinion of communism was very negative. The rest of the options (neutral, positive, and very positive) were each at 19%. We expected that the working class would fare relatively favorably of communism, and it seems we were correct. Although the lower middle-class results were quite different from the working class's results, their highest result was in the category of negative at 55% and their lowest was positive at only 3%.

In the middle-class 50% have negative opinions of communism, them being our largest economic class at 53% of our total sample. Only 4% of the middle-class have positive, and we

received no very positive results from them. Our expectations of this result are nothing surprising as negative views of communism are commonplace with the general population of the Czech Republic.

After the middle class’s responses, the trend is that the higher the economic standing the more unfavorable they are to communism. The Upper Class (second most negative) is interestingly less negative about Communism than the Upper Middle Class (most negative). Also 22% of the upper class had positive opinions of communism, this is a very interesting development and one that we did not expect.

9.4 RESULTS OF STATEMENTS REGARDING CZECH IDENTITY

The following section will show the results of each of the statements regarding Czech Identity.

Statement: I consider myself to be Czech.

For the following answers, the first two columns show figures for all respondents, and the last two (where they are added) for those who do not at least somewhat agree with the statement "My ethnicity is more important to me than my Czech identity".

I consider myself to be Czech.

	All		Those identifying with other ethnicities subtracted	
Agree	112	60%	104	65%
Somewhat agree	50	27%	42	26%
I don't know	4	2%	4	3%
Somewhat disagree	17	9%	8	5%
Disagree	5	3%	1	1%
Total	188	100%	159	100%

The data did not show a significant difference between the two. We did not expect to see one, but we wanted to confirm nonetheless. Otherwise, the results of all of the 188 respondents are that 60% agree, and 27% somewhat agree, the agree category is lower than we expected, but the majority are in some kind of agreement that they consider themselves Czech. Still, it is interesting that 40% do not straightforward agree with this statement about Czech self-identity.

Statement: I consider myself to be Slavic.

I consider myself to be Slavic.

Agree	57	31%
Somewhat agree	67	36%
I don't know	22	12%
Somewhat disagree	29	16%
Disagree	11	6%
Total	186	100%

The results of this question were to be expected as well, as although more of the respondents are in agreement with the statement than disagreement, its not by much.

Statement: My ethnicity (Moravian, Rom, Vietnamese, etc.) is more important to me than my Czech identity.

My ethnicity (Moravian, Rom, Vietnamese, etc.) is more important to me than my Czech identity.

Agree	18	23%
Somewhat agree	11	14%
I don't know	9	11%
Somewhat disagree	18	23%
Disagree	23	29%
Total	79	100%

79 out of 188 (42%) answered this question. Unless there was a misunderstanding on the part of some, 42% of the respondents have an ethnicity other than Czech. 37% of these people say their identity is more important than their Czech identity. So, overall, for 15% of the

respondents of the sample, consider their ethnic identity is more important than their Czech identity. Our expectations were met for this statement, as the Czech Republic is a relatively homogeneous society.

Statement: I am proud to be Czech.

The results of this statement, were divided again, the first two columns of numbers are the entire sample. In which 24% were in agreement, 35% somewhat agreed, 23% did not know, 12% somewhat disagreed, and 6% outright were in disagreement. When the results were subtracted with those who identify with other ethnicities and the results were only different by a few percentage points.

I am proud to be Czech.

			Those identifying with other ethnicities subtracted	
Agree	45	24%	41	26%
Somewhat agree	66	35%	58	36%
I don't know	44	23%	40	25%
Somewhat disagree	22	12%	14	9%
Disagree	11	6%	6	4%
	188	100%	159	100%

The results align with our prediction that there will not be much national sentiment among Czechs, still 59% of the sample is in some sort of an agreement, but it would be interesting to compare these results to Western European countries.

Statement: I am glad to be Czech.

As we stated earlier in the description of this statement and the previous statement would be interesting to compare together. As "pride" can signify nationalism, but "I am glad" could

indicate patriotism. The statement's results were once again divided into two parts (total sample and sample with those who identify with other ethnicities subtracted). The results of this statement are shown below:

I am glad that I am Czech.

			Those identifying with other ethnicities subtracted	
Agree	77	41%	72	45%
Somewhat agree	66	35%	56	35%
I don't know	28	15%	23	14%
Somewhat disagree	13	7%	5	3%
Disagree	4	2%	3	2%
	188	100%	159	100%

There is not much change between the two parts in terms of overall results. We did not predict that the majority of the sample would agree so much with this statement. When comparing those in agreement of the statements referring to pride, and those of being glad, 59% indicate the former, whereas 76% the latter.

Statement: I would rather be born in a country other than the Czech Republic.

The statement's results were divided into two parts (total sample and sample with those who identify with other ethnicities subtracted). The results of this statement are shown below:

I would rather be born in a country other than the Czech Republic.

			Those identifying with other ethnicities subtracted	
Agree	13	7%	9	6%
Somewhat agree	22	12%	15	9%
I don't know	35	19%	30	19%
Somewhat disagree	57	30%	52	33%
Disagree	61	32%	53	33%
	188	100%	159	100%

This data was also unexpected as the majority of respondents disagreed with the statement.

With 62% leaning towards disagreement versus only 19% in some form of agreement.

Statement: I feel good in the company of other Czechs.

The statement's results were divided into two parts (total sample and sample with those who identify with other ethnicities subtracted). The results of this statement are shown below:

I feel good in the company of other Czechs.

			Those identifying with other ethnicities subtracted	
Agree	52	28%	47	30%
Somewhat agree	91	48%	80	50%
I don't know	27	14%	20	13%
Somewhat disagree	14	7%	10	6%
Disagree	4	2%	2	1%
	188	100%	159	100%

These results also did not meet our expectations, as we predicted Czechs would overall be less inclined to enjoy the company of other Czechs. If we consider this statement in the category of measuring alienation of particular persons within the society, then we could say that 76% do not show alienation in Czech society and only 9% do.

Statement: I consider myself a typical Czech.

The result of the following statement showed a tendency of disagreement more than that of agreement. Where a total of those in disagreement and somewhat disagreement were 51% versus that of those in agreement and somewhat agreement 29%.

I consider myself a typical Czech.

Agree	15	8%
Somewhat agree	39	21%
I don't know	38	20%
Somewhat disagree	62	33%
Disagree	34	18%
	188	100%

These results came out as predicted.

9.5 RESULTS ON STATEMENTS REGARDING THE CZECH NATION

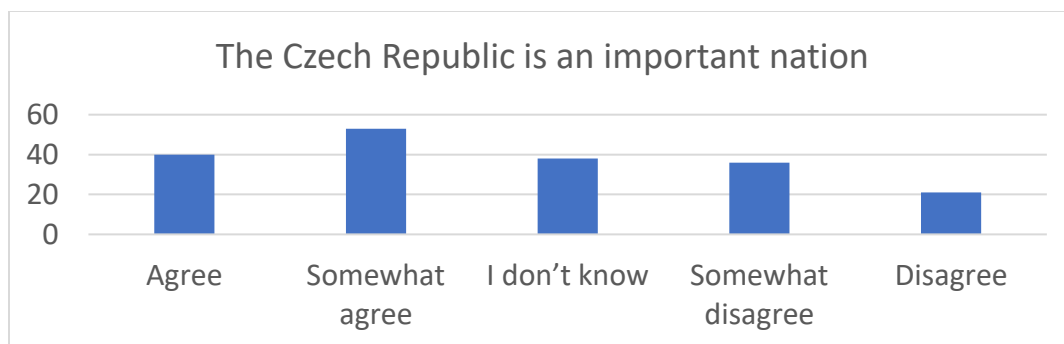
Statement: The Czech Republic is a small nation

The Czech Republic is a small nation.

Agree	88	47%
Somewhat agree	74	39%
I don't know	6	3%
Somewhat disagree	18	10%
Disagree	2	1%
	188	100%

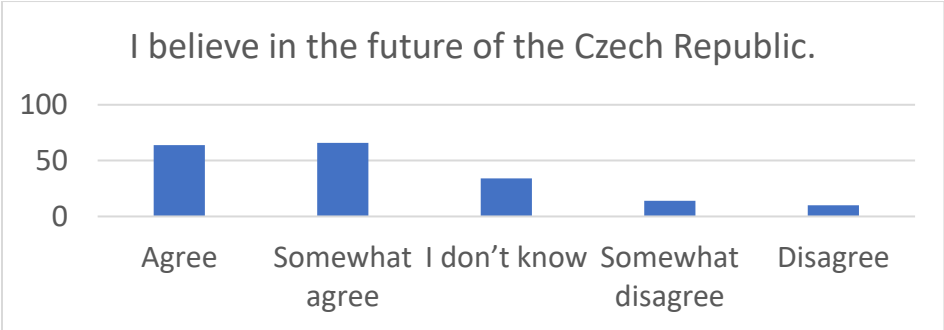
86% of the sample leans more towards agreement with this statement, only 11% disagree. This was to be expected.

Statement: The Czech Republic is an important nation.



Here the responses to the statement whether the Czech Republic is an important nation, are more-or-less equally distributed. These results represent our predictions.

Statement: I believe in the future of the Czech Republic.



I believe in the future of the Czech Republic.

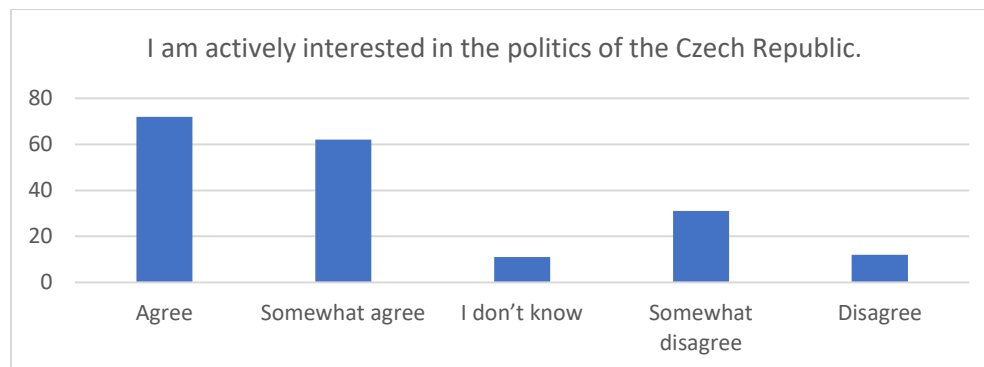
Agree	64	34%
Somewhat agree	66	35%
I don't know	34	18%
Somewhat disagree	14	7%
Disagree	10	5%
	188	100%

The results showed that 64 respondents agreed and 66 respondents somewhat agreed totaling as 69% in agreement. We did not expect this result as the study we referred to at the beginning of the thesis showed that 38% of Czechs did not believe in their country's future, which is quite different of with who disagreed with this statement being 12%. The previous study was 10 years ago, so we could determine that this result is representative of the population although we think further research must be conducted in order for us to better reach a conclusion.

Statement: I am actively interested in the politics of the Czech Republic.

I am actively interested in the politics of the Czech Republic.

Agree	72	38%
Somewhat agree	62	33%
I don't know	11	6%
Somewhat disagree	31	16%
Disagree	12	6%
	188	100%



The results of this statement we also found quite interesting as they were contrary to the findings of the post-communist syndrome which explained that those having such a syndrome have low interest in the politics in their country. Our data shows that 38% agree with the statement and 33% somewhat agree. 71% in agreement versus 22% in disagreement.

Statement: I am interested in world politics.

I am interested in world politics.

Agree	55	29%
Somewhat agree	86	46%
I don't know	9	5%
Somewhat disagree	28	15%
Disagree	10	5%
	<hr/>	
	188	100%

Regarding the statement, I am interested in world politics, 75% of the sample, was in some form of agreement. Whereas 20% was in disagreement, and 5% said they did not know. This result is similar to our prediction.

Statement: I trust my politicians.

Only 5% of respondents agree completely and 14% somewhat agree, a total of 19%. In regards to those who disagree with the statement, total is 64%.

I trust my politicians.

Agree	9	5%
Somewhat agree	26	14%
I don't know	31	16%
Somewhat disagree	61	32%
Disagree	61	32%
	<hr/>	
	188	100%

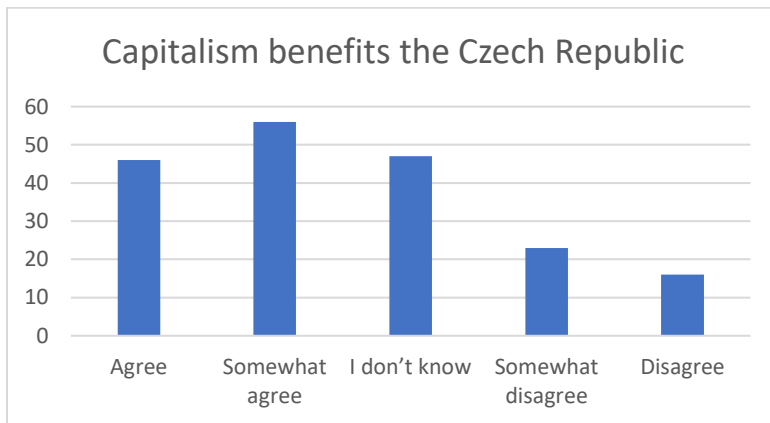
Statement: Capitalism is better than communism

Capitalism is better than communism.

Agree	69	37%
Somewhat agree	55	29%
I don't know	33	18%
Somewhat disagree	18	10%
Disagree	13	7%
	188	100%

66% (2 out of 3) agree that capitalism better than communism, only 17% disagree, and interestingly enough 18% are do not know.

Statement: Capitalism benefits the Czech Republic.



The majority of the sample were in agreement that capitalism does indeed benefit the Czech Republic. 54% agreed, whereas 21% disagree, interestingly enough 25% (1 out of 4) did not know whether the capitalism benefits the Czech Republic.

Statement: The Czech Republic is behind due to the time spent under communism.

The results for the following statement are shown below:

The Czech Republic is behind due to the time spent under communism.

Agree	76	40%
Somewhat agree	50	27%
I don't know	23	12%
Somewhat disagree	18	10%
Disagree	21	11%
	188	100%

67% agree with this statement whereas, 21% disagree. This data reflects our predictions well.

Statement: The Czech Republic is behind economically.

The results for the following statement are shown below:

The Czech Republic is behind economically.

Agree	49	26%
Somewhat agree	75	40%
I don't know	32	17%
Somewhat disagree	25	13%
Disagree	7	4%
	188	100%

Those respondents who were on the side of agreement were of 66%, whereas only 17% leaned more towards disagreement, and 17% of the sample answered that they did not know. These responses meet our expectations.

Statement: The Czech Republic is behind socially.

The results for the following statement are shown below:

The Czech Republic is behind socially.

Agree	50	27%
Somewhat agree	56	30%
I don't know	23	12%
Somewhat disagree	43	23%
Disagree	16	9%
	<hr/>	
	188	100%

The results of this statement came to a surprise to us as we predicted that the responses would be the opposite, since the strong welfare state of the Czech Republic. Thus, having 56% in agreement, and 31% in disagree is quite shocking.

Statement: The Czech Republic is behind culturally.

The results for the following statement are shown below:

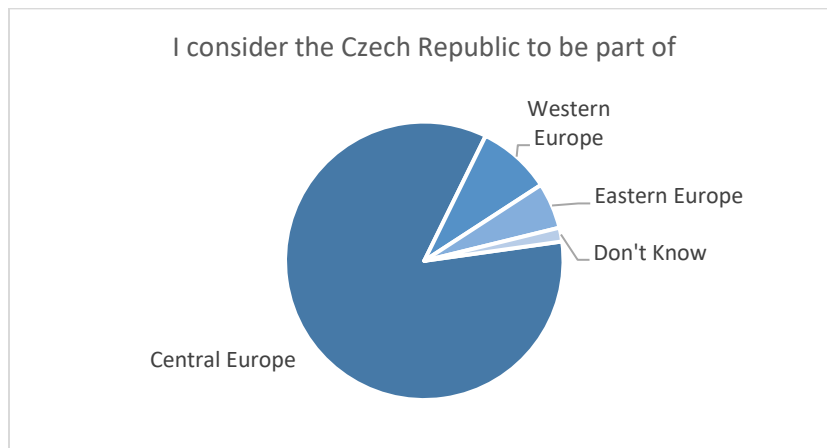
The Czech Republic is behind culturally

Agree	21	11%
Somewhat agree	30	16%
I don't know	19	10%
Somewhat disagree	72	38%
Disagree	46	24%
	<hr/>	
	188	100%

These results of 27% in agreement and 63% disagree with the following statement reflect our initial expectations.

Statement: I consider the Czech Republic to be part of:

The results for the following statement are shown below:



The large majority of the respondents consider the Czech Republic part of Central Europe at 84%, those who consider it part of Western Europe 9%, 5% said Eastern Europe, and 2% decided they did not know. This reflects our predictions as well.

9.6 RESULTS ON STATEMENTS COMPARING THE CZECH NATION TO WESTERN EUROPEANS

Compared to the Czechs, I consider Western Europeans to be more:

	Agree	SW Agree	IDK	SW Disagree	Disagree	Weighted score *
Handsome	12	38	80	38	20	(0.04)
Intelligent	7	54	69	34	24	(0.04)
Cultivated	18	75	44	36	15	0.12
Talented	12	27	93	39	17	(0.06)
Hardworking	16	45	78	37	12	0.04
Conscientious	14	61	81	21	11	0.12
Loyal	18	34	90	31	15	0.02
Friendly	28	57	62	28	13	0.16
Honest	7	38	80	38	25	(0.10)
Generous	12	48	80	34	14	0.03
Materialistic	26	58	73	25	6	0.19
Democratic	32	75	56	17	8	0.28
Polite	20	74	67	17	10	0.20
Humble	6	37	81	41	23	(0.10)
Hospitable	11	57	84	27	9	0.09
Helpful	11	53	86	29	9	0.07
Arrogant	18	40	74	45	11	0.02
Racist	12	27	67	55	27	(0.15)

* -1: Disagree, 1: Agree, 0: Neutral

The weighted scores of the responses ranged from -0.10 to 0.28, in this order:

Positive Qualities:

Democratic	0.28
Polite	0.20
Friendly	0.16
Conscientious	0.12
Cultivated	0.12
Hospitable	0.09
Helpful	0.07
Hardworking	0.04
Generous	0.03
Loyal	0.02
Intelligent	-0.04
Handsome	-0.04
Talented	-0.06
Honest	-0.10
Humble	-0.10
Average	0.05

Negative Qualities:

Materialistic	0.19
Arrogant	0.02
Racist	-0.15

We did not ask too many negative questions in order not to alienate the survey respondents.

Comparing the two, we do not see a significant difference between the scores for both Quality groups. Notice that this weighing method gives "I don't know" answers a coefficient of 0. Therefore, they do not affect the score. The score is determined by those who do have some opinion on the question.

We also took the average of these perceived Positive Qualities and compared them for various Sociological groups in the survey. The score results (from -1 to 1) are as follows:

By Age

0-21	0.37
22-32	0.36
33-53	-0.07
54-74	-0.17
75+	-0.42
All Together	0.13

These results are quite significant. The younger people hold Westerners in higher esteem vis-à-vis their compatriots. This gradually disappears with age.

By Sex

Male	0.18
Female	0.05

More positive view by men, but the difference is quite small compared to the case with age.

By Perceived Economic Class

Working Class	0.13
Lower Middle Class	0.12
Middle Class	0.11
Upper Middle Class	0.34
Upper Class	-0.02

Here we see a difference between the Lower and Middle classes vis-à-vis the Upper Middle class, and equally interestingly the positive view is reversed with the Upper Class which has the least positive perception of all.

9.7 OPTIONAL OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

How would you describe a typical Czech?

In this part of our data collection, we have observed an interesting phenomenon of people contributing contradicting characteristics to Czechs, within the same description - e.g.,

"Hardworking, but also lazy." Except for a handful of exceptions, most answers included both positive and negative characteristics.

37 of our respondents refused to take part in this question, responding either with "I don't know", "Can't compare" or leaving the field blank. While 3 additional respondents simply called the question stupid. 2 more respondents said that a typical Czech is simply just like any other human being. The rest of the answers were analyzed and the following commonalities were found.

Typical Czech Characteristics	Count	%
Negative Traits	203	70%
Positive Traits	87	30%
Total	290	100%

This coincides with the previous mentioned 1992 study which said the 76% of traits Czech gave to themselves were deemed negative.

The most common characteristics:

Drinks beer 20

This answer was used in an ambivalent way - at times, named as a negative Czech trait, other times as a positive portrayal of a Czech person who likes to meet up with their friends and drink beer.

Doesn't like change 17

This answer was often connected to Czech xenophobia, racism and homophobia.

Envious 16

Common answers stated that not only are Czechs envious, but they don't wish good on others.

Lazy 15

In this category, we have included not only the answer "lazy", but also descriptions, which expressed the unfavorably seen trait of laziness, such as spending time lying on the couch, watching TV.

Xenophobic 14

Chronically complains 13

Skilled 13

Our respondents have often stated that Czech people are skilled in the same description, where they mentioned that they are lazy. 1 response included the mention of the so-called "zlaté české ručičky" - "golden Czech hands". This phrase is a popular and old idea among Czech people which is used to appreciate their high level of craftsmanship and as such, it has been used for generations.

Hard-working 12

Racist 12

Bad fashion sense 11

In this category we combined all the diverse critiques of Czech sense of fashion, including the infamous *ponožky v sandálích*.

Thinks they know everything the best 11

Fat/Beer belly 10

Here, we have combined the categories of fat and beer belly together as they stem from the same position of fatphobia.

Opportunistic 10

Švejk 10

A surprising number of responses included the descriptions of Czechs as Švejks or Švejk-like. Švejk is not however the only astute character that Czechs see themselves in. One respondent answered that Czechs are like Jára Cimrman and one more fictional character, they were compared to, was Brouk Pytlík.

Selfish/only care about themselves 9

Redneck 9

Employee 8

This was a surprising occurrence to us as we did not consider it to be a description people would opt for. We have used "Employee" as an umbrella term for subsequent descriptions as well. Some respondents stated that a typical Czech works a 9 to 5, listens obediently to their boss, though they don't think highly of them. At the same time, many have said that Czechs are acting as good employees, so they could go on a vacation to Croatia once a year.

Family-oriented 8

Football fan 7

Low self-esteem 7

Sociable 7

Charitable 6

Good sense of humour 6

The total amount of responses using the word "humor" to describe Czechs, was 10, however we've decided to not combine answers stating that Czechs have a "good sense of humor" with the ones saying that Czechs like "dark/black humor", as we think that those two categories were not meant in a synonymous way.

Has two children 6

White man 6

This was another interesting occurrence to us since most of the answers we received, only described men, but not women. This could be due to the fact that the word "Čech" is within Czech language gendered as male, even though it is used to describe the national belonging of both men and women in the context of our question.

Homophobic 5

This was a surprisingly low number of answers in comparison with the category of racism or xenophobia in general. This could be due to the fact that 26% of our respondents were from Prague, which is the most LGBTQ+ friendly city in Europe.

Mistrustful 5

Black humor 4

Not politically active 3

Overtly patriotic 3

In terms of economy, society and culture, which country / countries is the Czech Republic

closest to?

Which are closest to:	Count	Percentage
Slovakia	103	55%
Poland	33	18%
Austria	23	12%
Hungary	12	6%
Slovenia	10	5%
Germany	5	3%
<hr/>		
Total	186	100%
<hr/>		
Central Europe	148	80%

Notable mentions:

Burkina Faso
Czechoslovakia
Zimbabwe
Eastern Germany

Which country / countries do you think the Czech Republic should be closest to?

Which should be:	Count	Percentage
Germany	53	25%
Austria	42	20%
Switzerland	20	9%
Go its own way	14	7%
Sweden	12	6%
Denmark	11	5%
UK/England	8	4%
Netherlands	8	4%
Finland	7	3%
Norway	5	2%
Western countries	5	2%
Belgium	4	2%
Northern Europe	4	2%

Israel	3	1%
France	3	1%
Luxembourg	3	1%
Czechoslovakia	2	1%
Italy	2	1%
Poland	2	1%
Slovenia	2	1%
United States	2	1%
<hr/>		
Total	212	100%
<hr/>		
Western Europe	178	84%

10 CORRELATION ANALYSIS RESULTS

Here are the results of a basic correlation analysis each particular statement. They will be compared with age groups, sex, and economic class. The correlations will show whether the respondents of the particular group are more positively inclined or negatively inclined to the corresponding statement. The way in which this positive or negative inclination is by giving each answer: agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and I don't know; a corresponding value. Those values are the following: Agree: 1, Somewhat Agree: 0.5, Somewhat Disagree: -0.5, Disagree: -1, I don't Know: 0. Taking these values into consideration we applied the following equation: $(\text{Sum of agree} + (\text{somewhat agree}/2) - (\text{somewhat disagree}/2) - \text{disagree})/188$.

Agree/Disagree Questions	Somewhat		Somewhat		Disagree	Score*
	Agree	agree	I don't know	disagree		
I consider myself to be Czech.	112	50	4	17	5	0.66
I consider myself to be Slavic.	57	67	22	29	11	0.35
I am proud to be Czech.	45	66	44	22	11	0.30
I am glad that I am Czech.	77	66	28	13	4	0.53
I would rather be born in a country other than the Czech Republic.	13	22	35	57	61	(0.35)
I feel good in the company of other Czechs.	52	91	27	14	4	0.46
I consider myself a typical Czech.	15	39	38	62	34	(0.16)
The Czech Republic is a small nation.	88	74	6	18	2	0.61
The Czech Republic is a important nation.	40	53	38	36	21	0.15
I believe in the future of the Czech Republic.	64	66	34	14	10	0.43
I am actively interested in the politics of the Czech Republic.	72	62	11	31	12	0.40
I am interested in world politics.	55	86	9	28	10	0.39
I trust my politicians.	9	26	31	61	61	(0.37)
Capitalism is better than communism.	69	55	33	18	13	0.40
Capitalism benefits the Czech Republic.	46	56	47	23	16	0.25
The Czech Republic is behind due to the time spent under communism.	76	50	23	18	21	0.38
The Czech Republic is behind economically.	49	75	32	25	7	0.36
The Czech Republic is behind socially.	50	56	23	43	16	0.22
The Czech Republic is behind culturally	21	30	19	72	46	(0.24)
Compared to the Czechs, I consider Western Europeans to be more:						
Handsome	12	38	80	38	20	(0.04)
Intelligent	7	54	69	34	24	(0.04)
Cultivated	18	75	44	36	15	0.12
Talented	12	27	93	39	17	(0.06)
Hardworking	16	45	78	37	12	0.04
Conscientious	14	61	81	21	11	0.12
Loyal	18	34	90	31	15	0.02
Friendly	28	57	62	28	13	0.16
Honest	7	38	80	38	25	(0.10)
Generous	12	48	80	34	14	0.03
Materialistic	26	58	73	25	6	0.19
Democratic	32	75	56	17	8	0.28
Polite	20	74	67	17	10	0.20
Humble	6	37	81	41	23	(0.10)
Hospitable	11	57	84	27	9	0.09
Helpful	11	53	86	29	9	0.07
Arrogant	18	40	74	45	11	0.02
Racist	12	27	67	55	27	(0.15)

* Agree: 1, Somewhat Agree: 0.5, Somewhat Disagree: -0.5, Disagree: -1, I don't Know: 0

Putting all the responses to these answers all in one place also enables us to compare how people reacted to each respective statement. The Score columns have coloring with the length of the green bar reflecting the degree of Agreement with each statement, and the length of the red bar reflecting the Disagreement, to facilitate seeing the reaction to each statement better.

The counts for the answers were also included as five columns to enable closer inspection of the results.

We think these charts demonstrate the results well enough by themselves, so we will only mention only the things which are not obvious at first sight, and which were not already mentioned earlier in the Thesis, this will be done in the discussion section below.

SCORES BY AGE GROUPS	0-21	22-32	33-53	54-74	75+	OVERALL
I consider myself to be Czech.	0.52	0.69	0.62	0.74	1.00	0.66
I consider myself to be Slavic.	0.30	0.18	0.38	0.70	1.00	0.35
I am proud to be Czech.	0.14	0.28	0.30	0.40	1.00	0.30
I am glad that I am Czech.	0.41	0.58	0.50	0.52	1.00	0.53
I would rather be born in a country other than the Czech Republic.	(0.25)	(0.31)	(0.38)	(0.46)	(0.63)	(0.35)
I feel good in the company of other Czechs.	0.30	0.44	0.48	0.58	0.75	0.46
I consider myself a typical Czech.	(0.46)	(0.26)	(0.08)	0.08	0.88	(0.16)
The Czech Republic is a small nation.	0.52	0.59	0.70	0.56	0.50	0.61
The Czech Republic is an important nation.	0.14	0.22	0.10	(0.02)	0.63	0.15
I believe in the future of the Czech Republic.	0.25	0.46	0.44	0.42	0.88	0.43
I am actively interested in the politics of the Czech Republic.	0.45	0.24	0.41	0.76	0.50	0.40
I am interested in world politics.	0.41	0.28	0.38	0.70	0.63	0.39
I trust my politicians.	(0.43)	(0.38)	(0.34)	(0.36)	(0.38)	(0.37)
Capitalism is better than communism.	0.30	0.42	0.44	0.42	(0.25)	0.40
Capitalism benefits the Czech Republic.	0.11	0.30	0.26	0.28	(0.13)	0.25
The Czech Republic is behind due to the time spent under communism.	0.50	0.51	0.29	0.20	(0.25)	0.38
The Czech Republic is behind economically.	0.38	0.41	0.37	0.24	(0.13)	0.36
The Czech Republic is behind socially.	0.16	0.35	0.17	0.12	(0.50)	0.22
The Czech Republic is behind culturally	(0.34)	(0.12)	(0.23)	(0.44)	(0.75)	(0.24)
Compared to the Czechs, I consider Western Europeans to be more:						
Handsome	(0.02)	0.11	(0.15)	(0.20)	(0.38)	(0.04)
Intelligent	0.09	0.14	(0.15)	(0.34)	(0.38)	(0.04)
Cultivated	0.27	0.18	0.08	(0.06)	(0.25)	0.12
Talented	0.14	0.06	(0.20)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.06)
Hardworking	0.13	0.11	(0.06)	0.04	(0.13)	0.04
Conscientious	0.20	0.19	0.03	0.14	(0.25)	0.12
Loyal	0.07	0.06	(0.01)	-	(0.38)	0.02
Friendly	0.29	0.26	0.08	(0.12)	0.25	0.16
Honest	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.10)
Generous	0.16	0.19	(0.08)	(0.30)	(0.13)	0.03
Materialistic	0.29	0.21	0.11	0.28	-	0.19
Democratic	0.25	0.39	0.21	0.20	0.25	0.28
Polite	0.21	0.26	0.13	0.28	(0.13)	0.20
Humble	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.25)	(0.10)
Hospitable	0.23	0.16	0.01	(0.02)	(0.13)	0.09
Helpful	0.23	0.17	(0.02)	(0.08)	(0.25)	0.07
Arrogant	(0.05)	0.05	0.02	0.08	(0.13)	0.02
Racist	(0.27)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.18)	-	(0.15)

SCORES BY SEX

	MALE	FEMALE
I consider myself to be Czech.	0.60	0.71
I consider myself to be Slavic.	0.33	0.35
I am proud to be Czech.	0.23	0.36
I am glad that I am Czech.	0.49	0.58
I would rather be born in a country other than the Czech Republic.	(0.35)	(0.36)
I feel good in the company of other Czechs.	0.39	0.52
I consider myself a typical Czech.	(0.20)	(0.12)
The Czech Republic is a small nation.	0.64	0.58
The Czech Republic is an important nation.	(0.04)	0.29
I believe in the future of the Czech Republic.	0.33	0.49
I am actively interested in the politics of the Czech Republic.	0.55	0.28
I am interested in world politics.	0.54	0.28
I trust my politicians.	(0.45)	(0.30)
Capitalism is better than communism.	0.38	0.41
Capitalism benefits the Czech Republic.	0.23	0.27
The Czech Republic is behind due to the time spent under communism.	0.31	0.44
The Czech Republic is behind economically.	0.38	0.34
The Czech Republic is behind socially.	0.22	0.20
The Czech Republic is behind culturally	(0.22)	(0.26)

Compared to the Czechs, I consider Western Europeans to be more:

	MALE	FEMALE
Handsome	(0.09)	(0.00)
Intelligent	(0.07)	(0.02)
Cultivated	0.08	0.14
Talented	(0.09)	(0.04)
Hardworking	0.01	0.05
Conscientious	0.07	0.15
Loyal	0.04	0.01
Friendly	0.13	0.17
Honest	(0.16)	(0.05)
Generous	(0.01)	0.06
Materialistic	0.27	0.12
Democratic	0.24	0.31
Polite	0.19	0.21
Humble	(0.12)	(0.09)
Hospitable	0.06	0.11
Helpful	0.04	0.09
Arrogant	0.08	(0.01)
Racist	(0.16)	(0.14)

SCORES BY PERCEIVED ECONOMIC CLASS

	WC	LMC	MC	UMC	UC	OVERALL
I consider myself to be Czech.	0.38	0.63	0.70	0.76	0.56	0.66
I consider myself to be Slavic.	0.22	0.31	0.39	0.26	0.56	0.35
I am proud to be Czech.	0.16	0.23	0.34	0.41	0.17	0.30
I am glad that I am Czech.	0.44	0.51	0.55	0.63	0.28	0.53
I would rather be born in a country other than the Czech Republic.	(0.41)	(0.36)	(0.34)	(0.41)	(0.11)	(0.35)
I feel good in the company of other Czechs.	0.31	0.43	0.54	0.37	0.22	0.46
I consider myself a typical Czech.	-	(0.23)	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.16)
The Czech Republic is a small nation.	0.63	0.66	0.58	0.59	0.72	0.61
The Czech Republic is an important nation.	-	(0.08)	0.30	0.26	(0.56)	0.15
I believe in the future of the Czech Republic.	0.03	0.39	0.49	0.70	(0.06)	0.43
I am actively interested in the politics of the Czech Republic.	0.31	0.26	0.41	0.76	0.22	0.40
I am interested in world politics.	0.47	0.33	0.35	0.72	0.22	0.39
I trust my politicians.	(0.75)	(0.45)	(0.30)	(0.11)	(0.83)	(0.37)
Capitalism is better than communism.	(0.16)	0.36	0.42	0.80	0.22	0.40
Capitalism benefits the Czech Republic.	(0.31)	0.23	0.28	0.57	0.17	0.25
The Czech Republic is behind due to the time spent under communism.	0.06	0.33	0.42	0.63	0.06	0.38
The Czech Republic is behind economically.	0.44	0.25	0.37	0.46	0.33	0.36
The Czech Republic is behind socially.	0.22	0.11	0.23	0.37	0.17	0.22
The Czech Republic is behind culturally	(0.44)	(0.20)	(0.29)	-	(0.22)	(0.24)

Compared to the Czechs, I consider Western Europeans to be more:

	WC	LMC	MC	UMC	UC	OVERALL
Handsome	0.06	-	(0.08)	0.04	(0.22)	(0.04)
Intelligent	(0.16)	0.01	(0.06)	0.11	(0.22)	(0.04)
Cultivated	-	0.05	0.11	0.39	0.11	0.12
Talented	(0.09)	-	(0.10)	-	-	(0.06)
Hardworking	(0.03)	0.06	0.04	0.07	0.11	0.04
Conscientious	(0.09)	0.11	0.15	0.17	0.11	0.12
Loyal	0.03	0.10	-	0.02	(0.06)	0.02
Friendly	0.25	0.11	0.17	0.11	0.17	0.16
Honest	-	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.28)	(0.10)
Generous	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.13	(0.06)	0.03
Materialistic	0.28	0.15	0.19	0.26	0.17	0.19
Democratic	0.16	0.20	0.33	0.41	0.06	0.28
Polite	0.22	0.18	0.18	0.33	0.28	0.20
Humble	-	(0.14)	(0.14)	0.07	(0.11)	(0.10)
Hospitable	0.16	0.05	0.10	0.13	-	0.09
Helpful	0.22	0.04	0.06	0.15	-	0.07
Arrogant	0.25	0.11	0.03	(0.17)	(0.28)	0.02
Racist	0.03	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.39)	(0.44)	(0.15)

11 CONCLUSION

11.1 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The analysis of the data gave us some interesting insight which we will now discuss. Among all the statements, the respondents agreed most strongly with the statement “I consider myself to be Czech”. Even though this received the highest score, since the statement includes the term “Consider”, we do not feel this is the strongest response that came out of the survey, it was rather the more definite statement “I am glad that I am Czech”, which had almost the same score. But considering that all the statements about being Czech have received stronger scores, and the question of “I would rather be born in a country other than the Czech Republic” was reacted with overall disagreement, we can say that despite strong feelings against the politicians of the country, Czechs do believe in their country.

When we chart the responses with respect to the Age groups of the respondents, we see those positive feelings towards being Czech and towards the country increases visibly with age. Also, the negative view of communism decreases. Regarding capitalism, we see stronger support among the middle age groups, and less support among the youngest, and of course the least among the oldest, as mentioned before. The view of Western Europeans vis-a-vis the Czechs also declines with age. This strongly supports our hypothesis that the older Czechs see themselves less as being inferior to Western Europeans as compared to younger Czechs.

When we chart the responses with respect to the Sex of the respondents, we see almost no correlation; the sex of the respondent is largely irrelevant. We felt this would be the case, but wanted to be able to confirm it. The only statement where males and females seem to differ is

that males disagree more obviously with Czech Republic being an important nation. With respect to the Perceived Class of the respondents, we see more correlation than with Sex, and it's not linear as in the case of Age. But overall, the Working-Class respondents are ideologically to the left of the others as we would agree, and they seem to show more alienation towards the country than the rest. Interestingly, in all these regards, they are followed by the Upper Class, which is then followed by the Lower Middle class.

11.2 LIMITATIONS

Throughout this entire research process, we have realized some decisions ended up making our research more difficult, and if certain things were done differently, we may have been able to get better results. Our first limitation came by the way in which we distributed our survey: it was done entirely online. This was due to two factors, first that it would be difficult to ask respondents on the streets since our Czech is so limited. If we did so, the resulting sample would only consist of respondents who are able to speak English relatively fluently, leading to a large portion of the population to be excluded. The second factor in the decision to have the distribution method entirely online was due to the current health crisis, to ensure our safety, and that of the respondents.

Thus, the entirely online survey had the possibility of excluding a crucial demographic segment which is the elderly population, who may use neither computers nor the internet too often. This is problematic in our analysis as our research had the age of the respondent as one of the important independent variables, and having the result of only four 75+ respondents. It is rather limiting to allow us to make any definite conclusions.

The other major limitation to our survey was that it was very long. If the survey was to be more concise, we might have had a larger sample size, as certain questions, for instance taking in account the lengthy question comparing Western Europeans to Czechs. Many of the selected choices for the question were “I don’t know”; we cannot know for sure if that reason for so many “I don’t know” answers was due to the length, or if the respondents were truly just trying to be impartial. Regardless, if we were to expand on this research in the future, the length of the survey would be taken into more consideration.

11.3 CONCLUSION

The analysis of why Czechs are so negative about themselves is a much more complicated concept than what’s visible at a first glance. The post-communist syndrome, although compelling, does not take the entirety of the Czech experience into account. The results of our data have shown that Czechs don’t exhibit many of the same characteristics and behaviors as other post-communist nations. But they in general have a more positive disposition towards the West in comparison with themselves. This is a perspective that decreases with age. Thus, citing that the notions of Czech Republic being inferior to the West Europeans still exists. The traits in which Czechs consider typical of themselves, all too similarly resemble latent Oriental themes. In their efforts to model themselves after the West, the Czechs have internalized the traits in which the West deems them inferior. These are the traits of the West’s ‘Other’, ‘The East’. Thus, further research on such a topic would be compelling.

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