DO WE KNOW EACH OTHER?
Public opinion surveys about the historical memory in V4

Ol'ga Gyárfášová
Institute for Public Affairs, Bratislava, www.ivo.sk

Prepared for the international academic conference
My Hero, Your Enemy: Listening to Understand
Prague, 1 – 3 December 2011
Methodological Overview

Public opinion surveys conducted in:
1. Czech Republic (N=999)
2. Hungary (N=1200)
3. Poland (N=979)
4. Slovakia (N=1007)

Samples are representative for the adult population (18+) in each country. Fieldworks carried out in October 2011 by CVVM (Czech Republic), Medián Opinion & Market Research (Hungary), TNS OBOP (Poland), and FOCUS (Slovakia).

Cooperating institutions:
• Sociological Institute, Prague
• Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw
• Central European University, Budapest

The research project is financially supported by International Visegrad Fund.
1. General perception of history
2. Heroes and anti-heroes in national histories
3. What do we know about the history of our neighbors?
4. Evaluation of the historical personalities
5. Evaluation of the historical events
6. Generation gap?
7. Conclusions
In general, looking back on the national history, would you say that you feel to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Very Proud</th>
<th>Rather Proud</th>
<th>Neither/Nor</th>
<th>Rather+Very Ashamed</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IVF, 2011
How would you describe the course of human history overall? It is mainly:

- **Poland**
  - Progress: 54%
  - Neither/nor: 23%
  - Decline: 11%
  - Other response+DK: 12%

- **Hungary**
  - Progress: 23%
  - Neither/nor: 36%
  - Decline: 34%
  - Other response+DK: 7%

- **Czech Republic**
  - Progress: 53%
  - Neither/nor: 24%
  - Decline: 13%
  - Other response+DK: 10%

- **Slovakia**
  - Progress: 39%
  - Neither/nor: 27%
  - Decline: 25%
  - Other response+DK: 9%

Source: IVF, 2011
Content

1. General perception of history
2. Heroes and anti-heroes in national histories
3. What do we know about the history of our neighbors?
4. Evaluation of the historical personalities
5. Evaluation of the historical events
6. Generation gap?
7. Conclusions
Personalities from the national history the Czechs are proud of (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

Source: IVF, 2011.
Personalities from the national history the Hungarians are proud of (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

Source: IVF, 2011.
Personalities from the national history the Poles are proud of (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

- John Paul II: 48%
- J. Pilsudski: 26%
- L. Walesa: 14%
- T. Kosciuszko: 9%
- M.C. Sklodowska: 7%
- Does not exist: 6%
- DK: 19%

Source: IVF, 2011.
Personalities from the national history the Slovaks are proud of (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

![Bar chart showing the responses of Slovaks regarding their national personalities.](chart.png)

- M.R. Štefánik: 32%
- A. Dubček: 32%
- L. Štúr: 24%
- J. Jánošík: 6%
- T.G. Masaryk: 5%
- Does not exist: 9%
- DK: 17%

Source: IVF, 2011.
Personalities from the national history the Czechs are ashamed of (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

Source: IVF, 2011.
Personalities from the national history the Hungarians are ashamed of (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

- M. Rákosi: 18%
- F. Szalasi: 12%
- M. Horthy: 8%
- F. Gyorcsány: 6%
- J. Kádár: 6%
- Does not exist: 34%
- DK: 26%

Source: IVF, 2011.
Personalities from the national history the Poles are ashamed of (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

Source: IVF, 2011.
Personalities from the national history the Slovaks are ashamed of (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

Source: IVF, 2011.
Content

1. General perception of history
2. Heroes and anti-heroes in national histories
3. What do we know about the history of our neighbors?
4. Evaluation of the historical personalities
5. Evaluation of the historical events
6. Generation gap?
7. Conclusions
Which important personalities come to your mind when you think of the Czech history? (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

Václav Havel was named by:
- 40% of Slovaks
- 21% of Poles
- 5% of Hungarians

Any personality from the Czech history cannot be named by:
- 35% of Slovaks
- 72% of Poles
- 89% of Hungarians
Which important personalities come to your mind when you think of the Polish history? (open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

John Paul II. was named by:
- 33% of Slovaks
- 32% of Czechs
- 10% of Hungarians

Any personality from the Polish history cannot be named by:
- 42% of the Czechs
- 58% of the Slovaks
- 80% of the Hungarians
Which important personalities come to your mind when you think of the Hungarian history?
(open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

János Kádár was named by:
- 14% of Czechs
- 5% of Slovaks
- 2% of Poles

Any personality from the Hungarian history cannot be named by:
- 71% of Czechs
- 74% of Slovaks
- 90% of Poles
Which important personalities come to your mind when you think of the Slovak history?
(open-ended question, max 3 responses, % of cases)

Slovak history is the least known for the Hungarians and the Poles.

Czech respondents named:
M.R. Štefánik – 23%
V. Mečiar – 23%
J. Jánošík – 22%
A. Dubček – 20%
J. Tiso – 18%
G. Husák – 13%
Content

1. General perception of the history
2. Heroes and anti-heroes in national histories
3. What do we know about the history of our neighbors?
4. Evaluation of the historical personalities
5. Evaluation of the historical events
6. Generation gap?
7. Conclusions
Evaluation of the historical personalities: Czech perspective

- T.G. Masaryk: 89 positive, 7 neutral, 11 negative, 2 DK
- V. Havel: 71 positive, 18 neutral, 10 negative, 1 DK
- E. Beneš: 56 positive, 26 neutral, 11 negative, 7 DK
- K. Gottwald: 11 positive, 17 neutral, 66 negative, 6 DK
- G. Husák: 9 positive, 22 neutral, 62 negative, 7 DK

Source: IVF 2011
Evaluation of the historical personalities: Slovak perspective

- M.R. Štefánik: 77 positive, 13 neutral, 2 negative, 8 DK
- A. Dubček: 74 positive, 16 neutral, 2 negative, 7 DK
- G. Husák: 14 positive, 36 neutral, 38 negative, 12 DK
- J. Tiso: 14 positive, 28 neutral, 41 negative, 17 DK
- V. Mečiar: 10 positive, 22 neutral, 64 negative, 4 DK

Source: IVF 2011
Evaluation of the historical personalities: Czech and Slovak perspectives

Czech respondents perceive the Czechoslovak presidents more positively than Slovaks. At the same time they see more negatively the representatives of totalitarian regimes.
Evaluation of the historical personalities: Hungarian perspective

Source: IVF 2011
Evaluation of the historical personalities: Polish perspective

- **Jozef Pilsudski**: 78 positive, 13 neutral, 5 negative, 4 DK
- **Jacek Kuroń**: 71 positive, 15 neutral, 5 negative, 9 DK
- **Władysław Sikorski**: 67 positive, 16 neutral, 4 negative, 13 DK
- **Lech Walesa**: 64 positive, 18 neutral, 13 negative, 4 DK
- **Wojciech Jaruzelski**: 25 positive, 24 neutral, 43 negative, 8 DK
- **Władysław Gomułka**: 16 positive, 23 neutral, 45 negative, 16 DK

Source: IVF 2011
Content

1. General perception of history
2. Heroes and anti-heroes in national histories
3. What do we know about the history of our neighbors?
4. Evaluation of the historical personalities
5. Evaluation of the historical events
6. Generation gap?
7. Conclusions
In the recent years important events occurred in Central European countries. Could you evaluate:

**Fall of communist regimes in late 1980s**

- **Poland**: 75% good that it happened, 15% neither/nor, 6% bad that it happened, 4% DK
- **Czech Republic**: 71% good that it happened, 17% neither/nor, 8% bad that it happened, 4% DK
- **Slovakia**: 56% good that it happened, 24% neither/nor, 15% bad that it happened, 5% DK
- **Hungary**: 54% good that it happened, 24% neither/nor, 15% bad that it happened, 7% DK

Source: IVF 2011
In the recent years important events occurred in Central European countries. Could you evaluate:

V4 countries joining EU

Source: IVF 2011
In the recent years important events occurred in Central European countries. Could you evaluate:

V4 countries joining NATO

- **Poland**
  - Good: 62
  - Neither/nor: 14
  - Bad: 2
  - DK: 22

- **Czech Rebublic**
  - Good: 45
  - Neither/nor: 26
  - Bad: 14
  - DK: 15

- **Slovakia**
  - Good: 42
  - Neither/nor: 31
  - Bad: 17
  - DK: 10

- **Hungary**
  - Good: 41
  - Neither/nor: 30
  - Bad: 15
  - DK: 14

Source: IVF 2011
In the recent years important events occurred in Central European countries. Could you evaluate:

Establishing of Visegrad cooperation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Good that it happened</th>
<th>Neither/nor</th>
<th>Bad that it happened</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IVF 2011
In the recent years important events occurred. Could you evaluate:

Reunification of Germany in 1990

Source: IVF 2011
Content

1. General perception of history
2. Heroes and anti-heroes in national histories
3. What do we know about the history of our neighbors?
4. Evaluation of the historical personalities
5. Evaluation of the historical events
6. Generation gap?
7. Conclusions
Fall of communist regimes in late 1980s: it is good that it happened (affirmative responses in 3 generations)

Source: IVF, 2011.
Joining the EU: it is good that it happened (affirmative responses in 3 generations)

Source: IVF, 2011.
Evaluation of the „real socialism“ personalities by 18-24 years old

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personality</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>DK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. Husák/Czechs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Husák/Slovaks</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Kádar</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Gomulka</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IVF 2011
Content

1. General perception of history
2. Heroes and anti-heroes in national histories
3. What do we know about the history of our neighbors?
4. Evaluation of the historical personalities
5. Evaluation of the historical events
6. Generation gap?
7. Conclusions
Conclusions

- Proud on national history highly prevails everywhere but above all in Poland, on the other hand mostly Hungarians see the general course of history as a decline (perception of history is affected by the presence);

- In the perception of national history – positive personalities are more visible – „heroization“ of history?

- Mostly, we cannot see a lot of controversy about the historical personalities, is it ambivalence over the past?

- Large „white places“ in the history of the others, does it mean: „my heroes are unknown to you“;

- Overwhelming majority of Visegrad citizens evaluate the events since 1989 positively; Poles more than the others („return of history“ for newly emerged regional power?)

- Large part of youngest generation does not know the personalities connected with the „real socialism“, Hungary is an exception.
THANK YOU FOR ATTENTION.