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SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 2, March-April 1988

To Be in the Vanguard of Restructuring (On Some of the Journal's Tasks in a Crucial Stage of Society's Development)

18060005a Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88
(signed to press 21 Mar 88) pp 3-5

[Article by A.V. Dmitriyev, editor in chief of the journal
SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA]

[Text] The future of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA is inseparable from the prospects of the development of Soviet sociological science. This obvious assertion requires certain refinements which we would like to present to the readers, and in the new year 1988 there are substantially more of them—14,962 subscribers as compared to 9,891 in December 1987.

I shall begin with the fact that we consider the increased circulation of our academic journal proof of the public's increasing interest in the results of theoretical and empirical research conducted by sociologists in different regions of the country. We are grateful in this connection to our subscribers (unfortunately, the journal has still not entered the retail trade system) and to the authors who have presented their works to the court of the readers.

But still, there is a great deal we have not managed to accomplish. From that let us single out the main thing—we are not always able to lead sociological research and shape its ideology and orientation. A great deal has been accomplished in past years. The journal itself (and all Soviet sociologists know this) is obliged to the authors' collective, its editorial collegium, and the small editorial office headed by the prominent scientist Anatoly Georgiyevich Kharchev, who passed away at the height of his creative powers. Time is fleeting and what pleased us yesterday needs to be qualitatively changed today. The reason for this is an objective one and lies in society's sharply increased demands on the social sciences. In these conditions it is extremely important that SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA not confine itself to the role of propagandist but become a dependable instrument of restructuring.

A situation has taken shape which, evaluated from this standpoint, is internally contradictory. The theoretical sociologist and the applied sociologist in preparing material for publication continually encounter the phenomenon of the limited and fragmented nature of existing empirical information and face the challenge, a difficult one to meet, of correlating the results of their own studies with existing ideological-theoretical views. Such a situation is fairly typical and the researcher generally tries to overcome it in one of two ways. Using his own material which obviously cannot be "tailored" to the

recognized theoretical approaches, he either turns to mythical constructs, abstractions, and illusions, or he restricts himself to a more or less real illustrative picture of the "latest" negative (or positive) phenomenon in the life of society without any theoretical premises, conclusions, or recommendations.

Today, when social scientists must recreate the Leninist conception of socialism in full and overcome dogmatism, the question rises in its full drama: will sociology be able to provide a complete and truthful analysis of today's and yesterday's problems and thereby keep us from repeating the mistakes which mark our distant and recent past?

Unfortunately, although restructuring in our country is gathering strength, we must recognize that on the whole sociology at all levels is only in initial attack positions, and that has a direct effect on the work of the sociologists' printed organ—the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. We recognize that many articles have been published in the journal which make it possible to interpret certain problems critically and in a new way. The reader has supported this trend unequivocally, which is confirmed by the numerous written responses and increased circulation.

However, we cannot fail to note the journal's indecisiveness in studying many key questions of the development of the social sphere in a thorough, comprehensive, and, most importantly, constructive way. In their articles, which are interesting and frequently on critical subjects, many authors who have for the most part rejected social apologetics and assumed a generally critical attitude toward reality still do not present a "working" plan of restructuring in the field of social relations.

One of the most crucial social questions which inevitably touches the interests of every Soviet person to one degree or another involves carrying out radical economic reform. The USSR Law on the State Enterprise (or Association) went into effect with the new year, as everyone knows. A complex process of changing sectors of industry to full cost-accounting and self-financing is underway. Economists and planners are forecasting the economic consequences of the reform in a general approximation. As for the prospects of the work of sociologists who activated research in the field of industrial sociology, there only remains for them to formulate an integrated plan for restructuring the social sphere of production. In this case that means a systems, multivariant, alternative plan of social development under fundamentally new economic conditions rather than linear social planning of the development of the collective, enterprise, and association, which sets one's teeth on edge.

These works should provide answers to the questions which are ignored in theory but are crucial in practical life. For example, are social tension and, as a result, social conflict possible or impossible in production? Are

they ruled out at an enterprise in conditions of full cost accounting, self-financing, and self-support [samookupayemost]? If they are not ruled out, what measures can be suggested to avoid them? Unfortunately, research in the field of social contradictions within the framework of such disciplines as historical materialism and scientific communism can do little to help the applied sociologist in solving these problems. The real economic situation is such that making enterprises self-supporting by taking away their state subsidies is a matter of paramount importance. Obviously, the enterprise bankruptcy and the resulting problem of finding jobs for the workers released must not be ruled out of practice in an environment of the radical reform in the development of competition. The state will naturally assume the task of resolving that problem since in socialist society unemployment must not be considered either a means of pressure on workers or a means of intensification of labor. This problem is a new one and has many sides. At the same time, however, sociologists face the challenge of preventing possible difficulties and together with managers calculating every step in order to prevent possible clashes of different interests—national, local, group, and personal interests.

It is becoming clear that the varied tasks of economic reform and many of its aspects, social aspects above all, need an indepth analysis on the pages of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA.

Another very important direction which we intend to make the focus of attention of the authors and editorial collegium of the journal is the social aspects of democratization in our country. Essentially, democracy as the highest manifestation of socialism is at the beginning of its development—hard historical realities have an effect. In this connection A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, notes that “many phenomena must simply be reinterpreted and essentially analyzed anew. This applies in particular to the whole complex of problems of democracy, the self-management of the people, society, and state, and of the entire structure of the political and economic activity of the new order” [Source 1].

On the whole we must realistically evaluate the present condition of the social sphere. Considering its interrelationship with the economy, which is developing in complex, contradictory conditions, it is plain that no sharp improvement in the well-being of the whole population (not just a few occupational groups) can be expected in the next few years. We need realistic forecasts, if only fairly modest ones but ones still constructed on reliable estimates, which would analyze the prospects of our development. Only then can we count on the workers' trust, which was somewhat undermined in the period of economic stagnation.

The real state of affairs in this area is such that the decisive reorientation of all management and planning organs (both local and central ones) toward the social

expectations of the population has not yet occurred. Implementation of the corresponding directives of the 27th Congress in carrying out socially forceful policy is moving fairly slowly and the inertia of technocratic approaches to the social aspects of the economy is having an effect.

In these conditions avoiding possible disappointment on the part of certain social groups and, as a result, a possible return to the primarily administrative system of management of the economy is our most important task. Inasmuch as preparations for changing to new methods of economic activity were done in an erratic and insufficiently organized way in 1987, it may be assumed that the financial status of many enterprises will be unstable. If we add to this the still not completely resolved problem of providing resources for the capital earned by labor collectives as well as the lack of readiness of the middle and lower management apparatus for the new methods of work, all the difficulties which we will encounter in 1988 and in the next few years become apparent. It is important that these difficulties not undermine faith in the effectiveness of the radical economic reform. Sociologists and economists at enterprises are called upon to give real help to party and economic organs, not only to focus attention on these problems but also to develop concrete recommendations to solve them.

In short, there are more than enough tasks facing researchers. The journal lives by them and does not intend to turn from the path. We will publish more extensive materials on the key questions of democratization and the radical economic reform—two permanent rubrics will be set aside to do that. We also plan to hold debates on the most pressing topics of social development on the journal's pages. We invite future participants in these discussions to provide competent, indepth analysis of the painful problems and formulations of those problems which are not hackneyed and are as penetrating as possible. When these conditions are met, the journal will publish the materials sent promptly (to the degree that is possible for a publication published six times a year).

The journal very much needs to expand its circle of authors. For this purpose we appeal to the social scientists of all republics and regions to focus their efforts on resolving particular problems in various “slices” of theory and practice. Our main demand is professional preparation of the materials offered. In publishing our articles we also intend to provide more detailed coverage of the results of research by sociologists of other countries, the socialist countries above all. In order to overcome the complacency and indifference which is so characteristic of many authors, we expect to publish critical letters and reader responses more often than we have up to now. We will also be grateful for constructive criticism addressed to us.

Imaginary and Real Alienation

18060005b Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
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(signed to press 21 Mar 88) pp 6-13

[Article by Anatoliy Andreyevich Kostin, candidate of philosophical sciences and author of the article "Sociocultural Characteristics of Worker-Intelligentsia Members" published in this journal (No 2, 1980)]

[Text] It is certainly no secret to anyone today that in the period of stagnation spontaneous, uncontrolled processes increasingly swept over society despite the declared principles on the planned nature of our system and conscious management of it solely in the interests of the people. In the economy disproportions intensified, expenses grew inordinately, wage-leveling and shortages had a bad effect on people's sense of well-being, the bureaucratic apparatus irrepressibly swelled, departmental norm-setting flourished, and all kinds of restrictions multiplied. Needless to say, each of these phenomena has its own causes, but at the same they have something in common. These processes represented a form of alienation, that is, a spontaneous force, if not the prevailing one, that in any case conflicted with the real needs and interests of society. In various spheres—economic, social, cultural, state-legal, and ideological—the consequences of the activity came into conflict with the goals proclaimed and unexpected negative results appeared. "The growing gap between the high principles of socialism and the daily reality of life became," in the words of M.S. Gorbachev, "intolerable" [Source 2]. The gap itself became an element of alienation for real processes and problems were tailored to fit frozen, dogmatic ideas.

A great deal has been said recently about the mechanisms of stagnation and retardation but practically nothing about alienation. This term is usually mentioned as an epithet and as one characteristic in a list. There are several reasons for this situation.

The Boomerang Effect

Looking back it is easy to notice that in the recent past interest in the problem of alienation has been one-sided. It used to be customary to believe that socialism along with the abolition of private property and exploitation and enslavement of man by man had also eliminated the worker's alienation from the means of production and products of labor, and in addition the individual's alienation from other individuals. Some Soviet philosophers "exaggerated the terminological originality of Marx's early works and proposed rejecting the category of 'alienated labor' altogether as something overcome by the author himself and able to lead only to wrong interpretations of Marxist positions which had already been established," notes R.I. Kosolapov [Source 4]. Sometimes, it is true, the viewpoint is expressed that the manifestation of alienation is possible under socialism. But division of labor and progressive specialization,

which leads to a person locked in a narrow sphere of occupational activity and prevents the individual from assimilating all the wealth of social practice, are considered the main reasons for that. In our opinion, this approach suffers from technocratism and interprets the essence of alienation in a one-sided way.

Of course, the philosophical-sociological category "alienation" expresses "the objective transformation of a person's activity and its results into an independent force which dominates that person and is hostile to him and, related to this, the person's transformation from an active subject into an object of the social process" [Source 5]. In itself this view of the essence of alienation is not objectionable and has become established in our literature. However, we must bear the following circumstance in mind. In the 1960's-1970's the approach to the problem was to a significant extent formulated under the influence of the challenges of the ideological struggle and criticism of capitalism which was largely romantic in nature. The developed capitalist countries' entering the stage of comprehensive mechanization and automation, significant advances in social-class structure, the greater role of the state, and at the same time liberalization of sociopolitical institutions all demanded that traditional notions of the mechanisms of exploitation and the contradictions between labor and capital be refined. The idea of alienation undoubtedly opened up new heuristic possibilities for evaluating the processes underway and substantially expanded the methodological base of analysis.

At the same time, however, the significance of this phenomenon was absolutized in many works. This reflected above all the superficial and all-embracing critical attitude toward capitalism which had taken strong root in our social science. The conception of alienation was used by certain authors chiefly to question the fact of capitalism's entering a new stage of its development. They tried to present alienation as a universal, all-embracing mechanism of the functioning of capitalist society and the main source of antagonistic contradictions in all spheres of life activity. The criticism of capitalism from the angle of alienation which was widespread in the West also fostered this view. Many of its positions were simply borrowed mechanically with no consideration of those ideological-theoretical traditions within which the different schools of criticism developed.

Overemphasis on the universal features and humanistic and culturological aspects of the topic (whose analysis is certainly necessary) meant that the problem to a significant extent lost its scientific definition, became bloated, and took on a number of questions which went beyond that definition and had independent significance (existence and consciousness, theory and practice, "opredmechivaniye" [Marxist term for incorporating an object in the sphere of human activity] and "raspredmechivaniye" [Marxist term for embodying human capabilities in an object] and the like).

The ideological taboo which existed at that time to no small extent accounted for the actual neglect of the problem of alienation during the study of socialism. Inasmuch as alienation was considered exclusively a destructive mechanism, there could have been no discussion of using the concept when analyzing the steady and natural progress of socialism. Extreme zeal in criticizing capitalism and bourgeois ideology proved to be a clumsy job that was a disservice to domestic science. The idea of alienation became such a universal approach that even though it was based on the principles of K. Marx, it nonetheless was frequently interpreted as a revision of Marxism-Leninism and an attempt to reconsider long-accepted truths. Defending those truths from the myth created by their own hands was also far from harmless. For example, socialism was contrasted with capitalism as real humanism come to replace the reign of alienation. There is no denying that socialism is an order which by nature is humanistic. But making the above-mentioned characteristic paramount without properly correlating it with the particular historical conditions and stages of development of the new society brought confusion to the theoretical notions about socialism and in fact justified stagnation and the gap between declared principles and their realization.

Sociocultural factors also made an adequate formulation of the question more difficult. From the socioeconomic standpoint, alienation arises as a problem not simply related to labor, but when contradictions exist in the functioning of property whose character is also dictated by the method of inclusion of individuals in labor activity and the appropriation of that activity's results. Accordingly, conflict of interests and forms of their realization are the basis of this phenomenon. A most important role in the latter case belongs to power relationships, and if one takes it more broadly, to government. Unfortunately, during stagnation these questions were not discussed at all. The social sciences' superficial, optimistic interpretation of the problems mentioned was combined with an oversimplified approach to them in practice. All this prevented people from adequately evaluating the conflicts which arise here. Incidentally, one of the necessary conditions for the existence of alienation is recognition of the real contradictions (both in mass consciousness and on the theoretical level) in changed form. Is the circumstance just mentioned not proof of alienation?

In short, in the period of stagnation a number of processes and phenomena took place (sharp conflict of social, collective, and personal interests, serious violations in the sphere of distribution, the distancing of workers from participation in resolving problems vitally important to them), some of whose features allow us to raise the question of the existence of elements of alienation in the mechanisms of their action. That demands theoretical interpretation of the problem in the context of the development of socialism. We must calmly and without prejudice figure out whether the new society is inheriting this problem from capitalism along with other

ones or whether conditions which help reproduce alienation arise at certain stages of the building of socialism. What are the historical limits and logical framework of this problem in general? In other words, what contradictions is alienation related to and what are the empirical indicators of its manifestation?

Democratic and Bureaucratic Centralism

For theoretical understanding it is important to analyze what is taking place in relations between property and power and with the system of interests during the transition from capitalism to socialism. Can one say that socialist revolution automatically entails eliminating people's alienation in labor and in other spheres of social life? It creates the most important political prerequisites for this—it establishes power which operates in the name of and in the interests of the working people. In addition, the new society comes from capitalism and "consequently in all relations, economic, moral, and intellectual, it still preserves birthmarks of the old society" [Source 1]. As for our state, "We took power in a country whose economy permitted socialist revolution, but this economy could not be a ready base for socialist society. Economic prerequisites for revolution and the economic base of socialism are different things" [Source 6].

Abolishing private ownership of the means of production, nationalizing banks, land, and some large industrial enterprises, and changing to planned management of the economy all were the basis for eliminating exploitation of labor by capital and, consequently, alienation. At the same time, however, the main condition for overcoming it is socialization of the means of production. And that does not mean formal socialization where plants, factories, and land are controlled by the working people and their representative organs. Historically it is a beginning and socioeconomically restricted stage. It is a necessary prerequisite for creating a system of political and management-economic relations which guarantee the organic combination of state, collective, and personal interests. Here public interest should operate as the most effective "advantageous" form of realizing the needs of different social groups. Its priority is dictated by the need to insure equal access to the means of production, concentration of forces in the main decisive directions of economic development, and fair (in accordance with the basic principle of socialism) distribution of the results of labor. The priority of public interest is in fact real rather than formal when the private interest of some group or groups does not acquire the features of the universal ones. In that situation alienation arises sooner or later.

In this way the problem of combining interests rests upon the question of the forms of property and the forms of controlling it. In the latter case this refers above all to methods of planning and management and the interrelationships of centralism and economic independence.

In our country the process of changing private ownership of the means of production to public ownership and consolidating it as primary passed through four stages [Source 7]. In the first stage its principles were consolidated in the RSFSR Constitution of 1918—ways to construct a new economy were merely sought and on the whole collectivization took place on the basis of democratic centralism. The second stage—"war communism"—required changing to rigid centralism where enterprises lost economic independence and internal working capital. The NEP [New Economic Policy], which began the third stage, was supposed to vitalize economic life and raise economic incentive, and that presupposed combining different forms of ownership. In the 1920's such forms of public ownership as factory-plant ownership, cooperative ownership, and family ownership began to be established in addition to state ownership. Cost accounting was extensively introduced. The NEP, in the opinion of the historian I. Vyrodov, continued in diminishing form until 1934-1936.

In the late 1920's rigid administrative methods began to disseminate just one of the forms of public ownership: all-people's ownership, above all in industry, and cooperative-kolkhoz ownership, in agriculture. Over time it has in fact become state ownership (kolkhozes, it is true, retained formal independence). The confirmation of these relations marked the fourth stage. The prerequisites for the manifestation of alienation of labor received special development at that time: producers (labor collectives) were separated from the means of production, since in reality departments were in charge of the means of production. In 1952 it was declared that the state was the owner of the means of production in the USSR [Source 7]. Continual consolidation of its economic function was accompanied by increased numbers of administrative levels. The central management apparatus, which was being reduced under Lenin, grew to unprecedented size: in 1922 there were 11 people's committees, in 1940-40, in 1974-60 ministries, and in 1987—more than 100. As a result, "Labor collectives became simple agents of the will of the departments, while the direct producers, people, became virtually hired workers. The laborer was distanced from the means of production and democratic centralism in the economy took the form of bureaucratic centralism" [Source 7].

Whose Interests Does the Department Satisfy?

Relations of all-people's ownership became contradictory in practice. From the legal point of view they include three features: ownership, management, and use. The state in the person of the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet acts as the nominal owner of fixed production capital. The former makes decisions on building production capacities and putting them on line, on the basic proportions in the economy, on the total volume and products list of production, and so on. The latter ratifies these decisions by adopting laws on state plans of economic and social development. But the

departments are the real owner of the means of production and in part of the output produced. Although they are also guided by the state plan, the functions of managing all-people's property they carry out frequently become goals in themselves. Based on departmental interests, they again and again plan the production of obsolete output which is not in demand, adjust plans, build production facilities which duplicate one another, create above-plan stocks of material assets, leave expensive equipment standing idle and rusting, and so on and so forth. The enterprises' labor collectives directly carry out the functions of using all-people's property. But deprived of any independence and opportunity to handle the means of production as they see fit, labor collectives perform this function very inefficiently. It cannot be otherwise, for the particular production activity is to a significant extent regulated directly by the higher-ranking offices. Ministries hand down a multitude of indicators to enterprises—indicators of labor productivity, introduction of new equipment, incorporation of new facilities, and the like. Labor collectives do not even act as users but as mechanical agents of the departments' will. More than enough has been said about the negative operational and economic consequences of this practice. But the deformation of the functions of all-people's ownership and the relations among its subjects had not only negative economic but also social results. The extreme concentration of power in the hands of the departments resulted in the direct interests of the collectives being in opposition to their interests as co-owners of all-people's property. They were realized in distorted and consequently alienated forms. Attempts were made to satisfy collective and to a significant extent personal interests not through more efficient use of the existing means of production but at the expense of neighbors, associated industries, consumers, and the state. In conditions where administrative methods of management prevailed this inevitably turned into wage-leveling, that is, the confiscation and redistribution of a large part of the results of labor, and consequently social wealth. Inasmuch as these measures were carried out under the banner of the priority of state and all-people's interests, for collectives the latter became if not extraneous, then at the very least a matter of indifference.

Of course, to the extent that the fundamental reform of management of the economy is carried out, the enterprises will shift to the new conditions of economic activity envisioned by the Law on the Production Enterprise (or Association), and a great deal of what we just talked about will become a thing of the past. But the problem of the optimal combination of social, collective, and personal interests constantly arises and will continue to arise with the transition to each new stage of socio-economic development. It is especially important to understand the mechanisms of the contradictions that exist here now. First, since restructuring inevitably affects the interests of all the main social-occupational groups of our society, some people are deprived of traditional privileges and some people are forced to compromise their egoistic interests. Secondly, the

notions and stereotypes which have become established over the decades are very tenacious, as everyone knows.

We must dwell on the spiritual aspect of the problem under study in a little more detail. For the changed forms of recognition of contradictions are an inseparable element of alienation.

To Be Or To Seem?

It is difficult to find a word which contradicts the concept of "ownership" more than the expression "no one's." However, it is precisely this attitude toward public property which has become established in mass consciousness. The fact that many workers have ceased to consider themselves masters in the collective and at the enterprise is perhaps the clearest evidence of this. Let us turn in this connection to the results of a study. (In 1987 2,150 workers and 345 experts at two Kaluga plants as well as 250 representatives of the elected party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol aktiv at the Gorkiy Automobile Plant were surveyed). Only 27.7 percent of the automobile plant workers answered affirmatively to the question "Do you have a sense of being the master of the enterprise?" In Kaluga the respondents were supposed to determine what number of the members of their brigades could be categorized as leading workers with a developed proprietary attitude toward work who performed their duties conscientiously and well and combined them with social work. Of those surveyed 19.3 percent stated that they did not know such people, 24.7 percent encountered such workers very rarely, and in the opinion of 16.0 percent approximately one-third of the workers were like that. Similar results were obtained during a survey conducted in the labor collectives of Lipetsk Oblast and Stavropol Kray. There only 21.1 percent of those surveyed felt themselves to be masters of production [Source 8]. Frequently the person who expresses this opinion cannot clearly explain how this sense of being a master is manifested. The point, of course, is not only and not so much the inability to clearly express one's own thoughts. In conditions where property appears to be "no one's" and free, and with less control over who disposes of this property and how, the sense of being master proves to lack meaning [Source 8].

This problem finds expression in the most varied aspects of the production situation, for example in the system of labor payment. Even at the Kaluga Turbine Plant, one of the pioneers in incorporating the brigade contract in the incentive system, there are serious problems. About 40 percent of the workers believe that their salary does not correspond to their labor contribution, so they do not experience "a desire to work better and show activism." Nor does the practice of using the KTU [coefficient of labor participation] give reason for hope. It is frequently used only to punish laggards in the brigade (32.3 percent) and does not give enough incentive for achieving high final results (25.2 percent), and frequently the same coefficient is set for everyone—without consideration of the individual contribution (24.4 percent). Let us note

that back in the early 1920's a precise procedure in the payment sphere was regarded as one of the most important principles of economic development. "The system of set contributions to the state budget by enterprises to finance social insurance benefits should be so simple and clear that the relationship between productivity and wages can be understood by every worker and employee" [Source 3].

The forms of economic activity which became established in the past generated a special type of economic behavior by workers based on separation and even opposition of personal and public interests. A skeptical attitude toward the possibility of combining them successfully is still widespread today. The results of a survey conducted by the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ural Department with slightly more than 100 of the region's enterprises is instructive in this regard. To the question "Will your enterprise's switching to the new conditions of labor payment increase the worker's material and moral incentive and bring the person's interests closer to the enterprise's interests?" only 30 percent of the directors, 15 percent of the brigade leaders, 17 percent of the foremen, 12 percent of the engineering-technical personnel, and 22 percent of the workers answered affirmatively. Various forms of the answer "It is hard to say" garnered about half the votes [Source 9].

The Power of Stereotypes and the Stereotypes of Power

Contradictions in mass consciousness were formed not only under the influence of socioeconomic factors, but also under the influence of negative processes in the spiritual-ideological sphere. In the years of stagnation people were most often seen as a proving ground where certain worldview abstractions could be tested. The rational, abstract-educational approach gained a foothold in indoctrinational work. The main task was viewed as forming the individual with a set of programmed social characteristics which were in fact in no way related to that individual's real interests and needs. In developing indicators of the efficiency of ideological work, attention was directed first of all to creating all kinds of models and standards such as "personality traits characteristic of the inhabitant of the model communist city." Although this type of ideological-indoctrinational work conformed very little to people's vital needs, its scope and intensity, one could even say totality, resulted in people beginning to take many stereotypes and abstractions for reality itself. The set of ideas thrust upon a person formed a special area which predominated over daily concerns and affairs. It is precisely through one-dimensionality, pseudocollectivism, and an uncritical perception of reality that a person is alienated from real social values and interests. Their replacement with ideological stock phrases involuntarily turned into disillusionment when life made people faced sharp contradictions. "Personal encounters with various forms of social injustice," noted T.I. Zaslavskaya, "and the futility of

attempts at individual struggle against its manifestations became one of the main reasons for the alienation of some workers from social goals and values" [Source 10].

Elements of alienation are directly manifested in the sphere of sociopolitical relations. In the years of stagnation, A.P. Butenko emphasizes, "Those forms of management of production became established where workers were excluded from managing enterprises and made mere performers of labor functions and working people found themselves outside the mechanism which distributes the production product and income and were alienated from real power, even though power acted in their name" [Source 11]. A specific mechanism arose which reproduced this contradiction. Numerous offices, official and unofficial etiquette, and special rituals which justify "division of labor," that is, division of rights and duties in the field of management, appeared. Deviation or attempts to question these precepts were considered infringement on state-wide interests (but in reality on the narrow group interests of managers), or at best as the incompetency of rank-and-file citizens.

Working people's formal participation in management could not fail to have a negative effect on their political sophistication and civic position. Judging from the data of the study just mentioned, about half the workers have an indifferent attitude toward sociopolitical activity and approximately 40 percent of those surveyed do not want to take part in the work of elected organs. On the level of the primary labor collective only 7.5 percent of the respondents are to one extent or another involved in leadership, although the overwhelming majority would like to be involved on a regular basis.

Today the desire to assume responsibility serves as an indicator of readiness for changes. In this connection the answers to the following question are telling: "People say that restructuring must begin with ourselves. Do you agree with that assertion?" Only 20.6 percent of those surveyed agreed. Of those surveyed 63.4 percent believe that restructuring should begin with the leadership, and 16.0 percent declined to answer. The respondents understand the essence and meaning of democratization in different ways. The following opinion is most often encountered: "Democratization is freedom of speech, of the individual, and of criticism; the opportunity to choose leaders and equality and justice in everything; and expansion of the rights of the working class." And although most of those surveyed support the course being followed, nonetheless 28.4 percent stated that "Democratization is the latest campaign, everything is the same as before in our brigade"; 16.3 percent believe that changes must be carried out first of all "at the top," and "our affairs are secondary."

Performing the central tasks of restructuring—radical reform of the economy and the consistent and firm establishment of democracy—presupposes fundamental changes in our society; among other things strengthening the economic and legal guarantees of the realization of

the interests of various social groups is of primary significance. The working people's real participation in management is not simply a tribute to democratism and humanistic ideals. It is a necessary condition for progressive development of the economy.

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New Guidelines for Social Planning in Regions
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[Article by Oleg Sergeyevich Pchelintsev, candidate of economic sciences and chief of the laboratory of regional social policy and settlement systems of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and Forecasting of Scientific-Technical Progress, who previously published a review in the journal (No 2, 1978, coauthor), and Grigoriy Samuilovich Ronkin, candidate of economic sciences and senior scientific associate of the same laboratory]

[Text] Prospects of regional development of the USSR are being determined today by economic reform and the national economy's transition to an intensification footing. Cities and regions are the territorial basis of the

development of intensification. But in previous stages regional policy was essentially reduced to republic, kray, and oblast approval of the departmental decisions from the "center" focused on increasing the number of large enterprises, many of which operated with obsolete technology. The types of resources and models of development which did not come under the doctrine of "heavy industrialization" were neglected and social questions were regarded in a distorted way—through the prism of the cadre needs of extensive production.

This had many negative consequences: interdepartmental barriers were strengthened and unsubstantiated differentiation in production of national income, labor productivity, and living conditions among individual regions, large and small cities, and urban and rural areas intensified.

The evaluation of the negative phenomena in our economy as precrisis phenomena, given at the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is also fully applicable to the regional economies. The goals of regional policy—faster development of the macrozone of the East and the South and modernization of the production apparatus of the established rayons—are being realized too slowly. Performance of the most important regional programs—development of the BAM [Baikal-Amur Trunk Line] zone, boosting of agriculture in the Nonchernozem Zone, and development of the West-Siberian Oil and Gas Complex—is behind schedule. The ecological problems of the Aral Sea, Baikal, and the old industrial rayons are becoming worse.

A kind of "regional edition" of the mechanism of retardation has taken shape. This role is played by extensive growth of production and mass construction of new enterprises (with obsolete technology) in regions to the detriment of the development of the infrastructure and the social sphere. Just the fact that adoption of sectorial proposals for the development of Eastern Siberia (including such questionable hydroelectric projects as the Middle-Yenisey and Turukhanskiy GES's) would require that the volume of construction and installation work in the region's industry in the 13th Five-Year Plan be increased by more than 80 percent indicates the scale of the economic strain that results from this. But at the same time the enterprises already built there are being used at just two-thirds of their planned capacities, and they are only 80 percent staffed with cadres.

The mechanisms of regional development and the systems of territorial organization and management which have become established must be restructured. Regional development should become an independent instrument for growth in the economy and greater well-being and for overcoming the sectorial principle.

The social aspect of regional policy—creation of territorial conditions for mobilizing the human factor and realization of the population's life plans with consideration of the historical features of the particular rayons—

is no less important. Development of self-management and support of local initiative is the key to overcoming bureaucratic centralism which forms one of the main elements of the mechanism of retardation.

Performing these tasks is inseparably tied to the strategy of intensification. The country's regions are not taking up the path of intensification at the same time. However, the differences in the ratio of intensive and extensive sources of growth among zones should not be considered a deviation from the unified strategy of intensification. Such a "differentiated" approach leads to increased feelings of dependency and becomes justification for the extensive, resource-wasting strategies of developing Siberia and the North and for stagnant tendencies in the development of the republics of Central Asia. Moreover, even from a formal standpoint this approach must not be called justified, since it is the rate of growth of the total efficiency of resources rather than the proportion of intensive factors which serves as the main gage of intensification. So we can only speak of different methods of realizing this strategy and differentiation by zones of its main lines of action.

The following will be those directions in the European zone:

- territorial integration of science and production and the creation of scientific-production complexes in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Gorkiy, Sverdlovsk, and elsewhere;
- reconversion of the old industrial rayons of the Urals and the Donbass as well as the oblasts of the Center which specialize in light industry production;
- accelerated development of the agrocomplex of the suburban rayons of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR and increasing specialization of its remote rayons in the functions of organizing leisure and nature conservation.

In Siberia the center of gravity of regional policy should be changed to the southern rayons. It is there in the large cities that an independent Siberian scientific-production base (a system of regional capitals) should be created that will help intensify the process of developing Siberia's natural resources.

In the north for the most part "tour of duty" (mobile) settlements closely tied to the south's base cities will build the zones. This presupposes a differentiated approach to the different groups of migrants—seasonal, temporary (for several years), and those coming for permanent residence. Specific incentives and different forms of labor agreements and forms for providing the social infrastructure are used for each group.

In the Far East zone the primary task is linking regional development with the system of foreign economic ties and entering the world market on a large-scale basis (not just with raw materials).

There are acute problems in developing Central Asia and Kazakhstan, which will account for virtually all the increase in labor resources in the future, as is well known. These resources are not very mobile: the population leaving Central Asia makes up only an insignificant share of its natural increase, and persons of the indigenous nationality are underrepresented in it. Because of the low rate of industrial development agrarian overpopulation has become quite widespread. The volume of work on a sponsorship basis is excessive. Thus, hundreds of thousands of citizens and teenage school children, but at the same time, according to data of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, only one-third of the workers of agriculture itself, are recruited for the cotton harvest.

It would be a good idea to create large industrial-agrarian associations to solve the region's problems. This will make it possible to reduce the area planted to cotton and expand the production of fruits, grapes, melons, and other vegetables and will create incentive for some of the rural population to move to the cities and change to industrial occupations. Interrepublic production associations could be a useful tool of regional policy; it is easier to set up occupational training of young people and carry on planned relocation of certain labor resources for temporary work in other rayons and republics in them. The network of *tekhnikums* and vocational-technical schools must be developed and the quality of school instruction must be fundamentally improved in the small cities and villages of the republics of Central Asia.

Intensification makes it necessary to restructure the instruments of regional policy.

First of all the criteria of selection and the procedures for conducting expert appraisals of large-scale regional projects must be made tougher. Some projects—large GES's on lowland rivers, giant plants with obsolete technology and the monosectorial cities created with them and large industrial objects in ecologically damaged or "supersaturated" rayons—should be excluded from economic practice. Only in that way can the processes of reconstruction, agroindustrial and scientific-production integration, and clean-up of cities and settlements be activated.

When siting production facilities, the criteria of economic efficiency should be more fully taken into account—in accordance with the demands of reform. The main thing now is changing from narrowly sectorial, "plant" reconstruction to territorial reconstruction. That means decentralizing large cities, moving enterprises and sectors, and creating a network of branch locations and specialized shops. To do that, special industrial and

scientific-technical zones ("promuzly" [industrial centers]) must be organized in suburban rayons for lease to enterprises. It is precisely this direction of the activity of local soviets which in conditions of reform is becoming the main lever of planned impact on siting production and carrying out a differentiated (by zones and regions) scientific-technical policy.

Shaping of settlement patterns has been and continues to be one of the most important questions of regional social policy.

Accelerated growth of cities was the main pattern of development of the settlement system in the USSR for the long period of industrialization. The size of the urban population increased from 63.1 million people in 1940 to 182.9 million in 1986 [Source 1], while the size of the rural population declined (for the most part through migration into the cities) from 131 million people to 95.9 million people [Source 1]. This process did not occur at an even rate: while the urban population in the RSFSR declined from 72.2 million people to 38.8 million, in Uzbekistan, for example, it increased from 4.9 million to 10.7 million [Source 1].

In time this unevenness will intensify. Because of exhaustion of the resources for rural migration in the RSFSR, growth not only of small and medium-sized cities but of many large cities as well—practically all urban settlements with less than 250,000 inhabitants—will stop.

Analyzing urbanization is becoming decisive in choosing the settlement policy. Until recently this process went on in an extensive manner, for the most part along the path of building new cities and urban-type settlements and mechanically expanding those that existed. In the future emphasis will be put on reconstruction and fix-up and new forms of settlement will become widespread, forms which are taking shape in the process of developing urban agglomeration and which are supposed to combine the advantages of the urban and the rural way of life.

The conception of interrelated development of neighboring urban and rural settlements on the basis of a unified transport infrastructure and services network is the practical expression of this idea. The economic and sociocultural benefits of a large city are thus combined with the ecological potential of the intercity periphery.

Let us explain. The problem of overcoming social differences between the city and the countryside has two sides: 1) modernizing the urban population's way of life and 2) compensating for the negative consequences of population density in large and very large cities. To do this, however, their development must go beyond the traditional urban boundary and rely to an ever greater extent on the resources of the intercity periphery. It has become necessary to turn major cities into urbanized rayons. As this process develops the center of gravity of housing and

civil construction will move to rural areas. And that involves changing the type of housing itself—changing to well-appointed low-rise individual and interlocking buildings.

A special strategy should be developed for other forms of settlement (the numerous cities and rural settlements which do not fall into the gravitational zones of large centers)—primarily autonomous development based on combining industry and agriculture with nature conservation, reforestation, and recreational functions.

The formation of a more developed living environment—the social and spatial basis of the new reproduction mechanism—is inseparably tied to settlement policy. Only through fundamentally improving living conditions throughout the settlement system can structural restructuring of the economy and activation of social policy be carried out.

We are speaking of creating a new mechanism of management of territorial development. Its basis is decentralization and a greater role for local soviets and restructuring of their activity on the basis of combining the functions of state management and social self-management.

Based on the traditional identification of management with direct administrative power, it would make sense to consider only those spheres of the economy of rayons which are directly subordinate to local organs as the object of territorial management. In reality management does not envision just direct "command" [rasporyaditelstvo]. And territorial management, unlike sectorial management, for the most part deals with economic objects which are equal and not subordinate to one another or to local organs. Therefore, methods of coordination are especially important here.

Restructuring should encompass all links of territorial management—preplanning study, planning, the economic mechanism, organizational and legal forms, and information support. In the area of design planning, the time has come to develop all-Union and regional schemes of development of the construction base and the sectors of the infrastructure.

Formulating programs of development of the system of jobs for each region and city would help increase the social orientation of territorial plans. And it is important to remove really bad (and not simply vacant) jobs and create an effective territorial mechanism of job placement and social assistance to liberated workers.

Improving territorial cost accounting relations is a most important direction of the restructuring of management. Only on this basis can social and ecological balance of regional development be insured, the solution of the housing problem be sped up, and the cities and settlements be fixed up.

Intensification is incompatible with preserving territorial dependence. In the future regions and cities must change from petitioners for resources to active subjects of economic life, and on some questions (setting up intersectorial ties, developing the infrastructure) they must become the real leaders of intensification. That demands that small enterprises which do not become part of production associations be turned over to local subordination and that the scientific-planning base of local organs be strengthened.

The ambiguity of the concept "territorial cost accounting" should be noted. In speaking of it, the following things are usually meant: 1) cost accounting in the sectors of local subordination and balanced local budgets; 2) the total results of cost-accounting activity of enterprises and associations located in the rayon's territory; 3) the totality of economic relations which arise in the process of local organs regulating enterprises and the redistribution of financial profits and losses related to that.¹

The existing approaches to evening out levels of regional development must also be reviewed. This problem traditionally arouses sharp debate. The same mechanisms of social comparison which make evening out the incomes of social groups necessary are being used more and more often to compare the standards of living of different territorial communities. However, the theoretical goal of evening them out is not backed up by a real guarantee of the corresponding standards of living conditions and is not correlated with the tasks of increasing production efficiency both within individual regions and on the scale of the entire country. At the same time, however, the content of this process will be determined above all by the interests of accelerating socioeconomic development. In some cases that requires increasing territorial concentration and creating zones of rapid economic growth and scientific-technical progress. Thus, that should mean increasing demands on territorial development, increasing the contribution of all republics and rayons to achieving all-Union goals, evening out regional levels of employment and productivity, and evening out labor activism.

In the area of consumption this approach means: a) the need for all rayons to reach the norms of the comprehensive standard (the socially-guaranteed minimum) of living conditions in every plan period; and b) close correlation of the continued rise in prosperity with the rayon's successes in economic development based on territorial cost-accounting relations.

Precise norm-setting is the main thing here. The standards for construction norms and rules (SNiP) which are now being used in planning the social infrastructure are not appropriate for this goal. The point is that a large part of them essentially determine the need for services without taking into account the realistic possibilities of satisfying them in this plan period.

Regional standards should be correlated with the level of prosperity achieved and the state's resource potential. To do this they must express not the maximally but, on the contrary, the minimally acceptable levels of satisfaction of needs met through the society's capital (social guarantees). When this question is solved, further increases in the standards of living in regions should be made more closely dependent on raising the efficiency of their economies.

Overcoming departmentalism is a most important task of regional social policy.

At the present time distribution of capital to the social infrastructure is for the most part done by industrial ministries through enterprises. However, a principle which could serve as social justification of departmental distribution—insuring that enterprises which work the same have equal social consumption funds figured per person employed—is not being observed.

The interaction of departmental service systems with the state system is not regulated. There is no reliable norm system. Legal and social control is weak. Given the acute shortage of construction capabilities, this leads to production capital investment being incorporated first of all while projects in the social sphere are considered secondary.

The question arises of why, despite the numerous decrees on the activation of the territorial organs, the sectors and enterprises are holding an ever-stronger position with respect to development of the social infrastructure. The reason is simple: in conditions of a sectorial system the local soviets have no construction base or specialists to build and operate the objects of the social sphere. Only enterprises and organizations have all this. Departmentalism cannot be limited without a nationwide transition to distribution of resources for social purposes primarily on the territorial principle.

Departmental practice has generated its own theoreticians. They say, for example, that the development of the social sphere of enterprises is an important part of distribution by labor and the best means of insuring social justice in relations among labor collectives. However, analysis of the provision of the social infrastructure with departmental objects conducted on the example of the Lithuanian SSR by M.P. Matsyulevichyute confirms that differences which exist in this area are chaotic and not linked with the quality of the enterprises' work [Source 3].

Small enterprises in large cities, all enterprises in small settlements, and enterprises which do not have their own construction base are below average.

The principle of preferential allocation of capital to workers of newly launched enterprises, despite all its apparent attractiveness, seems upon closer consideration

irrational, since it gives ministries incentive for new construction and holds back reconstruction and technical reequipping of existing objects.

The very idea that enterprises build projects in the social sphere mainly through their own resources is wrong too. In reality, ministries finance construction of large objects of the social infrastructure from state budget capital. The relations between ministries and enterprise managers serve as the criterion for allocating capital, while the experience of these managers in using resources allocated for construction of objects of the social sphere in the preceding years serves as the guideline. In other words, the all-too-well-known practice of planning "based on what has been achieved" is reproduced.

As for the higher quality of departmental service, it is accounted for by much greater expenditure of capital per unit of services rendered and the restricted access to consumers who do not belong to the given department.

The situation which became established was a result of the weakness of the economic mechanism, where enterprises were essentially indifferent to expenses, including expenses for maintaining objects of the social sphere, and therefore there was no incentive to enter into cooperation.

In this way, realization of the party course to expand the economic independence of enterprises and production associations largely depends on solving the problem of departmentalism. For their participation in constructing and operating objects of the social sphere (as well as in producing certain consumer goods and rendering paid services and creating subsidiary farms) is frequently mandatory, and in terms of negative impact on production efficiency in no way differs from the infamous "naturalization"—forced growth of auxiliary shops and service offices given the unreliability of material-technical supply and low delivery discipline.

I would like to mention in this connection one negative consequence of departmentalism which is not always noted but is especially dangerous from the standpoint of scientific-technical progress. I am referring to the high cadre turnover at new enterprises which have not yet managed to create "their own" social infrastructure. As a result, modern equipment is used in a worse way than the obsolete equipment, and technically backward enterprises get the opportunity to avoid reconstruction for decades.

One of the most important questions which departmentalism poses is evaluating the level of development of the social sphere. For the accessibility of its objects to various population groups proves to be completely different, and so the traditional gages like the SNIIP norms are not appropriate and new ones—almost for every ministry—must be worked out.

So, the departmental principle in organizing the social infrastructure is objectively focused against the independence of enterprises and prevents their real economic orientation; makes real self-financing more difficult and is inseparably tied to the dependent practice of enterprises using state budget allocations for social needs; leads to injustice in distribution; and checks scientific-technical progress. Normative distribution of services of departmental objects of the social infrastructure with reinforcement of some of them by ispolkoms (as is done for housing) could be a way out of the situation. It would also be a good idea to introduce normative (proportional to the number of personnel) allocations for social needs for state budget organizations.

In coordinating enterprise plans of social development with the plans of local soviets, consideration should be given, in addition to the needs of labor collectives, to the needs of the social-territorial communities which stand behind them. This can serve as the basis for joint construction and operation of objects of the social infrastructure by enterprises and local soviets.

The normative base is a most important question. Ministries should be made accountable for the normative level of development of the social infrastructure for each subdepartmental labor collective. Taken together these norms should insure the necessary level of social services for the region's entire population.

In connection with the discussion of the problems of territorial cost accounting, voices are now being heard which say that those enterprises which already have their own social funds should be freed from paying for employees—otherwise, they say, it will be double payment. In reality such a "differentiated" approach would make the whole idea of territorial cost accounting meaningless. And practically all large and old enterprises would be freed (completely or partially) from paying for employees. In addition, the question of what norm to use to calculate enterprise social expenditures would have to be resolved. For the cost of maintaining, for example, one square meter of department-owned housing space is frequently many times higher than the cost of maintaining the same meter in the housing resources under the jurisdiction of the gorispolkom.

It seems that standardization of the payment for employees for all enterprises is the right decision. That will create major incentive for handing over departmental objects of the social infrastructure to local soviets.

In this way, the functions of social planning must be clearly divided among labor collectives and territorial organs (even though this decision is complicated by the sharp difference in the social potential of large and small enterprises).

The tasks of social development which are to be performed on the level of enterprises are clearly delimited by the sphere of labor and the boundaries of the plant

territory. They are reconstruction and modernization of production, elimination of inefficient jobs, and improvement of working conditions. Only those objects of the social infrastructure which are directly related to production support (dispensaries and special polyclinics in sectors with difficult and harmful working conditions) should remain under the direct management of enterprises and associations. Most of the capital being spent for building and maintaining departmental nonproduction facilities should be used in cash form to give incentive to the best workers.

Enterprises shifting to full cost accounting is incompatible with continuing the practice of subsidizing their social development "from the top," from the state budget. The enterprises themselves should earn all the capital for housing and other social needs. And even more, all centralized state capital investments for housing and civil construction and the upkeep of cities and settlements should be handed over to the soviets. Only then can equal access to socially necessary services of the social infrastructure for all labor collectives which are working at a profit and all categories of the population be insured.

The development of various forms of local self-management necessary for the democratization of the country's economic and social life and for creation of real counterbalances to the sectorial system is becoming a fundamentally new task of regional policy. It has become necessary to develop economic and legal foundations of public participation in managing the socioeconomic development of densely populated places. It would be a good idea, among other things, to discuss extensively the questions of organizing leisure, preserving public order and the environment, bringing up children, and protecting the interests of consumers.

Footnote

1. The terms "territorial cost accounting relations" or "elements of territorial cost accounting" may be more precise. For more details see [Source 2].

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Cost Accounting in Institutions of Culture
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[Article by Olga Vladlenovna Mazun, junior scientific associate of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture Scientific Research Institute of Culture, published in the journal for the first time, and Sergey Pavlovich Shpilko, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate of the Scientific Research Economics Institute under USSR Gosplan, and regular contributor to our journal]

[Text] The introduction of cost accounting and expansion of paid services to the population is a key direction of restructuring in the country's sociocultural complex. Such a truly sharp turn in the development of a number of sectors which were traditionally oriented to financing from public consumption funds is objectively a result of the need for fuller satisfaction of effective public demand and the increased efficiency of the functioning of the sociocultural complex. But this process is extremely complex and the consequences of it, especially the social ones, are still largely unpredictable. A series of experiments is being conducted for the purpose of developing new forms of methods of economic operation which are adequate to the changed economic conditions as quickly as possible; one of them is in the system of club institutions of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture. Analysis of the experiment is of substantial interest, especially since it is clear that it, unlike the "theatrical," for example, does not receive enough attention in the specialized literature and the periodical press.

An indepth theoretical interpretation of the experiment's results is impossible without knowledge of the main trends of development of club work in the preceding stages of socialist construction. Let us begin with the fact that compared to the prewar period, the number of large institutions in the RSFSR has remained virtually unchanged. Thus, in 1941 there were 74,100 of them and in 1986—76,300; in the rural areas the corresponding figures were 68,600 and 66,100 [Sources 2; 3, p 300]. In many respects this is explained by the fact that in the 1960's-1980's the dynamics of the opening of clubs and houses of culture (DK) reflected the prevalence of the residuary ["take what's left over"] method of allocating resources for the development of the social infrastructure. While 2,340 places were introduced in the period from 1966 through 1970, in the following 3 five-year plan periods one-half that amount, one-third that amount, and one-quarter that amount were introduced respectively [Source 3, p 256]. With such dynamics a high level of wear and withdrawal of fixed capital is inevitable. And in fact, among the clubs of the RSFSR Ministry of Culture, almost one out of every five either needs immediate capital repair or is in general in broken-down condition [Source 5, p 8].

In examining the causes of the slowdown in development of the network of club institutions, one must certainly also note the reduced investments from such sources of financing as the trade union budget and the capital of enterprises, ministries, and departments. In departmental nonproduction construction, construction of housing and then children's preschool and health and resort institutions enjoy stable priority, followed by health care, physical culture, and sports facilities, and only then is the point reached to build a club or House of Culture.

The distribution of the network of club institutions is extremely unequal in terms of the republic's oblasts and rayons. While on the average throughout the RSFSR one club serves about 2,000 people, in Murmansk Oblast one serves about 8,000 people, in Leningrad—19,500, and in Moscow—36,600 people. At the same time that indicator is half the republic average in Pskov, Ryazan, and Kostroma oblasts [Source 3].

Provision of educational and recreational gear and equipment remains a most acute problem. Less than 25 percent of the all clubs have tape recorders, less than one-third—instruments for music ensembles, about half—televisions, and only 5.4 percent—amateur movie cameras [Source 5, p 10]. There is simply nothing to say about video recorders, personal computers, and other such equipment without which recreational service is unthinkable.

To complete the picture one must certainly also mention the problem of cadres. On the average there are 1.4 staff workers for each rural club in the RSFSR Ministry of Culture system and up to 20 percent of the staff positions have remained vacant in recent years [Source 5, p 9]. Cadre turnover is very high—from 20 to 40 percent [Source 6]. The level of qualifications is extremely low. Only one out of three club workers has education in his specialization (for the most part secondary specialized) and only 3.8 percent of them are graduates of institutes of culture [Source 5, p 9]. However, this is not surprising, especially if one remembers that culture is firmly in last place among all sectors of the economy in terms of labor payment [Source 4].

In 1985 the CPSU Central Committee adopted a special decree "On Measures to Improve the Use of Club Establishments and Sports Structures" [Source 1], which was the first impetus to positive advances in club work. The Comprehensive Program of Development of Production of Consumption Goods and the Services Sphere for 1986-2000, which envisions increasing the role of club institutions in organizing the leisure of the population, especially in the countryside, is also important. In October 1987 a conference took place in the CPSU Central Committee where progress in fulfilling the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on strengthening the material base of culture and creative unions was examined and the unsatisfactory state of affairs, in particular in Pskov, Yaroslavl, and Irkutsk oblasts, Krasnodarsk Kray, and

the Tatar ASSR, was criticized and a directive for a decisive change in attitude toward the construction of objects of culture was given.

Not only construction but also the furnishing of club buildings is being done today with systematic violations of the supply schedules for furniture, stage equipment, and lighting equipment. Their production is badly organized [Source 7]. Construction workers are unwilling to start work on club projects; they put them off until the last minute, planning and estimate documents are not prepared on time, ceilings of contract work are not set at the needed level, and there are not enough material resources. In short, as one would expect, overcoming the residuary method of resource support of the social infrastructure in the stage of actual construction and material-technical supply has proven to be much more difficult than at the level of summary planning of capital investments.

But even so the work to strengthen the material-technical base of culture is no longer at a standstill. Increasing the efficiency of the institutions' work is more complicated. No systematic, comprehensive approach nor clear vision of the future of restructuring can be sensed in the decisions being adopted to improve management and the economic mechanism of culture. An integrated conception, certain aspects of which have already been examined on the pages of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA [Source 8], is needed here. The "club experiment" has given new food for thought on this theme which, among other things, deals with such a basic question as developing a promising economic model of operation of institutions of the sociocultural complex on the club example.

The experiment to expand paid services rendered to the population by club institutions began on 1 June 1986. On the official level the list of its participants was set at 264 rayon and city houses of culture. But in fact the basic provisions of the experiment used substantially more institutions in their work, and that it in itself speaks of the progressiveness of the innovations being tested. Here is how they came out. Under the experiment it was decided to substantially expand the list of paid services to the population: carrying out exhibit sales of people's creative works, organizing family and domestic ceremonies and rituals, setting up amateur associations and interest clubs based on individual membership with paid dues, opening paid game rooms and consultation points, and creating a "Leisure" office for cultural services to other organizations and private persons under contract. The list of types of paid circles and studios recommended for organization has been enlarged.

Participants in the experiment received these rights: to compile general estimates of incomes and expenditures without dividing them into types of special capital (formerly the club could only spend the money it received in accordance with its designated purpose and within the limits of the amounts set for each expenditure

subheading. Incomes from special capital could be used to cover operational expenses and to expand and improve only that activity from which they were obtained); to keep at their own disposal the amount by which incomes exceeded expenditures in accordance with the estimate of special capital and use it to strengthen the material-technical base and for other needs; to spend money obtained from rendering paid services to the population for the labor payment of workers recruited who hold two jobs or who were under labor agreements when the amount of the labor payment was above the ceiling set for houses of culture for that number of people and the wage fund; to set up a material incentive fund for DK workers, every month deducting into it 2 percent of the actual amount of incomes from rendering paid services to the population and 50 percent of the amount of above-plan excess of incomes over expenditures; and to obtain needed items and raw and processed materials in the retail network and from other economic organizations by noncash transactions without it counting against the small wholesale commodity ceiling.

The experiment is to take 2 years. Therefore, it is still too early to summarize the final results. But certain preliminary conclusions can already be made based, among other things, on the data of the sample survey of the work of 93 club institutions in Moscow, Krasnoyarsk Kray, and Kuybyshev and Rostov oblasts. Of them 50 are oriented to the rural consumer of services and of those 50, 43 of them are rayon houses of culture in rural areas and 7 are clubs. In the cities 5 of the institutions surveyed are in the category of rayon houses of culture and 38—urban houses of culture.

The results of the survey confirm that the volume of paid services to the population since the conditions of the experiment went into force has increased very intensively. For example, in 1986 for the Togliatti City House of Culture an absolutely unrealistic, as it seemed then, plan of 83,100 rubles was set for the amount of special capital. In the first two quarters the plan was in fact not fulfilled, but after the house of culture became part of the experiment the plan assignment for this indicator was fulfilled for the first time in 12 years and by the end of the year it was overfulfilled by almost 24 percent. In addition, for the first time since 1982 the planned amount of investment for capital repair was incorporated. On the average for the club institutions surveyed the volume of paid services to the population increased by 118 percent as compared to the previous year.

Clubs with labor collectives have begun to work more energetically. But still, the proportion of receipts from rendering paid services to the population in the total volume of incomes from the internal economic activity of club institutions has increased rapidly. In 1985 it amounted to 35 percent, in 1986—40 percent, and in 1987—51 percent.

The forms of club work have become much more diverse. The set of services sold by each of the institutions surveyed increased by seven or eight items. And those forms of services which were well-known even before the experiment—club parlors, salons, and automatic game rooms—were introduced. Among the amateur club collectives the number of amateur associations on partial or full self-support [samookupayemost] increased. Quite a few new types of services appeared—bowling alleys, "break-rings," esthetic programs for development of labor collectives, groups for the esthetic development of preschool-age children, specialized schools (the Military Leader teenage sports-technical military-patriotic club at the city house of culture in Togliatii, for example, and others)

The tendency toward integration of the club's work as a structural element of the sector "culture and art" with the activity of the institutions of other sectors of the services sphere—physical culture and sports, trade and public catering, and domestic services—has been clearly manifested. Physical culture and health circles (for example, the amateur running club with development of individual training programs and medical control at the House of Culture imeni V. Vorovskiy in Tikhoretsk in Krasnodarsk Kray), sound recording studios, stations for the repair and renting of educational and recreational gear and radio equipment, bookbinding, and exhibit sales of people's creative works, youth and children's cafes with music and stage programs, and the like have become widespread.

Expansion of paid services to the population had a substantial impact on the structure of the incomes of club institutions and interrelationships in development of the main directions of activity. Circle work, dances, and discotheques as well as rental receipts—offering various organizations the clubs' sports buildings, space for rehearsals, concerts, and speeches by professional actors and the like—traditionally played the leading role in shaping the club's incomes.

It was natural to assume that expansion of paid services would stimulate the rapid development of precisely these directions. But preliminary results of the experiment do not confirm these forecasts. While there has been an increase in the absolute amount of receipts of capital from circle work, entertainment events, and rentals, their proportion in the total structure of incomes of club institutions has declined slightly. The proportion of incomes from rentals particularly declined: from 22 percent in 1985 to 19 percent in 1986 and 9 percent in 1987. But on the whole, the structure of incomes became substantially more varied and balanced in terms of directions of work.

As can be seen from the table, the theater-concert direction and self-support forms of amateur associations began to develop more actively, and services related to organizing ceremonies, youth cafes, exhibit sales, and the rental and sale of educational and recreational gear began to be used more broadly.

Table. Changes in the Structure of Incomes of Club Institutions in Terms of Directions of Activity, in percentages*

Directions of Activity	1985	1986	1987 (in terms of the results of the first 5 months)
Lecture and Educational	3	3	3
Theater and Concert	8	28	16
Circle	35	21	30
Recreational and Entertainment	29	24	25
Ceremonies**	0	2	2
"Production"****	3	3	9
Rental	22	19	9
Others****	0	0.1	6

- *The table was compiled on the basis of analysis of the primary forms of financial reports of 9 rayon and city houses of culture which were defined as the base ones when the sample survey was formed.

**Nonalcohol weddings, Soviet Army induction festivities, admission to labor collective membership, marriage registration festivities, and the like.

***Photo studios, sound recording studios, artists' workshops, exhibit sales, orders for set-up work, repair of radio and television equipment, repair of educational and recreational gear, and the like.

****Membership dues, receipts for holding family parties, and incomes from parlors, salons, youth cafes, student club cafes, and residence club cafes.

The sharp increase in the proportion of incomes from holding theater and concert events in 1986 and then a certain decline in that proportion is explained by a number of factors. On the one hand, the number of staged

presentations, concerts, and creative reports of amateur collectives increased and the practice of preparing special programs for different contingents of the audience through the clubs' efforts became more frequent.

On the other hand, the aspirations of club institutions to adapt to the new organizational-economic conditions were reflected in structural changes of the theater-concert events. The basis of this activity was festive parties, honoring of production leaders, leisure evenings, and children's matinees. The audience at such semiobligatory events, which are paid for by the trade union, consists mainly of people who generally do not care in the least about the quality of the program presented. Furthermore, club evenings are among the traditional and most recommended—by methodologists—forms of "cultural service" to the population. Judging from statistical data, before the experiment, in 1985, each surveyed club held 80 such events. Finally, in conditions of the relative lack of order in presenting reports in the initial period of the experiment, the organization of club evenings was advantageous both for the club and for the enterprise which ordered and paid for it on account. The club recorded the receipts when the activity for rendering paid services to the population was summarized and the enterprise—when the report on fulfilling the plan assignment for rendering "nonspecialized" services was given.

Improving the organization of record-keeping and reports and accumulating experience in the work of offering paid services to visitors will allow this practice, which is essentially account-padding, to be reduced to a minimum.

The proportion of incomes from lecture and educational work remained stable in the period 1986-1987, and at the same time its organizational forms were substantially updated. "Dry" lectures, reports, and conferences are more and more often giving way to lecture-concerts, round-table discussions, question and answer evenings, and consultations.

The volume and proportion of receipts from club cafes and the self-support activity of amateur associations and interest clubs has increased substantially. In the average monthly calculation the absolute sum of receipts from such services rose in 1987 by a factor of 9 as compared to the previous year and their proportion in the total structure reached 6 percent. That is particularly important since this direction of club work helps increase working people's creative activism in the leisure sphere and expands opportunities for interaction of people who are close in spirit and interests. It is precisely in the new conditions that clubs have begun to organize permanent parlors, salons, and cafes and to involve informal creative associations in the sphere of their activity (for example, the Moscow Kommuna House of Culture was able to legitimize fans of "heavy metal").

So, the traditional model of club institutions' paid activities is changing. And although at the present moment its new structure has not yet been formed, the trend toward greater diversity in the directions of work and greater

balance in them is noticeable. The final ratio of directions largely depends on what the profitability for the types of services which make them up is.

Real-life surveys confirm that all types of paid instruction circles, pursuits of modern fashionable styles of musical and choreographic art, small theater forms, club evenings for collectives of enterprises and organizations, ceremony services, children's cafes and matinees, dances, discotheques, lecture-concerts, game rooms, artists' workshops, photo studios, and set-up work are self-supporting at the present time.

Not profitable are people's song and dance collectives (the expenditure part exceeds the income part by 33 percent), multiact productions of people's theaters, choirs, folk instrument ensembles, and stations for repair and rental of educational and recreational gear, costumes for amateur artistic performances, records, and cassette tapes (expenditures exceed incomes by up to 68 percent). Literary associations are not supporting themselves (up to 49 percent) nor are certain applied decorative circles.

Final conclusions on the degree of potential profitability of certain forms of club work must not yet be made at this stage of development of paid services. That is not the main thing. From the standpoint of the financial plan, expanding self-financing activity in its present form is having an ambiguous effect not only on the desirability of the existence of certain collectives in the club institution but also on the very orientation of their work. The point is that, as analysis of the expenditures of the clubs surveyed by estimate of special capital shows, first of all they go for payment of additional cadres not envisioned by budget allocations. On the average these needs consumed 80 percent of the receipts while the smallest proportion (the Ogonek House of Culture in Moscow) was 67 percent and the largest—the Moscow Fakel City Club—88 percent.

On one hand, the influx of cadres into club institutions can be considered a positive trend which helps increase the quality of the services rendered. "Professionalization" has a positive effect on the contingent of "pure amateurs": the level of sophistication and mastery within the collectives rises and interest groups (theatrical club-parlors, literary salons, and associations of the creative intelligentsia) are formed around them.

On the other hand, this process changes the status of club collectives. They in fact become cooperatives in the leisure sphere which primarily perform functions of philharmonic service to the population and "displace" amateurs from their ranks. In this way, even now (despite the fact that the experiment showed club institutions' ability to adapt to the new conditions of economic activity), the critical question arises—what now? What will the economic mechanism of club work become after the experiment ends? And the main thing—what will the club become?

Returning to previous methods is impossible, since they fundamentally contradict the qualitatively new tasks which club institutions face today. But I think that even confining ourselves to extending certain conditions of economic operation proven by the experiment to the entire network of club institutions would also be a step backward. In any case the problems of fundamentally increasing the efficiency of the club's operation cannot be solved in this way.

The point is that, despite the fundamental expansion of the economic independence of club institutions (which in itself cannot fail to have positive results), the experiment was essentially conducted with the old model of the club. It is based on the budgetary estimate system of financing. More importance is being attributed to self-financing, it is true. But state subsidy remains as a guarantee of keeping the club "afloat," even if its services are not in demand and, moreover, assuming that such services are inherent to the club.

The same thing is happening to the system of labor payment. Opportunities for material incentive are being slightly expanded, although, speaking frankly, it is a long way to eliminating the wage "ceiling." But if the club's collective does not try too hard to take advantage of these opportunities, they are still guaranteed a rather small salary but one which obliges them to do very little (what the Chinese call an "iron cup of rice"). And that means that the ground for impersonality, lack of initiative, and bad management which have been so characteristic of club work until very recently is preserved. Relying on such a model means impeding restructuring in club work. Success in the prolonged "single combat" between the planned-loss and highly profitable areas of activity will depend above all on what "pressures" the club feels more—plan assignments for volume of paid services or prohibitions on developing these services. But ultimately the step is inevitable, a step whose necessity is clearly felt even today—the transition of a large number of the club institutions to cost accounting. But it is here that the voices of opponents are generally heard, and they define this measure as economic radicalism and an attempt at commercialization and deideologization of culture.

In reality no one is removing the ideological and indoctrinational tasks from the club. It is true that experience shows that well-organized, appropriate paid events which are interesting in content can be, if not profitable, at least partially self-supporting. It is also not superfluous to mention that in the 1920's when the primary task was "filling all Union cultural work with communist and Leninist content," clubs took advantage of opportunities of self-financing, levying in some cases payments, membership dues, and the like on users [Source 9]. And still we will agree that they hardly managed to make political-indoctrinational and cultural-educational work completely profitable—in the strictly economic sense. This work aims at forming the worldview and way of life and at stimulating the high-priority social needs which are of

course inherent in public consumption funds. Consequently, it is completely natural to use those funds as one of the sources of financing in this case.

Analysis of the same problem on a slightly different plane leads to similar conclusions. It is not only users taken individually who are the subject of the need for the club institution's services but the family, the labor collective, and society as a whole as well. By offering various hierarchical levels of a unified system, the corresponding needs in many respects differ qualitatively, and that is revealed particularly clearly in the stage of their transformation to effective demand. Society on the whole, for example, is vitally interested in preserving the cultural legacy, an inseparable part of which are the folk creative traditions. The work of club collectives of amateur artistic activity (folk dance, choral, applied art, and the like) is to a significant degree subordinate to that. But demand for participation in these pursuits is by no means proportional to their importance from the standpoint of social interests. One must take into account here, it is true, that the habit of many years of the administration of clubs and organs of management of culture to worry above all about the "facade" of their work has led to many collectives of amateur artistic activity becoming in point of fact semiprofessional. The objective downward trend in the attractiveness of pursuits related to the people's creative traditions as a result of the popularity of new types of leisure activity also plays a definite role. Be that as it may, for now this direction in club work remains a planned loss one. And preventing its curtailment without allocations from the public consumption funds is presently impossible.

I think that there is no need to carry out other measures in order to show that when the club budget is formed some incomes from paid services to the population cannot be avoided, unless, of course, everything is reduced to purely entertainment events (discotheques, automatic game rooms, and the like), whose profitability is in most cases guaranteed. But that certainly does not mean that organizing the club's activity on the basis of full cost accounting is impossible. The fundamental mistake of the adherents of this viewpoint is identifying the source and method of financing and in supposing that if the capital comes from the budget, that is necessarily a subsidy—that same subsidy that guarantees the club a poor but relatively peaceful life. But those same estimate allocations in reality can take on the character of payment for rendering services to the state, or rather the society as a whole, in the form of performing particular jobs. We are speaking of so-called interbudgetary cost accounting, under which the model of cost accounting in the club institution looks altogether different.

The club and the house or palace of culture shifts to cost accounting and is endowed with all the rights of a socialist enterprise. In doing so its incomes are formed through two main sources—the personal funds of citizens, and the public consumption funds based accordingly on rendering paid services to the population and

fulfilling the social mandate. The latter in turn may come both from the labor collective of the enterprise (or institution or organization) and from the state in the person of its central and local organs of management; in the second case it acquires the status of a state mandate with the obligatory inclusion in the club's work plan which stems from that.

The social mandate for the club institution may include the following: carrying out one-time measures (political-indoctrinational measures, city holidays, occupational holidays, various types of celebrations in honor of someone, and the like); organizing the work of planned-loss artistic collectives, circles, sections, and interest clubs which in the client's opinion are socially important; and rendering particular types of services to certain contingents of consumers at favorable rates (for children, pensioners, schoolchildren, and the like).

In all cases payment for the social mandate should insure a certain norm of profit to the club institution which is presumably not lower than the average for paid services to the population. In addition, upon agreement with the client some accompanying paid services, among them those of a recreational-entertainment nature, could be rendered. The income obtained either remains wholly at the club's disposal or is distributed between it and the client in the proportion envisioned when the agreement was concluded. Incidentally, the financing, for example, of holidays of the city or rayon, carnival events, theatrical presentations, and the like could also be partially covered on the basis of voluntary collection of money from the population. The possibility of one-time subsidies to the club from the capital of the local budget, the cultural-sports complex, and the social funds of enterprises and associations should not be ruled out. The main thing is that subsidies not become a regular "feed supplement" to clubs which are operating inefficiently.

What are the advantages of the cost-accounting model proposed for club institutions?

First, it permits the contradictions arising between the development of the planned-loss but high-priority social directions and expansion of paid services to the population to be resolved.

Secondly, it opens up opportunities for using all the well-known advantages of cost accounting to increase the efficiency of the club's work, in particular improving the system of material incentive for cultural education workers. In the future club institutions which have changed to cost accounting will be able to more broadly introduce progressive forms of organization and payment of labor.

Thirdly, the strong aspects of cost accounting will be a great gain for the club user. Direct dependence of club workers' incomes on the quantity and quality of their labor is the only reliable means of overcoming the producer's dominance over the consumer in club institutions' activity. And, moreover, not just the individual

consumer. The enterprise collectives will also begin to make more demands on the quality of the orders fulfilled. When public funds are used they will count every kopeck. And, moreover, the greater role of the local budget in financing social development will force the soviets of people's deputies to spend money with greater deliberation, including the money for the state mandates to the clubs. I think that greater "competition" among the club institutions both for the individual user and to receive the social mandate will only be of benefit and stimulate an enlarged assortment of services and higher quality of service better than any commands.

Fourthly, the model proposed is universal. It can become widespread not only in most subsectors of culture but also in other sectors of the sociocultural complex (tourism, physical culture, and health and resort service).

The model proposed is essentially based on existing forms of cost accounting. Its main feature is modification of subsidies to pay for the social mandate in terms of the final result.

The article gives only the most general outlines of the model of club cost accounting. Further research is needed, primarily economic research. And careful formulation of normative documents and their empirical testing are necessary so that the reform does not become just another campaign. It is impossible to begin introducing cost accounting in most clubs on a broad scale without doing the above. Only a differentiated, individual approach to changing club institutions to the new conditions of economic operation will prevent the undertaking from being ruined at the start. In each particular case the condition of the material base must be analyzed, the appropriate capital investments, funds, and ceilings of contract work must be found, and supplies of sufficient gear and equipment must be provided. The training of cadres for the management apparatus and especially cultural workers needs to be fundamentally improved. Some other organizational questions, decentralization of bookkeeping for example, demand solutions.

A great deal of work is before us. The Union and republic ministries, departments of culture of local soviets, and scientific-methods centers are called upon to play the leading role. The results of sociological research must be relied upon in all stages of the introduction of innovations.

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How Microelectronics Influences the Content of Labor

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[Article by Mikhail Naumovich Nochevnik, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate and leader of the sociological group of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement, and author of the monograph "The Working Class and Trade Unions in Conditions of the Scientific-Technical Revolution" (1984) and a review in this journal (No 3, 1978)]

[Text] The introduction of the achievements of microelectronics is one of the basic directions of the present scientific-technical revolution in industrial enterprises. The innovation in technology is not so much the use of electronics in data processing as radical change in the very essence of production. The social prospects of the innovation appear in the sharp rise in labor productivity, expanded production of high-quality goods, and, most importantly, the changed position of man in the labor process.

Irregularity in the rate of introduction of progressive technology has created serious contradictions.¹

Functions of Labor. Microelectronic technology is above all a labor-saving type of technology capable of freeing a significant number of workers and jobs. The type of management that is formed with its use, especially on the level of shops and sections, requires substantially expanded control over the course of technological processes. That affects the workers of virtually all occupations and skill-levels. Let us cite an example. In traditional

nonautomated sections 98.8 percent of the control operations are carried out by hand; at automated sections manual control accounts for 52.7 percent and 25 percent of the control operations are completely automated.² At the sections surveyed with microprocessing equipment, machine tools with numerical control (NC) and flexible automated lines, completely automated control accounts for up to 90 percent. And operators and troubleshooters, programmers and engineers, and specialists in microprocessing units perform the control functions.

Fundamental changes are also observed in the nature of interpersonal interaction in sections with microprocessing technology. According to data of the Avtom Project, the dealings of machine-tool setters in nonautomated production with other persons (operators, repair workers, foremen, and others) makes up 4.7 percent of all work time, at automated sections—7.4 percent, and at sections with microprocessing units—up to 15 percent [Source 1, p 70, 77]. And sharply pronounced qualitative changes in the character of the dealings are observed. Troubleshooters of machine-tools with NC often interact not only with operators, repair workers, and other workers, but also with electronics engineers and management specialists. And the intensity of their contacts with engineers and specialists in certain cases exceeds the level of intensity of contacts with workers of other specializations.

According to data obtained at one of the surveyed sections of machine tools with NC and robotized complexes, the program engineer spends 40-80 percent of his time with workers. In case of production necessity he may replace the worker at the machine tool, since he is a member of the brigade and indicators of the efficiency of labor participation extend to him, as to other members of the collective.³

The make-up of the brigade in new sections differs fundamentally from the make-up of brigades of traditional production. Thus, the proportion of engineering-technical personnel increased from 15 to 30 percent. Due to the emergence of new labor groups the functions of the worker, engineer, and technician became closely interwoven.

Machine tools with NC have broad technological possibilities and a high level of automation. However, using them efficiently is complicated for a number of technical reasons: the design of the machine tools themselves, where mechanical, hydraulic, electrical, and electronic systems and elements interact during their operation; the great diversity of work regimes, since they make a broad list of machine parts; the substantial effect of remote control on the machine tool's work, and others. There are also difficulties involving the increased demands on the training of workers and their occupational and general-educational level.

Researchers in many countries become vague and contradictory when evaluating prospective qualification requirements in conditions of the microelectronic revolution. In the first stages of automation discussion

regarding the objective demands for skills did not result in any general conclusions because different levels of technology and sectors of industry were examined [Source 2]. In the Labor Project the task was simplified since the object of analysis in all countries was sections for mechanized manufacture of parts on machine tools with NC.

The descriptions of machine tools with NC given by specialists are very instructive. They believe that the functions of a machine tool with a computer differ from the worker's actions on a traditional machine tool in terms of stability, quality, reliability, and speed. Thus, for example, a person feels tired by the dinner break, but by the end of the day his labor productivity has declined even more. The new machine tool works at a regular and rhythmic rate. On traditional machine tools at best half the functions are automated. On new machine tools manual labor does not exceed 10-15 percent. Expert appraisals have confirmed this opinion.

The least skilled category of workers who operate machine tools with NC are operators. However, despite the obvious simplicity of the work, the operator must master a certain set of occupational traits. The turner, that is the operator, performs part of the functions of a programmer and all of the troubleshooting functions. He is responsible for the quality of the part and its manufacture. As a rule this worker has secondary technical education. Only in case of a serious breakdown does he turn to the repair specialist for help. In small-series production the demands on the operator and his occupational-skill training are even greater.

The results of surveys done under the Labor program show that when machine tools with NC are used in mass production, the worker performs mostly monotonous operations. In addition, when he is supervising the self-regulating production process there are frequent periods of relative "inactivity" when he intervenes only in exceptional cases. A fundamental feature of a worker's labor on microprocessing equipment is watching for potential breakdowns rather than identifying defects.

Since workers in traditional production, whose satisfaction with labor is constantly declining,⁴ remain the most massive occupational group among operators, conditions are being created at many countries' enterprises whose goal is to diversify and ultimately increase their interest in the labor.

Polyvalence of Labor. A study of microprocessor production identified trends to enrich the content of labor at sections with the latest technology. This was expressed in the large-scale transfer of workers within the section and outside the confines of their jobs and in the performance of operations which are beyond their qualifications. The fundamentally different functions of service personnel in sections with microprocessing technology and traditional production made it objectively necessary to develop new forms of organization of labor. "Labor

polyvalence,"⁵ a promising method which makes it possible to substantially enrich and diversify workers' labor and expand the traditional boundaries of their skill training, is becoming particularly important.

The term "labor polyvalence" is virtually not used in our literature. The close term "combining occupations" [sovmeshcheniye professiy] does not in our opinion express all the diversity and complexity of the functions performed by workers in sections with microprocessing technology. For example, can one consider that an operator at a machine tool with NC who performs certain uncomplicated functions of the program engineer or specialist in debugging electronic equipment is combining the occupations of worker-operator and program engineer? Undoubtedly not. We are speaking of the polyvalent training of the worker which allows him to perform some duties which are far beyond the concept of "combining occupations."

At a modern enterprise the development of polyvalence occurs "on the horizontal" and "on the vertical." The first is abandonment of the given set of functional duties. That is effective at sections with flexible automated production where it is constantly necessary to change the type of output and, accordingly, change the workers' activity. "Polyvalence on the horizontal" not only promotes efficient use of cadres, but also stimulates their staying at the enterprise. It is manifested particularly clearly where mechanical and electronic devices are used in new technological processes and a small group of workers who possess a broad spectrum of skills perform the essential operations to repair the equipment. As a rule the questions of absenteeism, lack of discipline, and turnover arise very rarely in these groups (brigades). "Polyvalence on the vertical" is characterized by an expanded sphere of duties and responsibility for workers (for the most part operators), who perform the simplest engineering functions as well as carry on monitoring. The strategy of "polyvalence on the vertical" allows individual and collective responsibility to be optimally combined.

In this way, labor polyvalence acts as an important means in the struggle against dequalification of the large stratum of workers in most modern production, on the one hand, and the struggle to increase their individual mastery and diversity of labor, on the other. At the same time polyvalence allows work brigades to respond quickly to changing types of output being produced in small batches. Using it helps expand functional duties, create favorable opportunities for optimal relocation and advancement of workers within the enterprise, strengthen informal contacts, and develop a positive attitude toward labor.

At first glance polyvalence involves only functional and skill changes in labor. However, research shows that it has a socioeconomic and even political orientation. Therefore, polyvalence in a capitalist enterprise plays an altogether different role; there it leads to the worker's

alienation from the narrow occupational milieu and to the reduced influence of the trade union. That is why, for example, in Great Britain polyvalence aroused the disapproval of trade unions whose activity is oriented above all to preventing or alleviating the problem of reduced employment. Polyvalence is one of the fundamental sources for reducing the work force. In connection with this, trade unions promote tasks related to labor guarantees (security of jobs in case of rationalization, uninterrupted length of service, improvement of working conditions, and others). A worker who has several specializations cannot always be recruited for one of the enterprise's numerous trade unions. In certain plants polyvalence is deliberately and purposefully used as an owners' policy against trade unions.

Microelectronics in Three Measures. In contemporary production microprocessing technology is not introduced in "pure" form. Shops and sections where microelectronic products are manufactured on the basis of microelectronic technology are the exception. Sociological analysis makes it possible to identify not only the features of the content of labor and the interweaving of functions in "mixed" production, but also new forms of interaction in the labor process.

In connection with this, let us look at the data on the features of the use of microelectronics in three different situations. First, in production where 50 percent is traditional equipment; second, where microelectronics, machine tools with NC, and robots make up more than 90 percent of the equipment; and, third, in sections where microprocessor units (microcircuits, microassemblies, boards, and the like) are manufactured using microprocessor equipment.

The principle feature of the first production section is that here each worker operates two machine tools at the same time: one with NC and one ordinary metal-cutting machine tool (turning or milling machine). He performs the functions of the operator and the troubleshooter for the one with NC and manually makes parts at the traditional machine tool like an ordinary turning lathe operator.

What is the reason for this organization of the work place and, correspondingly, the nature of the functions performed? Above all the demands of production. In this shop machine tools with NC cannot yet completely manufacture all parts: at the start they are manufactured on ordinary machine tools and then are sent to the machine tool with NC.

For researchers this section of production is of special interest, since here it is graphically obvious how sharply the functions of one and the same worker working at two fundamentally different machine tools differ.

In "mixed" and traditional sections the organization of labor does not differ. There are no brigade forms of labor there. The worker is relatively autonomous and the

payment for his labor depends on individual output. The differences above all involve monitoring the electronic instruments. A central service office does the monitoring and major repair. The worker himself does minor repair.

Workers in a "mixed" section often come into contact with engineers and troubleshooting technicians for electronic equipment. Therefore their social-occupational ties are substantially expanded.

The occupational-skill level of the worker in "mixed" sections is substantially higher than in traditional production. The efficiency of "polyvalence on the horizontal," which allows a broad circle of occupational duties to be carried out, is clearly manifested here.

Workers for these sections are trained directly at the enterprise. For the most part cadre workers who have long production service records (up to 20 years) work there. Almost 90 percent of them formerly worked at ordinary universal machine tools, and they have only been at the new equipment for 2-3 years. To master the machine tools with NC 50-70 percent of the workers needed 2-3 months and the rest—up to 6 months.

By no means did all those engaged in traditional production manage to master simultaneous work on machine tools with NC and traditional machine tools. The level of physical labor here is very high, which is related above all to manually transporting the parts from the universal machine tools to the machine tool with NC. The level of nervous strain is also high—one has to take care of two working machine tools. And certain units of the machine tools with NC require additional monitoring. Therefore, the labor payment of workers at a "mixed" type shop is higher (up to 400 rubles a month) than the workers in other sections.

The second major section of production is the shop with programmed parts manufacture; 90 percent of the equipment here is machine tools with partial use of robot-manipulators.

The organization of labor, make-up of the equipment, working conditions, and skills of the workers (40 people) differ sharply from the "mixed" shop. A feature of this section is the absence of traditional machine tools and the presence of machine tools with NC and robot-manipulators. The work place is served by the operator who supervises the operation of two or three machine tools with NC and a robot-manipulator which feeds components for manufacturing. Eighty to 85 percent of the work time is spent supervising the production process and monitoring the machine tools and robot-manipulators. Here the form of organization of labor is fundamentally different than in a section with "mixed" technology—here it is the brigade form. Not only workers but programming engineers, monitoring engineers, management specialists, and technicians are part of the brigade. The coefficient of labor participation for workers, engineers, and technicians is determined according

to a single system. Labor payment is also implemented in accordance with this system, and that payment depends on both the individual and the collective contribution of the workers and engineers. The manufacture of the output requires a single technological cycle which directly links several machine tools with NC and robot manipulators and combines different occupational-skill groups of workers. The labor polyvalence of workers, engineers, and technicians both "on the horizontal" and "on the vertical" is characteristic of this section.

The third type of section is microprocessor production in "pure" form, where microcircuits and microelements are manufactured. Extensive use of industrial aesthetics, precision planning, and the like are characteristic of it. Women make up 75-85 percent of the workers here; that is determined by the character of the work, which requires great precision and accuracy. Women are involved in operations to install and assemble microcircuits and microassemblies. Eighty percent of those surveyed called their job "very tense" and only 15 percent consider it "partly tense." They constantly monitor the course of the production process, but they do not make independent decisions. The right to make a decision belongs to the head technologist.

The shop's workers are combined into brigades which perform different operations in a certain sequence. Complete interchangeability is achieved because of the extensive polyvalence of labor "on the horizontal."

Changes in the Content of Labor In the sections surveyed many operations which had previously been done by a person have been switched to a machine. In connection with the fundamental changes in technology, some operations ceased to exist altogether (thus, chemical technology replaced soldering in many sections). The computers

themselves have also changed. Because of the refinement of microelectronic assemblies they became much smaller and more economical and efficient.

The forms of monitoring the items being produced are also changing. There are central monitoring offices in microelectronics sections. Self-monitoring at the work place, which is carried out by the immediate line worker, is of particular importance. The second distinguishing feature is that to a significant extent monitoring is carried out by machine with microelectronic units, and much more efficiently than before.

Fundamental changes in the content of labor and the functions of the main workers of microelectronic production are observed today as compared to the initial stages of work on microelectronic equipment. Before labor was tiresome and saturated with a large number of operations (screwing, soldering, and others) which required additional effort. At the same time, however, there were many creative elements in the work. Now the work of the installer and operator has become substantially easier. Because some functions have been shifted to a machine the tension of the work has been reduced. However, the work has become more monotonous, especially for those people who spend a long time at a microscope.

The table that follows give some idea of the content of labor of workers in sections with microprocessor equipment. It shows that most creative elements are in the labor of workers in sections with machine tools with NC and robots where a high level of polyvalence has been achieved, both "on the vertical" and "on the horizontal." There are double the contacts of workers, engineers, and new equipment specialists here and, accordingly, the general level of satisfaction with the labor is high.

Table. The Main Characteristics of the Labor Activity of Workers in Sections with Microprocessor Equipment (expert evaluation 0-1)

Content of Labor	"Mixed" Type Sections	Sections with Machine Tools with NC and Robots (workers, engineers, and technicians make up the brigade)	Sections with Machine Tools with NC (workers make up the brigade)	Sections with Microelectronics (workers make up the brigade)
Physical Strain	0.40	0.15	0.20	0.20
Nervous Strain	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.60
Elements of Creativity	0.30	0.45	0.15	0.30
Work Contacts (dealings of workers and engineering-technical personnel)	0.15	0.30	0.15	0.15
Labor Payment, in rubles	300-400	250-350	200-300	200-250

In addition to insuring labor polyvalence, the training and adaptation of workers to the fundamentally new conditions of activity, the selection and placement of cadres, and retraining with consideration of age and psychophysical

characteristics are of great importance. Our study does not confirm the conclusion that modern technology and machine tools with NC require a "new" kind of worker, but people who have worked in traditional production for

a long time are not ready for it "from the standpoint of occupational mastery and from the psychological standpoint" since "they may bring their established habits and orientations to work on the fully automated equipment" [Source 4]. Undoubtedly some difficulties exist when switching to machine tools with NC, especially among middle-aged and older workers. But they should not be exaggerated. At the sections we surveyed more than 70 percent of those surveyed had worked on traditional equipment for 5-20 years, and all of them successfully adapted to the new production conditions.

At large enterprises microprocessor technology encompasses three main spheres: 1) use of machine tools with NC in conditions of small-series production, robots, programmable automatons, and minicomputers in large-series production (automobile manufacture, machine building, the electronics industry, and metallurgy); 2) automation of processes in sectors with continuous production processes; and 3) computer-based design (power engineering, electronics, ship building, aeronautics, and others). Machine tools with microprocessors and computers are especially efficient in machine building. Here 2,500 workers can be freed for every 1,000 machine tools that are provided with microcomputer NC. Replacing minicomputers with more refined equipment, that is microcomputers, makes it possible to increase reliability by a factor of 7-10, reduce prime cost to one-fifth to one-seventh its previous level, and substantially reduce the capacity used. The problem of changing equipment to produce new output is being solved through the cheap and quick readjustment of machine tools [Source 5].

Even partial use of microelectronics at enterprises results in significant savings in work force. Thus, for example, according to data of the English researcher J. Child, a participant in the Labor Project, with the introduction of microprocessing technology at a machine building plant in Colchester (England), which produces a multitude of types of axles, gear wheels, and disks, they began using 3 operators instead of 30; instead of 200 workers only one works in the night shift at the Funk plant built near Tokyo [Source 3]. At the Vilnius Sigma Production Association the total number of workers in the microelectronics section was reduced by 30 percent and production of output increased by a factor of 8-10. At the Leningrad Znamya Oktyabrya Association in the section with microprocessing technology and flexible automation, 12 people handle a volume of work which used to require 54. As for labor productivity, it has increased seven-fold in the new section as compared to shops with traditional equipment [Source 4].

The introduction of microelectronic equipment and computerization in various sectors of the economy is resulting in large-scale changes in the technological base of public production and acceleration of innovative processes at the enterprise. At the same time, however, social, technical-economic, and sociopsychological problems and changes in the structure of the motives, values, needs, and interests of the individual are arising. All this requires detailed sociological study.

Footnotes

1. The article uses materials obtained during the international comparative study, the Trud Project (1982-1986), at USSR enterprises. The goal of the project was to jointly study the social consequences of introducing microelectronics at industrial enterprises in countries with different socioeconomic systems (the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the USSR, the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, England, Belgium, Italy, France, and others).

2. For the results of the research at USSR enterprises in the Automation and Industrial Workers Program, see [Source 1].

3. Isolated instances where engineers perform the functions of ordinary workers (operators) are expedient, but constantly repeated substitutions frequently lead to a decline in their occupational status, creative initiative, and, ultimately, satisfaction with the labor.

4. The skills of universal turning lathe, grinder, and milling machine operators are declining; they are losing their know-how, habits, and occupational mastery. In addition, the wages of persons working on machine tools with NC are much lower than for machine tool operators in traditional production. Although they consider labor in sections with the latest technology interesting, young people are unwilling to move there. This situation was observed at these plants in the capital—Krasnyy proletariy, Manometr, and Dinamo.

5. "Polyvalence" is a management strategy which indicates a situation where workers perform or may perform some tasks outside the traditional boundaries of their skills or duties [Source 3, p 37].

6. "Mixed" use of microelectronic equipment is a phenomenon which is quite widespread, especially in Moscow enterprises. It allows the sharply pronounced contradiction between mental and physical labor within one work place to be identified. Sociological analysis has shown that, despite fairly high earnings, the level of satisfaction with the labor is low here. Workers and engineers note that the transitional period of existence of the "mixed" type of sections went on too long.

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Workers and Employees on Production Management

18060005f Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88 (signed to press 21 Mar 88) pp 37-44

[Article by Viktor Grigoryevich Britvin, doctor of philosophical sciences, head of the Center for the Study of Public Opinion, and deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, who has published a number of articles in the journal: "Sociological Services of Enterprises and the Problems of Increasing the Efficiency of Sociological Research" (No 4, 1980), "The Enterprise's Production-Technical Milieu and Worker Behavior" (No 2, 1982), "The Formation of Interpersonal Relations in Production Collectives" (No 3, 1983, coauthor), and others, under the rubric "Democratization of Social Life"; V.G. Britvin's article is being published in the author's edited form; phrases in italics rendered in italics in text]

[Text] Revolutionary changes in Soviet society are filling the life of labor collectives with new meaning. A special place here is given to strengthening democratic principles in the sphere of labor and production and developing the self-management of labor collectives. The shift to fundamentally new economic methods of management, the orientation to cost-accounting relations, and expansion of the rights and economic independence of enterprises has helped people recognize the fact that democratization of production represents one of the main levers of the restructuring underway in the country.

Glasnost, the free and candid exchange of opinions, development of criticism and self-criticism, and the greater role of public opinion in resolving the most important questions of production life are organic elements of the process of democratization. Public opinion is closely tied to restructuring. As a result of the processes occurring in the country, it can have an accelerating effect on the positive changes or, on the contrary, impede the process of renewal. But in order to become the moving factor of restructuring, public opinion must be informed and effective.

Our party's highest forum made the question of glasnost the focus of the problem of democratization. "The question of *expanding glasnost* is fundamental for us," the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the

27th Party Congress noted. "It is a political question. There is not and cannot be democratism, political creativity by the masses, and mass participation without glasnost" [Source 1].

Research, including the research done by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, ¹ reveals people's differing perceptions of the objective state of affairs at various levels of the social organization of society, including the sphere of labor and production. Both the actual rate and the depth of the transformations involving the activity of certain echelons of management, on the one hand, and the features of the mechanism of the formation and functioning of public consciousness, subjected to the action of a whole diversity of factors of external and internal determination, on the other, are expressed in the evaluations of what is happening.

Research records the disproportions noted in restructuring in the center and locally. While fundamental changes which have the population's approval have already occurred in the political and economic management of the country and in the activity of the central mass information media, to a great degree previous forms of relations, stereotypes of consciousness and behavior, and obsolete methods and style of leadership still continue to be reproduced at other levels.

A substantial number of people consider glasnost a synonym for democracy and tie various positive processes on the level of labor collectives to confirmation of the principle of glasnost. According to data of a survey in the city of Vladimir and Vladimir Oblast, about 70 percent of the workers believe that affirmation of glasnost leads to an improved moral-psychological climate in the collective and 55 percent believe that it encourages workers' participation in the collective's affairs, increases mutual high standards, helps overcome negative phenomena, and the like. The overwhelming majority of those surveyed see glasnost as a condition for instilling a proprietary attitude toward the work.

The proposition that the basis of glasnost is information support and comprehensive and timely coverage of facts, events, and processes is axiomatic. Information support at the same time represents one of the starting points in the formation of public opinion and the orientation of people's consciousness and practical actions. However, it is precisely in this starting point that we find a contradiction which demands to be resolved. Despite the enormous importance of information support for the efficient functioning of any social organization and for bringing into action labor collectives' creative potential, it is frequently (if it is more or less developed at all) formalistic in nature, and even if it is business-like and constructive, then it is done irregularly, from case to case. The condition of affairs in information support is directly manifested in the evaluation of the level of

glasnost in resolving the urgent questions of restructuring in labor collectives. As a survey at Moscow enterprises showed (a similar picture is revealed at enterprises of the country's other regions), the absolute number of those surveyed note a high level of glasnost only when one type of problem is being fought—strengthening labor discipline, the struggle against drunkards, careless workers, and absentee workers—58 percent of the workers adhere to this point of view. A significantly smaller proportion (30 percent) evaluate the level of glasnost high in resolving such social problems as the distribution of passes to sanatoriums and resorts; 25 percent—the activities of public organizations, 24 percent—relocation of cadres; and 20 percent of those surveyed—the work of the administration. Things are worst of all with glasnost when housing is distributed—only 14 percent give high evaluations here, while in the struggle against bureaucracy and paper-shuffling the figure is 9 percent of those surveyed.

The data cited say that in the existing mechanism for insuring glasnost, the channel of information support "from above" functions with marked interruptions. The degree to which information support "from below" is successfully insured and how the management system reacts to the knowledge, ideas, and experience of the participants in the labor processes are of no less significance for the efficient work of this mechanism. The results of the survey in the city of Vladimir and Vladimir Oblast reveal that the practices of internal collective life are still such that the opinions, proposals, and critical comments from the members of the labor collectives, if they are not rejected altogether, still have difficulty getting heard.

Of the group surveyed only one-third hold the opinion that management listens to them and tries to eliminate the shortcomings, 38 percent note that although management listens it is not evident that the shortcomings are eliminated, and 14 percent assume that the comments they make are taken in an unfriendly way.

In order to understand the features of shaping an atmosphere of glasnost in collectives, in the opinion of most workers, it is essential that various kinds of critical comments be expressed in an informal atmosphere and, much more rarely, at meetings in labor collectives. And the criticism which is heard at meetings has a one-sided orientation, from above to below; because of this the limits of glasnost and democracy are set by higher-ups, frequently to their own advantage.

The most typical reaction to comments and proposals from below can be reduced to the rule—"I heard them out and I stuck to my own opinion." It is no accident that the concept of "uchet" [taking account] came to be associated not so much with considering the position someone expressed in the process of formulating or making a decision on one of the possible management alternatives, as with fulfilling a certain set of technical operations on the order of accounting: "Account was

taken" means it was counted, written down, and filed. It may be established that positive changes here to meet the demands of the stage which society is undergoing do not make headway as quickly, although progress is noted in this area. According to evaluations obtained during this survey at the Moscow enterprises, only 15 percent note significant improvement in considering workers' opinions and proposals, while 29 percent of those surveyed see insignificant change, and more than a third see no change for the better. Other research confirms these distributions with small variations.

Affirmation of a new order by which glasnost becomes the norm of internal collective relations involves overcoming the stereotypes of an unhealthy personal attitude toward criticism from below and clarifying that the natural and predictable manifestation from below of the need for glasnost is "right." Confusion about the supposedly destructive influence of criticism from below on the organization and even on all Soviet society must also be overcome.

The real inclusion of workers in the management of production and public affairs is an important side of the process of restructuring in labor collectives. By now a developed system of orientations and forms of involving workers in management has become established in production. However, some of them have gradually lost their significance, become inefficient, and lost prestige among workers, which, of course, is certain to be manifested in consciousness.

Research identifies the following feature of reflection in consciousness of the internal situation in the collective: on the one hand, the desire of a large number of workers to assume responsibility for the state of affairs in collectives and, on the other, their very reserved evaluation of their real role as subjects of management.

Measures taken in recent years to activate the economic and social life of labor collectives have done little to change things in this regard. The adoption of the Law on Labor Collectives has also not influenced the situation in practice. According to the data of a study conducted by the AUCCTU Scientific Center at enterprises which worked for 6 months in conditions of the large-scale economic experiment, 27.5 percent of the workers did not participate in exercising a single important power envisioned by this law. Only 10.8 percent of the workers and 22.4 percent of the engineering-technical personnel and employees participated in formulating and discussing plans of economic and social development; even less participated when questions of using economic incentive funds were resolved—6.4 percent of the workers and 5.4 percent of the engineering-technical personnel and employers. A similar situation is found with the exercise of other powers of labor collectives [Source 5].

The low proportion of participants in formulating and discussing plans speaks for itself. And bearing in mind that participation in management cannot be reduced to

just the acts indicated above but presupposes adopting decisions, the number of real participants in management becomes even more modest.

This situation is based on a whole set of factors—economic, organizational, psychological, and others. Their joint action frequently leads to many people beginning to doubt their own ability to change anything around them at all. Data of a study at the Voroshilovgrad Diesel Locomotive Building Production Association make it possible to judge the widespread nature of skepticism in evaluations of personal opportunities to influence things for the better in the collective. As became clear during the survey, the proportion of those who think that they can fully influence things is only 9 percent; and 31 percent of those surveyed hold the opinion that it is fairly difficult to influence things, but possible. However, the proportion who exclude such a possibility, since almost nothing depends on them, is 53 percent of those surveyed.

The grouping of answers by particular categories of workers deserves closer attention. Even among managers, who are more inclined toward optimistic evaluations than other groups of workers, the number of skeptics is also substantial—37 percent of those surveyed. Since in terms of his place and role in management a manager is supposed to be the generator of ideas, the initiator of introducing the new, and the vehicle of restructuring in the section entrusted to him, the above number does not prove to be so insignificant.

Nor can the democratization of society avoid such a fundamental question of internal collective life as election of managers. Restructuring has affected the principle of appointing people to posts, which remained hard and fast for many years. This aspect of the policy of democratization, glasnost, and intensification of public opinion's role in the life of society is especially important because it affected sections of activity where levers of management other than command ones were almost completely excluded. Objective reasons helped preserve this state of affairs, but subjective aims were of no less significance in supporting the vitality of the postulate of limited use of democratic methods of management. Only now has practice begun to get out of the rut, and it has been with difficulty, painfully, and with the inevitable costs.

Collectives' participation in advancement to management posts makes this process really democratic. But although the first limited attempts to introduce election of managers have already undone the exclusive dominance of the appointment system, its unquestionable prestige remains enormous. Moreover, where administrative-directive methods of management predominated, even such an essentially democratic procedure as taking competitive exams was reduced to a formal act which differed very little from appointment.

The Law on the State Enterprise (or Association) markedly expanded the list of management posts which can be

elected by labor collectives. Because of this the prerequisites are forming for affirming in production forms of combining centralized management and socialist self-management of labor collectives which fit the present situation, and for increasing public opinion's influence on internal collective life.

Surveys show that the population is beginning to form personal experience in participating in elections of various ranks of managers and their own view of this process, which is new to many labor collectives. But on the whole the attitude toward elections, as a consequence of fairly limited practice, is determined not so much by one's own knowledge and experience as by the reflected knowledge and opinion of others. This circumstance needs to be taken into account when the situation is analyzed.

The attitude toward elections is ambiguous but as a rule positive. The data of the survey at the production association mentioned earlier identifies the predominance of persons who consider making certain management posts elected posts advisable (in the opinion of 57 percent of those surveyed). However, some workers have the opposite view—15 percent of those surveyed. The rest have not yet formed their attitude toward the new system.

Other aspects of the problem also need to be analyzed in detail. While supporting radical acceleration of the development of socialist self-management in labor collectives, most managers and specialists at the same time question the principle of elections. The disbalance in the list of posts proposed to be elected is also clearly marked. For the most part the proposals are confined to managers of the lower and middle links of management—shop chiefs, brigade foremen, foremen, and the like—and much more rarely, department chiefs and managers of enterprises. Many people have not yet formed their view on the scope and particular sectors to which the principle of elections should extend.

The prerequisites of the formation of an ambiguous position toward the principle of elections is also rooted in the traditions of administrative-directive methods of management of the economy which have penetrated deeply into consciousness, on the one hand, and the underdevelopment of methods of using the new principle, on the other. The precepts regarding "what can be done" and "what must not be done" which took shape in the past continue to operate even in the new social milieu. People are used to seeing leadership being appointed from above, whether that means the direct chief or the chief's chief. Breaking down the ordinary way of thinking and acting at once is just as difficult as involving broad masses of people in management by turning them into real rather than formal participants in management.

Increasing the management functions of labor collectives as collective subjects of power in resolving all questions of vital activity is a fundamental means of democratization of the management of production. The social organs

which exist at enterprises—permanent production conferences, social cadre departments, the economic analysis bureau, and many other traditional forms of activity involving the process of production itself, apart from the fact that most of them duplicate official offices, are extremely limited in their power. Their actual role can be reduced to the function of acting as an advisory voice. Real power is simply proclaimed. The first research on the problems of production self-management have shown that the forms of involving workers in management which had just begun to be developed quickly exhausted their creative potential [Source 3]. Gradually they became one of the numerous bureaucratic superstructures which created the appearance of the public's participation in self-management.

Almost a quarter of a century has passed since that fact was established, but fundamental changes have not occurred either in the organizational structures of production self-management, or in the normative-legal sense, or in the activism of participants in management. Obviously that could in principle not happen. Nor were social structures of management actually created as instruments of expression of people's collective will and interests, realized by them through participation in the activity of social formations.

In many respects this is also relevant to the activity of trade union organizations.

Events at the head plant of Yaroslavl Avtodizel, which were based on a clash of the opposing positions of the plant management and the collective on the question of the annual work schedule [Source 4], demonstrated the insurmountability and unsuitability of old stereotypes in resolving internal collective problems. The first of them is that the trade union (in the form of the trade union committee) does not act so much as an equal partner as an assistant to the administration even in our time. Secondly, the most modern forms of democracy, such as the labor collective councils, can be completely integrated in the old non-democratic procedures for making management decisions, if their activity is not filled with new content and if they become an appendage to the administration rather than a continuation of the collectives they are supposed to represent and whose powers they must exercise irreproachably. Thirdly, democratic procedures for formulating decisions must unfailingly be extended all the way to the stage of decision-making and establishment of guarantees of their fulfillment by the collective, the administration, and the trade union committees.

The situation which arose at the Yaroslavl plant was unusual. However, despite its unusual and complex nature, the plant's leadership and the labor collective on the whole managed to overcome the sudden conflict. Along with the features of its origin, the conflict also allowed people to see entirely accessible means to localize and overcome it. The data of a survey done jointly by the Center and the editorial office of the newspaper IZVESTIYA speak of that.

It is instructive that even while predominantly in agreement with the position of the workers who refused to work additional Saturdays (62 percent of those surveyed supported that), a significant number of workers indicated further that the conflict could have been prevented if the enterprise's leadership had not been oriented chiefly to solving the problem by administrative methods. In answering the question of what should have been done in the conflict situation which arose, 59 percent of the respondents thought explanatory work on the need for the work schedule proposed by the administration should have been done in the collective; 29 percent supported accepting the schedule proposed by the workers; 11 percent supported convincing the initiators of the refusal to work these Saturdays of the untimeliness of advancing these demands; and 2 percent supported refusing discussion with workers and ordering them to accept the work schedule proposed by the administration. In other words, the overwhelming majority of workers at the enterprises surveyed were inclined toward a "peaceful" solution of the problem at the very initial stage of its origin. One can assume that was also the case at the enterprise under consideration; the fact that the result of the final vote proved to support the work schedule proposed by the administration attests to this.

Restructuring is a confrontation of views. And it cannot always nor will it always be accomplished without conflict, even in the performance of tasks that are common to the administration, the social organizations, and the workers. However, the potential to resolve these conflicts painlessly is in the very nature of socialism, since under socialism there exists real rather than imaginary unity of the main interests of the state, its various institutions, and groups of workers. This unity is clearly demonstrated by the following answers to a question which is directly related to the problem being analyzed. In expressing their understanding of what democracy in production represents, 60 percent of those surveyed put the mutual responsibility of the administration, the social organizations, and workers and employees first; 48 percent indicated that democracy is broad glasnost in resolving all questions in production; 37 percent—consideration of the collective's opinions by the administration; 26 percent—the right to and opportunity for discussion, acceptance, and reversal of the administration's decisions by the Labor Collective Council; 21 percent—election of managers at all levels; and 12 percent—worker self-management.

Development of the democratic process requires rethinking the well-known formula of the two-fold nature of tasks performed by trade unions—development of production and protection of the interests and rights of workers. Time has distorted this formula by making the task of developing production the priority, and at times the only, task. At the same time the protective function has lost its significance, been emasculated, and been moved to the same place as social problems—the back burner. Neglect of social problems

in production, the administration's systematic deviations from the conditions of the collective contract, and illegal firing of workers are the direct indicators of the decline in the prestige and role of trade unions as the spokesman of the workers' opinions. A serious critical evaluation of this role was given in the speech by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev at the 18th Congress of USSR Trade Unions, held on 25 February 1987: "At present many trade unions seem to remain in the second echelon of restructuring, even in such important work of theirs as protecting the interests of working people and defending social justice" [Source 2].

One of the ways to democratize management of production suggested by practice goes through the creation, on the enterprise level, of labor collective councils from representatives of the administration and party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations as well as councils of brigades, workers, and employees. According to the data of research which has been done, a large number of workers are usually for the creation of these councils. However, the simple fact of forming a council does not mean automatic progress on the path of democratization, not to mention successful resolution of the diverse problems in labor collectives: such a council existed at the Yaroslavl plant and the general director of the association to which the head plant belonged headed the council.

In the environment of democracy life presupposes a different system of relations between the collective and the administration than exists where directive methods dominate. Equal partnership, recognition and respect for one another's powers, and mutual responsibility for observing mutual obligations should be the basis of these relations. Sharp conflicts are inevitable without such a system of relations.

It should be emphasized that the democratic process in production is being obstructed because of the fact that the model of relations which became established between labor collectives and higher-ranking organs is for the most part transferred to internal collective organs "on the vertical," between rank-and-file workers and the administration. There is good reason to assert that to a substantial degree the internal practices of the collective, including negative practices, represent projections of relations which took shape between the labor collectives and the so-called superorganizations, the paucity of rights which the labor collectives really have, and to an even greater degree—the lack of adequate legal guarantees for the collectives.

To the present day many of the rights granted to collectives are sometimes formalistic in nature. Relations of dependence on the internal departmental and territorial levels frequently nullify even these rights. Marked changes have not occurred with the adoption of the Law on Labor Collectives. Contemporary practice also confirms the intolerable willfulness of departments and local leaders when talk turns to realizing the principles of

socialist democracy. The statements of economic managers who work in the new conditions attest to the central departments' desire to infringe in every possible way on the collectives' rights now envisioned by the Law on the Socialist Enterprise.

In realizing the conception and strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development advanced by the party, Soviet society has reached the frontier where the second stage of restructuring begins. Radical economic reform has affected enterprises with tens of millions of people working in them. Democratization in the sphere of labor and production is one of the main conditions of the reform being implemented and a lever of the revolutionary renewal of society. The new economic mechanism will begin to operate efficiently if the needs, interests, and opinions of all participants in production are taken into full account. As is obvious from the results of the surveys, social practice and mass consciousness appear in a complex tangle of problems and contradictions. Seeing the latter from the position of various groups of people means coming to understand the real situation. The transformation process can be successfully developed only in an atmosphere of glasnost and profound interest in what is happening, combined with the conscious participation of working people, a high sense of responsibility, and people's trust in the institutions of management.

Footnote

1. The article uses data from surveys of the employed population of the city of Moscow (about 1,000 people, July 1986); workers of the Voroshilovgrad Diesel Locomotive Production Association imeni Oktyabrskaya revolyutsiya (1,898 people, May 1986); and the city of Vladimir and Vladimir Oblast (525 people, May 1987), as well as of subscribers to the newspaper IZVESTIYA in some of the country's enterprises (735 people, December 1987).

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Election of Managers: Yesterday and Today
18060005g Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88
(signed to press 21 Mar 88) pp 44-49

[Article by Yakov Samuilovich Kapelyush, candidate of philosophical sciences, department head at the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Socio-economic Questions, and author of the monographs (Public Opinion on Elections in Production" (1969) and "Institutions of Culture in a Small City and the Population" (1985, coauthor), published in the journal for the first time]

[Text] The article offered for the reader's attention consists of two parts. The first, written 20 years ago, is a short exposition of the book "Public Opinion on Elections in Production" [Source 2], which for reasons independent of the author did not reach the reader. The author decided the 20-year-old material need not be changed; it proved to be in keeping with the revolutionary decisions of the January 1987 of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The second part was written specially for this issue of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA.

In September 1966 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA published "Report on an Unusual Competition" on how a senior construction superintendent was elected at the Krasnoyarskalyuminstroy Trust [Source 3]. The experiment of the Krasnoyarsk construction workers, which was unusual for its time, served as the occasion to conduct an all-Union survey of the public's attitude toward the question of electing production managers. The public opinion study sector of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Public Opinion of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA led by B.A. Grushin worked on sounding public opinion. The participants in the survey were given the article "Who Should Be Construction Superintendent" reprinted from the newspaper and a questionnaire on its content. The respondents were 900 workers of industry and construction, engineers and technicians, production leaders, managers of social organizations, scientists, and journalists.

The questionnaire's first question was formulated like this: is it advisable at the present time to make certain production leadership posts elective? Yes, it is advisable, answered 89 percent of the workers, 88 percent of the rank-and-file engineers and technicians, 83 percent of the worker-deputies, 81 percent of the scientists and journalists, 77 percent of the managers of social organizations, 66 percent of the junior production leaders, and 52 percent of the senior production leaders. The rest answered negatively or had difficulty answering.

Most of those surveyed in each group supported the idea of electing production managers. And the distribution of the answers makes it possible to trace a certain pattern: the closer the group to production management and the higher, among other things, the rung on the jobladder, the fewer supporters and, accordingly, the more opponents of elections. This pattern is most clearly apparent with industrial workers. While among workers and rank-and-file engineers and technicians there was a handful of opponents to elections, among foreman—one out of four was, among shop chiefs—one out of three, and among directors—one out of two. And, as the analysis showed, neither education, nor party-mindedness, nor sex, nor length of service has an impact on the attitude toward the question of elections. Only the social-occupational status of those surveyed and the degree of their involvement in management influences the answer.

The respondents themselves named the particular posts which could be elected. The answers were distributed like this: brigade foreman (and only that)—less than 30 percent of the supporters of elections in the particular group of respondents; foreman, senior foreman, construction superintendent, section chief, and other junior leaders (direct organizers) of production—less than 82 percent; chief engineer, chief designer, chief technologist, and other production managers—technical specialists—less than 7 percent; director (or chief or manager) of the enterprise, chief of the shop or department, and other senior production commanders—less than 18 percent; chief of the ministry department and other managers of the organs of state management—less than 2 percent; all management posts—from the brigade foreman to the minister—less than 9 percent; scientific research institute department chief, director of a school, newspaper editor, and other managers of nonproduction collectives—less than 5 percent of the supporters of elections in the particular group of respondents.

In speaking of elected posts, following the Krasnoyarsk construction workers the participants in the survey named junior production leaders. The number of such opinions in all groups of advocates of elections was at least 72 percent. In five of the seven groups of respondents more than 14 percent proposed electing even higher managers and in three groups more than 20 percent supported that proposal. The most typical opinions of participants in the survey can serve as commentaries on these figures: "everyone who manages people," "whoever is closer to the workers," "whoever all the work day makes certain labor obligations are correctly fulfilled, helps, teaches, or is himself always in the workers' eye" should be elected.

When they talk about direct elections of the brigade foreman or the foreman, there is no objection. Elections take place at the brigade's general meeting where all the participants know the candidate and the content of his work well. That is how almost one out of two advocates of elections supported their position. But direct election of the director draws objections, if only because conditions there are completely different.

Those respondents who considered electing managers higher than the foreman possible generally do not speak of direct elections. The Krasnoyarsk construction superintendent of whom KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA spoke did not take his place as a result of direct election by workers either: a special commission composed of representatives of the administration, social organizations, and workers chose the candidates and presented them to the general meeting, leaving the right of final decision to the administration. Strictly speaking what happened in Krasnoyarsk can most accurately be called a competition to replace the construction superintendent. Such competitions are also possible with the appointment system when the higher-ranking manager enlists a special authorized commission to select the candidate for the post.

The questionnaire contained the question: "Do competitions need to be organized now to identify and select the best people among those who want to occupy some post in production management, regardless of whether these persons are later elected at the meeting or ratified by order of the administration?" The distribution of answers to this question showed that most of those surveyed in each group support the idea of competitions in production, but to a markedly lower degree than the idea of elections. Competitions have less support than elections in almost all groups.

Analysis of the answers to an open question on the advisability of competitions in production revealed the reason for the relatively small number of advocates of this system. The participants in the survey made a fairly clear distinction between competitions for posts of junior and senior production leaders. The competition for juniors is closer to appointment than to election. The collective's role in this is very small. Therefore the idea did not encounter particular support either. Most decided more simply: workers always personally know candidates for junior posts, and if they elect them it will also be a competition, one where the whole collective plays the role of the commission. But a competition of senior leaders, according to those surveyed, is closer to election.

The participants in the survey were not confined to stating their position on the problem of elections. In answering the questions, they offered a broad range of arguments for and against elections. A feature of the questions was that each of them contained some opinion of the Krasnoyarsk construction workers, and the respondent was supposed to express his opinion on it.

One of them said that "when the brigade foreman is being appointed, the collective in fact has no right to determine who he will be and even less, to influence his activity. The manager of the collective is virtually unaccountable. That is unfair if the changes in the workers' education and the growth in their political consciousness which have occurred in recent years are taken into account." The following people were in complete agreement with these opinions: 75 percent of the workers; 57

percent of the engineers; 56 percent of the scientists and journalists; 47 percent of the managers of social organizations; 44 percent of the junior production leaders; and 29 percent of the senior leaders.

More people were in complete agreement with the view that "election of production leaders will raise the level of management" than in the previous case: from 62 percent to 82 percent in almost all groups. Only the answers of the production leaders themselves were different: 44 percent agreed and 35 percent did not. The advocates of elections tie raising the level of management with improving the make-up of managers. Their opponents say the reverse: the make-up of managers will deteriorate and therefore the level of management will decline. However, the voices of the opponents of elections sound much weaker even in those groups where they are relatively numerous. Thus, 35 percent of the senior production leaders link their ideas of elections with improvement in the make-up of managers and 13 percent—with deterioration. For junior leaders these figures are 37 percent and 8 percent, respectively.

In Krasnoyarsk there were also opponents of election of managers who assumed that elections would weaken the principle of one-man authority in management of the production process. "Do you agree with this opinion?" the questionnaire asked. Among the people who answered positively were 42 percent of the directors and 37 percent of the foremen, and answering negatively—33 percent and 43 percent, respectively.

The arguments of the advocates of elections can largely be reduced to the assertion that elections do not contradict one-man management and do not take responsibility away from the managers. The rank-and-file engineers especially emphasized this (33 percent)—they said they know the practice of one-man management well—and the scientists too (29 percent)—they know the theory of the question. Among the opponents of elections the opinion that discipline would weaken predominated. Ten percent of the junior leaders and 7 percent of the senior leaders feared that. But in the group of workers which stood out sharply from the rest 15 percent were certain that elections would strengthen labor discipline.

On the whole 2,042 votes were for elections and 689—against. All of them were combined into 38 types. The number of opinions of each type follows in descending order: elections create conditions for efficient control "from below"—311 votes; insure the best make-up of managers—266; increase managers' accountability—161; promote efficient production—122; raise the role and responsibility of the collective—118; and put an end to subjectivism, nepotism, and other similar phenomena when management cadres are selected—31.

The arguments against elections follow: even without any elections the work collective has the opportunity to control the activity of production managers—101 votes; elections are impossible because of the lack of skilled

specialists—66; because of the irresponsibility of voters—56; the level of leadership does not at all depend on elections—56; elections weaken one-man management—51; reduce the standards and principled attitude of managers—46; lead to higher rates of replacement of management cadres—35; weaken labor discipline—33; reduce managers' accountability for the work entrusted to them—23; reduce production efficiency—20; and reduce the prestige of managers—8 votes.

On many questionnaires the respondents did not confine themselves to answering the questions and made additional notes. "Honestly speaking, I simply don't understand why this survey was needed," wrote a Muscovite woman, a teacher of philosophy. "After all, you know in advance that the general response will be positive and that it is impossible to implement election of managers." Our respondent was mistaken in her first assertion: public opinion's attitude toward election of managers was by no means unequivocal. As for the second assertion, whether it is right or not will depend on the times and especially on the role which public opinion will play in resolving this question.

Time has shown that the advocates of elections in production were right. The January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee stipulated the following: "Consider it necessary to introduce elections of managers of enterprises, production facilities, shops, departments, sections, livestock units and links, brigade foremen, and foremen" [Source 1]. The plenum's decisions are being realized. Examples of elections of not only foremen but also directors of enterprises are multiplying. The principle of the election of production managers is reinforced in the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (or Association)" adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet in June 1987. There is reason to assert that the position of public opinion on this question was taken into account in the revolutionary decisions of the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 7th session, 11th convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet on expanding elections. One can judge this activism above all by the statements of newspapers, and not just those of recent ones [Source 4].

Questions of election of managers were especially actively discussed during the nationwide discussion of the draft of the Law on the State Enterprise (or Association). The discussion resulted in a number of more precise formulations and additions in the final wording of the law. In accordance with these additions, the election of managers is as a rule carried out on a competitive basis; the law envisions the opportunity for the sector leadership to disagree with the decision of the general meeting (or conference) of the labor collective and, if the candidates selected by the labor collective are not ratified by the higher-ranking organ, new elections will be held and the higher-ranking organ is obliged to explain to the collective the reasons for rejecting their candidate; the elected manager can be removed from the post early by the higher-ranking organ on the basis of the decision of the general meeting (or conference) of the

labor collective; the managers of the enterprises and structural units of associations and subdivisions as well as foremen and brigade foremen relieved from their posts before their term is up can be elected again; election of some managers is combined with the appointment of others.

The sounding of public opinion in the late 1960's made a contribution to solving the problem. All the main aspects of election of managers were covered in it; first of all a very substantial differentiation in the positions of the public on the main question of whether to elect managers or not was revealed. The existence among the opponents of elections of people who would not allow it under any conditions suggested that the main subject of the social transformations was not ready for the innovations. The survey also suggested the need to analyze the objective conditions for broad introduction of elections, in particular study of the quantitative and qualitative make-up of production managers. This analysis was done. It showed the following: each post of industrial production manager, including the lowest link, was provided with a specialist with a diploma only by the start of the 1960's.

The question of the limits of election of managers or of elected posts was posed in the study materials. The point is that in the scientific literature of that time the opinion predominated that elected posts should be restricted to lower-ranking managers. Sounding public opinion revealed the error of this restriction and showed that election of low-level and middle-level production managers presupposes a particular form of election but does not deny its fundamental possibility. Only when foremen are elected are direct elections most acceptable, but when directors are elected there should be indirect elections.

In this study the analysis of elections was supplemented by an analysis of competition of candidates for managers. The decisions of the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the need to introduce elections in production are combined with the decision "to expand the practice and define the conditions for using the competitive system of selection and placement of managers and specialists" [Source 1].

The study of the late 1960's investigated in detail the arguments not only for but also against expanding elections. The suggestion that one-man management of the elected manager might be weakened, which many participants in the survey expressed, preserved its force after 20 years. It was no accident that the decree of the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee made the reservation that "in the new conditions correct understanding of the idea that the election of management workers in labor collectives not only does not undermine but in contrast strengthens one-man management, increases managers' prestige, and in addition raises their accountability for the work and creates an atmosphere of mutual high demands and standards in each collective becomes important" [Source 1]. One-man management and elections are concepts with varied

content, and the development of elections by no means weakens one-man management.

It may be assumed that today there are many more advocates of elections of managers of different ranks than in the past. Hot debates are being held on the most effective ways to broadly expand elections, the mechanism for identifying candidates, the shaping of informed groups of voters, and on many other aspects of the subject. Indeed, is the question, for example, of electing the enterprise director at the general meeting or conference of members of the labor collective clear? Do voters in this case have the necessary competence? What is the optimal number of candidates for an elected manager post? Who should take the initiative to nominate candidates—the party organization, the labor collective council, the cadre office? How should elections be combined with a competition of candidates? As yet there are no unequivocal answers to these and other questions.

The form of election and structure of the body of voters can be very diverse. The system of graduated elections where the rank-and-file workers elect the subdivision manager and the latter, the manager of the enterprise, is well known. Graduated election has a number of advantages over direct election. The conditions of the relatively small number of people and constant contacts where the workers who are on one "rung" of the management structure know each other well mean that all these people act as a unified group in the role of voters too. From election to election they may directly observe the activity of the manager and, consequently, their competence as voters increases sharply and the probability of mistakes decreases.

Another system proposes a more complex body of voters. As an example one may cite the election of the main director of a theater by the members of the artistic council, who themselves vote at the general meeting of the labor collective. Figures in literature, art, and science and representatives of creative unions, societies, production enterprises, and organs of culture who are not in the theater staff can also be part of this council. As a result there will be a fairly complex mechanism where the confirmation of the main director in the post will depend on the decision of the outside members of the artistic council. The Eighth USSR Writers' Congress proposed electing directors of publishing houses and editors in chief of journals. The members of the journals' editorial councils are supposed to be the voters in the latter case. The election of the school director can be a direct election when members of the teachers' labor collective and representatives of the parents' committee vote for him. The directors of schools and other persons who do not make up a single labor collective will obviously elect the head of the rayon department of public education.

Many other aspects of the problem of elections can be named where it would be useful to call on the public. Of course, for decades the real condition of public opinion was not and moreover has still not become the object of detailed

scientific research. The practice of elections in kolkhozes, consumer cooperatives, social organizations, and local soviets has not been studied. But proposals to expand elections to the level of enterprise managers have been condemned as contradicting the principles of socialism.

Now philosophers, sociologists, and jurists should repair the omission. The rapidly developing practice of elections needs accurate forecasting and sensible recommendations. The subject and object of elections to various posts and the body of groups of voters must be carefully studied from the standpoint of the number and sociodemographic traits as well as from the standpoint of traits of consciousness. Special attention should be devoted to the initiators in nominating candidates and to determination of the role of communists. The procedures of elections, the mechanism for formulating decisions, the characteristics of replaceability, and the merits and shortcomings of elections to certain posts should be scrupulously analyzed. Scientists should do everything in their power to insure that a promising method of forming organs of management is not compromised by incompetent or wrong practices in holding elections.

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Management Cadres' Attitude Toward Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism of the Agroindustrial Complex

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[Article by Ivar Khelmutoovich Rayg, candidate of economic sciences, senior scientific associate of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, and author of the articles published in this journal "Typology of Private Subsidiary Plots" (No 4, 1984) and "What Can the Individual Farm Do?" (No 1, 1986), under the rubric "Applied Research"]

[Text] During the republic's scientific-practical conference on refining the economic mechanism of the agroindustrial complex [APK] held in Tallinn, a questionnaire

survey was taken among its participants. The researchers were interested in agricultural managers' attitude toward certain innovations. For this purpose the respondents were supposed to answer 10 questions—closed and semi-closed (with a request to add their own variant) and open ones.

Of the 313 who took part in the study 23 percent were kolkhoz chairmen, 22 percent—sovkhoz directors (or their deputies), 20 percent and 19 percent—managers of economic services offices of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, respectively, and 16 percent—workers of other departments. Of those who answered the questionnaire, 88 percent work right at farms or enterprises and 8 percent—in rayon organs. Most (72 percent) have higher agricultural education, 16 percent—secondary specialized, and 12 percent—other higher or secondary education. The age of the majority (65 percent) is from 31 to 50 years of age, 28 percent were older, and 7 percent were younger. Among those surveyed were managers with long terms of service and young specialists and representatives of both the leading farms and other farms. In this way, it can be considered that the results of the survey reflect the opinion of the republic's workers in agriculture, for the most part practical workers.

Most of those surveyed see the low quality of material-technical resources as one of the factors which prevent the level of economic development of agricultural enterprises from rising. This circumstance is insignificant for only 4 percent of the respondents. Managers (93 percent)

consider the present planning system another obstacle to the development of agriculture. Then follow such factors of retardation as the activity of banks and other financial organs (14 percent) and the organization of labor (15-20 percent). No matter how strange it may seem, the most frequently mentioned reasons for lagging behind in recent years—poor conditions, the lack of work force, and their low qualifications—were among the last in the list of negative factors. Only the present system of labor payments and the technology used were evaluated lower. However, despite that only 24 percent of those surveyed believe that the present system of labor payment does not impede a higher level of economic development.

When the new conditions of economic activity were being formulated, the ratio of centralized and decentralized management was one of the central questions. Here the opinions of the respondents diverged. Thus, in the construction field, 41 percent of the respondents favored limiting the rights of central management while 10 percent proposed to eliminate it altogether, but at the same time 34 percent advocated increasing them (Table 1). Managers want economic independence and expansion of their rights above all in the organization of socialist competition, in labor payment, and in planning. It is difficult to accurately interpret this desire to abandon centralized management without further research. On the one hand, it indicates managers' readiness to handle management of these spheres, but on the other (especially in planning), it may be dictated by a desire to put the interests of their own enterprise above those of the state.

Table 1. Distribution of Answers Regarding Desirable Changes in the Management of the Agroindustrial Complex by Central Organs, in percentages

Direct Influence of Central Management in:	Increase	Maintain	Reduce	Eliminate
Planning	8.4	5.2	73.1	13.3
Price-Setting	32.3	24.2	38.0	5.5
Labor Payment	11.1	12.0	42.0	34.9
Supply	57.5	7.0	27.2	8.3
Marketing	24.4	16.0	48.8	10.8
Construction	34.0	14.8	40.8	10.4
Socialist Competition	6.3	36.0	19.7	38.0
Cadre Instruction	39.8	37.8	14.5	7.9
Introduction of Scientific Advances	68.6	18.6	6.9	5.9

More than half of those surveyed believe central management must be increased in the field of introduction of scientific advances. Unfortunately, we have sad experience with unthinking introduction of scientists' proposals on a centralized basis without consideration of local conditions. Obviously this was what those who believe that even in this sphere the rights of farms should be substantially expanded had in mind. They should be more interested in introducing the scientific advances and having the right and opportunity to stimulate the work of scientists and involve them in joint activity. Many proposed eliminating dictated forms of work in this sphere and replacing them with recommended forms.

Answers to the question "What organizational forms of production should be introduced in the republic's agroindustrial complex?" contained interesting proposals. It became clear that there were more advocates of the collective and family contract among auxiliary enterprises for processing agricultural products as well as among cost-accounting branches and departments of major farms and enterprises. Subsidiary farms at industrial and other nonagricultural enterprises and agrocompanies like Kubani and Pandivere proved to be most unpopular (Table 2).

Table 2. Distribution of Answers to Question on the Prospects of Developing Different Forms of Organization of Production in the Estonian SSR APK, in percentages

Organizational Forms of Production	Answers		
	Worth Developing	Worth Developing in Certain Cases	Not Worth Developing
Auxiliary Enterprises for Processing Agricultural Products	51.0	42.5	6.5
Cost-Accounting Branches and Departments of Major Farms and Enterprises	51.0	35.8	13.2
Agricompanies (like Kubani and Pandivere)	23.9	61.6	14.5
Production Systems (on the example of the Hungarian People's Republic)	43.4	49.1	7.5
Auxiliary Enterprises of Industrial and Nonindustrial Enterprises for Producing Agricultural Products	14.1	25.4	60.5
Small Farms and Enterprises	36.7	54.1	
Collective and Family Contract	46.8	50.0	3.2
Individual Farm-Type Family Livestock Units	32.6	55.4	12.0
Joint Enterprises with the Agricultural Enterprises of Socialist Countries	47.5	48.5	4.0
Joint Enterprises with the Firms of Capitalist Countries	44.5	49.5	6.0
Cooperatives of Domestic Services and Public Catering at Farms and Enterprises	45.5	43.1	11.4
Individual Labor Activity (In Addition to the Main Job)	35.3	53.3	11.4

Different organizational forms of production must obviously be used in different natural and economic conditions. Economic managers want to have the freedom to select the most optimal solutions. It should be said that now the opportunity already exists to use most of the proposed organizational forms of production in practice. Only the necessary socioeconomic and legal conditions have not been formed for introducing individual farm-type family livestock units.

To the open question of additional measures to improve production results in the APK system the answers obtained depended on the level of management (enterprise, rayon, or republic) which was being discussed. For the enterprise the respondents consider it useful to have more independence in resolving economic and social questions and to achieve glasnost in the distribution of resources and bonuses. Many expect changes in the management structure, work style, and placement of cadres of the Estonian SSR Agroprom and hope for less bureaucratism in clerical work, improvement in information on scientific advances, and legislation in accordance with the new conditions of economic activity.

Conference participants showed special interest in the central link of the economic mechanism—planning. There it turned out that the higher the degree of economic development of the economic unit in which the respondents worked, the more energetically they advocated improved planning. Of those working at the most highly developed farms, 29 percent consider eliminating central management's direct influence on planning necessary. As for the influence of age on the attitude toward planning, the following pattern for the most part operated there: the younger the expert, the more fervently he supported changes. The educational level of those surveyed differentiated the attitude toward planning on a linear basis: the higher it was, the more advocates of change in the group.

But the respondent's place of work proved to be the most significant of the differentiating factors when the question of the planning procedure was answered. Nineteen percent of the kolkhoz chairmen, 21 percent of the sovkhoz directors, and approximately 13 percent of the party and scientific workers advocated eliminating centralized planning. But there were none at all among workers of the APK apparat who wanted to abandon the accepted system of planning (See Table 3).

Table 3. Experts' Attitude Toward Centralized Management in Planning, in percentage of given group

Place of Work and Position	Direct Influence of Central Management Must:			
	Be Increased	Remain at the Same Level	Be Reduced	Be Eliminated
Kolkhoz Chairman	11.8	2.9	66.2	19.1
Chief Economist	9.6	12.9	71.0	6.5
Sovkhoz Director	7.5	1.5	70.1	20.9
Sovkhoz Chief Economist	8.3	8.3	75.0	8.4
Apparat Worker	0	0	100	0

Table 3. Experts' Attitude Toward Centralized Management in Planning, in percentage of given group

		Direct Influence of Central Management Must:		
Worker in Other Department	0	0	83.3	16.7
Party Worker	25.0	0	62.5	12.5
Scientific Worker	0	0	85.7	14.3
On the Average	8.4	5.2	73.1	13.3

These data are too significant to be ignored. If we want restructuring to progress in the interests and with the support of workers in agriculture, their desires and proposals must be studied and taken into account. Otherwise, there is a danger that the changes, if they happen, will be in the interests of the managers of departments.

The Estonian SSR Institute of Economics has formulated a number of measures to protect and expand the rights of farms and enterprises of the agroindustrial complex which should be introduced in 1988. The atmosphere of glasnost which is spreading in our society demands that when innovations are introduced they must be coordinated with the practical workers involved. Surveys of public opinion or, as in our case at least of experts, give reason to be assured that the new agrarian policy is carried out in the interests of the rural population and takes their requirements and needs into account.

Deposit Secrets (Dynamics of Personal Monetary Savings)

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[Article by Vladimir Fedorovich Anurin, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior teacher at the Gorkiy Higher Party School, published in this journal for the first time]

[Text] Monetary accumulations in savings banks (since 1988 the Bank of Labor Savings and Loans of the USSR Population) are a very important element of the population's prosperity. Suffice it to say that according to data of USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], the amount of deposits on 1 December 1987 was 257.4 billion rubles. The structure and dynamics of savings are related in the most direct way to the social and economic policy being carried out. Above all this relates to relations between the productivity of public labor and its payment, on the one hand, and monetary incomes, on the other. In particular, according to the opinion of some specialists, earnings which have reached a certain level (fairly high, by the way) cease to be a stimulus for increasing the labor contribution. That, however, does not mean that material expectations have approached the limits of possibility. On the contrary, some workers begin to look for a sphere to apply their efforts which would not simply increase but sharply increase incomes, that is, make them rich. In addition, personal purchasing power and how the market is satisfying demand can be judged by monetary savings. Finally, the dynamics and

structure of accumulations depend on policy in the sphere of distribution. In this connection the following question is of particular interest: to what degree have leveling tendencies in distribution, when "many procedures seem to be calculated to insure that no one gets too rich, causes envy or hurt, or is singled out from the ranks" [Source 3], helped equitably distribute real monetary incomes (it is assumed that the latter are reflected one way or another in the dynamics of monetary savings).

We will examine these problems using the example of Gorkiy Oblast. The article uses data from the annual reports of the Gorkiy Oblast State Labor Savings Bank Administration and Statistical Administration for 1970-1986. The base year chosen was 1970. The next year, 1971, the 24th CPSU Congress proclaimed increasing personal prosperity the main task of the 9th Five-Year Plan Period [Source 1].

Deposits and Depositors

In the period under study, personal monetary income steadily increased, and at a higher rate, for example, than the oblast's population grew. While the latter increased by 0.3 percent in 15 years, the number of savings books almost doubled (increased by a factor of 1.9) and monetary accumulations in accounts more than quintupled. The oblast even exceeded average Union indicators slightly. During this period the USSR population increased by slightly more than 14 percent, while the total amount of deposits in savings banks almost quintupled.

The average size of a deposit also increased at a significant rate (See Figure 1). There were no substantial differences between workers and employees and the average size of a deposit of these groups was close to the indicators for the whole oblast. It is more accurate to say that the first exceeded the second, since workers and employees make up about 70 percent of the total number of depositors while the money in their accounts is two-thirds the total sum of deposits. As for kolkhoz members, their savings substantially exceeded the average size of a deposit for the oblast as a whole (in 1971—by a factor of 1.45 and in 1986—by a factor of 1.55).

But the undoubted leader here was deposits to bearer accounts. In 1978 the average size of this deposit was more than double the oblast-wide indicator. Such a form of use of savings was for a long time completely anonymous not only in relationship to other people but also to the savings banks employees themselves and, hence, to

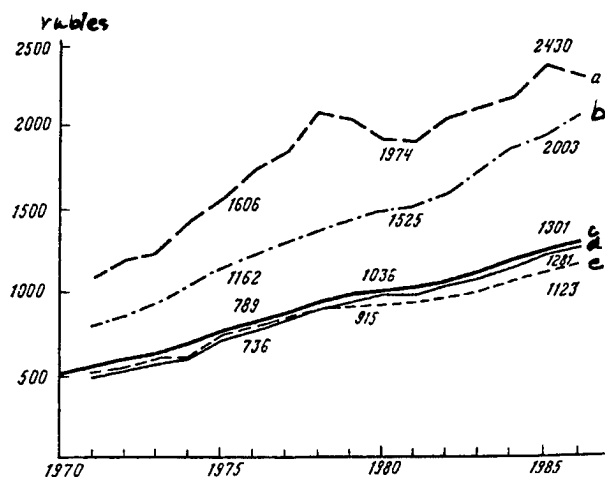


FIGURE 1 Average Size of Deposit: a) for bearer accounts; b) for kolkhoz members; c) for the oblast as a whole; d) for workers; e) for employees

the monitoring organs. And therefore it was the most convenient method of accumulating nonlabor incomes. Let us note that for a time the number of these deposits remained approximately the same. Obviously, the group of owners of these savings books remained relatively stable. The situation changed in 1978. In accordance with the order of USSR Gosbank [State Bank] and the instructions adopted to carry it out [Source 4], the principle of anonymity was to a significant degree restricted (for example, when any amount is withdrawn from the account, the passport must be presented). Possibly these measures were the reason that the number of deposits to bearer accounts declined (in 1986 they fell by a factor of 1.7 as compared to 1971) and their total amount declined (by a factor of 1.34 from 1979 through 1986). However, even now there are almost 40,000 rubles more in these savings books than in 1971.

In 1971 the total number of personal accounts was 44 percent of the population size, and in 1986—77 percent. This suggests the idea that today practically every adult inhabitant of the oblast must have a savings book. Statistics allow us to make an interesting discovery: each person working in the economy accounts for 1.25 personal accounts. In Figure 2 it is obvious that back in 1982 the total number of deposits of workers and employees coincided with their total number. For kolkhoz members such a situation was characteristic as long ago as the start of the 1970's. But by 1985 every 100 kolkhoz members owned 192 savings books.

But how many depositors keep their savings in two or more accounts? Such a record has not been made at all. If a person opens up another or, let us say, two savings books (and that is not prohibited even in one savings bank), statistics dutifully record one or two more new depositors and, accordingly, deposits. Even though only one person really owns them. In short, the average size of a deposit is still not the indicator of the monetary savings

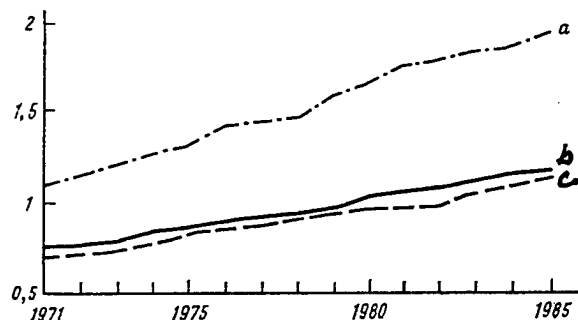


FIGURE 2 Number of Deposits per Person Working: a) in the kolkhoz-cooperative sector; b) in the oblast economy as a whole; c) in the state sector

of representatives of different social groups. Savings bank employees assert that it is virtually impossible to organize that record. To a certain degree that is true—the problem can only be fully resolved when computer equipment is universally introduced in savings business practice and a unified data bank is set up. Nonetheless, even today a sample survey can be conducted on the subject, and that would enable us to determine at least the general trends. Incidentally, the study conducted in 1983 by the oblast savings bank administration showed that the increase in total savings for the most part comes about through newly opened deposits.

What are the sources of monetary accumulations? We have information on only one of them—earnings. But it is the main source for the absolute majority of the population. In this connection let us examine the dynamics of three processes: growth in labor productivity, earnings, and monetary accumulations (see Figures 3 and 4). In the state sector as a whole the law of greater growth in labor productivity as compared to earnings is observed. It is a general trend we are speaking of, since information is cited only for industry, and earnings there increased somewhat more rapidly than in the state sector as a whole during that period. However, the sums of deposits of workers and employees increased even more rapidly.

As for the kolkhoz sector, here there was no year when the above-mentioned law was not violated. And of course the rate of growth in monetary savings substantially exceeded the indicator of labor payment. Let us note, however, that the total deposits of kolkhoz members increase more slowly than those of workers and employees in the state sector. This circumstance is in contradiction with at the very least two facts. First, for the former, monetary labor payment increases more rapidly than for the latter (see Figures 3 and 4). Secondly, kolkhoz members, unlike most workers and employees, have private subsidiary plots. And that is a source of additional monetary incomes.

Of course, there are sovkhos workers among people working in the state sector. A large number of them also have private subsidiary plots. However, the proportion

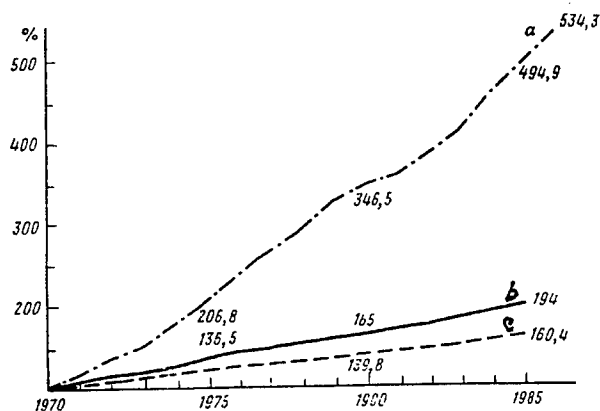


FIGURE 3 Comparative Dynamics: a) of monetary deposits of the oblast's workers and employees; b) of labor productivity in industry; c) of the average earnings of workers and employees. Indicators in 1970 were taken as 100 percent.

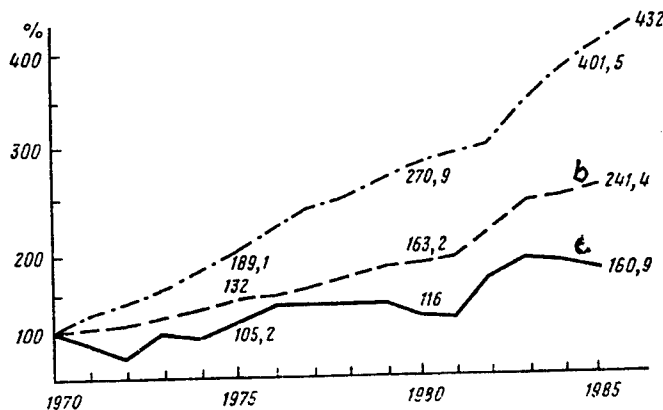


FIGURE 4 Comparative Dynamics: a) of monetary deposits of kolkhoz members; b) of average monetary labor payment of kolkhoz members; c) of average earnings per kolkhoz member.

of this group is not so great (4.6 percent in 1985), and their additional incomes can hardly have a substantial effect on the general picture.

But what is going on? Several factors are obviously at work here. First of all the traditional precept to keep "extra" (or rather, free money) "in the coin box" must not be ignored. Experience suggests that it is precisely among the rural population that such a view is more deeply rooted. Unfortunately, we do not have convincing statistical data either to confirm or refute this hypothesis. It is true that the results presented in Figure 2 attest to denser distribution of deposits among kolkhoz members than among workers and employees and, consequently, give some reason to doubt the assumption given.

Furthermore, the cause of both this contradiction and even more the general circumstance that monetary savings grow faster than earnings is the personal income

which in the literature is called "unexplained" [Source 5]. Both honestly earned and clearly nonlabor money belongs here. The nature of and criteria for differentiating between them are, of course, debatable, but the real amounts can only be surmised for now. According to calculations of the Central Statistical Administration, every year the population pays private individuals 1.5 billion rubles for various kinds of services [Source 2]. However, there is reason to believe these data are incomplete.

Money and Goods

One other factor is discussed in the literature. "The general reason for this irrational part of accumulations is the disbalance between the masses of commodities and money when there is not a flow of consumer goods equivalent to the monetary assets which the population accumulates rapidly" [Source 6]. Let us see how fair this opinion is for Gorkiy Oblast. Presented in Figure 5 are the dynamics of three processes: retail commodity turnover of state and cooperative trade (including public catering); growth in monetary accumulations in savings banks; and the effective demand of the employed population. The latter was calculated in the following way. The average monthly earnings of workers and employees over a year were multiplied by their total number. The total annual monetary labor payment of kolkhoz members was figured in the same way. Adding the sums obtained also gives the amount of monetary assets which the employed population should have (without counting other sources). Of course, in order to determine the effective demand of all the oblast's residents, pensions, stipends, and other payments must be added in. And apart from purchases in the trade network, other personal expenditures, among them payment for municipal services, expenses for leisure and to satisfy cultural needs, and the like, should also be added to the volume of retail commodity turnover. However, in our opinion the rough estimate we made is sufficient to identify trends.

Calculations show that the rates of growth in the effective demand of the employed population and in retail commodity turnover practically coincide. What we said, of course, does not mean that there is no delayed demand. There is and each person senses it even from personal experience. In the summer of 1987 a sample survey of the structure and stability of deposits was conducted in the oblast. It showed that people deposit money above all for constant accumulations in order to withdraw the whole sum later. Thus, the average size of a receipt transaction (210 rubles) is considerably less than that of an expenditure transaction (301 rubles). Nonetheless, we are right to speak of the major influence of delayed demand on the amount of monetary savings only if commodity turnover lags markedly behind effective demand. However, it is obvious in Figure 5 that in time the first even exceeds the latter, though just slightly.

As should be expected, fluctuations in the summary increase in monetary deposits (rather than the sum of the

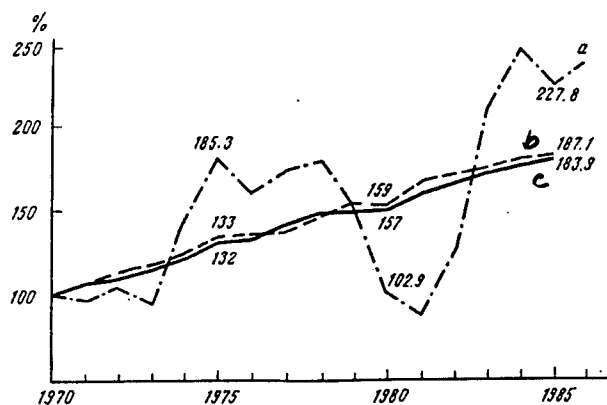


FIGURE 5 Comparative Dynamics of a) rate of increase in personal monetary deposits; b) retail commodity turnover of state and cooperative trade; c) effective demand of employed population.

deposits themselves) in general correspond to the dynamics of supply and demand: commodity turnover lagging behind the volume of monetary assets in the hands of the population involves growth in savings (that is, increased delayed demand) and vice-versa. However, the sharp "spurts" (both from above and from below) in the growth curve of deposits cannot be explained using this dependence. Obviously, planning is the least characteristic of the three processes for accumulating monetary assets studied. The uncontrollable spontaneity of the market is clearly raging here (above all the part of it which is outside state regulation). It may be assumed that it was precisely in the "peak" years that the unfavorable conditions became established in the market of private commodities and services. Or in contrast: certain new, additional channels for obtaining "unexplained incomes" appeared.

Increased market spontaneity entails a negative social consequence—the poorly-off get even poorer; in other words, stratification and differentiation of the population in terms of property and to a significant extent—despite each person's real labor contribution in the public sector.

Can Leveling Prevent Differentiation of Incomes?

How concretely is this process manifested? Figure 6 reflects the data which characterize the proportion of various groups in relationship to the amount of savings and summary volume of deposits at their disposal. We took only two groups of persons: those with deposits of less than 300 rubles and those with deposits of more than 5,000 rubles. In the first case there is a downward trend in the size of the group and in the summary volume of deposits. This indirectly confirms the increased general level of personal prosperity. Intermediate categories which are not shown in the figure (with savings of from 300 to 1,000 rubles, from 1,000 to 2,500 rubles, and

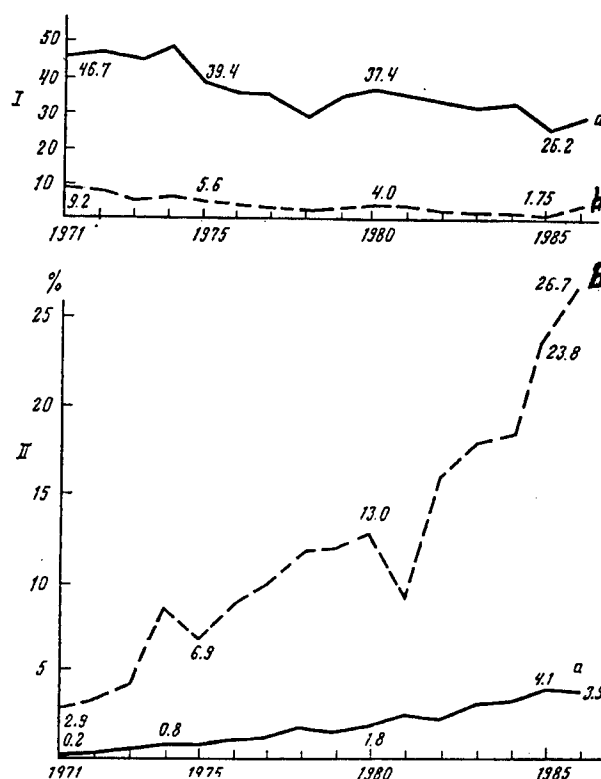


FIGURE 6 Dynamics of deposits in relation to their amount. I - deposits up to 300 rubles. II - deposits over 5000 rubles; a) quantity of deposits; b) share of deposits in the general sum of savings.

from 2,500 to 5,000 rubles) show a certain stability from the standpoint of the indicators examined. But significant changes have occurred during the 15 years in the group of those people who have a sum greater than 5,000 rubles. If one abstracts from the sharp drops in 1974 and 1981 (completely accounted for by the randomness of the sample), then the rapid growth in the sum of deposits is striking against the background of the slower increase in the number who own them. On the whole the situation looks like this: in 1986 more than one-quarter of the money placed in savings banks was in less than 4 percent of the savings books. At the same time, however, about 60 percent of the depositors shared less than one-fifth the total sum. The curve of savings of persons who have a deposit of more than 10,000 rubles rises even more sharply. In 1973-1974 their number was measured in thousandths of a percent, although the sum of their deposits made up 0.1 percent in 1973 and 0.4 percent in 1974. In 1985 the group's proportion reached 0.4 percent but the amount of the savings exceeded 5 percent. The category of those who have less than 300 rubles in a savings book is 65 times larger than this group of depositors. Nonetheless, the sum of savings of the first is triple the savings of the second. And, judging from everything, the gap continues to widen. For the time being there are only a handful of deposits of more than 25,000 and 50,000 rubles. However, let us not forget that

one person can own two or more savings books. There is also reason to assume that the owners of large deposits seem to "freeze" them and use other accounts for day-to-day needs. (In any case sample surveys show that accounts with balances of more than 5,000 rubles are not replenished and savings books with small balances account for the increase. This confirms the hypothesis of the rapid accumulation of monetary assets in the group of persons with substantial savings.)

The data cited eloquently confirms that the policy of leveling in the wages sphere has by no means led to leveled incomes. On the contrary, such a policy, if it did not in fact serve as the cause, in any case promoted their spontaneous redistribution. That could not fail to lead to greater social differentiation.

We shall try to give just a rough forecast of the dynamics of savings beyond the "top" threshold (5,000 rubles). If one assumes that even the average rate of this process is maintained (rather than the maximum, as in the last 5 years), by the year 2000 slightly more than 7 percent of the depositors will own almost half (48 percent) of the savings in Gorkiy Oblast. Incidentally, that is not so very improbable, considering the revival of personal initiative and opportunity for greater incomes offered by the Law on Individual Labor Activity.

Let us summarize the results. An altogether appreciable gap was noted between the rate of growth in monetary savings, on the one hand, and wages, on the other. The first increase more rapidly than the latter and, in addition, substantially exceed the indicators of increased labor productivity. Furthermore, the viewpoint is widespread that increased monetary savings are a direct expression of delayed demand. It seems that the link between these factors is not so unequivocal. The conditions which take shape spontaneously on the market of private services and goods and the amounts and methods of obtaining so-called unexplained incomes play a significant role here. Identifying their structure and sources is of theoretical and practical importance. Finally, the process of social differentiation is intensified under the influence of spontaneous redistribution of "unexplained incomes." Estimates show that monetary incomes of the most well-off families exceed the incomes of the less well-off by a factor of approximately 3.5 [Source 7]. Let us add to this that the average amount of savings of owners of deposits of more than 5,000 rubles is almost 50 times more than the sum which is in the accounts of those with deposits of less than 300 rubles. Most likely this gap is more significant if one assumes that there are more owners of several savings books in the first group than in the second.

And a final comment. The conclusions drawn on the materials of Gorkiy Oblast need to be concretized and tested at other sites. But the differences—and they are very substantial—can be observed even within the limits of one economic region (the Volgo-Vyatsk, for example). Thus, on 1 January 1986 there were the following

numbers of deposits to bearer accounts: 766 in Gorkiy Oblast; 3 in the Mari ASSR; and 2 in the Chuvash ASSR. Merely the difference in the size of the population hardly accounts for this circumstance.

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Cost-Accounting Polyclinics in Moscow
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[Article by Nikita Vadimovich Kirichenko, junior scientific associate of the Economics Scientific Research Institute under USSR Gosplan, and Georgiy Yuryevich Shvyrykov, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Economic Problems of Comprehensive Development of the Economy, both published in the journal for the first time]

[Text] The Moscow network of cost-accounting medical treatment institutions combines seven general polyclinics, nine stomatological clinics, a children's clinic, a homeopathic clinic, a cosmetic medicine clinic, and a narcological outpatient clinic. The development of paid medical services in Moscow has its prerequisites. One of the main ones is the need to offset private treatment practice with paid forms of state medical services at a moderate rate. Of the admissions to cost-accounting general polyclinics 93.4 percent are consultative in

nature, and for the most part specialists with university degrees and titles provide the consultations (69.1 percent). The following facts indirectly confirm the higher professional competence of specialists at pay-for-service [hereafter called paid] medical institutions: the admitting diagnoses given at other medical institutions are completely changed in 13 percent of the cases and they are defined more accurately in 15-17 percent of the cases. Moreover, in diseases in the fields of neurology and psychoneurology, gynecology, and urology, diagnoses are modified in more than 35 percent of the cases. It is precisely to Moscow's paid institutions that sick people who have not received help locally turn: during the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan more than 1.5 million visitors were served at the city's cost-accounting general polyclinics.

In this way, the system of paid medical services supplements free forms of health care and creates the possibility of receiving medical assistance on a level which exceeds the social norm. The Comprehensive Program for Developing the Production of Consumer Goods and the Services Sphere for 1986 to the Year 2000 envisions, in addition to all-out development of free medical services, an expanded volume of services of cost-accounting medical treatment and preventive institutions [Source 1]. In connection with this evaluating the economic efficiency of these institutions, studying demand for the services they offer, and refining the existing rates are especially important.

It should be noted that the scope of the services offered by cost-accounting medical treatment institutions now is already very significant. Thus, the proportion of Moscow medical institutions which offer paid services to the population accounts for 3.7 percent of the total volume of paid health care services in the entire Soviet Union. And this proportion is in fact even greater since services offered by medical driver commissions, sanitary epidemiological stations, and certain other institutions not involved in treatment and diagnosis activity belong here. Paid visits amounted to 3.9 percent of the total volume of visits to Moscow's polyclinics in 1985 (not considering preventive services to the population carried out in rayon and departmental polyclinics).

Although paid polyclinics are somewhat better staffed with medical cadres than institutions subordinate to the Moscow City Ispolkom Main Administration of Health Care as a whole, they are still 10-20 percent short on doctors and middle-level medical personnel. And the Law on Individual Labor Activity that has been adopted may aggravate the situation by causing a drain of qualified specialists. It should also be noted that the time norms of workload per hour do not correspond to the present demands for quality of medical services to the population. As the study showed, doctors at cost-accounting polyclinics spend 1.5-2 times more of the time envisioned receiving sick people, since the proportion of people who have come for aid for the first time approaches 50 percent and examining them, as is well

known, requires special attention. Bringing workload norms per doctor into line with practice is also necessary in order to straighten out labor payment, since more than 85 percent of the specialists with university degrees work in paid institutions and hold two jobs.

The shortage of work space in the city's paid polyclinics is still a serious problem. It is precisely because of the crowding that it is impossible to set up the conveniences for visitors and personnel and place the medical equipment in most of these polyclinics. The workload per work space exceeds the norm by a factor of 1.5 throughout the polyclinics as a whole.

The problem of profitability is one of the central questions of the development of paid medical services for the population. Scientifically substantiated workups on this question do not exist. At the same time the expenses of cost-accounting medical treatment institutions are not even covered with the present billing rates, and that impedes the introduction of new types of services involving medical equipment and leads to disproportions in the profitability of polyclinics with different specializations. In 10 years (from 1976 through 1985) the volume of paid services offered by paid institutions rose by a factor of almost 1.3. And while the profits of general polyclinics, clinics, and outpatient clinics rose by a factor of 1.5, in stomatology it fell by a factor of almost 4.5.

In such a situation paid polyclinics have become unprofitable (in 1985 22.9 kopecks of income per ruble of expenditures), and stomatological polyclinics are losing money (0.6 kopecks per ruble). By no means the last reason for this situation is the disorder in prices, including those involving price changes for medical materials. While in the structure of expenditures for the services of paid general polyclinics the proportion of expenditures for medical materials amounts to only 5.4 percent, in stomatology it reaches 47.3 percent.

In this way, the existing profitability norms and consequently fees of paid medical treatment institutions do not ensure realization of the principles of cost-accounting.

In studying the population's demand for the services of paid polyclinics, the first thing that must be reviewed is the general picture of the commodity-monetary balance in Moscow. A significant disproportion presently exists between the volume of monetary incomes and personal savings, and the volume of goods and paid services for sale. The proportion of personal monetary income which is not really covered by available goods and services is very significant, and in 1985 the volume of involuntary savings, according to our estimates, amounted to 25 percent of all of Muscovites' savings. It seems to us that one of the ways to resolve this situation is to develop a system of paid services, and that presupposes expanding their products list, raising quality, refining fees, and shifting enterprises to real cost-accounting and self-financing.

A survey of chief doctors and employees of the registry offices of paid medical institutions confirmed that the capabilities of cost-accounting polyclinics lag seriously behind demand for them. Thus, in the city's stomatological polyclinics only one out of six people who come for aid is served in a day. In general polyclinics, where preliminary registration exists, a person must wait for a week to two months for an appointment with a doctor. In the last 10 years 35.2 percent of those who turned to paid polyclinics for help did not receive it. At the same time, however, cost-accounting polyclinics work with large overloads. In fact people's appointments with doctors exceed the norm by factor of from 2 to 3.5.

Under the present rate of development of paid medical services to the population (during the 11th Five-Year Plan the number of visits to general polyclinics increased by 14 percent and to stomatological ones—by 8 percent), we cannot rely on changes. In addition, the number of people from other cities and rural residents who come to the capital for medical care rises every year, and that increases unsatisfied demand for paid services even more.

All these conclusions are also confirmed by the results of an anonymous survey of visitors to paid polyclinics.¹ The results coincide with the data of 1982 (N = 8,301 people) in terms of comparable indicators. The study showed that according to the evaluation of those surveyed, the average cost of a visit to a paid polyclinic is much too low. With the condition that all visitors' demands for service be completely satisfied, the respondents believe, the rate could be almost tripled (2.86 times) and reach 13 rubles in general medical treatment institutions and 13.5—in stomatological ones. At the present time the volume of services rendered in cost terms is equal to approximately 30,000 to 50,000 rubles a day, and that is only 10-17 percent of the existing demand.

Visitors' Opinions of the Amount of Payment per Visit to a Cost-Accounting Polyclinic (not counting first-time visits), in percentages

	For the visit they actually paid:			
	less than 5 rubles	from 5 to 15 rubles	from 15 to 25 rubles	more than 25 rubles
They believe that:				
rates should be lower	1.5	20.0	40.6	50
rates should be at the present level	12.4	14.4	26.0	50
rates should be higher than present rates	86.1	65.6	33.4	—

According to our data, 15.6 percent of the patients spent less than 1 ruble for a visit to a paid polyclinic; 40.5 percent—less than 3 rubles; and 16.8 percent—less than 5 rubles, that is, almost 73 percent of those surveyed spent less than 5 rubles for treatment at paid polyclinics. In all 39.4 percent of the patients spent less than 15 rubles for treatment in paid polyclinics in 1986. (The data does not take into account those who came to a paid polyclinic for

the first time). And 66.6 percent of the respondents indicated that expenditures for treatment in paid polyclinics were not a burden for the family budget (64.1 percent of the visitors to general polyclinics gave that answer and 69.1 percent—to stomatological polyclinics).

At the same time, however, a substantial proportion of those surveyed believe that on the condition that their demands for quality medical services are fully satisfied, the rate could be higher than it is.

And the patients who paid for a visit at an average level of cost per visit for cost-accounting institutions (3-5 rubles) answered as follows to the question of the amount of the desired rate: the rate should be lower—7.2 percent; what it is now—13.2 percent; higher—79.6 percent (of those 20.4 percent proposed a rate of 5-10 rubles, 19.8 percent—10-25 rubles, and 39.4 percent—more than 25 rubles).

The low-income group of patients to paid medical treatment institutions (monetary incomes of not over 85 rubles a month) constitute 21.3 percent and the proportion of persons with an average income level (from 85 to 150 rubles a month) totals 57.2 percent. So 78.5 percent of the patients at paid polyclinics can be classified as people without high incomes, which proves the availability of these institutions to various categories of the population. And of the respondents with average per capita income of less than 85 rubles a month, 49 percent indicated that the expenditures incurred were not a burden for their family budget, 39 percent said that they were, and 12 percent were not sure. Of patients with an average income level, expenditures for treatment at paid polyclinics were not burdensome for 68 percent, were burdensome for 18 percent, and 14 percent had difficulty giving an answer. Among people with incomes of more than 150 rubles a month per family member, 82 percent noted that expenditures for treatment for them were of no importance.

In this way, one can certainly see that higher rates for medical services in paid institutions will cause a relative decline in effective demand among low-income groups of the population. At the same time, however, expansion of the network of these institutions and the creation of budget-based diagnostic centers will open additional and unburdensome opportunities for a large part of the population to receive highly skilled medical aid. A comprehensive approach to increasing the quality of medical services for the population will enable socially negative consequences to be avoided when rates for services are changed. It should obviously be taken into account that more than 77 percent of those surveyed are prepared to pay for emergency care at a higher rate, that women visit these polyclinics much more actively than men (68 percent as opposed to 32 percent), that persons under 40 years of age made up the bulk of patients (56 percent), and that the proportion of pension-age persons among patients who came for paid medical aid is 9.3 percent.

In terms of place of residence patients at paid polyclinics were distributed in the following way: Moscow residents—65.6 percent (to general polyclinics—62.1 percent and to stomatological polyclinics—69.1 percent), residents of Moscow Oblast—22.6 percent (19.4 percent and 25.8 percent, respectively) and visitors from other cities and oblasts—11.8 percent (18.5 percent and 5.1 percent, respectively). This structure fully coincides with the results of the sociological survey conducted in 1982 and confirms that the additional workload on Moscow's cost-accounting polyclinic network is not declining. The doctors most often visited at the time of the last survey were internists (21 percent), surgeons (18.9 percent), neuropathologists (11.4 percent), stomatologists (34.1 percent), and prostheticstomatologists (22.2 percent).

Among the reasons which induce people to turn to cost-accounting polyclinics for medical help, in the opinion of patients higher qualifications of the doctors there is the leading reason—56.6 percent, a more attentive attitude toward patients on the part of the medical personnel—38.5 percent; lack of the necessary specialists in rayon polyclinics—20.9 percent, and of medical equipment—19.2 percent; and higher quality of medical materials and medicines used—18.4 percent (for stomatological polyclinics this reason comes in third and accounts for 26.9 percent). And another reason—less time is spent waiting in line here.

The network of paid medical treatment institutions which presently exists is concentrated in the center of the city and that creates inconveniences for people who live on the city's periphery. According to the survey, each patient spent an average of approximately 50 minutes for each trip to a paid polyclinic. Naturally, a more convenient location of the network of cost-accounting institutions would increase demand for them.

The study of the socioeconomic aspect of the activity of cost-accounting medical treatment institutions allows us to draw a number of conclusions. First of all, the introduction of full cost-accounting in the network of paid institutions seems justified. Among other things that envisions the polyclinics opening their own personal accounts and their own accounting offices and using part of the profits to expand the network and provide material incentive for doctors and medical personnel. At the same time the chief doctors' rights in the polyclinics' economic activity should be substantially expanded. In addition, changes are needed in the rates for the services of paid polyclinics: existing rates not only do not help satisfy the enormous effective demand, but also create disproportions in the economic activity of medical treatment institutions and mean they are constantly unprofitable or even lose money.

Reform in the area of paid medical services should be carried out in stages. Above all this presupposes increasing the quality of treatment, improving the material-technical base, expanding work areas, and creating an emergency aid office at a higher rate. Payment for

medical services should insure the constant profitability of cost-accounting polyclinics and development of the entire network through internal capital investments.

Footnote

1. About 40 percent of the patients who came to each of the six polyclinics in the survey on the day it was being conducted were questioned. That is 18 percent of those who came to all Moscow's paid polyclinics on that day.

Prostitution in the Context of the Change in Sexual Morality

18060005k Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88
(signed to press 21 Mar 88) pp 65-70

[Article by Sergey Isayevich Golod, doctor of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems, and author of the monographs "The Professional Work of Women and the Family" (1971, coauthor) and "The Stability of the Family: Sociological and Demographic Aspects" (1984) and the article published in our journal "The Study of Sexual Morality in the 1920's" (No 2, 1986)]

[Text] The periodical press has recently published a number of articles devoted to prostitution, or rather, prostitutes. While justifiably heightening attention on the problem by revealing a number of serious moral questions, the press has ignored one of the central features: the relationship between prostitution and sexual morality. The meaning of the concept "prostitution" must be specified and the history of its origin and evolution must be briefly covered in order to adequately pose and analyze this problem.

As is well known, the term "prostitution" comes from the Latin word "prostituere"—"to display oneself publicly." A. Parent-Duchatelet published the first scientific work on this topic in 1836 [Source 3]. Since then prostitution has meant the form of extramarital sexual relations which is not based on personal inclination or sensual attraction and where earnings are an important incentive for one of the parties (the woman) [Source 4; Source 5, p 4]. Sometimes, it is true, the emphasis changes. For example, a contemporary German reference book gives the following definition: "Prostitution is sexual liaison for pay. By the same token the sexual act is reduced to a purely physical process between partners devoid of spirituality" [Source 6]. The phrase "by the same token" [tem samym] stands between the two parts of the definition. It would seem that it is an innocent syntactical construct. But its presence fundamentally changes the matter. If the term mentioned means all

sexual contacts which are accompanied by a gift of value compensation to the woman, then, as A. Kinsey justifiably noted, prostitution cannot be separated from relations between spouses [Source 7]. Strictly speaking, although both characteristics are essential, the definitive one is still the measure of spiritual-emotional involvement in sexual relations. In this case "compensation" acquires an ambiguous status. In the words of V. Tarnvoskiy, a prostitute is always ready to sell "her favors to the first person who offers the price"; unlike her a passionate woman often changes her affections, "but always sincerely and without deception and without counting on profit" [Source 8]. For the first the sexual act is a means, for the second—an end.

But when did prostitution arise? It arose along with society's division into classes. "The legacy bequeathed by group marriage to civilization," wrote F. Engels, "is two-sided, just as everything that was generated by civilization is two-sided, two-faced, internally bifurcated, and contradictory: monogamy on the one hand and heteroism along with its most extreme form—prostitution—on the other" [Source 1]. Some 19th century researchers, not understanding the symbols which stand behind the custom of the right of motherhood, which has vanished, equated them with prostitution. For example, I. Blokh found a similarity with the tradition where women were given away in cathedrals. Lombroso interpreted levirate [the practice of marrying the widow of one's brother] in the same spirit [Source 9]. It is just as absurd to equate the phenomenon being studied and heteroism. Of course, payment for a sexual liaison is the basis of Greek heteroism, and in that sense it is linked with prostitution. Nonetheless, there is no reason to consider women "who by their intellect and artistic taste" (Engels) towered above the general level of women of antiquity prostitutes. In the sixth century B.C. Solon founded *dokterions*. In principle they were conceived of as family-preserving institutions so that unmarried men who could not keep a concubine would not establish contacts with married women. But in fact *dokterions* institutionalized spiritually and emotionally estranged sexual contact based on the woman selling her body and the man paying. Prostitution, by the same token, was a response to the patriarchal principles which had become established. Let us also note that the more complex the society's social organization and consequently type of settlement, the more diverse the structure of extramarital sexual relations is. For example, in Ancient Rome in addition to prostitutes the following women acted as extramarital partners: concubines (*concubina*)—women who were in a virtual marriage, the *pellex* (*pellex*)—mistresses of married men, and *delicates* (*delicata*)—courtly women who entered sexual relationships selectively, out of passion [Source 10].

Prostitution acquired a unique status in the Middle Ages: Catholicism (which, of course, preached a sharply negative attitude toward the "material-corporal lower parts") considered it not only acceptable but to a certain degree necessary. To the Krakow City Council's question

of his attitude toward prostitution, the well-known 15th-century Jesuit Falkenberg answered that "one must endure the lesser of two evils" [Source 11].

Prostitution grew sharply in the capitalist city. Before World War I there were from 60,000 to 80,000 representatives of the oldest profession in Paris, 60,000—in Berlin, and 80,000—in London [Source 5, pp 8-10]. The scope of the phenomenon caused serious public concern and zeal. In the late 19th century different states developed methods of medical and police supervision—so-called regulation—in order to limit and order such relations. However, the prohibition policy proved to be ineffective: prostitution was not localized nor were its negative social consequences minimized. A counter movement also arose—abolitionism; its advocates demanded that "prostitutes' slavery before the law and society be destroyed." In certain countries (England, for example) regulation was abolished, but this apparently humane act was not reflected at the level of prostitution.

Its decline beginning in the early 1920's in Europe and the United States was all the more unexpected. Thus, in 1903 in Russia 42 percent of college students began their sexual life with prostitutes; in 1922—28 percent, and in 1927—14 percent [Source 12]. And after that the indicators continued to decline. Surveys conducted in European countries in the 1960's-1970's confirmed an optimistic evaluation—prostitution had ceased to be an institution which satisfies the sexual needs of young men. Only 1 percent of young men in Poland and 3 percent of young workers in the FRG got sexual experience by turning to prostitutes. In France 4 percent of the youths supported such contacts, while among older people (over 50)—11 percent [Source 13, p 66]. In short, most young people do not choose a prostitute as their partner in their first sexual liaison; for the most part it is representatives of older age groups who use their services. In Bulgaria 56 percent of young men began their sexual life with their fiancée or a girl they loved, in the Netherlands—53 percent, in Finland—47 percent, and in Poland—59 percent [Source 13, p 67]. In this way, for young men their first partner was generally a girl of the same age who frequently had no sexual experience.

Researchers are inclined to explain the narrower range of prostitution, first, by woman's improved economic status and, secondly, by her moral emancipation. In B. Russell's opinion, the disappearance of Victorian morality results, among other things, in prostitution losing its importance. A young man who used to be compelled to seek a random liaison is now able to enter into a sexual relationship with a girl of his own circle. These relations are free for both parties: here the psychological factor is just as important as the physiological [Source 14]. In order to understand the role and place of prostitution in society, it must be examined in the context of the transformation of the sexual behavior of women and men.

Analysis of the whole spectrum of sexual behavior in the last 50-60 years led American sociologists to the conclusion that there had been radical changes in this area

[Source 15]. Unfortunately, there are no works in our scientific literature (other than several articles [Source 16]) which have posed this problem. Therefore, we will describe the essence of the matter in a few words. On the empirical level the sexual revolution can be presented as the "sexual emancipation" of women, that is, the change to a single moral standard. Its most important components are reinterpretation of a number of basic moral concepts and values (the new attitude toward virginity, careful selection of the sexual partner, greater role of sexual satisfaction, and the like), as well as the development of new diverse types of young sexual behavior which are integrated by society and are justified in mass consciousness.

Few people in the West deny the existence of the sexual revolution. But its essence and consequences are interpreted in different ways. Some people believe this phenomenon is a reaction to Puritanism and Victorian morals and a movement toward freedom and a definite step toward honesty. According to this viewpoint, the loss of many taboos and obsolete traditions is progressive, since the positive changes are enormous and the negative effects are temporary. Among the gains are above all the intervention of science, education, and culture in the sphere of sexuality.

Others consider the sexual revolution a symptom of the sickness and moral crisis of contemporary society. The growth in the scope of personal alienation is singled out above all as a negative trend. In analyzing the different aspects of alienation, K. Marx noted that this flaw of capitalism does not affect a person's vital functions—eating and the sexual act [Source 2]. Nowadays this phenomenon has penetrated the sphere of sexual relations; the object of the contact is frequently perceived as internally extraneous, incidental, and emotionally insignificant. Some ideologists of the sexual revolution promote the thesis that identifying sexuality with lofty feelings is old-fashioned. In their opinion, not only marriage and monogamy but love and tender feelings too are seen as something which only neurotic women strive for. Normal people entering sexual relations, they say, are not supposed to worry about mutual hurt feelings but are supposed to behave in an unconstrained and unrepressed way and think exclusively of physical gratification [Source 17].

Each of the positions cited reflects only one facet of the real process—the radical transformation of sexual behavior. But in fact the picture is much more complicated and contradictory; progressive elements are interwoven with regressive ones. Scientific debate, public education, and greater sophistication in feelings and moral responsibility have helped deepen and enrich sexual relations. And as a result, the borders of romantic love have been broadened. At the same time, however, human facelessness and moral immaturity which lead to intensification of estranged sexual contacts are being reproduced on an ever-broader scale. And these contacts,

we are convinced, serve as the natural nutrient of prostitution. Figuratively speaking, romanticism and personal alienation represent the peripheral areas of the sexual behavior of women and men. But the majority are characterized by the "standardized" (average) relations whose origin B. Russell observed. So, on the one hand, under the influence of the process of standardization, prostitution has subsided, and on the other, the spread of elements of alienation in the intimate sphere is creating the ground for a relapse of it.

Relying on the theoretical propositions posed, let us try to analyze the various forms of youth sexual behavior in our country.

The data of surveys conducted in Leningrad and certain other cities in the 1950's-1970's attest to the multifaceted character of sexual morals. In 1965 the attitude of Leningrad students (N = 500 people) on the question of premarital sexual relations was identified: 45 percent approved of them, 22 percent condemned them, and 33 percent were uncertain. A survey conducted for 7 years in the same VUZes (N = 500 people) revealed a similar ratio: 47 percent, 14 percent, and 39 percent, respectively. The distribution of opinions depends above all on the respondent's sex and permanent residence. The first study confirmed the following: 53 percent of the men and 38 percent of the women justify premarital sexual contacts and 16 percent and 27 percent, respectively, condemn them. In the second survey 51 percent and 42 percent were "for" and 11 percent and 18 percent were "against." That means that there is a clear trend toward rapprochement in the moral positions of women and men, assuming the structure of the orientations do not change. This process is traced especially clearly when we are speaking of a potential partner. Of the men 88 percent indicated an opportunity to enter sexual relations with "someone you love" and 95 percent of the women, and with an "acquaintance"—56 percent and 11 percent, respectively. The high social-educational status of young people also facilitates the change to a single moral standard. Among men, 69 percent of the workers with incomplete secondary education, 86 percent of employees with secondary education, and 97 percent of the representatives of the intelligentsia justify a liaison with "someone you love"; among women, 82 percent, 91 percent, and 100 percent, respectively (the survey was conducted in Leningrad in 1968-1970, N = 300).

As for the influence of place of residence, the situation is the following. The higher the level of urbanization in the settlement to which the respondent belongs, the greater the tolerance his views show. According to the 1965 data, 49 percent of the Leningraders and 40 percent of the visitors favored premarital relations, and 16 percent and 27 percent, respectively, condemned them. This relationship was even more clearly revealed in the 1978 study (4,000 students in 18 of the country's VUZes were surveyed). There 58 percent of the native Leningraders justified the fundamental opportunity for premarital sexual practice, 50 percent of the residents of oblast centers did, 47 percent

of the representatives of other cities, 42 percent of the representatives of the capitals of Union republics, 41 percent of the representatives of urban settlements, and 35 percent of the residents of rural areas did (in all cases other than the indicators for the capitals of republics and urban-type settlements, discrepancies in the distribution of answers were statistically significant).

Let us single out the following features in briefly summarizing the characteristics of verbal behavior. First, there is a clear trend of change toward a single sexual standard. Secondly, the evaluations of women are more dynamic. Thirdly, the pluralism of moral obligation is fixed in young people's views. Fourthly, traditional principles are being revised more rapidly in the large city as compared to the rural area.

How do evaluations and behavior compare? The 1965 study showed that among those who justified the opportunity for premarital sexual relations, 80 percent had in fact been involved in them; among those who hesitated—63 percent, among those who condemned them—half. The 1972 survey confirmed the first two proportions. But in the last case the situation changed: 30 percent of the students who expressed a negative attitude had had sexual contacts. In short, in the interim of 7 years, the field of agreement between evaluations and behavior increased slightly. A survey of migrant workers (Leningrad, 1974, N = 500) yielded the following results: behavior was in keeping with the precept for approximately 30 percent of those who justified premarital relations, almost one out of two young persons who did not have a clear position, and one out of five who condemned premarital sexual contacts. A fact that seems paradoxical at first was recorded: the so-called neutrals exhibited the most activism. However, this paradox is illusory. The behavior of this category of young people is the result of their marginal situation: they faced opposing moral demands which were impossible to fulfill at the same time. That is where the discrepancy between evaluations and behavior came from.

Youths choose a girl close to them in age and cultural level as their main partner (from 50 to 60 percent). For approximately one-third a woman they did not know well was their first partner and only for 5-7 percent was their first partner their fiancée. Girls usually prefer a youth who is close to them in age and cultural level (note the sharp rise in the number of such choices—from 33 to 53 percent); the fiancée comes in second (about 30 percent). The fact must not be ignored that the number of liaisons with men whom they do not know very well has increased (11-16 percent). The reasons for sexual rapprochement are closely dependent on the type of partner. In all the students' choices the most widespread motivation was "love" (from 23 to 36 percent), and then comes "sexual need" (from 24-31 percent), and then "chance." The proportion of the last reason is relatively small, but it is constantly growing (in those 7 years the proportion among the Leningrader respondents increased from 6 to 10 percent, and among migrants—from 7 to 15 percent).

And, finally, there is one other important indicator—the time of the beginning of sexual life. Three circumstances attract attention. The first is that for 20 years (from the mid-1950's to the mid-1970's) there was a steady rise in the number of boys (from 7 to 12 percent) and girls (from 1 to 4 percent) who entered a sexual liaison before the age of 16. The second is that the proportion of such liaisons declined after 24 years of age: for men from 10 percent to 0 percent and for women from 17 to 2 percent. The third is that boys usually begin their sexual life at from 16 to 18 years of age (22-40 percent) and girls—from 19 to 21 years (40-54 percent).

This cross-section of youth sexual behavior presented allows us to speak of the existence of at least three types of moral relations which coexist within the framework of one normative system. 1. Being physically and emotionally mature, boys and girls enter into sexual relations and they inherently have a high degree of moral-esthetic selectivity and a love motivation for intimacy. 2. Being physically and emotionally mature, young people enter into these relations and they have standard moral-esthetic needs and a broad spectrum of motives for intimacy, from sympathy to sexual need. 3. Being emotionally immature, boys and girls have a low degree of moral-esthetic selectivity and the motives for intimacy are curiosity or chance.

Relations between individuals who enter into numerous sexual contacts as a rule are estranged in nature. Partners know almost nothing about each other (and, moreover, do not want to). This type of liaison is a result of the individual's lack of personal responsibility, moral degradation, and cultural primitivism. Attempts to use physical intimacy to resolve the problem of psychological discomfort or domestic disorder and find a way out of the condition of social isolation, attempts which are not reinforced by the involvement of the feelings, are doomed to failure. Estranged sexual liaisons can provide temporary liberation from the "darkness" of loneliness due to the illusion of union. In reality the path to this lies through individually-colored communication. And the meeting "of two bodies" ultimately leads to an extreme condition of loneliness. The physiology and psychology of depravity is built on turning sexuality from a goal into a means. The partner is used as an object to satisfy one's own goal. Depravity takes place when the sexual relationship of a man and woman is not based on moral-esthetic selectivity. Data on the beginning of prostitutes' sexual life is notable in this respect. According to materials of a study done in Georgia, for 37.5 percent of those surveyed a man who was a stranger was the first partner and 52.2 percent enter a sexual relationship out of curiosity [Source 18].

Of course, not all but only some estranged sexual relations develop into typical prostitution. According to our estimates, in the last decade approximately 3-5 percent of youths entered into a sexual liaison with prostitutes and among older people this indicator is somewhat higher. Is an effective struggle possible here? Of course.

Provided that the object of the struggle is the social institution rather than the prostitutes (let us recall that prostitution is a relationship in which the two subjects, the man and the woman, take equal part). As historical experience has shown, neither legal nor medical regulation directed against the representatives of the oldest profession completely solves the problem. Practice confirms that fundamental social-spiritual transformations in society radically change the situation. Let us recall at the very least the decline in intensity of young people's contacts with prostitutes in our country beginning in 1903. The moral normalization of sexuality is directly dependent on surmounting purely physical relationships, affirming highly sophisticated relations, and shaping healthy sociocultural needs and creating diverse forms of their realization.

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Motives for Moving from the Countryside to the City

180600051 Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88 (signed to press 21 Mar 88) pp 71-73

[Article by Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Osipov, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior teacher in the Novgorod Pedagogical Institute department of scientific communism, published in the journal for the first time, under the rubric "Facts, Comments, and Notes (From the Sociologist's Desk)"]

[Text] When we conducted the study* (*The study was conducted jointly with Novgorod's party organizations on the basis of a program developed with the participation of specialists in the department of scientific communism at Leningrad State Pedagogical Institute imeni Gertsen and the USSR Academy of Sciences. Surveyed at the labor collectives of the Novgorod Azot Production Association were 675 people.), we offered new settlers in Novgorod a list of motives for migration. The respondent was supposed to name the main and the secondary reason for the move.

Sociocultural motives are paramount while material incentive came in only sixth (Table 1). After the decisions on improving agricultural labor payment adopted in the mid-1960's, material incentive's proportion in the total structure of motives gradually declined (from 53.3 percent in 1953 to 11.7 percent in 1968-1969) [Source 3]. According to the data of our study, in 1983-1984 only 3 percent (as opposed to 11 percent in 1968) migrated to Novgorod for this reason. Material incentive was relegated to one of the last places in younger and older age groups. It is taken into account in the groups of respondents 26-30 years old and 45-50 years old. The need to set up and maintain a family, as well as going on pension account for the desire for higher wages. It is also characteristic that the importance of money for the main occupational groups of the rural population is small (Table 2) and for the most part dominates among low-skilled workers and employees without special education.

Table 1. Motives of Migration to Novgorod, in percentages of migrants from villages and small cities

Motives of Migration	Most Important	Second in Importance
To Improve Living Conditions	24.0	20.7
To Continue General Or Special Education or Acquire a Profession	23.6	3.3
Family Circumstances	12.0	1.5
Desire To Be Where There Are a Lot of Young People	11.3	11.6
Placement after Studies Finished	8.4	—
To Receive Higher Wages	6.9	10.5
Unwillingness To Live in a Settlement With a Lower Cultural Level	5.8	10.2
Moving from Other Enterprises With a Guarantee of Housing	5.8	2.5
Unwillingness to Engage in Agricultural Labor	0.7	4.0

Table 2. Who Moved to Novgorod and Why, in percentages

Motives	Occupational Graduates of Rural Educational Institutions	Affiliation of Migrants Machine Operators	Repair Workers
To Continue Studies or Obtain an Education	56.0	3.6	5.0
To Be Where There Are a Lot of Young People	7.1	14.3	12.5
To Receive Higher Wages	2.4	7.1	12.5

Table 2. Who Moved to Novgorod and Why, in percentages

	Occupational Graduates of Rural Educational Institutions	Affiliation of Migrants Machine Operators	Repair Workers
To Improve Living Conditions	8.3	39.3	35.0
Low Cultural Level of the Population	4.8	21.4	*
Unwillingness to Engage in Agricultural Labor	1.2	*	*
Family Circumstances	9.5	3.6	17.5
Moving from Other Enterprises	2.4	7.1	10.0

*Data are statistically insignificant.

In the 1960's the motive formulated by most migrants as a desire to be where there were a lot of young people emerged (7.5 percent) and then increased (up to 22.9 percent in 1983-1984). It has two facets: sociodemographic and sociocultural. The latter is a result of the increased desire among the young for cultural contacts with peers. Young people try to realize the stereotypes of urban contacts in their own villages but, unfortunately, the condition of the rural cultural milieu at times does allow this to happen, and because of that the orientation to leave grows. The sociodemographic aspect is represented by the need to form a family, which is complicated as a result of sparse population and imbalance in the sex and age structure of rural settlements, especially in the Nonchernozem Zone. This problem has not only entered scientific literature but economic literature as well and economic managers speak of it with alarm. In the opinion of specialists, correcting the situation that has developed is extremely complicated and may go on for several decades [Source 4].

The problem of brides and grooms in the Nonchernozem Zone has known two stages and two extremes. The roots of the first go back to the postwar period and are characterized by a shortage of grooms which was aggravated even more by the rapid rate of mechanization of agriculture and the diversion of youth to reestablish the cities destroyed by the war and develop new territories. The second stage is marked by a shortage of brides because of the shortage of jobs suitable for light skilled female labor in the countryside and imperfections of the domestic infrastructure, which is harder on women than men. Gradually small settlements, centers of mechanized links and brigades, and small livestock units remained in place of the large villages. The occupation of machine operator became one of the most popular occupations (about 4.5 million people, one-fifth of all the workers in the country's agriculture) [Source 4].

Motives involving the need for cultural contacts predominate over demographic motives in the answers of migrants under 35 years of age. The desire to be where a lot of young people are is not equally strong among respondents who

come from different types of settlements (Table 3). It is much higher among residents of very small villages. This indicator should be taken into account when measures to stabilize rural collectives are developed.

Table 3. Relationship of Motives of Migration and Size of Settlement (place of origin)

Motives	1—Small City	2—Urban-Type Settlement	3—Village (more than 500 inhabitants)	4—Village (from 50-500 inhabitants)	5—Village (less than 50 inhabitants)
To Continue Studies or Acquire a Profession	18.6	25.6	19.0	19.3	40.0
To Be Where There Are a Lot of Young People	7.0	7.7	11.1	17.5	14.3
Material Needs	2.3	11.5	6.3	7.0	2.9
To Improve Domestic Conditions	25.6	25.6	33.3	17.5	14.3
Low Cultural Level of Population	2.3	3.8	6.3	14.0	*
Unwillingness to Engage in Agricultural Labor	*	1.3	*	*	2.9
Family Circumstances	11.6	14.1	7.9	10.5	17.1
Moving from Other Enterprises	9.3	5.1	4.8	7.0	2.9

*Data are statistically insignificant.

The need to increase the cultural level of the place of residence grows every year. Among the motives for migration before 1968 only 3.8 percent noted it, but in 1983-1984 it was already 9 percent. The low evaluation of the cultural level of the rural settlement is formed under the influence not only of the imperfections in the cultural-domestic sphere, but also of the organizational and technical support of agrarian labor and the laborer's moral-psychological condition associated with it. It is interesting that such an approach is characteristic above all of representatives of the leading detachment of agrarian workers—machine operators, who made this motive the primary one in 21.4 percent of the cases and the second one in 10.7 percent. Among young people who are entering labor life it is more weakly expressed (Table 2). It is understandable that when people have such an orientation, improving the culture of daily life and leisure time but not the sophistication of production does not increase the collective's stability. Concerning this M.S. Gorbachev said: "Today as never before agriculture needs people who are interested in working actively and have good professional skills and a bent for innovation. Constant concern over the working and living conditions of rural laborers is the strongest guarantee of all our successes" [Source 1]. Without this the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Nonchernozem Zone cannot be reinforced with skilled cadres and stable collectives cannot be established at each farm.

The results of the study showed rural residents' higher demands for everyday conveniences. These demands are especially high among people 36-50 years of age. (The younger age groups are in this case less demanding). Quite often rural residents see moving to a large city as a way out of the situation. Agricultural jobs' intense unregulated work day at the height of season and poorly developed domestic services impede cultural development and "... waste one of our main forms of wealth—time, including work time; the amount of domestic work

is not declining" [Source 2]. According to V.I. Staroverov's data, migration for this reason increased from 3 percent (1953-1957) to 14 percent (1968-1969). By the time of our survey it had reached 24 percent. However, in the mid-1970's leaving as a result of lack of everyday conveniences was gradually declining, though slowly. There is reason to assume that in the coming years this trend will be maintained in the Nonchernozem Zone.

One of the leaders in the structure of motives for migration is the desire to continue studies and obtain a specialization. The gradual leveling of the general educational level of the country's population does not change the situation. A different factor comes into play.

The demands of contemporary production increase educational migration to the large city. With the scientific-technical revolution occupational training is becoming more and more expensive. Therefore, it is precisely in the large cities that the material base of training is concentrated and it is oblast and republic centers which offer people the widest choice of worker and engineering specializations and technical and humanities professions.

At the same time, however, the level of these motives has declined somewhat in the last 20 years according to our data. Among those working in chemical production, for example, this is explained by the fact that its cadres are formed largely through the organized hiring of graduates of educational institutions in the appropriate specialization and to a smaller degree—through persons who did not succeed in the competition for urban VUZes and tekhnikums. It is probably for that reason that educational motives are the leading ones for migrants under 30 years of age, but in the group 30-35 years of age these motives are already second. The most intensive educational migration results in a population drain from urban-type settlements and small villages.

Everything said above allows us to draw the conclusion that the content of motives of migration carries the imprint of time and the generation's value orientations, ideals, and needs.

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An Integrated Scale of Housing Availability
18060005m Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88
(signed to press 21 Mar 88) pp 74-75

[Article by Valeriy Vladimirovich Chervyakov, scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Construction Engineering Institute, published in the journal for the first time]

[Text] The task proposed by the 27th CPSU Congress "an individual apartment for every family" is reinforced by economic calculations: by the year 2000 reach average housing availability of 18.5-19.0 square meters of total area per person [Source 1]. However, the level of availability already achieved, 14.8 square meters per person [Source 2], is almost double the norms which serve as the basis for recognizing a citizen's need for improved housing conditions. In Moscow the average number of meters per capita virtually corresponds to the norms for provision of housing area, but at the same time 1 out of 10 Muscovites is officially recognized as needy in view of crowded living conditions [Sources 3; 4]. That means that violations of the principle of social justice were committed in distributing housing. Therefore, realization of the plans outlined by the party in this area will be linked above all to improving the system of distribution and redistribution of housing benefits.

Improving the distribution of apartments requires improving recordkeeping of those who need it. The existing system where the only criterion is meters per person is not in line with today's demands and does not reflect the real state of affairs. Quantitative indicators must be supplemented with qualitative ones. However, evaluating housing conditions according to several

parameters raises the difficulty of correlating them among themselves: for example, what is better, a crowded individual apartment or a spacious communal one?

We have made an attempt to combine the four groups of characteristics into an integrated, ranked scale which combines quantitative and qualitative characteristics. Evaluations of respondents' satisfaction with their own housing conditions served as the basis for the ranking. The validity of the scale is determined by the all-Union representative sample realized on the territorial principle of the research project "The Condition and Main Trends of Development of the Soviet Way of Life" (headed by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences I.T. Levynkin, 1980-1982).

The following indicators were used as the initial ones:

1. The type of living space: a) individual apartment or house; b) room (or rooms) in a communal apartment; c) no permanent housing (dormitory, rental, and the like);
2. Presence of domestic conveniences: a) the entire list of modern conveniences; b) partial conveniences; c) the complete lack of them (with the exception of electricity);
3. Usable area per person: a) less than 5 square meters; b) from 5 to 7 square meters; c) from 7.1 to 9 square meters; d) more than 9 square meters;
4. Density of people living in the space: a) 1 person per room or a family with an apartment where the number of rooms per family is less than the number of its members; b) no more than 2 persons per room or a family of 5 in a 3-room apartment; c) no more than 3 people per room; d) more than 3 people.

In the first stage we used a continuous combinational sorting of characteristics aggregated as follows.¹ Of the 10,150 respondents, the parameters of their housing conditions indicated 9,095 who lived in 124 types of housing which can be described by various combinations of the listed characteristics. Forty percent of the respondents lived in 3 of the most widespread types of housing, while more than a third of the groupings had less than 10 people in each. That demanded that the small groupings be combined on a content basis before moving one to the next level of the analysis.

The respondents were separated into independent groups on the following principles:

- 1) those who were recognized as needing improved housing conditions according to present normative acts, that is, when there was less than 5 square meters per person (4.4 percent of all those surveyed, the overwhelming majority of whom lived in individual apartments);
- 2) without permanent housing regardless of the quality of the temporary housing (3.7 percent of those surveyed);

3) inhabitants of housing with a resident density of more than 3 people per room (6.5 percent of the total set, and 82 percent of them lived in individual apartments plus two-thirds had less than 5 square meters per person);

4) inhabitants of various types of communal apartments:
a) without conveniences; b) with partial conveniences; c) extremely crowded; d) well-appointed and adequately large (all together 7.4 percent of the total set).

The rest of the set (38 percent) was processed without preliminary additional grouping. Then satisfaction with housing conditions was identified. Close levels of satisfaction with different types of housing served as the basis for further aggregation. In this way, the respondents' opinions were used as a kind of expert evaluation. As a result, an integrated scale of housing availability was constructed (see Table).

Satisfaction with Housing Conditions by Inhabitants of Various Types of Housing, in percentages of those who answered

Type of Housing*	Evaluation of Housing Conditions			Proportion of Group in the Set
	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	
I	1.3	22.9	75.8	17.5
II	3.6	40.3	56.1	18.7
III	5.4	51.8	42.8	20.3
IV	8.6	53.1	38.3	10.6
V	15.1	50.7	34.2	7.8
VI	21.4	56.5	22.1	8.4
VII	37.0	46.7	16.3	16.7

*Type of Housing: I—highest level of availability in terms of the total of the four characteristics; VII—lowest

The scale can characterize the degree of satisfaction of housing needs. Almost half the city residents and practically one out of five of the rural inhabitants have good housing conditions according to their own ideas. This means an individual apartment or house with all conveniences, living space of more than 7 square meters per person, and resident density of not more than two people per room. Housing conditions are considered good if the lack of some domestic conveniences is compensated for by more space: more than 9 square meters per person and density of no more than 3 people per 2 rooms. More than two-thirds of people living in this type of housing evaluated it as good, while only 2 percent called it bad.

The housing question has not yet been solved for one out six city and rural residents. Among them are those who have less than 5 square meters per person and those who live in shared apartments without conveniences or in crowded communal apartments. More than three people living in a room must not be considered normal. Finally, those who are registered in dormitories or rent a room were included in the group with poor housing conditions.

The rest of those surveyed (almost 50 percent) can be considered to have satisfactory housing conditions. They are owners of other types of individual housing and proprietors of well-appointed apartments with roomers where the established norms for number of meters are observed and there are all the domestic conveniences. It is true that the level of satisfaction even for this group varies within quite broad limits: thus, more than one-third of those surveyed consider their housing conditions good, while 10 percent consider them bad.

Footnote

1. The calculations were made at the USSR Academy of Sciences Construction Engineering Institute Computer Center by junior scientific associate N. Belmesova.

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How Close and Troubled Families Spend Their Free Time

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[Article by Vladimir Vsevolodovich Prokofyev, candidate of economic sciences and senior scientific associate of the Problem-Solving Scientific Research Laboratory under the Leningrad Financial-Economic Institute imeni N.A. Voznesenskiy, published in the journal for the first time]

[Text] Many researchers who study marriage and family relations mention the importance of leisure time for a family's harmonious life activity on the whole. We want to propose to look at the problem from the standpoint of the characteristic groups of leisure pursuits identified as a result of a survey of 2,212 Leningrad families. Surveyed were residents of the center of the city with a developed infrastructure and one of the rayons of the relatively close periphery; in this rayon mass housing construction is practically finished and the network of domestic services establishments has for the most part been set up, but transport does not make the traditional city-wide cultural centers accessible to the proper degree.

The deviation of the sample from the main population in terms of such traits as level of education, sex, age, total number of family members, number of children under

16 years of age, and nature of employment did not exceed 5-7 percent. Along with the family's weekly time budget, its material living conditions, monetary incomes and expenditures, and the hierarchy of needs in the sphere of labor, domestic services, and culture were studied.

Table I presents the distribution of leisure time pursuits; what is important here is not so much the technical criterion—the correlation coefficient of duration for particular types for one or all the remaining family members respectively—as the hierarchy which these pursuits form in families with different levels of conflict.

Distribution of Leisure Pursuits by Statistical Relationship of Their Duration for All Family Members in Families with Various Levels of Conflict

Families Where the Problem of Improving Relations Is Paramount		Families Where the Problem of Improving Relations Is Not a Primary One		Families Where the Problem of Relations Does Not Exist at All	
Pursuit	Correlation Coefficient	Pursuit	Correlation Coefficient	Pursuit	Correlation Coefficient
I		I		I	
Having Guests	0.56	Having Guests	0.90	Having Guests	0.60
Activities with Children	0.46	Trips Outside the City	0.62	Trips Outside the City	0.54
Visiting People	0.40	Reading Newspapers	0.40	Activities with Children	0.48
—	—	—	—	Walking within the City	0.48
—	—	—	—	Visiting People	0.45
—	—	—	—	Watching Television Programs	0.42
II		II		II	
Walking within the City	0.33	Watching Television Programs	0.35	Going to Theaters	0.36
Reading Books	0.33	Walking within the City	0.33	Reading Newspapers	0.32
Watching Television Programs	0.28	—	—	Reading Books	0.30
Trips Outside the City	0.28	—	—	Social Work	0.30
Going to Restaurants	0.26	—	—	Continuation of Primary Work	0.29
III		III		III	
Going to Theaters	0.21	Various Hobbies	0.21	Going to Movie Theaters	0.24
Various Hobbies	0.18	Activities with Children	0.21	Various Hobbies	0.21
Going to Movie Theaters	0.16	Visiting People	0.08	Going to Restaurants	0.20
Social Work	-0.01	Continuation of Primary Work	0.08	Studies and Self-Education	0.08
Continuation of Primary Work	-0.03	Going to Movie Theaters	0.08	—	—
Studies and Self-Education	-0.05	Going to Restaurants	0.07	—	—
—	—	Going to Theaters	0.05	—	—
—	—	Reading Books	0.01	—	—
—	—	Studies and Self-Education	-0.01	—	—
—	—	Social Work	-0.17	—	—

In fact three groups of pursuits which in their own way and with different degrees of "force" unite all members of a family can be identified. The highest degree of amalgamation (involvement at the same time) is observed in Group I and the least—in Group III.

In order to study the quantitative factor along with analysis of the qualitative characteristics of the groups of pursuits in families with different levels of conflict, let us make up an additional table which would seem to simplify the previous one.

Quantity of Leisure Pursuits Distributed by Groups (In Families with Various Levels of Conflict)

Groups of Pursuits	Groups of Families		
	Problem of Relations is Paramount	Problem of Relations Is Not Primary	No Problem of Interrelations
I	3	3	6
II	6	2	5
III	6	10	4

The complex of pursuits of the first group is a kind of "core" of family activity, which is common to all or at least to most of the members of a certain category of family. Pursuits which must be performed individually in relative isolation from other household members make up the third group. Those pursuits especially involve various hobbies, studies, and self-education. Clearly, this type of pursuit cannot long predominate in the structure of family leisure. And although many families which were surveyed sacrifice spending common free time together and create privileged conditions for students, in an institute, let us say, nonetheless all of them trust that this period will soon end.

Many pursuits appear to take the intermediate position, but that does not diminish their role at all. Here the order is determined by the immediate background and a kind of reserve of the first group singled out which indicates which of all the types of pursuits requires the simultaneous participation of all family members to the greatest degree. For example, having guests as a rule involves the entire family and trips outside the city are usually taken together, and so on. Pursuits which proved to be in last place—various hobbies, going to restaurants, studies, and self-education—were similar in terms of the independence of choice, which did not envision synchronous involvement in this activity by the rest.

In this way, the hierarchy of pursuits in free time was obtained by the criterion of statistical relationship of their duration for all family members, and that permits us to formulate an approach to strengthening marriage and family relations in a large city differentiated from the economic standpoint. Among other things, supporting interaction (in the broad sense) requires material expenditures in such sectors as transport, housing and municipal services, and domestic services; and subsidizing dispersal of urban cultural centers, whose greater accessibility promotes family integration and rational use of free time. However, that applies to state measures to strengthen marriage and family relations. But there is certainly the level of the individual too, that is, what depends directly on the person's initiative and will. So what conclusions can be drawn here?

Let us turn to the tables. Let us remember that the first group of pursuits is the "nucleus" of family leisure activity. What is it in the troubled family? It is apparent from the table that it consists of interaction with guests and activities with children. All the rest of the types are "below," 6 each in Groups II and III.

In families where the problem of improving relations is not the most acute one, there are also three types of leisure pursuits in the first group, but they are more heterogeneous (guests, trips, discussion of events in the country and abroad) and stronger, which is indicated by the magnitude of the correlation coefficient. The intermediate setting is very small: two items. And, finally, a large number of different pursuits (10) are distinguished by a high degree of autonomy.

Comparing the two categories of families with a "common denominator" (the problem of interrelations exists but in varying degrees) shows: in both the one and the other the quantitative center of gravity is displaced toward independence and autonomy. The "floater" is three pursuits. But in troubled families they include two or three types of activities, while in happier ones the set of alternatives is more diverse. Such families are more open and their life activity is more outward-oriented, which is especially stressed by the 10 autonomous pursuits.

The category of families where the problem of interrelations is not paramount looks more mobile and flexible, and they are able to restructure themselves when necessary. Members of these families sometimes gather fresh impressions "helter-skelter" and sometimes come together, meeting guests for example, or going on an out-of-town trip, and in doing so, one must assume, exchange ideas and comments.

If the categories studied are compared with the third category, families who are satisfied with the interrelations prevailing in them, the fact is striking that the "nucleus" is twice as great—six pursuits. That is a fundamental difference. There are five points in the intermediate group and four in the third group. The representatives of this category of families devote a great deal of time to the theater and reading books. It is also notable that they are precisely the ones who, unlike the other respondents, allot a great deal of time to social work. The pursuits which make up the "nucleus" are numerous, but general family varieties predominate. On the other hand, the background (the second group of pursuits) convincingly testifies to the socially active and intellectually saturated basis of family integration.

So, the use of free time—both in the qualitative and quantitative aspects—is directly related to the level of family relations, namely whether they need to be improved (and to what degree). The example of the "happy" category of families is significant: a center of gravity consisting of interfamily pursuits is needed, but such a "nucleus" must, first, include various types of leisure activities and, second, be balanced with the two other groups, each of which in turn must also be marked by diversity. The quantitative correlation of pursuits by identified groups in the "nonproblem" category of families which we surveyed is equal to 6:5:4. And one other characteristic feature of families satisfied with interrelations among the members is that the second (background) group of leisure pursuits consists here of socially oriented interests and enthusiasms.

The results obtained allow us, in our opinion, to make the following more general conclusions. 1. The propaganda of leisure culture should begin long before the family is formed and perhaps be a special part of a school course in the ethics of family relations. 2. Centers of leisure activity should insure the possibility of multifaceted activity under one roof and be oriented to the

"family outcome." And the existence of emphatically "neutral" zones is a condition of "humanization" of the leisure sphere. 3. Savings of family time deserves to be singled out as an "individual line" in the plans of economic and social development at various levels of management of the economy. 4. Production of household articles must also be oriented to "time-saving effect." 5. It is desirable to design and put into production temporary leisure structures made of removable units which could be easily and rapidly erected in new construction rayons for just the time when there are no permanent leisure centers.

Young People's Attitude Toward Premarital Sexual Relations

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[Article By Gedeminas Antanovich Navaytis, candidate of psychological sciences, senior scientific associate of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy, and author of the books "Higher School Upperclassmen's Attitude Toward Family Life, (1986, in Lithuanian), "They Could Not Get Along," (1986, in Lithuanian), and "Equal But Different (On the Social Roles of a Man and a Woman)" (1987, in Lithuanian), published in the journal for the first time]

[Text] What are young men and women's ideas about love, marriage, and the family, and how pronounced are

the psychosexual precepts and orientations? A study conducted by the Lithuanian SSR Scientific Institute of Pedagogy was devoted to this question. The study was conducted in two stages. In 1983-1984 428 essays of senior class pupils on the topic "My Future Family" were analyzed. The materials of the essays were used when the questionnaire "Love, Marriage, and Family" was compiled and in 1985-1986 it was used to survey 379 young men and 585 young women who had graduated from high school and intended to enter higher or secondary specialized educational institutions. In Lithuania 769 people lived in five major cities and 175 lived in rural areas.

Practically all the respondents answered the questions on premarital sexual life.

When the data was analyzed two things attracted attention. First, the young men are more supportive than their female peers, permitting premarital sexual relations for young women in 22.9 percent of the cases, and for young men—in 44.7 percent. The same indicators among young women are 10.6 percent and 22.2 percent, respectively. Secondly, in accordance with traditional morals they, and others too, are inclined to a great degree to condemn a girl for an intimate relationship before marriage. The respondents' place of residence and the structure of their parents' life and attitude toward members of the opposite sex has a significant impact on their attitude toward premarital relations.

Table 1. The Attitude of the Young Men Surveyed Toward Premarital Sexual Liaisons, in percentages

	Variants of Answers				
	I consider it absolutely unacceptable	I consider it unacceptable	I have no particular opinion on the subject	I consider it acceptable	I consider it completely acceptable
For Whom					
For Young Men	4.7	8.6	39.0	33.4	14.3
For Young Women	11.9	19.8	45.4	19.0	3.9

Table 2. Attitude of Young Women Surveyed Toward Premarital Sexual Liaisons, in percentages

	Variants of Answers				
	I consider it absolutely unacceptable	I consider it unacceptable	I have no particular opinion on the subject	I consider it acceptable	I consider it completely acceptable
For Whom					
For Young Men	12.5	21.0	44.3	17.9	4.3
For Young Women	20.7	26.0	42.7	9.6	1.0

Let us examine these questions in more detail. The opinion exists that urban residents adhere to less traditional views than residents of the countryside in the area of marriage and family relations. The data obtained indicates a more complicated situation. Those surveyed who live in rural areas expressed their attitude toward premarital sexual relations more

clearly. Thus, among urban residents 40.2 percent of the young men and 46.8 percent of the young women say that they have no particular opinion on intimate relations before marriage by a member of their own sex. Among residents of the countryside the same indicators are 29.3 percent and 21.2 percent, respectively. It is notable that according to other indicators of

premarital behavior statistically significant differences between urban and rural young men were not revealed, although they were for young women. Those who live in the countryside consider premarital sexual relations for a girl to be unacceptable somewhat more often than urban residents, while they condemn premarital relations for a young man less severely. In this way, while the traditional evaluation of the behavior of men and women in the intimate sphere is still characteristic of young women who live in the villages, for young men from rural areas such views are already not very characteristic. The data on the impact of the parental family on the children's attitude toward premarital intimate relations are in our opinion interesting. It turned out that for young women it did not matter whether they grew up in a complete or incomplete (in most cases without a father) family. As for young men, this factor is very important for them. People who come from incomplete families allow the possibility of premarital sexual contacts both for young men and for young women more often than those from complete families.

A certain relationship between the answers and the size of the parental family was identified. Respondents from nuclear families chose the extreme opinions of premarital sexual relations more often than those from expanded or especially multigenerational families, that is, they noted that these relations were either absolutely unacceptable or they were completely acceptable. Incidentally, categorical answers were to a great degree characteristic of young people from nuclear families in answers to the questionnaire's other questions as well.

Of the young men 58.9 percent and of the young women 67.6 percent reported that they were friends with members of the opposite sex. A comparison of the answers of this group of respondents with the answers of those who indicated that they did not have a friend revealed a statistically insignificant (r 0.1) difference which perhaps attests only to the possible tendency of real experience with relationships to influence (a certain decline in expectations) the attitude toward premarital intimate relations by persons of their own sex. In contrast, the fact of the existence of a friend or girlfriend increased expectations toward the members of the opposite sex. Thus, young men who had a girlfriend more often (r 0.05) asserted than those who did not that for a young woman a sexual relationship before marriage was unacceptable. The same pattern emerged in the young women's answers, but it can be traced even more clearly. Here the differences in the evaluation of a young man's premarital sexual contacts among groups divided in accordance with this index are statistically very significant (r 0.01).

It should be noted that quite a large number of the respondents supported the traditional "double" standard of the sexual behavior of men and women.

Value-Normative Ideas Concerning Alcohol Consumption

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[Article by Aleksandr Ivanovich Rybakov, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate of the Yelabuga State Pedagogical Institute, author of the article published in the journal "Age Differences in the Turnover of Worker Cadres" (No 4, 1983).

[Text] Those who consume alcoholic drinks are the main object of the antialcohol struggle which is unfolding today. In any case, bans and restrictions which make up the foundation of the present antialcohol policy are addressed against them. However, this goal is a necessary but by no means adequate condition for overcoming drunkenness. Administrative measures and higher prices for alcoholic drinks (even in combination with extensive propaganda) are not capable of fundamentally changing the attitude toward alcohol which has become established over the decades. The fact that not only those who measure their drinking in liters but also those who are satisfied with grams and even those who do not touch a glass at all share the stereotypes that have emerged here is overlooked. These people should still be an object of antialcohol policy, though not the main one.

What needs (other than purely physiological ones) does alcohol satisfy and what value-normative ideas of it exist in mass consciousness? We will examine these questions on the materials of an empirical study. It was conducted in 1984-1985 by the applied sociology laboratory of the Yelabuga Pedagogical Institute at one of the city's industrial enterprises. We surveyed 1,562 workers under 30 years of age (58 percent of them were women and 42 percent were men). The structure of the sample on the whole corresponded to the occupational skill make-up of employed persons.

The results reflect a situation which became established before the well-known decisions of the party and the government to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism were adopted. But, it seems, the data obtained are of interest even today. There is reason to assume that changes have occurred mainly in verbal, declarative precepts. Many stereotypes have been preserved on the behavioral level. "Banquets" are no longer being arranged at the work place, but people continue to celebrate successes at work, just a little more out of the public eye.

The structure of alcohol consumption was determined on the basis of self-evaluations of respondents. Of those surveyed 2 percent—exclusively men—were categorized as alcohol abusers (they reached for the bottle at least twice a week). The proportion of those who consumed alcohol from twice a week to once a month was 29 percent (22 percent were men and 7 percent were women). Those who drank less than once a month and as

a rule under pressure of outside circumstances totaled 30 percent (9 percent men and 21 person women). The rest did not consume alcohol at all. It must be emphasized that a substantial number of respondents—12 percent—declined to answer. That and a number of other reasons make one think that many of those surveyed were overly modest in evaluating their relationship with alcohol. And there is one other important feature. The proportion of persons who consume alcohol increases with age. The relationship is almost linear, and the proportion of men grows three times faster than of women. For a young person alcohol consumption acts as a means of

realizing important life goals which, as it seems to him, cannot be achieved by other means. In addition, alcohol represents a distorted form of satisfying certain sociocultural needs. Such a function of alcohol as identification with one's surroundings and being included in traditions comes first (in terms of the number of choices) (see Table 1). Subjectively, turning to alcohol may be considered a means of self-expression or a method of obtaining recognition of intellectual and moral qualities (sociability, candor, or simplicity) from the referent group. But in reality uniformity is confirmed by drinking bouts, since the same demand is made of different people to participate in parties where everyone is in fact equal.

Motives of Alcohol Consumption, in percentages of those who answered*

	Age Groups, in years				On the Average
	Under 18	19-20	21-25	26-30	
I consume alcoholic drinks because...					
it is customary among my friends	84	87	87	89	89
it is difficult to start a conversation without drinks	64	81	39	42	68
I had to celebrate holidays, weddings, birthdays, payday	56	64	69	61	64
it is necessary to resolve vitally important problems	7	32	54	67	53
it helps relieve psychological tension arising at work or in the family	—	15	34	74	49
there is nothing better to do	84	58	45	31	44
I want to be in a better mood	55	62	62	21	43
it helps relieve fatigue	—	—	27	70	39
it helps relieve a feeling of constraint and shyness	46	34	32	28	31
I want to appear independent, adult, or self-sufficient	82	78	14	—	25
it is interesting to try it and feel the effects of alcohol	47	11	3	—	13
when it is offered to me, it is awkward to refuse	38	33	—	—	9
out of habit	—	—	2	24	7

*The table cites the answers of only those who to one degree or another consume alcohol. The respondent could mark several positions.

The study once again confirmed that alcohol consumption continues to perform an important role in interpersonal relations. The low sophistication of contacts and inability to adequately express one's feelings is one of the major reasons that alcohol has become a goal in itself. The corresponding group of motives (to get conversation going, get rid of psychological tension, overcome shyness, and so on) comes in second and about half the respondents mentioned it. However, shortcomings in internal sophistication are only one side of the coin. Many turn to the bottle because of the extremely weak development of the leisure industry and independent forms of activity. In the recent past initiative and creativity were supported in words, but in practice many obstacles were put up on all kinds of amateur associations and interest clubs. The attitude toward informal associations of young people was even more rigid. In this connection the following fact is significant: 44 percent of those surveyed drink out of "boredom."

In general, there is a strong relationship: the younger those surveyed, the greater the extent alcoholic drinks act as a means of filling in leisure time, starting conversation, and receiving recognition in the eyes of those

around them. One can say as much as one wants about civic spirit and call for shaping an activist posture and high moral sophistication; but as long as young people lack real opportunities to independently resolve their problems, they will seek an outlet for unused energy in various distorted and asocial forms of activism, including drinking.

Incidentally, the study questions the broadly accepted view that young people see the meaning of life in entertainment. Hedonistic goals (the desire to try alcoholic drinks, curiosity, and to get in a better mood) are indeed found in the structure of motives. At the same time, however, the proportion of these precepts as compared to other groups of motives is not large. And there is one more fundamentally important circumstance. None of the respondents marked the point "drinking for its own sake" in the list of alternatives, and only an insignificant number cited habit. In other words, satisfaction from drinking itself does not attract young people, on the level of declarative precepts at any rate.

The "intermediary" role of alcohol increases sharply with age. Given the chronic shortcomings in interpersonal relations, the principle "you scratch my back, I'll

scratch yours" inevitably spreads. In this situation the bottle becomes a kind of equivalent of unofficial economic exchange. On the one hand, alcoholic drinks are one of the few goods which have always been abundant and on the other, in the most diverse groups of the population parties have been associated with great social value. This stereotype has been firmly established in mass consciousness and therefore is very difficult to eliminate. In our study most of those surveyed (67 percent) believe that you must certainly "pour a drink" or "set up" a person who has rendered them a service; 53 percent are convinced that "one can get anything done for vodka." 57 percent have themselves repeatedly participated in "celebrating" such unofficial deals. Of the respondents 38 percent celebrate obtaining something fashionable or scarce with a bottle.

Let us direct the reader's attention to the fact that it was by no means inveterate lovers of alcohol and hard drinkers who expressed these opinions. There were few of them in the sample. And consequently, it is not just people who are convinced that they cannot do without

the bottle that are an obstacle on society's path to sobriety. Many of those who, as they say, never take a drop support this opinion or silently agree with it. During the survey the respondents were asked: what types of activity are in your opinion associated with alcohol consumption? The responses confirm that a substantial number of the respondents see nothing wrong in or accept as a given the idea that the most important leisure activities involve drinking (see Table 2). Let us recall that among youth under 20 years of age most do not classify themselves as alcohol enthusiasts. However, from 30 to 80 percent do not consider it wrong if their group drinks up a bottle or two at a discotheque or party in the courtyard. But when talk turns to visiting people or going to a restaurant, then, as they say, God himself decreed it. To the question "Would you go to a restaurant if alcoholic drinks were not served there?" 87 percent answered negatively. It must be taken into account that the respondents demonstrate a fairly high degree of activism in so-called unorganized forms of leisure (see Table 2). By sharing these precepts, young people change quite quickly from witnesses into participants in drinking bouts.

Table 2. Types of Activity During Which It is Acceptable to Consume Alcoholic Drinks
(A is the proportion of respondents who share this opinion, in percentages, and B is the intensity of participation in the corresponding types of activity*)

Types of Activity	Age Groups, in years								Average for the Sample, in percentages
	under 18		19-20		21-25		26-30		
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	
Having Guests and Visiting People	38	0.19	92	0.30	74	0.24	84	0.17	76
Visiting									
Parks or Palaces of Culture	89	0.17	59	0.16	47	0.33	18	0.13	43
Discotheques	62	0.20	53	0.20	37	0.28	13	0.15	39
Restaurants, Cafes, or Bars	28	0.16	43	0.15	23	0.24	15	0.08	27
Leisure Evenings	38	0.16	36	0.19	34	0.13	13	0.12	27
So-Called Walking Along the Streets	47	0.57	63	0.44	31	0.62	15	0.56	38
Card Games or Dominoes	38	0.57	43	0.42	44	0.31	46	0.24	38
Meeting with Relatives, Friends or Acquaintances	9	0.14	26	0.16	35	0.16	52	0.18	31
Country Walks	33	0.09	26	0.09	23	0.15	38	0.18	29
Hunting or Fishing	24	0.21	10	0.21	27	0.11	34	0.11	15

*The intensity coefficient represents average significances according to the scale: 1 = every day, 0.5 = every other day, and 0 = very rarely. The respondent could mark several positions.

The measures that have already been conducted for more than 2 years to restrict alcohol consumption have undoubtedly yielded positive results. There are changes in mass consciousness. Drunkenness is being repulsed. However, traditional stereotypes live on. Evidence of this is not only the lines at the wine store but also the popularity of home-brewing. Alcohol continues to perform its social-normative functions. Not as overtly and openly as before, but it does continue to do so. For the

causes which engender distorted forms of satisfying sociocultural needs still remain. As before a bottle fills up those gaps which exist in the organization of leisure, in the sphere of services and distribution, and in the sophistication of human interaction. We cannot forbid visits to people or discotheques and thereby eliminate occasions for drinking bouts. The establishment of new "sober" value orientations requires, on the one hand, creating broad and diverse opportunities for satisfying cultural demands and, on the other, "indoctrinating the senses." And of course, we face long and hard work to eliminate the stereotype existing in mass consciousness that alcohol consumption is an acceptable form of realizing sociocultural needs.

Are the Choices Equivalent?

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ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88
(signed to press 21 Mar 88) pp 94-97

[Article by Irina Anatolyevna Butenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and author of the articles published in the journal "The Convergence of Positivist and Phenomenological Orientations in the Sociology of Language" (No 2, 1982), "On the Language of Sociology and the Sociology of Language" (No 1, 1985), and others, under the rubric "Consultations"; phrases in italics are rendered in italics in the text]

[Text] When compiling questionnaires sociologists usually encounter two problems: how to ask the respondent clearly about what interests the researcher, and what variants of the questions to present. But as for the equal value of questions, the problem does not become an object of discussion, since the sociologist is most concerned with obtaining a definite result in the form of a certain distribution of answers. However, if it is not random "hits" in a certain variant that interest the researcher, he will wonder: Does it take the same effort for the respondent to choose each of the proposed choices? In what regard are these choices equally probable? What are the characteristics of their equivalence from the respondents' standpoint?

In a few methods and reference manuals on applied sociology the equivalence of choices is linked to meeting the following demands: 1) symmetry of positive and negative, and more and less socially desirable answers¹; 2) preservation of the same level of concreteness and order on some uniform basis. Of course, from the standpoint of formal logic observing these conditions makes it possible to create the variants of the question. But such an approach does not take into account all the complexity of the survey procedure and does not allow one to take into account the cognitive capabilities of the respondents, who are by no means always logical and consistent.

Of course, the process of making judgments in daily intercourse cannot be reduced to a purely rational processing of information and its transmittal in finished form. People draw conclusions and inferences by relying on the most diverse grounds, and these grounds do not fit into a scheme that is convenient for logical analysis.

If one bears in mind that in working with the questionnaire, the respondent does not try to penetrate the essence of the problem and dispassionately evaluate the possible variants but marks what is recalled most easily and what comes to mind first, it becomes clear that the criteria of equivalence of choices need to be refined.

It is especially complicated to explain other people's mental condition. Degree of satisfaction, motives, interests, and aims are not obvious for everyone. Frequently even the subject himself is not fully aware of them.

Information on the mental world of others is inadequate and superficial. Usually we ascribe assumed motives, goals, and purposes of behavior more than we disclose the real ones.

The ordinary person's attempts to understand the causes and effects of events in which he is a participant or observer are intensively studied in psychology, mainly in the cognitive field. The many experiments of F. Heider, H. Kelly, L. Festinger, and their followers identified a number of stereotypes which meet a person's daily need for rapid and economical analysis of both his own mental condition and that of others.

By resisting the real facts and moving in the direction from effects to causes, the stereotypical course of thinking proves to be fraught with a number of errors which prevent cognition of the real causes and effects of people's behavior. These errors are inevitably reflected in the answers in a sociological survey by skewing information in a particular direction.

Knowing the errors of attribution which manifest deviations from the rational information processing typical of everyday reasoning under the impact of the human mind's protective mechanisms allows us to refine the criteria for equivalence of choices. It reveals the discrepancy between formal and everyday logic which jurists, psychologists, and historians know very well. As for the topic of our article, it means that by confining ourselves only to formal-logical criteria of equal probability, we in fact do not provide respondents with the conditions necessary for making the choice. We *thrust* preference of certain variants on them. Let us explain this conclusion.

In their most general form errors of attribution represent hypothetical notions characteristic of people concerning the apriori probability of certain causes of behavior which are expressed in exaggeration of personal (subjective) and underevaluation of situational factors. Under their influence systematic biases emerge in respondents' answers, and by taking them into account or removing them we can understand how these errors appear.

False agreement (egocentric attribution). This error is related to the fact that people usually consider their own behavior and their own opinions natural and appropriate, and as a result of that they take their own personal, inevitably limited experience as the collective or even universal experience. The evaluation of other people's behavior is not objective but systematically shifts toward the behavioral choice which the evaluator himself makes. As a result of errors of attribution, a person *overstates* the degree of correspondence of his actions with the generally accepted norms [Source 2]. (This is well known from the saying "to measure by one's own yardstick." Moreover, the yardstick in most cases represents the only possible one and is not open to discussion.)

Here we must also speak of the bias arising from the addressee of the report. Thus, if an "outsider" (in our case the sociologist) takes the role of this addressee, people are inclined to present their behavior and their way of life in the best light or at least not enlarge on their mistakes and "wash their dirty linen in public." I.V. Fedorov is completely right to link refusals to answer the question "How does your collective treat the critical comments of workers?" with the respondents' unwillingness to speak badly of the collective where they work. The number of refusals to answer this question exceeded the number of refusals to answer other questions given in similar form by a factor of 1.2 [Source 3].

Assymetry of attribution of causes of success and failure. This error is based on two interrelated stereotypes: a) the focus of attention depends on whether the person is a participant in or an observer of the event. In the first case he devotes more attention to the personality of the actor, and in the second—to the circumstances; b) the focus of attention depends on whether the act was successful or unsuccessful. In the first case the observer attributes success to the circumstances, and the participant—to his own personal characteristics; but the observer links failure to the actor's personality, and the participant—to unfavorable circumstances (the child "punishes" the object which he ran into).

GDR sociologists use the effect of this stereotype to explain, among other things, the fact that young people who are students in the system of vocational education attribute to themselves more positive motives for their attitude toward work, production instruction, and membership in the Union of Free German Youth than they attribute to their classmates, considering the latter to be inspired by material gain and personal benefit [Source 4].

Attribution of responsibility also depends on whether attention is focused on the person or on circumstances. Thus, for example, when students were supposed to make comments on the structure of the educational process, it turned out that for the most part truants complained about the lack of discipline and "D" students were dissatisfied with teachers' qualifications. In other words, those surveyed were inclined to attribute responsibility for their own shortcomings and failures to external circumstances or other people [Source 5].

Let us examine one more example.

The survey subjects, workers and experts (enterprise managers appeared in that role) were asked about the reasons for discharge from an enterprise. Equivalent variants on the level of motives for discharge "in general" were offered as choices. However, if it is taken into account that cadre turnover is considered an undesirable phenomenon, then the different focus of attention of those who are responsible and those who are not responsible for it becomes clear. The distribution of answers obtained clearly demonstrates this difference. Thus, 49

percent of the experts and 4 percent of the workers named change in place of residence one of the main reasons for discharge. But at the same time, 20 percent of the workers and 7 percent of the experts indicated poor organization of labor, downtime, and the last-minute rush [Source 6].

Illusory correlations. Careful study of the line of reasoning of an ordinary person in everyday life reveals one more error. In order to substantiate that their behavior is generally accepted, people like to refer to its prevalence, but they are unable to take objective statistics into full account without special training and besides, they do not have them at hand. Thus, even when there was information on the purity of altruistic behavior, those people did not take these data into account when they analyzed the causes attributed to the behavior of others or when they predicted their own behavior [Source 2]. And nonetheless some choice is usually attractive. But what is the basis for forming judgments on the typical or random nature of a certain phenomenon? As it turned out, in everyday life people trust concrete examples much more than abstract data; they are more willing to summarize specifics than draw conclusions from the general; trust in the "law of small numbers" and emphasis on ordinary notions of probability are strong among them.

Because of the selectivity of perception, to substantiate the normality and appropriateness of their behavior people use only what *corresponds* rather than everything in succession, and at the same time diminish or underestimate anything that conflicts with any of their ideas. In addition, if the hypothesis of the relationship of two events looks plausible, the possibility of their random emergence is systematically underestimated. Reasoning on the pattern "if it comes after, it must be the cause" is very popular. ("The whole world does it!" "The whole world? And who specifically did you see doing it?" "Well... , my neighbor.")

Such correlations substantially facilitate information processing by promoting its daily systematization and ordering. This happens through exaggerating the interrelationship of events, with emphasis more on appearances than on substance. Consequently, inclusion in one list of choices "because of someone" and "randomly" directs the respondent to a certain person who is responsible, from his point of view, for what is happening, and increases the weight of "premeditation" in the chain of events. Emphasis on premeditation is characteristic of ordinary consciousness, and that springs from the habit of presenting social phenomena to a greater degree as the result of people's conscious activity than psychology has established.

In addition to those listed above, other errors of attribution are: ease of reproducing the expected relationships, the tendency to consider oneself and others high on the scale of positive and low on the scale of negative characteristics (the so-called leniency effect), the great attractiveness of lost values ("We don't keep what we have"),

underestimation of imposed values ("You can't make someone be nice"), attribution of the actor's qualities to his acts ("That's Senka for you"), and others.

What does the degree to which errors of attribution influence the respondents' answers depend upon? There is no unequivocal answer and so we must be satisfied with the approximate evaluations of "primarily," "usually," and "in most cases." The impreciseness of these formulas is a result of the absence of special methodological experiments to measure the amount of bias of answers under the influence of a certain error of attribution. However, certain dependences have now been established between errors and answers. For example, the stronger the negative consequences of the same act, the more responsibility is attributed to the person who performed the act; the more frequent or serious the failure, the more pronounced the self-evaluation bias is; the interrelationship of efforts and subsequent success is exaggerated and the bond between efforts and failure is underestimated (let us recall the fable of "The Fox and the Grapevine"). Moreover, the lower the person's level of logical sophistication and the less practiced he is in analyzing his and other's behavior, the more inclined he is to make the errors mentioned above. Ordinary psychology also differs from scientific psychology in that the internal world and the behavior of other people are interpreted on the basis of everyday ideas and distinctive everyday methods rather than on the basis of special methods. Attribution of characteristics and causes of behavior is one of these methods, and people really do use them. Because of these errors a person is unable to fully, objectively, and reliably reflect his own internal state and that of others. But this compels sociologists who use the mass survey method to face the challenge of creating instruments which reliably guarantee obtaining answers which are as free as possible of the influence of defensive biases.

The errors of attribution listed describe certain *fundamental* characteristics of people's cognitive activity which also appear specifically in the conditions of a survey.

Among other things, this conclusion follows from our reasoning: choices which have a common basis not only from the standpoint of logic but of psychology can be considered equivalent. And that means that when the list of choices is constructed, it is a good idea to avoid the oppositions "yours or others," "I or others," "success or failure," "intentionally or unintentionally," "people or circumstances," and "participant or observer." But if such an imbalance occurs in the question, when interpreting the answers it seems advisable to take into account the possible bias caused by errors of attribution.

Footnote 1. This demand is questioned as regards certain situations [Source 1].

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Woman in a "Male Society"

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ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88
(signed to press 21 Mar 88) pp 104-110

[Article By Olga Aleksandrovna Voronina, candidate of philosophical sciences and scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, who published a review in the journal (No 2, 1980), under the rubric "Sociological Publicistics"]

[Text] People have been talking about the contradictions between the production and family roles of a woman for a long time. They are less ready to acknowledge that whatever path she has chosen, be it a career, a combination of a job and family, or only caring for a family, the woman's personality is frustrated and her relations with the world are at times filled with tension and discomfort. One of the reasons for this is the ambiguity of the very ideas of the woman's place in society and the influence of traditional patriarchal views like "the destiny of the weaker sex is to devote herself wholly to the family." The contradictory character of the emancipation process is especially acutely felt on the level of mass consciousness. The debates which periodically arise in the press and are at time extremely bellicose are evidence of this. Behind the artificially fanned passions, the calculation of rights and duties, and expectations and possibilities is a real problem, or rather a set of problems: what demands does society today make on a woman and how they are realized; what are the conditions of the life activity of women; and, how is the declared principle of the equality of the sexes realized in practice? Then, of course, there is the main question: can the contradictions in the socioeconomic status of women be overcome using traditional methods and approaches?

Is It Not a Woman's Business?

The political and socioeconomic transformations carried out in the country after the October Revolution fundamentally changed a woman's life and opened broad prospects for her. But the proclaimed principles of social

liberation were in practice realized in a contradictory way. The ideas of social and individual consciousness and the particular guideposts of policy were to a significant extent formed by the simple averaging or by a collage of patriarchal and egalitarian views, often by imposing traditional cultural stereotypes on progressive initiatives. This applies above all to the sphere of labor activity.

Today 92 percent of our country's women work or go to school. They make up more than half (50.9 percent) of the workers and employees and 44 percent of the kolkhoz members [Source 2, p 6; Source 11]. However, the structure of their occupational activity spontaneously reproduces the stereotype of the "woman's destiny." If women are involved in the "male" sphere of employment, they are used in physically difficult, monotonous, and routine work in unprestigious, low-paying jobs. The so-called women's professions were formed by "transferring" traditional women's pursuits within the framework of the family to the macrolevel. The overwhelming majority of the fair sex works in trade and public catering (83 percent of the total number of those employed), health care, social security (82 percent), and the cultural services sphere (74 percent) and women make up 75 percent of the teachers [Source 3, p 7]. There is a similar situation in industry. Women predominate in such sectors as the light and food, pharmaceutical, spinning, and sewing industries, and the like. And there are many occupations here with harmful or difficult working conditions while the prestige and wages are small. According to M.Ya. Sonin's data, "The average wages in women's occupations are lower than the average wages for the country as a whole" [Source 4]. According to N.M. Rimashevskaya's estimates (the results of a study in Taganrog in 1985 were analyzed), women on the average receive only two-thirds the amount that men do (the groups were equal in terms of level of education). Almost one out of three women earned less than 100 rubles a month; among men it was only 2 percent. Even in industry women's wages constitute just 70 percent of men's wages [Source 5].

The stereotype of a "woman's occupation" operates negatively in relationship to men as well: they simply do not consider many types of activity as possible spheres for applying their efforts and knowledge. The most obvious example is the system of indoctrinating the rising generation. "In 376 specializations which to one degree or another involve the upbringing and education of the population, primarily women are employed" [Source 6, p 138].

This situation is largely a result of the operation of the following stereotype: a woman is not able to achieve the "male heights" in work. This belief is especially clearly manifested in the system of official promotion. Men occupy the main command positions in absolutely all spheres of occupational activity (even "women's" occupations). For example, in the 1984-1985 school year 75 percent of the teachers were women, while 38 percent of

the school directors were. In the administrative hierarchy the proportion of representatives of the fair sex declines steadily from the lower links to the higher. In the management apparatus, which consists of managers, specialists, and technical workers, "the last two categories are made up of 80 percent women" [Source 6, p 138]. Among managers of production associations and enterprises only 12 percent are women, the same among chief engineers and their deputies, and in the group of shop chiefs and their deputies—14 percent [Source 7, p 102]. The picture is similar in science, the most "progressive" sphere of the economy: women make up about half of those employed here, but among scientific associates they make up 40 percent, among candidates of sciences—28 percent, among doctors—14 percent, and among professors, corresponding members, and academicians—1 percent [Source 2, p 7; Source 8].

In part this situation is the result of difficulties which arise on the path of professional growth of women during the period of motherhood. At that time they lag substantially behind men in acquiring professional knowledge and, consequently, status. As a result, it is frequently difficult for them to make up what they have lost. The idea, which is deeply rooted in social consciousness, that work is not the main thing in a woman's life (as it is in men's) also has a negative effect on a career. There is no reason for her to strive to reach the top of the official ladder, and, moreover, she does not have the necessary qualities for management. However, no one in our country has made a special study of the question of the so-called men's and women's styles of leadership and the influence of the manager's sex (and the corresponding social, mental, and value characteristics) on the microclimate and the results of the collective's activity. The situation here is developing spontaneously, and not at all to women's benefit. They have a substantially greater gap than men between the level of special education and qualifications, on the one hand, and the post they occupy, on the other. That means that society does not always use the professional potential of working women efficiently and rationally.

An essential condition for full-value vocational activity by women is special (as compared to men) protection of their labor, that is, protection of the organism and reproductive system from the impact of harmful production factors. Quite a few problems have also accumulated in this area. Above all a significant gap exists between the existing rules and their application in practice. There are several reasons for this. Many managers prefer to forget certain points of the Labor Code—fewer troubles. Frequently, especially during the construction of new industrial objects, the structure of jobs is simply not planned in terms of sex. If disproportions arise between supply and demand, the employer and the employee by "mutual consent" do not observe the laws on labor protection. Women with low qualification or in an unhappy family situation knowingly enter harmful production work: it provides higher wages, a shorter work day, and a lower pension age. According to the data

of V.N. Zytsev, who surveyed women working in the metallurgical industry, about 90 percent of them insist on working in difficult conditions—in order to obtain privileges. The extra ruble or the additional time for the woman's family is saved at the expense of her own health. But this problem is not only a personal one. The population's health is a most important concern of the state. And in this connection the following repeatedly heard proposal must certainly be decisively supported: legally ban the use of women's labor in conditions which create a threat to the normal functioning of their reproductive systems.

In general women's labor needs special organization and norm-setting which is more detailed than it is now. The female organism reacts more sensitively than a man's to unfavorable working conditions—noise, vibration, temperature fluctuations, dust, poor lighting, monotonous rhythm of operations, work with heavy objects, and so on. The crucialness of the question becomes particularly obvious when one remembers that about half of the industrial, construction, and agricultural workers engaged in physical and undermechanized labor are women; and they make up 97 percent of the weavers (noise and dust), 98 percent of the janitors, nurse's aides and attendants, and nannies (heavy manual labor), 90 percent of the people who work on conveyor belts, and about 70 percent of the warehouse workers (nonmechanized labor) [Source 5, p 88].

When machine tools, equipment, and tools are manufactured, women's anthropometrical and dynamometrical characteristics are not taken into account—the tools of labor are made for men. This involves extra expenditures of energy, reduces efficiency, and leads to diseases of the nervous system. Moreover, in my opinion separate women's and men's performance standards should exist in certain types of labor. Why are norms for men and women different in sports, which are nonprofessional in our country, while the norms are the same in labor activity? The specifics of a woman's life cycle are not taken into account in production organizations either. Each stage requires its own regimen. What has been said relates above all to women with children. There is a lot of talk about this, but practically nothing is being done. Let us cite only one fact: night shifts in production have today become primarily women's shifts [Source 7, p 101].

So in the sphere of labor a woman's initial opportunities do not at all permit her to fully develop her knowledge and skill and work with maximum efficiency. And the problems which are emerging here cannot be reduced to the questions of how to more effectively "include" a woman in the production process and how she should she combine labor and motherhood. In my opinion, the problem is broader; society's attitude toward women's labor and toward the working woman herself must be changed. The right to work is today not simply a guarantee of wages but also the right to creativity, social recognition, and professional advancement.

Mother and Homemaker

A woman encounters no less serious problems in the family. As is well known, running the household is a socially significant function of the family. This activity insures the social and physical reproduction of people and their living conditions. Women today feel the contradiction between the individual form and the social content of domestic functions especially acutely. The reasons are, in general, clear. They include the mass involvement of women in social production, the prevalence of the nuclear-type family, and the underdevelopment of the services sphere. The fact that our countrywomen spend on the average 40 hours a week working in the home is well-known to specialists. I will add a few more dramatic figures: according to the data of the Institute of the Physiology of Labor in Dortmund, the energy expenditures of a housewife (using modern technical equipment) and a worker engaged in heavy physical labor are approximately equal. Polish sociologists have calculated that the total weight of the food purchases which a woman makes during a year for a family of four comes to 2.4 tons; and in doing work around the house, she walks an average of 12-13 kilometers a day.

These colossal physical and nervous overloads deform a woman's personality and her attitude toward the members of her family, her husband and children. Thus, relations with a child are "objectively-necessarily" reduced to those of a servant. Instead of an upbringer, to a significant extent she becomes a nanny bustling about after a "body" (feeding, watering, putting shoes on, and dressing the child). The negative consequences of such a state of affairs are difficult to exaggerate.

But how should today's extremely urgent problem of the woman's double workload be resolved? In our opinion, the solution is not in more equitable and uniform distribution of domestic duties between spouses. That is a palliative. Is it perhaps necessary "to return the woman to the lap of the family," that is, to systematically reduce her participation in social production and compensate for the family's losses in income through additional payments to the husband's wages or other payments? No, such a step would be historically regressive and moreover virtually impossible, since more than half of the people working in the economy are women. There is only one way: put the performance of all household and domestic operations on an industrial basis.

The problem of motherhood is related to this question in the most direct way. First of all it must be said that sociological study and philosophical analysis of motherhood virtually do not exist in our country. To no small degree this is the result of the contradictory nature of society's demands on the woman-mother and evaluations of motherhood itself.

Breaking the patriarchal system of family relations leads to the mother becoming the main parent (and frequently the only one). And we are not only speaking of incomplete families but also of families with so-called hidden

fatherlessness. On the one hand, the father's roles are becoming more restricted as compared to the past and his authority is declining. Among other things, social institutions have to a substantial degree assumed the man's traditional functions of transmitting culture, education, and instruction in professional skills; the family's social status is determined not by the positions of the head of the family, but ultimately by individual achievements, and so on. On the other hand, the number and significance of the woman's roles are increasing. The mother has become virtually the only family upbringer, upon whom the function of a kind of corrector and coordinator of the pedagogical efforts of social institutions is additionally laid.

But the woman cannot and, moreover, should not be the only one responsible for the upbringing of children. And the point is not just the professional and domestic overloads she feels. The mother alone is not able to satisfy the demands which are being made on the development of the child's personality today. It is time to reinterpret the conception of family and nonfamily upbringing and the interrelations of these two facets. First of all we must sharply increase the number of preschool and especially nonschool children's institutions which are oriented toward developing motor, labor, and intellectual capabilities and raise their activities to a new qualitative level. Then parents (rather than only the mother) will be able to work on the moral and spiritual development of the child's personality in earnest. For now family and nonfamily upbringing is to a significant extent reduced to instilling children with the skills of adaptation to society and functioning in it. In order to perform these tasks, fundamental changes are needed in social consciousness. First, we must bring fathers into the upbringing of children. Secondly, we must strengthen the social prestige of motherhood. And despite all the attention on the latter, it is still considered strictly the woman's personal affair. The social importance of motherhood on all levels and in all links of the social organism must be raised.

Let me say a few words about women's participation in political and social life. It is taking shape to a great extent under the influence of formal principles of representation in various social organizations (party, soviet, Komsomol, and trade union) or under the influence of the traditional stereotype of "women's pursuits." Even in those spheres where the principle of observing the social equality of the sexes is purposefully followed, the traditional hierarchy becomes established: in 1985 women made up half the deputies to kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, city, settlement, and rural soviets, while in the Supreme Soviets of the autonomous republics they made up just 40 percent, in the Union republics—36 percent, and among the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet—33 percent [Source 3, p 5].

As for strictly women's organizations, until quite recently there simply were none. Therefore, the task posed by the 27th CPSU Congress to create effective

women's councils is more than timely and pressing. At the same time, however, the continued rise in women's social activism will depend above all on how adequately and clearly their problems, needs, and interests are recognized.

In Search of the "Eternal Feminine"

The woman's image in social consciousness is contradictory. Up to now the traditional patriarchal-bourgeois stereotypes concerning her nature and destiny have had great influence. And it is no wonder. Notions of women's inferiority, sinfulness, and second-rate status were molded and propagated over the centuries. Very powerful mechanisms were at work here—from the Council of Macedon in 595 A.D., which discussed the question of whether a woman is a person, to the ideology of the "three K's"—Kinder, Kueche, Kirche (children, kitchen, and church).

Severely differentiated and at times polar views of men and women permeate the entire edifice of contemporary culture, shape a lowered self-evaluation and lowered self-image in women, and impede the development of their creative orientations and capabilities. For example, girls who show a high mathematical gift usually do not want to study mathematics so as not "to lose their womanly look." Moreover, women are often consciously guided by the principle which the American researcher Mirra Komarovsky calls "the rule of staying two steps behind the man." She proved experimentally that many women in contacts with men behave more stupidly and childishly because it is necessary to be known as feminine. Later this fact was confirmed in the research of Paul Wollen. Motherhood, a home, femininity—that is what is basic to notions of the weaker sex. In different modifications this idea wanders through the pages of artistic works and even scientific works. The desire for professional growth, social activism, development of the personality, and self-realization in the nonfamily sphere is considered in social consciousness to be "the price of emancipation."

The formation of the woman's new social role involves breaking old notions of her and sometimes complete renunciation of everything traditional. Such nihilism is a characteristic sign of a period between cultures ("black-shirts" of the old norms and stereotypes inevitably appear during any cultural transformation). It is precisely this which, in my opinion, explains the attacks on emancipation, on the one hand, and the advocacy of femininity, the notions of which were borrowed from the jackets of Western mass publications, on the other.

It must be noted that the ideals of femininity, that is, the set of features of appearance and character which are supposed to be inherent in the fair sex are historically and socially determined. Suffice it to compare even the standards of beauty in different periods. Let us recall the

figures of the Eternal Mother with her enormous stomach (primitive culture) and the women of the Renaissance Era with their high foreheads (frequently their hair was shaved off to achieve it)—this appearance seemed to serve as a symbol of spirituality; Chinese beauties with their disfigured (according to our ideas) little feet, where the literal physical impossibility of standing on their own feet was treated as aloofness from the material side of life. "Femininity" which some of our contemporaries moan about (softness, tenderness, infantilism, passivity, helplessness, and so on) is a copy from the colorful cover of a rich woman's magazine. The image of the "true woman" arose in the 1950's in America. As B. Frieden showed in her book "The Feminine Mystique," it represented the product of a well-organized ideological campaign.

The constant error of reality and consciousness, life and ideology on this question creates many deformed phenomena which nonetheless have already become customary. For example, every day we encounter women with evening make-up on, in very high heels (an oath to femininity!) running along the route between work, the store, and home with string bags and children on their arms. But it is much more serious and important that the conscious partition of the modern woman's life into two opposite spheres (home and work) and the emphasis on the "primordial value" of the first while disparaging and suppressing the importance of the second leads to disintegration of the woman's own world and personality.

The approach to the problem in our science is very contradictory. We are accustomed to consider this topic primarily within the sociology of the family. Its representatives virtually reproduce the traditional stereotypes of mass consciousness. Here is a typical statement: "... The most important form of creative work for the country and socialism is the work of motherhood" [Source 9]. Here is another example: the development in young girls of an "orientation to professional activity" (that is, not even to a career but to work) and "independence of judgment" is considered "inculcation of masculine character traits" and "a significant deviation from ordinary development" [Source 10]. But there is no tradition in Marxism to reduce a woman's creative abilities and human potential to motherhood. Quite the contrary K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin, A. Bebel, and many other theoreticians of Marxism believed that the woman's vocational labor is a condition of her real social emancipation. Marx said directly that a woman's social status can serve as a kind of measure of social progress [Source 1].

We encounter a similar and essentially patriarchal position in the works of demographers (A.I. Antonov, V.G. Borisov) and publicists (Yu.B. Ryurikov). Of course, the authors take a narrow view of the problem: demographers are concerned with increasing the birth rate at any price, publicists—with searching for the "eternal feminine," and so on. However, despite all the different points of view, the fact that they are formed in a

so-to-speak negative way (not from objective reality but from life, it is true) and have as their basis a certain special destiny of the fair sex unites them. Present advocacy of motherhood as the only form of creative labor for a woman is based on silent recognition of the circumstance that the goal of her activity outside the home is exclusively extra earnings for the family. The conservatism and limitation of such an approach is obvious.

However, the situation which has taken shape could hardly be otherwise. For to this day theoretical workups amount to virtually nothing more than commentary on classic texts within the framework of historical materialism and to "tying" women's problems to family problems—in sociology. To put it mildly, the strangeness and absurdity of this situation becomes particularly obvious if one recalls that two out of three of the main directions of contemporary feminism, the socialist and the radical, consider the views of K. Marx the starting point of their ideological constructs. But unlike our social science, the theoreticians of these movements did not confine themselves to assimilation of his legacy by quotation and commentary, but tried to extend Marxist analysis to the contemporary situation. Sometimes, it is true, a sense of historicism and objectivity betray the authors of today's conceptions. Thus, many advocates of feminism attempt to supplement Marx's "economic determinism" with their own "biological determinism" and extend the theory of the class struggle to the "biological classes" of men and women. But that is not the point now. In the hands of the feminists the Marxist approach to the problem of emancipation and discrimination of women has become the lever which overturned the "sexist world" and "sexist culture," that is, the world based on discrimination on the basis of sex.

The predominance of scholasticism in theory could not fail to have an effect on empirical research as well. The sociological study of the woman's production and family functions were essentially reduced to ascertaining certain shortcomings in work and at home. Value orientations, work goals, the family of women and men, notions of the socioeconomic and spiritual partnership of the sexes, and public opinion regarding the woman's new role (the list of these traditional sociological themes could go on)—not one of these questions has yet been studied properly. But they are of the utmost practical significance.

Incomplete or distorted treatment in our science and ideology of many problems which are fundamental to the status of women results in social conflicts being "driven" to the level of the individual. As a rule, here they are resolved in a palliative or destructive way. Thus, the overloads women experience in combining professional and family functions frequently force them to work at less than full efficiency at work (as if saving strength for home) and abandon professional growth (and frequently the profession, if it demands too much effort). As a result both society and the woman herself lose: a significant

part of its spiritual potential remains unclaimed. After the period of active motherhood is over, a sense of aimlessness in life arises in the woman: the children have grown up and work which brings satisfaction and social recognition simply did not happen.

However, a different way of resolving the contradiction is possible: reducing the load relating to serving the family to a certain degree. Such a goal leads to a lower birthrate or even rejection of marriage and family. And in fact, the number of single mothers in our country is rising and the number of divorces where the woman is the initiator is increasing (the proportion of such divorces is now two-thirds). Such extreme methods of aggression by a woman against a man which leads to a kind of removal of him from her own life (family life at least) represent a kind of neurotic reaction and distorted form of protest and at the same time, a way to overcome the difficulties. It is precisely the man who replaces a certain abstract society in the consciousness of the woman and the wife and is the "on to blame" for all her troubles. In fact the latter have deeper social causes.

In order to overcome the contradictions which exist in the woman's status to insure that society can take full advantage of her intellectual and moral potential and the woman can find herself in various spheres of life activity, an integrated social policy must be developed and followed. It must insure the opportunity of a woman's individual choice of a life's path, whether it is a parallel or sequential combination of labor and motherhood, only motherhood, or... only work. As a woman I am deeply convinced that when these optimal conditions are created only an insignificant part of my fellow countrywomen will deliberately reject motherhood in favor of work (a "career"), but on the other hand, the number of those who realize their desire to have several children will most likely increase. As a researcher I am steadfastly certain that our further progress is inconceivable without resolving the social problems of women.

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- "Realistic Projects" at Another's Expense**
18060005s Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88 (signed to press 21 Mar 88) p 138
- [Letter to the editor from D.I. Zyuzin, candidate of economic sciences under the rubric "Letters to the Editor"; word in italics rendered in italics in the text]
- [Text] Who among scientists does not want to read a serious and competent response to their work in a journal? The comment by Doctor of Economic Sciences A.M. Solomonov (No 4, 1987), concerning my article "Variants of the Socioeconomic Development of the Central Asian Region" No 4, 1986), could hardly be classified as such material.
- Each specialist is free to have his own viewpoint on the problem. But disagreements of a conceptual nature do not give the right to flagrantly distort the actual basis of the approach being criticized. Meanwhile, the author asserts that I supposedly recommend relocating at least 7 million people of working age outside the borders of Central Asia in this five-year plan period, that is, 450,000 every years or 80 percent of the natural increase. As a result, as my opponent figured, "the populations of Tajikistan and Kirghizia would have to be relocated." In other words, "a major relocation of peoples would have to be carried out."
- It is enough to just give a cursory look at my article to be convinced that attributing such ideas to me is a fabrication of the first water. The text does indeed examine that variant among the five variants discussed. But I come to draw the opposite conclusion: "The proposal to relocate 7 million people from Central Asia into the central rayons in a short time period is *unrealistic* (italics are

mine—Zyuzin) (p 22). One can only wonder why the editors did not compare my conclusions with the facts when preparing to publish the letter.

Now to the essence of the question. A situation has developed in Central Asia that makes it impossible to increase the efficiency of the use of labor resources and thereby raise the population's living standard without increasing the mobility of the native population. My particular proposals can be reduced to the following: the rate of increase in capital investments in the region's economy must be raised and brought to 250 percent by the year 2000 so that the volume of production will rise by a factor of 2.5 in those 15 years. Despite all the intensity of such a program, national income will still not insure an increase in the populations' standard of living using internal resources and subsidies from the state budget will be needed.

Instead of redistributing national income (as was done earlier), I propose relocating some of the labor resources from Central Asia to other rayons of the country where work force is acutely needed and there are conditions for using it efficiently. That part would be slightly more than 3 million people. They are the ones who should earn the lacking consumption resources. Is the task of relocating 3 million people from a region whose population is now already 30 million people but by the year 2000 will reach almost 50 million, that is, approximately 200,000 people a year, or 40 percent of the natural increase, realistic? Yes, the article says, especially if the matter is put on a scientific basis and both the interests of the republics who are providing the labor resources and the interests of the regions accepting them are taken into account. Incidentally, such an approach is already being realized in practice.

Migration intensity in the case we are studying may reach 120 people per 1,000 population, that is, slightly more than the present average for the whole country and, let us note, substantially less than in the Far East. Every economist and demographer understands that this character of development of the region's population is not an anomaly, but is simply essential for Central Asia at the present time.

A.M. Solomonov ignores the proposals made, or rather misrepresents the facts and declares the conception presented in the article a fantasy projection. But what is proposed instead?

In estimating Tajikistan's need for jobs, the author draws the conclusion that in order to find jobs for all able-bodied population unemployed at the given moment, there must be 5-6 billion rubles of capital investments. However the republic's budget in 1987 totaled 1.9 billion rubles. Where are the missing billions for Tajikistan and the tens of billions for all of Central Asia supposed to be gotten? The author does not provide an answer to this

question. Apparently those very "directive and planning organs" which my article supposedly throws into confusion are supposed to allocate them.

However, these organs do not make money themselves. The working people of Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic Region, and other republics earn it. For many years now part of their national income is withdrawn and given to the republics of Central Asia. Judging from everything, this way of resolving the region's socioeconomic problems seems the only realistic and, most importantly, desirable one to my opponent. What is desirable is understood. But how realistic is it? Given the transition to economic methods of management and self-financing and self-support [samookupayemost], the era of consumption is obviously coming to an end. Solving these problems at someone else's expense is becoming more and more difficult, even with the help of the directive and planning organs. They must earn the capital themselves.

Social Scientists Elected to the USSR Academy of Sciences (in the Specializations of "Philosophy" and "Scientific Communism")

18060005t Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88
(signed to press 21 Mar 88) p 143-146

[List of new AN SSSR members in "philosophy" and "scientific communism" under the rubric "Chronicle of Scientific Life"]

[Text] Georgiy Lukich Smirnov

Academician G.L. Smirnov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee, born 1922, Russian, member of the CPSU, doctor of philosophical sciences, and professor.

The main directions of G.L. Smirnov's research work are concentrated in formulating questions of the dynamics of the social-class structure of Soviet society and of the comprehensive study of the problems of the emancipation and development of the individual in the process of socialist transformations. G.L. Smirnov is the author of more than 160 scientific works, including the monograph "Sovetskiy chelovek" [Soviet Man], which came out in three editions and was translated into many languages. These works singled out the scientific conception of the socialist type of individual from those real changes in the status and consciousness of masses of people which came into being as a result of the impact on them of processes which are different in content and contradictory. For the first time the foundations and methods of social classification by type of personality were thoroughly analyzed, the concept "personality structure of society" was promoted and substantiated, and the conception of social personality as well as the

types of antisocial behavior were formulated. G.L. Smirnov's works on the problems of the development of the socialist individual helped establish a new direction in science and are rightly considered primary works in this area of social knowledge.

G.L. Smirnov actively participates in the restructuring of social science on both the theoretical and the practical level, formulates particular problems of the turning of philosophical research and scientific communism to social practice, and advocates complete revival of the principle of historicism in party history science. His monograph "Revolutsionnaya sut perestroyki" [The Revolutionary Essence of Restructuring], in which the questions of the reflection of the present crucial period in the country's history in social and especially theoretical consciousness are formulated, was a result of the interpretation of the theoretical and practical problems of the social renewal of society.

Ivan Timofeyevich Frolov

Academician I.T. Frolov, president of the USSR Philosophical Society, born 1929, Russian, CPSU member, doctor of philosophical sciences, and professor.

I.T. Frolov is a major Soviet philosopher whose works have received international recognition and made a primary contribution to the development of philosophical thought, and he is the author of more than 300 scientific works, including 18 monographs (he is coauthor of 9 of them) and 18 booklets (he is coauthor of 4 of them). Most of them have been translated into foreign languages.

I.T. Frolov is one of the founders and leaders of the new direction of comprehensive research in our country—philosophical and social problems of science and technology. His works on the general theory of the scientific-technical revolution and its most recent stage and on the philosophical questions of the natural sciences, in particular biology where he essentially created the very structure and interpretation of this problem area in its present form, are of primary importance.

"Ocherki metodologii biologicheskogo issledovaniya" [Essays on the Methodology of Biological Study], "Genetika i dialektika" [Genetics and Dialectics], "Mendel, medelizm i dialektika" [Mendel, Mendelism, and Dialectics], "O dialektike i etike v nauke o zhizni" [On the Dialectics and Ethics in Life Science], "Zhizn i poznaniye" [Life and Cognition]—these and other works by I.T. Frolov made a significant contribution to formulation of the worldview and methodological principles of biological study, helped strengthen and develop the alliance of Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences, and actively helped overcome antiscientific philosophical constructs in biology, above all in genetics. They received recognition not only among philosophers but also among naturalists. Treatment of the analysis of the social-ethical and humanistic problem areas of contemporary science and of the comprehensive study of man was a logical development of

this research of I.T. Frolov's. Such innovative works of his as "Progress nauki i budushcheye cheloveka" [The Progress of Science and the Future of Man], "Perspektivy cheloveka" [Perspectives of Man], "Chelovek—nauka—gumanizm: novyy sintez" [Man—Science—Humanism: A New Synthesis], "Etika nauki" [The Ethics of Science], and the series of works "O smysle zhizni, o smerti i bessmertii cheloveka" [On the Meaning of Life and the Death and Immortality of Man], and others were devoted to these problems.

I.T. Frolov's works as well as the works done under his direction on the philosophical interpretation of global problems, their classification, and the accentuation of the priority of humanistic approaches—"Globalnyye problemy sovremennosti: nauchnyy i sotsialnyy aspekty" [Global Problems of Contemporary Times: The Scientific and Social Aspects], "Globalnyye problemy i budushcheye chelovechestva" [Global Problems and the Future of Mankind], "Marksistsko-leninskaya kontsepsiya globalnykh problem" [The Marxist-Leninist Conception of Global Problems], "Zemlya i chelovechestvo. Globalnyye problemy" [The Earth and Mankind. Global Problems], "Sotsializm i progress chelovechestva. Globalnyye problemy tsivilizatsii" [Socialism and the Progress of Mankind. Global Problems of Civilization], and others were a significant contribution to science.

I.T. Frolov has headed a number of authors' collectives and supervised the journals VOPROSY FILOSOFII, PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, and KOMMUNIST. The fourth and fifth editions of the "Filosofskiy slovar" [Philosophical Dictionary] came out under his editorship.

I.T. Frolov is doing a great deal of scientific-organizational and sociopolitical work. He is a member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the central governing board of the Society of Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship, president of the USSR Philosophical Society, chairman of the AN SSSR [USSR Academy of Sciences] scientific council on the comprehensive problem "Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Technology," member of the leadership of the international organization "Ecoforum for Peace," first vice-president and member of the executive committee of the logic of methodology and philosophy of science division of the International Union of the History and Philosophy of Science, and member of the International Council of Directors of the Institute of Life.

I.T. Frolov has been awarded the Order of Labor Red Banner, the Order of Friendship of Peoples, the Badge of Honor, and certain medals.

Nail Bariyevich Bikkenin

AN SSSR Corresponding Member N.B. Bikkenin, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST, born 1931, Tatar, CPSU member, doctor of philosophical sciences.

N.B. Bikkenin is a specialist in the field of scientific communism and the political questions of socialism. He is the author of about 30 publications on problems of ideology and culture, and social consciousness and morals, including the monograph "Sotsialisticheskaya ideologiya" [Socialist Ideology]. N.B. Bikkenin's works are opening up a new field of study, the theory of ideology. N.B. Bikkenin took part in the creation of the collective works "Aktivnost obshchestvennogo soznaniya" [The Activism of Social Consciousness], "Obshchestvennoye soznaniye i ego formy" [Social Consciousness and Its Forms], as well as the textbooks "Nauchnyy kommunizm" [Scientific Communism] and "Osnovy politicheskikh znaniy" [Foundations of Political Knowledge].

N.B. Bikkenin taught philosophy and scientific communism at Moscow State University and MGIMO [Moscow State Institute of International Relations] for many years.

Vladimir Ivanovich Boyko

AN SSSR Corresponding Member V.I. Boyko, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Institute of History, Philology, and Philosophy, born 1926, Russian, CPSU member, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, Honored Scientist of the RSFSR.

V.I. Boyko is a specialist in the field of research on social processes and the efficiency of forms of social management and the author of 90 publications, among them 6 monographs: "Sotsialnoye razvitiye narodov Nizhnego Amura" Social Development of the Peoples of the Lower Amur], "Sotsialno-professionalnaya mobilnost evenkov i evenov Yakutiya" [The Social-Vocational Mobility of the Evenki and the Eveny of Yakutiya] (coauthor), "Razvitiye otnosheniya k trudu u narodnostey Severa pri sotsializme" [The Development of the Attitude Toward Labor Among Nationalities of the North Under Socialism] (coauthor), "Metodologiya i koordinatsiya kompleksnykh issledovaniy. Programma 'Narodnosti Severa'" [The Methodology and Coordination of Comprehensive Research. The Peoples of the North Program] (in production), and others.

The main directions of V.I. Boyko's research are the contemporary processes of the social development of the peoples of Siberia, the North, and the Far East given the intensive development of the region they live in and the interaction of scientific-technical and social progress. Under V.I. Boyko's leadership and with his direct participation the following coordinated research programs were formulated and realized: "The Social and Economic Development of the Nationalities of the North Under the Conditions of Scientific-Technical Progress ("Nationalities of the North") and "Interaction of Scientific-Technical and Social Progress: the General and the Specific (the Humanitarian Aspect).

V.I. Boyko is actively participating in training scientific cadres; 15 candidate dissertations have been prepared and defended under his guidance. He is chairman of the regional interdepartmental commission of the Siberian departments of the AN SSSR, the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin to coordinate research on the problems of the development of the peoples of the North, chairman of a specialized scientific council, and member of a number of editorial collegia of scientific journals.

Nikolay Ivanovich Lapin

AN SSSR Corresponding Member N.I. Lapin, senior scientific associate of the AN SSSR Institute of Philosophy, born 1931, Russian, CPSU member, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, and laureate of the USSR State Prize.

N.I. Lapin is a specialist in the field of the history of the philosophy of Marxism and philosophical and sociological problems of organizations and administrations; he is the author of more than 170 works, among them 5 monographs. In the monograph "Molodoy Marks" [Young Marx] N.I. Lapin established the initial stages of the formation of K. Marx's views into an integrated scientific worldview, revealed the creative laboratory of Marx's thought in these stages, and offered concrete conclusions and proposals which helped in the preparation of a more complete edition of "Ekonomicheko-filosofskiye rukopisi" [Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts] of Marx (the work on this edition was awarded the USSR State Prize).

N.I. Lapin proposed the strategy of an innovative sociological study, substantiated the idea of social planning for production sites, and formulated the conception of innovative activity as the essence of various innovations. The USSR study "Innovations in Organizations" and the international study (in the CEMA-member countries) "Socioeconomic Aspects of the Development and Use of Microprocessing Equipment" were carried out under his scientific guidance. In N.I. Lapin's research for the first time the philosophical and sociological problems of global modeling were comprehensively formulated, the concept of a global system was advanced, and the proposition on the growing and contradictory interdependence of its components was substantiated.

At the present time N.I. Lapin is one of the supervisors of the comprehensive program of the AN SSSR department of philosophy and law "The Dialectics of the Development of Socialism in the Present Stage"; he participated in the conception of this study, which combines about 20 of the country's scientific organizations and VUZes.

N.I. Lapin is doing a great deal of scientific-organizational and social work. He is vice-president of the USSR Philosophical Society, chairman of the council to coordinate philosophical research, and member of the editorial collegium of the journal *VOPROSY FILOSOFII*, the presidium of the Soviet Sociological Association, a number of AN SSSR scientific councils, specialized scientific councils at VAK [Higher Academic Courses], sections of Politizdat, the All-Union "Znaniye" Society, and the USSR Journalists' Union.

Gennadiy Vasilyevich Osipov

AN SSSR Corresponding Member G.V. Osipov, AN SSSR Institute of Sociological Research department chief, born 1929, Russian, CPSU member, doctor of philosophical sciences, and professor.

G.V. Osipov is a specialist in the field of sociology and the author of more than 200 scientific works on pressing problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, and scientific communism and sociology, among them 8 monographs: "Tekhnika i obshchestvennyy progress" [Technology and Social Progress], "Avtomatizatsiya v SSSR" [Automation in the USSR], "Sovremennaya burzhuaznaya sotsiologiya" [Contemporary Bourgeois Sociology], "Teoriya i praktika sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy v SSSR" [The Theory and Practice of Sociological Research in the USSR], and others. G.V. Osipov is the responsible editor and one of the authors of the reader "Sotsiologiya v SSSR" [Sociology in the USSR], the first one in the country, and the first teaching methods manual "Rabochaya kniga sotsiologa" [The Sociologist's Workbook].

G.V. Osipov's scientific research provides a formulation of the object and structure of sociological knowledge and the methodology and methods of sociological research on the basis of analysis of the theoretical legacy of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin in the field of sociological science. The theory and methodology of the construction of the system of indicators of social development of Soviet society which he formulated served as the basis for the all-Union study "Indicators of the Social Development of Soviet Society."

G.V. Osipov is a member of the editorial collegia of the journals *SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA* and *OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI*, deputy chairman of the Soviet Sociological Association, and member of the International Sociological Association publications committee. He performs a great deal of social work as a member of the institute's party buro.

Vyacheslav Semenovich Stepin

AN SSSR Corresponding Member V.S. Stepin, director of the AN SSSR Institute of Philosophy, born 1934, Russian, CPSU member, doctor of philosophical sciences, and professor.

V.S. Stepin is a well-known specialist in the field of philosophical questions of the natural sciences, the theory of cognition, and the methodology and history of science and the author of more than 100 scientific works, among them 6 monographs including the fundamental study "Stanovleniye nauchnoy teorii" [The Development of Scientific Theory]. V.S. Stepin's works have been translated into nine foreign languages and have been highly praised by the scientific community.

V.S. Stepin formulated a promising conception of the structure and genesis of scientific theory which has a broad circle of applications in the methodology of the natural and technical sciences. On the basis of this conception, along with Belorussian SSSR Academy of Sciences theoretical physicists he obtained certain methodological recommendations regarding the problems of interpretation in the theory of quantum fields. V.S. Stepin's works have studied the peculiarities of the scientific traditions and scientific revolutions in the natural sciences in the 20th century, made an analysis of the structure of the philosophical foundations of science and the ideal and norms of scientific cognition and their sociocultural causes, and revealed important aspects of the impact of social factors on the formation of the strategy of the scientific quest.

V.S. Stepin successfully combines scientific activity with active scientific-organization, pedagogical, and social work. He has trained 14 candidates and 4 doctors of sciences. He is a member of the USSR Commission on UNESCO affairs, deputy chairman of the scientific council on philosophical and social problems of science and technology under the AN SSSR presidium, and member of the editorial collegia of the journal *FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI* and the yearbook "Religii mira" [Religions of the World].

Erkin Yusupovich Yusupov

AN SSSR Corresponding Member E.Yu. Yusupov, vice-president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences (city of Tashkent), born 1929, Uzbek, doctor of philosophical sciences, academician of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, professor, member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee auditing commission, and chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

E.Yu. Yusupov is a specialist in the field of scientific communism and the author of about 140 scientific works, including about 50 monographs and booklets. The best-known among them are "Unichtozheniye protivopolozhnosti mezhdu gorodom i derevney v raneye otstalykh stranakh" [The Elimination of the Opposition Between the City and the Countryside in Formerly Backward Countries] (1964), "Obshcheye i osobennoye v unichtozhenii protivopolozhnosti mezhdu gorodom i derevney v respublikakh Sovetskogo Soyuza" [The General and the Particular in the Elimination of the Contradiction Between the City and the Countryside in the Republics of the Soviet Union] (1972), "Deyatelnost

kompartii Uzbekistana po osushchestvleniyu natsionalnoy politiki v respublike" [The Activity of Uzbekistan Communist Party to Carry out Nationality Policy in the Republic] (1979, coauthor), and "Stanovleniye i razvitiye velikogo bratstva SSSR" [The Formation and Development of the Great Fraternity of the USSR] (1982).

E.Yu. Yusupov's research is devoted to the Leninist theory of the noncapitalist path of development of formerly backward peoples, the study and generalization of the social experience of the transition of peoples of the Soviet East to socialism bypassing capitalism, and the surmounting of the contradiction between the city and the countryside in the period of implementation of democratic and socialist transformations. His works summarize the dialectics of the development of the social and nationality make-up of party organizations, the forms and methods of increasing the ideological-theoretical level of communists from local nationalities, and certain problems of the ideological struggle in the period of transition to socialism bypassing capitalism.

E.Yu. Yusupov actively participates in training scientific cadres.

Rudolf Grigoryevich Yanovskiy

AN SSSR Corresponding Member R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, born 1929, Russian, CPSU member, doctor of philosophical sciences, and professor.

R.G. Yanovskiy is a specialist in the field of the theory of scientific communism, the organization and management of science, and communist indoctrination. His works raise questions of activating the human factor, contain indepth methodological analysis of the basic patterns of the formation and development of the individual, and substantiate the growing role of the scientific-technical intelligentsia and scientific study of man in achieving a qualitatively new condition of Soviet society.

R.G. Yanovskiy actively participates in preparing textbooks, instructional guides, and methodological recommendations for the system of political and economic education and cycles of lectures for auditors and graduate students of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, and higher party schools. He actively carries on teaching work in the chairs of philosophy and scientific communism of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee; he has trained more than 20 candidates of philosophical sciences.

R.G. Yanovskiy does a great deal of scientific organization and social work and is a member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, deputy chairman of the All-Union "Znaniye" Society and a member of the presidium of the Higher Certification Commission under the USSR Council of Ministers, the editorial

collegium of the CPSU Central Committee journal POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE, the Scientific Council on Comprehensive Study of the Human Problems under the AN SSSR Presidium, and the AN SSSR central council of philosophical methodological seminars bureau.

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[Text] Averyanov, L.Ya., "Iskusstvo zadavat voprosy: zametki sotsiologa" [The Art of Asking Questions: Notes of a Sociologist], Moscow: Moskovskaya rabochiy, 1987, 223 pp.

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