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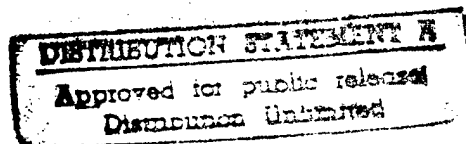
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USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 1985



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30 August 1985

USSR REPORT

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 1985

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DEMOCRATIZATION OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 3-9

[Article by F. M. Rudich: "Democracy, Discipline, Control." Feliks Mikhaylovich Rudich is candidate of philosophical sciences and author of the books "Sochetaniye Gosudarstvennogo i Obshchestvennogo Nachal v Upravlenii Proizvodstvom" [Combining the State and Social Principles in Production Management] (1968) and "Demokraticheskiy Kharakter Upravleniya Proizvodstvom pri Sotsializme" [The Democratic Nature of Production Management Under Socialism] (1983). He is the author of a number of articles published in our journal, such as "The Production Collective: Management of Socioeconomic Development" (No 1, 1980), "Combining One-Man Command With Collective Management in Socialist Production" (No 3, 1981) and others]

[Text] Strengthening true rule by the people is one of the most important prerequisites for perfecting developed socialist society. "Without full democracy," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "victorious socialism is impossible" (1). The 26th party congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums set specific assignments on the further intensification of socialist democracy and the expanded participation of the working people in social management. Improving planning and management and perfecting the economic mechanism are "inconceivable without the conscious, interested and initiative-minded labor of the Soviet people, one and all" (6). This view, which was expressed in the report submitted by K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, at the all-union conference of people's controllers, directs the Soviet social scientists to engage in a profound study of problems of developing and strengthening the principles of democratic centralism in the national economy and the formulation of effective practical recommendations which could contribute to the maximal utilization of social factors in the course of the adoption and implementation of comprehensive target programs. Practical experience convincingly proves that the effectiveness of measures being implemented in the economy directly depends on their social and ideological support.

The process of democratization of national economic management and involving the working people in production management is an objective law which stems from the nature of the socialist system, and a mandatory prerequisite for the progress of production forces, the advancement of production relations, the growth of the economic and social efficiency of the national economy and its

conversion to the track of intensive development. The broadening and strengthening of democratic principles in economic life were considered by V. I. Lenin among the key tasks in building socialism: "This is much easier to organize in the area of politics," he pointed out, "than in economics. However, it is precisely the latter that is important for the success of socialism." (2, p 190).

Democratic centralism ensures the integrity of the economy as a system, its inner organization, order, coordination of economic processes and organic interaction among production, distribution, trade and consumption. Further production socialization, specialization and cooperation, increased division of labor, concentration of material, financial and labor resources along the decisive directions, ensuring the dynamic development of the economy, acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the national economy, the sharp increase of the role of social factors in it and improving the economic mechanism, are all factors which require improvements in production management and the more consistent implementation of the principles of democratic centralism. One of the main directions to be followed in this case is the search for effective means and methods of management which would ensure the unity of socioeconomic interests of society as a whole, and of sectors, enterprises and individual workers. In this respect socialist centralism plays a most important role. It is with its help that scientific and technical, economic, financial and social policies are formulated on a national scale, the deployment of the country's production forces is optimized, national economic ratios are set and perfected, the principle of comprehensiveness in the development of economic regions is implemented, etc. The systematic orientation of economic and social planning toward strengthening of democratic principles is a characteristic feature of developed socialist society.

In scientific publications the democratic nature of management of the socialist society is related essentially to the development of the creative activeness and initiative of the masses. This, however, is only one side of the matter. Democracy is impossible without centralism -- the subordination of individual to common interests, the coordination among all units of the management system and the struggle for attaining the same objectives. Consequently, the efforts to strengthen the democratic principles in management must be aimed not only at expanding the possibility of participation of the working people in decision making but strengthening the role of the central authorities as well. Therefore, the democratization of social life and centralism in the management of the economic, social and spiritual areas are a single qualitative entity which expresses the consistently democratic nature of the socialist system and the potential unity among individual, social, group and national interests inherent in socialism. Correspondingly, the forms of implementation of socialist democracy as well have a double trend. As V. I. Lenin wrote, "Neither stereotype nor establishment of unanimity from above have anything in common with democratic and socialist centralism. In its essential and basic aspects, unity is not violated but secured though variety in details, local characteristics, ways of approaching matters and means of exercising control" (3).

Although they embody the consistently democratic nature of socialist management, democracy and centralism are, however, different in the scale of their functions and constitute social regulators operating on different levels. Popular rule, socialist democracy, is the leading aspect of democratic centralism. Centralization is the organizational tool for its implementation.

At the same time, however, the significance of this tool is greater than ever under socialism, for the broader and more consistent democracy becomes, the more organizedly must the masses act and, consequently, the higher the role of the leading force in society -- the CPSU -- becomes, for it systematically expresses the interests of the people, exists for the sake of the people and serving it. Democracy deprived of a class organization stops being democracy in the true meaning of the term. It opens the door to anarchy, lack of discipline and irresponsibility, becoming a meaningless talking-shop and a dangerous instrument of demagogy, turning, in Lenin's words, into "'democracy' to the point of senselessness" (4). Socialist centralism alone ensures the rule of freedom as an activity consistent with acknowledged necessity, justice and the equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law and the social effectiveness of democracy, granting it real and true power. "Our democracy grants every one the right and assigns every one the obligation actively to act as the master of the country" (6). That is why it is also a guarantee against overinflated centralization and bureaucratic stereotypes in resolving the increased complexity of socioeconomic problems, and against ignoring local features and restricting the creative initiative of the masses.

Specific forms of combining centralism with democracy are inherent in the various stages of socialist change. Today, when the role of the subjective factor in the scientific management of society is increased, democracy is an indivisible feature, an attribute of all organizational management principles, manifested in the unity between the representative and direct forms of popular rule, the political, economic and ideological levers of national economic management, the state and social management principles, centralized planning and the initiative of the primary levels, and one-man and collective management. Ensuring the priority of the national interests -- the foundation of national democracy -- remains the most important task of socialist management.

The present stage in the restructuring of the economic mechanism presumes the solution of this double task. On the one hand, the quality standard of centralized management must be raised higher. The essential feature of this important work is, above all, to improve national economic planning on the basis of the close coordination among long-term, 5-year and annual economic and social development plans, the fastest possible practical utilization of scientific achievements, the extensive use of comprehensive target programs, the perfecting of planning and assessment indicator systems, price setting and financial-credit levers. On the other hand, we must broaden the operational autonomy of enterprises and production associations further, increase the rights and responsibilities of their managements and to develop the creative initiative of labor collectives.

Currently there are 300 major sectors in the national economy and more than 1.2 million enterprises, associations and economic organizations which produce, market and consume some 12 million items (7). The elaboration and

application of a mechanism which would enable us to combine economic levers with centralized planning and increase the role of the material incentive of labor collectives and individual workers in achieving end results, is an important prerequisite for making efficient use of operational and economic independence of enterprises and associations. This is above all a question of the systematic implementation of the principles of cost accounting¹ on all levels, from brigades to ministries. In this case we must take into consideration the fact that each level has its cost accounting characteristics. Whereas in the primary production collectives relations of reciprocal material responsibility are maximally structured, they are applied only partially in the work of ministries and departments.

The broadening of the economic and operational autonomy of all units within the economic mechanism should not be treated as a purely economic process. Naturally, the steps taken in that direction are determined above all by the progress of production forces, the need for further improvement of production relations and, particularly, that of increasing the flexibility of the economic mechanism. However, practical experience indicates that the reorganization under way is effective only wherever the necessary social prerequisites for it have matured, and wherever social factors are extensively used in applying cost accounting. Let us take material incentive as an example, without which it would be impossible to organize the smooth work of the economic mechanism today. It would be simplistic to reduce it to economic factors alone. The trend toward increased requirements and the striving for high consumption quality are playing an increasing role in material incentive. The greatest opportunities for the efficient utilization of the social activeness of the individual in attaining high economic results open on the level of the primary production collective, and the further democratization of production management is the most important instrument in this matter.

Granting greater economic autonomy to the primary economic units leads to substantial changes in relations between superior bodies and enterprises. This also increases the responsibilities of the economic management bodies to production collectives in securing rhythmical procurements and planning discipline as a whole.

However, the autonomy of primary economic units does not mean pitting the plan against value cost accounting incentives for economic activities. The state plan remains the main factor in the development of the socialist national economy. Cost accounting creates additional reserves for upgrading the socioeconomic effectiveness of the production process. As to commodity-monetary relations, they serve as an important intermediary link between production and consumption, on the one hand, by stimulating the autonomy of producers and, on the other, by strengthening centralism in economic activities. With this type of approach the plan not only does not exclude but, conversely, presumes the use of value levers. "Commodity-monetary relations can and must be an important element of the socialist economic mechanism, not a 'panacea for all troubles,' or a universal means of resolving all problems, but in connection with a system of centralized planned management," justifiably writes V. A. Medvedev (8). Absolutizing the role of said relations and pitting the plan against the market leads, in practice, to

undermining the principle of democratic centralism in management and replacing it with an anarcho-syndicalist approach.

Strengthening discipline -- technological, labor and performing -- on all levels is a necessary prerequisite for the democratization of management. The leading role of material factors in stimulating labor activeness and the initiative of workers and managers, and increasing the interest of enterprises and organizations in applying the latest achievements of science and technology and the growth of production effectiveness presumes a linkage among all units within the technological cycle. Common interests, the interests of the cause, rather than narrowly conceived individual (or group) advantages must be the basis for coordinating the activities of the various production sectors. This problem cannot be resolved without a conscientious attitude toward the work, the high responsibility of the working people, high labor standards and the strict and precise observance of production rules. Discipline cannot be reduced to observing the stipulations of labor regulations, for the latter are nothing but a means of attaining end results -- comprehensive enhancement of production quality and utilization of reserves for the growth of labor productivity at each workplace. The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU Decree "On Greater Efforts to Strengthen Socialist Labor Discipline" notes that the main objective here is to ensure high-quality work and productive use of working time (9).

The experience in the development of the brigade method too confirms the growing role of discipline and responsibility. Eliminating the classification of work into "profitable" and "unprofitable," the implementation by every member of the collective of the operations and assignments which are needed at that precise time and a conscientious attitude toward any work are essential components of high end economic results achieved by progressive brigades. Such a system is consistent not only with the interests of society but of all brigade members as well.

The thought-out and efficient combination of centralized management methods with economic autonomy is of the greatest importance in strengthening the discipline. Excessive enthusiasm for value levers, not to mention for bureaucratic administering may and does result in the development of contradictions among individual, group and public interests. Let us take consumer services as an example. In the final account, the aspiration of some managers of service enterprises to earn higher profits by raising the prices of population services results in reduced demand. Meanwhile, the experiment conducted in a number of enterprises in the service industry proves that increasing profitability in consumer services mandatorily requires changes in economic management conditions to be backed by higher labor, discipline and service quality standards.

Therefore, strengthening the discipline is the most important factor in upgrading social production effectiveness and perfecting planning and management. In this connection sociology faces difficult tasks, for the responsible and highly conscientious attitude of the worker toward his obligations is shaped under the influence of a variety of economic, political, sociocultural and ideological factors. A deeper and more detailed study of

the nature and trends of influence of said factors on the labor activities of the Soviet people is required.

Enterprise managements play an exclusive role in production management, including the application of the principle of democratic centralism in labor collective management. Today life formulates stricter requirements toward the manager. In addition to qualities such as political maturity, organizational ability and extensive specialized knowledge, including in the theory of management, psychology and pedagogy, the ability to predict the social consequences of decision making and socialist enterprise become increasingly important in his activities.

The expanded functions of the manager legitimately presume the enhanced role of the working people in implementing the enterprise's tasks. It is only by relying on the collective and the party and public organizations that the director can exercise his rights efficiently. The view is frequently voiced that public opinion should be the determining factor in resolving all problems which arise at the enterprise. This, it is claimed, will also be the most comprehensive method in the exercise of democracy. We believe that upgrading the role of the collective in discussing various economic management problems and implementing decisions requires not only the further growth of the activities of the masses but also strengthening one-man command and discipline and increasing the responsibility of every working person. The fact that with high-level conscientiousness on the part of the working people one-man command will be, in Lenin's words, like a softly wielded conductor's baton and that the strict forms of management will be replaced with education and persuasion, as violators disappear, is another matter (2, p 200).

The frequently discussed matter of the electivity of managers is of interest in this connection. Usually, this opinion is supported with references to the need extensively to involve well proven workers in management, its further democratization, etc. The point of view is also expressed, however, that the practice of electing and periodically replacing economic cadres conflicts with the principle of socialist centralized management and would adversely affect one-man command.

In our view the full practical implementation of the electivity principle for "captains of industry" would be premature. It is no accident that the system of electing enterprise and association directors did not become widespread. As to managers of primary collectives, the experience of electing foremen and brigade leaders, acquired at many enterprises throughout the country, confirms the promising nature of this method which has already been legally codified in the USSR Law on Labor Collectives.

The production collective is a school of management for all its members, managers included. It is precisely here that tremendous possibilities of management democratization may be found, for the collective reflects as in a lens the system of socialist social relations, which operate and develop on the basis of cooperation and mutual assistance.

The active participation of the working people in management is achieved in a variety of ways. Under contemporary conditions, people's control is one of

the most effective means of resolving socioeconomic problems. The essential ways of improving its activities were defined in K. U. Chernenko's speech at the All-Union Conference of People's Controllers.

People's control is an organic component of the social, production and distribution management system. The party considers the development of people's control one of the main trends in intensifying socialist democracy, improving organization and discipline in the various areas of social life, making full use of existing possibilities in resolving one problem or another and enhancing the initiative, conscientiousness and responsibility of every Soviet working person. Social prevention plays a particular role among the numerous tasks facing people's control. Ensuring strict observance of the principle on which social justice under socialism is based -- from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work --, irreconcilable struggle against irresponsibility and disorderliness, parasitism, bribery, misuse of office and actions which insult the dignity and conscience of the people, and the search for ways to improve social relations are a very partial list of the "hot spots" in the work of this mass organization of working people.

K. U. Chernenko noted in his speech at the All-Union Conference of People's Controllers that "We must concernedly help them to master the Leninist work style and the ability to rely on the collective and on the knowledge of those around them in all matters, big and small, and to take their feelings and requests into consideration" (6). The implementation of this task ascribes great responsibility to the sociologists as well, for they are called upon to increase the attention paid to giving scientific and methodical support to people's control activities. Naturally, this is not a question of replacing research functions with control but of the more effective use of sociological methods in perfecting daily management practices. Considerable experience in such work has been acquired by the people's control committee of Moscow Oblast, for example, which made a representative sociological study of the state of labor discipline at 245 enterprises (10). Life urgently demands the strengthening of cooperation between people's controllers and sociologists. This will enable us to upgrade the level of objectivity of investigations and their scientific substantiation and results. At the same time, such cooperation offers tremendous opportunities for the integration of sociological science with practice. In such work we must take into consideration that this line of sociological activities demands paying particularly close attention to the scientific and ethical aspects of gathering sociological data, and ensuring its confidentiality and protection from misuse.

The results of people's control surprise investigations enable us to see the real problems, which are frequently concealed behind figure tables. The materials from such investigations offer good support in daily research work as well: They play the role of practical guideline in testing one scientific idea or another. In turn, sociology has acquired adequate experience which could be of substantial help in the organization and upgrading the efficiency of control and developing socialist democracy as a whole, for the involvement of every working person in performing control functions, as mentioned by K. U. Chernenko, creates many serious sociomanagement, sociopsychological and moral

problems. The profound scientific interpretation of such problems is a major trend in sociological work.

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FOOTNOTE

1. As we know, it was V. I. Lenin who substantiated the cost accounting planning system in his time. The transition to communism, he emphasized, should be preceded by lengthy work, relying "not directly on enthusiasm, but achieved with the help of enthusiasm," "based on personal interest and cost accounting" (5).

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COST ACCOUNTING BASED ON PRIORITY OF NATIONAL INTERESTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 26-36

[Article by Mark Solomonovich Langshteyn, candidate of economic sciences and senior scientific associate, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Industrial Economics (Donetsk). Specialist in assessing activities of competing labor collectives. Author of the monographs: "Kompleksnaya Otseuka i Stimulirovaniye Deyatel'nosti Sorevnuyushchikhsya" [Comprehensive Rating and Stimulation of Activities of Competitors] (1977, coauthored) and "Sotsialisticheskoye Sorevnovaniye Kollektivov v Promyshlennom i Proizvodstvennom Ob'yedineniyakh" [Socialist Competition Among Collectives in Industrial and Production Associations] (1982, coauthored). This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] With this article the editors are continuing the discussion of socioeconomic problems of perfecting the economic mechanism. Previous articles on this topic may be found in No 3, 1982; No 3, 1983; and Nos 1, 2, and 4, 1984.

Determining the nature of cost accounting relations plays an important role in resolving social problems of the reorganization of the economic mechanism and upgrading public production efficiency. That is why the article by V. M. Yakushev "Democratic Centralism in National Economic Management" (4), published as a basis for discussion, has triggered a great deal of interest. The author cites arguments to criticize the essentially commercial interpretation of cost accounting and firmly takes the side of supporters of the concept arbitrarily described in publications as anticommodity. Almost from the very start, the history of the development of socialist political economy has been imbued with discussions between "commodity proponents" and "anticommodity proponents". At different times, given certain modifications, one or the other viewpoints have held the upper hand. The fact that money has been retained under socialism (a universal equivalent) has been the "apple of discord". (As forecast by the Marxist-Leninist classics, in a society of associated producers commodity should disappear.) In the past efforts were made to eliminate this paradox by claiming that said prognosis will be justified during the second stage of communism. However, having essentially remained unresolved, this problem situation led to a dualism in the science of economics and, partially, in social science as a whole.

All concepts on the commodity nature of relations among economic units linked by public ownership, are based on the assumption that under socialism purchase and sale is the result of the retention of this universal equivalent. This is a real phenomenon. Denial entails the possible accusation of being alienated from life and references to the statements of the classics to the effect that relations among socialist enterprises are not commodity based appear dogmatic. At the same time, commodity interpretations of economic relations under socialism are described as empirical. That is why "commodity proponents" and "anticommodity proponents" are both right and wrong. They are right in the charges they level at each other and wrong in the sense that each one of these "schools" in itself is only part of the truth.

Occasionally, the fact is ignored that K. Marx introduced the concept of money as a converted form of commodity (1, pp 475, 481 and 488), for which reason he analyzed in detail the metamorphosis of the exchange value from a simple, isolated or accidental to a universal form of value (2, pp 56-80). This omission was the result of the insufficient attention paid by social scientists to the study of the features and characteristics of the converted form. It is essentially left unused in the study of the interconnection between internal and external relations of the socialist system. Furthermore, many scientists are convinced that this method cannot be used in developing a system of socialist production relations for the reason that in the new socio-economic system "the social attitude of the people toward their labor and the products of their labor remains... crystal clear in production as well as distribution" (2, p 89). Indeed, the converted forms have disappeared in the exchange of labor products under social ownership. Categories such as price, profit, interest and payment for the land have lost their features as converted forms of new production relations. This partially explains the failure to use them in assessing the effectiveness of socialist enterprise work. However, it is hardly possible to assume that under socialism there is absolutely no need for converted forms of production relations. In principle, they may be found in other economic categories, for which reason it would be expedient to discuss briefly the question of what is a converted form and what is its role in the system of production relations.

The converted form is a means of manifestation of hidden interrelationships inherent in a specific organic system. It is an intermediary link, the functioning of which leads to expanding objective contradictions which are inherent in a given system. Unless we distinguish between the concept of "converted form" and that of "form of manifestation", the basic function of the intermediary links within the system may appear as a distortion of internal interconnections.

Thanks to the ability of intermediary links to resolve contradictions which arise among heterogenous elements within the system, a comparison between directly noncomparable values becomes possible. Thus, the results of the activities of individual commodity producers, working under noncomparable conditions and producing a great variety of items, become comparable with the help of money used in the course of the purchase and sale process on the market. This becomes possible thanks to the fact that the contradiction between consumer value and production costs becomes possible through monetary circulation.

As a universal equivalent, money performs the function of a measure of value and turnover (its internal function). As a form of manifestation, money performs external functions in materializing the results of the clash of opposites: a means of accumulation and a means of payment. In reality, the functions of money cannot be singled out. However, it is necessary to differentiate among them, for otherwise we cannot determine the essential differences among internal interconnections.

Nor should we ignore the fact that, in reality, the transformation of forms takes place as irrational and fetishistic manifestations. This complicates the view of the need to use the method under discussion, for it is difficult to imagine irrational, not to mention fetishistic, forms of reflection of relationships under socialism. In this case, we come across the familiar error based on the interpretation of the terms we mentioned in a spirit of idealistic philosophy. Marx interpreted such concepts by analogy with complex mathematical equations. Irrational forms in mathematics correspond to irrational figures and fetishistic forms to imaginary figures (1, p 546).¹

Under capitalism, where the participants in the production process are divided by private ownership, the converted forms express the concealed social nature of labor (1, p 137; 3, p 20), which is the consequence of the direct separation among producers of material goods. Under social ownership, as we know, labor becomes directly social. That is why the interrelationship among producers assumes a diametrically opposite nature. The relative autonomy of the production collectives becomes concealed. It is no accident that creating conditions for ensuring the autonomy and initiative of socialist enterprises is one of the main problems in perfecting the economic mechanism. Practically, this means that under socialism converted forms are needed not for the sake of uniting economically separate producers but distinguishing among the labor contribution of the individual production collective and the contribution of related enterprises. Without this, it would be essentially impossible objectively to assess the efficiency of labor collectives and implement in full the socialist principle "from each according to his capability and to each according to his work." This is an old problem which, however, has been resolved so far only through direct action, i. e., without intermediary links.

It may seem appear that a straight line is always shorter and, therefore, more effective than a circuitous one. This, however, is not the case. Thus, drivers in an intraplant conveying system could not be motivated to provide better shop services. No directives, admonitions or bonuses helped. At some point, however, someone suggested that tokens be issued in which the drivers be paid for hauling. In order to make it unprofitable for requesters to waste the tokens, the "value" of tokens in circulation was included in the shop's production costs. The use of such "intermediary links" radically improved the situation, for it became possible to identify the labor contributions of individual drivers and objectively to determine the better ones. A reliable foundation appeared for the elimination of wage equalization.

In a socialist economy, the main role belongs to the single national economic plan. All plans have an inherently double nature. On the one hand, the primacy of the satisfaction of national needs is materialized; on the other,

it contains a criterion for evaluating the activities of individual production units. This is a manifestation of the duality of direct social labor, similar to the duality of labor producing a commodity not identical to it. If in the effort to express this duality we use by inertia the concepts of consumer value and cost (the commodity interpretation), the main feature of the new economic system becomes concealed. The need to materialize in the plan the primacy of national interests is exhaustively characterized by the concept of social usefulness, which is widely applied in contemporary economic works. This concept sums up the specific nature of the direct social labor. No special term existed in scientific works indicating the specifics of an abstract direct social labor. We suggested the use of the concept of labor return which, in our view, focuses as in a lens the economic content of the second aspect of the national economic plan: the criterion on the basis of which the activities of production collectives are assessed (5, pp 21-26). For, in the final account, the purpose of any plan is to upgrade production efficiency, i. e., to increase returns from live and materialized labor. Since the concept of labor return is to reflect the specific nature of direct social abstract labor, in the system of socialist (communist) economic categories, it could play the same role as the concept of value in Marx's system of capitalist economic categories.

What specifically distinguishes labor return from value and what, in practical terms, does this substitution of concepts mean?

These questions require a thorough answer. The main thing is that the concept of labor return reflects a radical change in social relations, resulting from the socialist revolution, which substantially transformed all social and economic relations. However, this universally acknowledged empirical fact cannot be converted into theory in the absence of concepts which would clearly reflect the specific nature of ties which have replaced value relations.

As basic forms of production relations, labor return and value are identical only in that they constitute the socially objective foundation in evaluating the activities of production units. Thus, value is the objective base for the price of commodities formed under the conditions of a free market competition, i. e., the main form of social recognition of the effectiveness of labor outlays by private commodity producers. Labor returns are the objective foundation of the planned assessment of the labor contribution of production collectives united by public ownership. Therefore, substantial differences exist between these categories. All of this means that the most promising way of objectively assessing results of economic activities in socialist enterprises lies not in the area of perfecting price setting but in ensuring the organic integrity of the totality of indicators which characterize the level of effectiveness of the labor contribution of production collectives in summing up the results of the implementations of plans.

The point is that as a result of plant price stability, prices cannot be used to express the dynamics of the socially necessary labor outlays (ONZT) which are quite flexible. Rejecting price stability would mean losing an

important advantage of the socialist economy. Therefore, another method for expressing ONZT dynamics must be found.

In a market-oriented economy, production efficiency is defined as the ratio between labor outlays and production results, for we take into consideration the average wage per unit of consumer value, i. e., per unit of production effect of the specific work of commodity producers. Labor returns express the inverse relationship, i. e., the ratio between production effect and existing labor resources. This is not simply a formal switch in the positions of the numerator and denominator but also the substitution of the category of labor outlays with the category of labor resources, which is of essential significance. Ignoring it makes it impossible to eliminate the outlay nature of value indicators which, essentially, would turn our entire economy upside down. The cornerstone of the private commodity producer is outlays, which are his own costs. Under public ownership, priority is given to the optimal utilization of available labor and other production resources, for the main thing from the social viewpoint is the better utilization of all available resources. This approach encourages the minimizing of outlays per unit of production effect. This, however, does not mean in the least that the inverse expression would have the same stimulating properties. Encouraging the minimizing of outlays per unit of production effect is expedient only under private ownership, when each outlay comes out of the owner's pocket. If the possibility exists of outlays borne by society, the outlay mechanism does determine efficiency. Furthermore, it provides erroneous guidelines.

Labor returns are distinct from value not only in terms of a form which would adequately express their content but also of the converted form and, naturally, the form of manifestation. The value, as we know, is manifested in the exchange value, i. e., in the proportions to which one good is exchanged for another on the market. Essentially, a spontaneous comparison among directly noncommensurable items takes place. The economic sense of this comparison is hidden and cannot be determined without defining the converted form. The form of manifestation of labor returns is the relative labor returns which express relations which arise each time in the formulation of plans and in assessing the results of their implementation.

As to the converted forms of value and labor returns, they should not be considered separately from the contradictions which are resolved in the course of their dynamics. The dynamics of value resolves the contradiction between direct separation and hidden social labor. The social nature of labor, although not immediately visible on the surface of phenomena, is detected, eventually, as the substantivized measure of the effectiveness of all labor outlays, i. e., as the ONZT. If the individual outlays per unit of consumer value are lower than this social measure, the commodity owner earns a higher income per unit of outlays, and vice versa. Therefore, essentially, the ONZT is the main "arbiter" in the competitive struggle on the marketplace, and although we are speaking of very simplified model for assessing the results of activities in a private ownership economy, it nevertheless encompasses its basic features.

Under socialism, in which, according to the formulated hypothesis, labor returns are the base for evaluation, the incentive mechanism for upgrading

production efficiency is different. However, its study becomes more difficult if cost accounting relations are considered through the commodity lens. A number of rather difficult ancillary problems arise, without the solution of which the essence of the new economic mechanism cannot be attained. Conversely, in the "anticommodity" interpretation, supported by V. M. Yakushev in the article we mentioned, the problem situation is greatly simplified, for the consideration of money as a receipt essentially means an abstraction from the universal equivalent, without which no organic system can exist.

In the light of the concept according to which the universal equivalent is the converted form of the initial production relations of any economic system, said extremes in the approaches to the study of money under socialism are "combined" within a new quality, for the possibility of subsequent compromise appears. It is a question of acknowledging the specifically socialist universal equivalent along with the radical difference between the universal equivalent of the new system and the commodity equivalent. In its functional aspect, this synthesis means that in the dynamics of this new universal equivalent it is not a purchase and sale that takes place but a distinction among the labor contribution of the individual collectives. This compromise, however, is relative. In actual life, we have trade, marketing, and supply, based on commercial principles. There also exists regulating methods, which frequently eliminate the entire commercial aspect. In the absence of an objective and efficient assessment of level of efficiency of production-economic activities, based on the utilization of the converted forms, one extreme or another assumes the upper hand, thus creating various anomalies. It is only in the presence of a system of evaluation, structured as the converted forms of specific socialist relations, that we can not only prevent negative phenomena but use the energy generated in this struggle to strengthen and develop the system as a whole. The point is that the new universal equivalent and the new form of money resolve the contradiction diametrically opposed to the one resolved in the purchase and sale act. Therefore, in a socialist economy, money is necessary mainly for the purpose of organically combining directive-based management methods with the self-regulating mechanism, i. e., for planning and assessing the results of the implementation of the plan. This thesis sums up the actual reality of developed socialism. Commodity interpretations, which traditionally claim to have an unbreakable tie with reality, actually artificially ascribe to money under socialism the functions of "intermediary" in the purchase and sale process. The opposite interpretations ascribe planning relations a nonequivalent, a natural character although we know that as a matter of principle physical objects are noncommensurable and that without such equivalents proportionality in the development of any system is impossible.

All of this eloquently proves that under socialism money performs new functions inherent in the converted form of the initial production relations of socialism, i. e., an adequate (abstract) form of direct social labor.

The first function of socialist money is as a measure of labor return, i. e., a determination of labor contribution to the fulfillment of the national economic plan. Socialist money performs the function of a measure of value primarily on the kolkhoz market, in commission trade and artisan work and services to the population, where the free dynamics of prices remains. This

is a mandatory prerequisite for the real action of the law of value. Any artificial broadening of the effect of this law under socialism can only hinder the solution of vital problems, for it leads to methods alien to the new economic system. The second function of money is distribution according to labor, for this precisely is the base for assessing the results of the activities of all participants in socialist production achieved with the help of the new universal equivalent. Specifically, this means that the consumption of products must be proportional to the labor contribution (return). It is thus that we can take to its logical end the universally acknowledged thesis, according to which under socialism money expresses new production relations radically different from bourgeois ones. Correspondingly, the other (external) functions of money change as well, although technically they remain unchanged. This, in particular, intensifies the seeming retention of the commodity nature of money under socialism.

Guided by the traditional interpretations of the functions of money under socialism, scientists and practical workers try to reflect the dynamics of ONZT in price setting. Here, however, as we pointed out, basic difficulties appear. Some researchers have tried to circumvent them by setting a price to the optimal plan. Generally speaking, this formulation of the problem is accurate. As we already saw, under socialism assessing activities is the reverse side of the plan. However, in these circumstances it was practically impossible to resolve the problem, for, essentially, those who formulated the price of the optimal plan undertook to compute value which required the application of each assessment parameter to each unit of consumer value and for virtually all types of varieties and articles. The need for periodical recomputation of all prices has made the task so difficult that even the most advanced computers cannot cope with it. Another insurmountable difficulty is the data gathering and processing. In the majority of cases, the necessary evaluation parameters cannot be differentiated by type of item. That is why conventions develop in the computations, which detract from accuracy. Such difficulties are also of a basic nature, since in assessing the activities of socialist enterprises we do not have to resolve the contradiction between consumer value and real production cost. This contradiction is resolved in the formulation of the national economic plan. Actually, if the production of a given item has been planned, the specific enterprise has been allocated funds for corresponding outlays. In assessing the activities of socialist enterprises, we must resolve the contradiction related to the hidden autonomy of the work, i. e., the need to separate the labor contribution of an individual production collective from that of related enterprises. The impossibility of resolving this contradiction appears in the fact that enterprises conceal internal reserves, are uninterested in the adoption of stress plans and in applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress, etc.

As to differences between the converted forms of value and labor returns in their applied aspects, the converted form of value functions on the assortment level, for in the course of the purchase and sale act, the labor intensiveness of each product is commensurated. The converted labor return form functions at the intersection among the various indicators for assessing the labor contribution of production collectives. Its purpose is to commensurate directly noncommensurable components in assessing production efficiency. It is at this point that we find the elastic links which indirectly perform the

function of a production efficiency criterion. Yu. N. Pakhomov has sensibly suggested that this measure be described as socially necessary labor results (6). It is important that at the "intersection" between the indicators of the utilization of available production resources, which must be used in assessing the activities of associated workers, the so-called significance coefficients be used. These are a kind of "prices" of each component of the specific socialist system of assessing labor results. That is why it is expedient precisely in the dynamics of the objectively set significance coefficients to express the dynamics of the socially necessary labor results. This approach would enable us, among others, directly to influence the main reason for the development of shortages, which are eliminated in a market-oriented economy with the help of price dynamics. However, this is a complex problem which exceeds the scope of this article.

Naturally, this is not to say that variety must not be taken into consideration in determining labor returns. It must be taken into consideration but not as on the uncontrolled market but with the help of a special indicator.

The converted form of value "protects" the primacy of private over social interests. This is manifested, above all, in the sharp differentiation among the monetary incomes of private entrepreneurs, ranging from heavy losses to superprofits, and the appearance of "unnecessary" resources, including labor (unemployment), even though the social needs have not been fully met. The converted form of labor returns must protect the priority of national interests. The point is that with its help it is possible and necessary to block all loopholes in the assessment system, through which any deviation from the observance of the primacy of national interests, expressed through the single national economic plan, is possible.

Therefore, cost accounting relations in a developed socialist society are an objective means of regulating the monetary income of production units, joined by public ownership, based on the assessment of their efficiency in meeting planned assignments which reflect the primacy of national interests.

Not only theory but long practice proves that in addition to perfecting the directive-based methods in socialist economic management, we must also develop the so-called self-regulation mechanism, which cannot be achieved without determining the form of dynamics and resolving the objective contradictions inherent in a specific economic system. For example, as V. M. Yakushev justifiably notes in his article, a great deal of effort and energy have been invested in finding a reliable and direct method for assessing the intensity of planned assignments. So far, however, no such methods have been formulated and prospects for the simple solution of this problem are quite problematical. Meanwhile, the possibility of some collectives of avoiding the adoption of intensive plans despite the incomplete satisfaction of respective social requirements substantially hinders observing the priority of national interests. To act on the basis of the method of the converted form means to create conditions in which the collectives themselves would call for intensive plans.

The studies conducted by the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Industrial Economics have indicated that such conditions can be created with

the systematic application of the resource approach in assessing the effectiveness of the activities of cost accounting units (8). If we assess the results of enterprise (association) activities on the basis of returns per production resource unit (manpower, capital assets, material and energy resources) compared to the best achievements of a given rated group, the best rating will always go to those whose plan is more intensive, for they have greater possibilities of making better use of available resources. This is confirmed, in particular, by the experience of the Sumy Machine Building Association imeni M. V. Frunze, in which shop and sectorial activities are assessed according to the level of equipment utilization. Although this guideline involves only one type of production resources, the shop and sector chiefs complain to the planning department if the plans they are issued are not intensive.

The "gross-output" nature of evaluation indicators based on volume greatly hinders the organization of the self-regulating mechanism of cost accounting units. The immediate reason is the unsolved contradictions between live and materialized labor, which determines rating difficulties related to unforeseen changes in ratios between live and materialized labor outlays. A collective which allows a "foreshortening" in favor of more material-intensive output could raise its gross production indicators with no particular trouble, and thus fail to give priority to national interests as reflected in the plan.

Eliminating the "gross-output" by computing various types of net output is impossible, for in such cases material outlays are entirely ignored in determining the volume indicator of labor contribution, thus eliminating one contradiction. The structure itself is destroyed with the elimination of hindrances. It is the equivalent of amputating an arm if a finger is hurt.

In a market-oriented mechanism, capital transfers among sectors is the method used in the appearance of and resolution of contradictions between materialized and live labor. In the final account, this leads to an averaging of the organic capital structure, i. e., to equalizing relations between fixed and work capital, which reflect the result of the struggle between materialized and live labor. In assessing the activities of socialist enterprises, the dynamics of production resources moving from one sector to another is based on a plan. However, the need to correlate the results of activities according to the basic structure which expresses the ratio between outlays of materialized and live labor remains. This can be achieved by deliberately making corrections part of the assessment with the help of a flexible coefficient which reflects the ration between total wages and material outlays. The influence of such a correction is simple: if material outlays outstrip wages, the overall assessment is lowered and vice versa. Such a correction "purges" the assessment from gross-production hindrances.

Numerous empirical computations in many industrial sectors prove that the level and range of fluctuations in the values of the indicator expressing the ratio between live and materialized labor outlays, which could be described as the structural commensurability coefficient (K_s), is, with rare exception, roughly the same for similar enterprises and associations. This could be used as a reliable indicator in establishing value groups or in differentiating among competing similar economic groups. In industrial sectors, in which the

entire variety of output could be re-computed in terms of a single product (such as the dairy industry), correcting the volume economic indicator with the help of Ks would have results coinciding with the traditional methods of cleaning structural changes from hindrances.

Yet another loophole makes violating the priority of national interests possible: the possibility of choosing among indicators offering different advantages. The point is that individual indicators, which are part of the system of evaluating the implementation of planned assignments, are reciprocally noncommensurable, for which reason they cannot be integrated within an organic entity, i. e., a sum total which could function as a single comprehensive indicator. For that reason, the material incentive must be broken down into parts, linking each part to a different indicator. Since such indicators are noncommensurate, a situation inevitably arises in which the indicator, the dynamics of which is influenced by nonlabor factors to a greater extent, becomes more advantageous. Practical workers are well familiar with such situations and economists frequently consider such manipulations a sign of initiative. However, this is a false initiative. Deviations from giving priority to national interests can be eliminated only through the creation of an integral rating indicator.

The formulation of such an indicator was undertaken long ago. However, so far successes have been quite modest and failures numerous. That is why some scientists and practical workers believe this trend of research leads to a dead end. The developers of integral rating indicators have been guided merely by common sense, ignoring the need to resolve objective contradictions internally inherent in the socialist economic system. In the final account, the integral indicators they suggested have distorted the economic sense of the rating, for they failed to ensure the priority of national interests.

The use of the converted forms method could lead to the creation of a new situation, for thanks to the introduction of intermediary links, in the course of which the objective contradictions in the system are resolved, the quantitative and qualitative commensuration of indicators becomes possible, without which their sum total would remain a conglomerate also whenever individual indicators are made part of the summing up indicators through a variety of mathematical means.

Our studies have indicated that several types of noncommensurability, which hinder the systematic orientation toward national interests, must be eliminated in order to achieve a qualitative commensurability. Twelve types of noncommensurability (7) have been identified in the current system for evaluating the activities of socialist enterprises, each one requiring a "key" consisting of a corresponding form of dynamics and a resolution of the contradiction which causes it, i. e., the use of actual intermediary operations.

V. M. Yakushev's suggestion which calls for organizing distribution according to labor based on competition is noteworthy (4). This is the essence of his previous articles published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. In the development of such modifications of the theory of commodity-monetary relations under socialism, the inevitable conclusion is that profit (profitability) must act as a comprehensive indicator of socialist enterprise economic activities.

Essentially, this eliminates competition from the implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor. Extensive practical experience eloquently proves that assessing the activities of socialist enterprises on the basis of profit (profitability) invariably turns out to be a trick mirror which distorts rather than reflects the labor contribution of production collectives. Such a rating cannot encourage any observance of the priority of national interests in the solution of specific economic problems.

We must also point out that organizing distribution according to labor based on competition can be justified only if the results of economic management and competition among labor collectives are assessed with the help of an integral comparative resource return indicator. Such a rating is only now beginning to be applied. For example, in the summer of 1984 the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry and the sectorial trade union committee approved a method for assessing the results of socialist competition among mines and open pits on the basis of such a comprehensive indicator. The method was tried for several years in summing up the results of the competition. A similar experiment is being conducted by the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, in which a similar method is being tried in summing up the results of the all-union socialist competition. The integral indicator of comparative resource returns is extensively used in organizing the socialist competition under the slogan "Labor Results on the Level of the Highest Achievements" in the Donetsk comprehensive management system for the application of progressive experience (9), which is being currently applied in all Ukrainian oblasts in accordance with the state plan.

An uncritical attitude toward the forms of manifestation of economic relations in actual life creates the impression that private ownership has advantages over public ownership in developing personal concern. Under the conditions of a separation of the mechanism, the regulation of monetary income develops spontaneously as a set of converted forms of economic relations. Under socialism, such a mechanism must be created deliberately. At that point, public ownership will not only not fall behind private ownership in developing a concerned approach to the solution of vital problems but will outstrip it, for all working people will be thinking and acting as owners. To this effect, as we tried to prove earlier, no particular radical changes are needed in the current economic mechanism. All that is necessary is to add to it a self-propelling unit to counteract the aspiration to circumvent the priority of national interest materialized within the single economic plan. No true expansion of the autonomy of socialist enterprises can be secured without the adequate solution of this fundamental problem.

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FOOTNOTES

1. For further details see (5, pp 13-21).
2. For further details on the method used to define the integral indicator of comparative resource return as a converted labor return form see (8).

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EFFICIENCY OF VALUE PLANNING INDICATORS

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[Article by A. M. Yeregin: "Are Value Indicators in National Economic Planning Efficient?" Al'bert Mikhaylovich Yeregin is doctor of economic sciences and senior scientific associate at the USSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Institute of Economics. Author of the monograph "Sotsialisticheskaya Sobstvennost' i Otnosheniya Upravleniya Ekonomikoy" [Socialist Ownership and Economic Management Relations] (1978). This is his first publication in our journal]

[Text] It is entirely natural for a discussion of the social problems of the restructuring of the social mechanism to touch upon the debatable problem of commodity production under socialism. This, precisely, is the topic of V. M. Yakushev's article (4).

Is commodity output inherent in socialism? In studying the social problems of the economic mechanism we must, above all, clarify the situation which has developed in economic theory and which largely determines the thinking and behavior of participants in and organizers of the production process.

As we know, the Marxist-Leninist classics proceeded from the opposite natures of public and commodity output (1). It follows from this that under the conditions of direct public production the latter cannot exist. The concept of commodity production under socialism ignores the fact that it cannot take place without rivalry. The founders of scientific communism frequently pointed out that "it is only thanks to the fluctuations in rivalry and, therefore, in commodity prices, that the law of value of commodity production can function..."(2).

It is true that the socialist production process is served by money. It does not follow from this, however, that a "socialist commodity production" exists and that state and national enterprises are "commodity producers." The controversy appears precisely in the interpretation of the nature of these forms and their role in the management system. In a production system based on ownership by the whole people commodity-monetary forms are inefficient and inadequately reflect the nature of socialist economic management. This author has discussed this question elsewhere (5). Here this inefficiency is manifested above all in the fact that they express (not quite accurately) labor

outlays, although they are accepted as labor results. The concept of the socialist economy as a commodity economy, which became popular in the 1960s, hindered the correct interpretation of the place and role of these forms. Obviously, this attitude was also affected by the reduced role assigned to scientific debate, as noted in the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On Upgrading the Role of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics in Developing Crucial Problems of the Economic Theory of Developed Socialism" (3).

We believe that K. A. Ulybin (6), who participated in the discussion, is mistakenly creating the impression that everything here is clear to the political economists and that no contradictions exist between the direct social base of our economy and monetary forms. Debates on this question are continuing. Furthermore, economists frequently change their views. Thus, for instance, in 1974 D. V. Valov defended the thesis of the existence of commodity production under socialism (7). Ten years later, he went back to the conclusion that value indicators had a distorting influence on the functioning of the socialist production system (8).

Let us note that K. A. Ulybin acknowledges the contradiction between public socialist production and monetary forms by mentioning the contradictory nature of "value levers" (6, p 48). However, his consolation is that "with every passing year economic managers are mastering increasingly and more fully the arsenal of value methods" (6, p 50) and that under socialism "commodity-monetary relations" are "substantially different from those under capitalism" (6, p 51).

In his discussion with V. M. Yakushev, K. A. Ulybin frequently refers to practical experience, thus insinuating that his opponent ignores it. One can hardly agree with this. Unquestionably, as far as practical experience is concerned, starting with the mid-1960s, the importance of monetary (value) levers was inflated, clearly not without the "help" of unsatisfactory theoretical concepts. Thus, Ye. I. V'yunov, director of the Avtopribor Association in Vladimir, notes that "For decades we adapted the enterprises to gross output and increased volume of goods marketed. We somehow even forgot that their main task was not simply to generate value but specific items, neglecting the production of others, which were necessary for the successful work of other quite specific enterprises" (9). Somehow, the concept of commodity production under socialism helped us to forget that an enterprise is no more than an element of a single economy, encouraging in economic thinking the false notion of "economic autonomy." I entirely agree with I. D. Lisiyenko's critical attitude toward the persistence with which "supporters of the concept of planned commodity production are trying to impose their views in economic management practice, ignoring the fact that life is rejecting their theoretical structures" (10).

Production efficiency is necessarily affected if the activities of individual units within the unified national economy become oriented not toward upgrading its quality on saving on material and labor outlays but toward indirect and inefficient indicators. Here is a noteworthy case. Even enterprises included in the current broad economic experiment frequently fail to fulfill their procurement and contractual plans although operating under better procurement conditions. Thus, during the first 4 months of last year 12 percent of the

enterprises of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and 39 percent of all Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry failed to fulfill their procurement plans (11), despite the fact that under the conditions of the experiment withholdings for the economic incentive fund were increased by 15 percent. In our view, the reason for this situation is the retention of the direct dependence of incentive funds on the size of the profits.

The orientation toward money leads to the elimination of less expensive and profitable goods from the variety list. Thus, during the last 5-year period the Ministry of Light Industry enterprises, although successfully fulfilling their marketing plan, fell short of delivering goods worth 3 billion rubles, while the textile enterprises ended up "owing" more than 1 billion meters of cotton fabrics (12). Sixty percent of the Ministry of Light Industry enterprises failed to fulfill their plans in 1983. Frequently, production of some consumer goods increases in monetary terms while diminishing in physical terms (13). In terms of value, furniture production increased by a factor of 1.5 from 1976 to 1982, although production of inexpensive items declined (14).

All such negative phenomena are a consequence of the ineffectiveness of monetary indicators, which assumes a self-sufficing significance given the absence of competition. The fixed price set by the planning organs on the basis of actual enterprise outlays and, consistent with the concept of planned commodity production, used as a base for estimating profits and forming the material incentive fund, not only does not encourage a reduction of outlays but, conversely, leads to their increase. In itself, the increased monetary value of output proves nothing (in a planned economy!) relative to production results. It merely indirectly characterizes increased outlays.

Directing the socioeconomic activities of labor collectives toward monetary indicators greatly hinders the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Thus, undertaking the production of a new item usually leads to a drop in profits and profitability and so does the volume of sales, something which hardly stimulates the collectives. High prices frequently hinder the popularization of new equipment: they benefit the producer but not the consumer. Whereas the use of progressive technology and inexpensive materials lowers the price of an item, the people refrain from buying new products.

The primary orientation of economic activities toward monetary indicators creates undesirable tendencies in the socioeconomic activities of the working people. Under circumstances in which the rating of labor and the material incentive fund depend on the size of profits, the belief develops that a collective which has earned high profits has worked well. At this point "it is the amount of earnings rather than the satisfaction of the needs of society that is of interest to the collective....Such deformation distorts the connection between the interests of the collective and those of society..." (15). Is not the loss of real economic guidelines one of the reasons for the conciliatory attitude toward the production of poor-quality or unneeded goods? The "production" of money turns out to be more important than that of consumer values, saving on labor and materials, etc.

Since the growth of output is replaced by the increased amount of money, an imbalance between wages and commodity coverage develops. Thus, from 1970 to 1981 consumer goods production increased by a factor of 1.7, whereas population income rose by a factor of 2.2. Commodity stocks increased by 0.92 percent during the 9th and by 0.7 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan per 1 percent wage increases (16). This lowered the stimulating role of wages and created unsatisfied demand.

Let us point out in this connection that here as well K. A. Ulybin does not argue with his opponent correctly. Even the headline of his article includes the words "artificial elimination of commodity-monetary relations," thereby displaying his concept of V. M. Yakushev's views. Yet the latter does not proceed in the least from the need "to abandon commodity-monetary relations," but from the fact that the commodity-monetary forms existing under socialism should no longer be considered forms of commodity production and treated as though their nature has remained unchanged. The nature of money under socialism is different. It is a question not of "replacing" it, as K. A. Ulybin assumes, but of developing an accurate understanding of the real state of affairs. V. M. Yakushev is right in his effort to proceed not from the appearance presented by commodity production but from the nature of socialist economic management.

Lack of understanding of the non-commodity nature of socialist production leads to a variety of suggestions calling for automatically linking wages to monetary results of the work. The experience of other countries is frequently cited, that of Hungary, for instance. Yet in Hungary as well the "direct dependence of wages on total profits does not serve the state's interests but, conversely, encourages the enterprises to unjustifiably raise prices..."(17).

The concept according to which socialist enterprises are economically autonomous "commodity producers" (i.e., producing for the sake of trade) is the basis for recommending so-called self-financing. It is suggested that the enterprises' possibilities of technical retooling and increasing output be tied to their profits. This would mean, above all, a scattering of capital investments; waiting for the enterprises to become able to "finance themselves" would entail huge losses. Naturally, enterprise independence should be materially supported. In particular, funds for current technical progress, improving working conditions, etc., are needed. It is important for such funds to depend not on profitability, which is determined, above all, by price setting, but on other factors, such as, for instance, the size of basic capital. The development of the autonomy of labor collectives does not need in the least any strengthening of commercialism, pursuit of profit or assuming the functions of "commodity producer."

Monetary results frequently disorient the organization of enterprise competition as well. It becomes easier to win the "competition" through monetary levers, involving price manipulations. The organization of the competition must be totally oriented toward the actual contribution made by the collectives to the satisfaction of national interests. In our view, the implementation of the procurements (variety, time, quality) plan, reduced labor outlays and efficient utilization of equipment should be the starting point in evaluating collectives. Noteworthy in this respect are suggestions calling

for linking material incentives with competition results more closely. A specific variant of such linkage was suggested in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (18). It is unquestionably worthy of attention, for it offers a new approach to encouraging collectives to adopt stressed plans. A separate discussion of this suggestion would contribute to its refinement and development.

The purpose of my participation in the discussion is not merely to assess the expressed viewpoints. I believe that the framework of the debate must be go far beyond the problem of perfecting the economic mechanism. It is a question of refining the theoretical concept of developed socialism, on which the new edition of the CPSU Program must be based.

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FROM SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM TO MANAGERIAL DECISION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 41-47

[Article by Mikhail Ivanovich Zhabskiy, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, Head of Sector at the USSR Goskino All-Union Scientific Research Cinematography Institute. Author of the monograph "Metodologiya Prikladnogo Sotsiologicheskogo Issledovaniya" [Methodology of Applied Sociological Research] (1976) and the pamphlets "Kino i Zritel' 70-kh Godov" [Movies and Audiences in the 1970s] (1977) "K Kritike Burzhuaznykh Istolkovaniy Roli Kinoiskusstva" [Critique of Bourgeois Interpretation of the Role of Cinematography] (1979). Author of the following articles published in our journal: "Reliability of Sociological Measurements" (No 2, 1982), "Social Drama in American Cinematography" (No 4, 1983), "Survey Possibilities, Limits and Techniques" (No 3, 1984) and others]

[Text] What are the practical returns of the application of sociological recommendations? This question is asked whenever people meet a sociologist. Although difficult, the question is legitimate. Essentially, the effectiveness of the application of a number of sociological suggestions cannot be measured. A specific recommendation may remain "operative" for decades, sometimes for several generations. In other cases, the initial results may be negative and only later do they acquire an unquestionably positive value. Nor should we exclude cases of high local efficiency and simultaneous successes and negative consequences on a broader scale and over longer periods of time. Still, many are sociological research projects the results of which can be easily measured in rubles. One of them will be discussed in this article.

The popular view is that to a far lesser extent than the other types of art, the motion picture can withstand the test of times. This concept is "materialized" in the current practice of distribution of motion pictures; cinematography does not have museums where a viewer could look at older films in which he is interested, and showing such films in conventional movie theaters leaves something better to be desired. Television includes in its programs films which are essentially diametrically opposite to the motion picture industry: old films are the rule and new films the exception. It turns out, however, that motion pictures made in previous decades are drawing the attention of an extremely broad television audience. The prevailing opinion, therefore, is not entirely accurate. The same conclusion was also reached by us on the basis of some sociological studies.

The purpose of a study conducted jointly by the "All-Union Scientific Research Cinematography Institute" and the newspaper KUL'TURA I ZHITTYA was to investigate the assumption that a disparity existed between existing demand for older motion pictures and their showing. The results confirmed the initial postulate and enabled us to refine the reasons for and qualitative characteristics of unsatisfied audience demand and, on this basis, draw the practical conclusion that we must convert from the sporadic showing of older motion pictures on television to the formulation of a system for regularly shown reruns. Such a system should perform the functions of a motion picture museum, help cinematography to regain its legitimate aesthetic rights and ensure the solution of ideological, social and commercial cinematography problems.

The collegium of the UkSSR Goskino passed a special decree based on the data and practical recommendations of the study, entitled "On the System of Work of Motion Picture Rerun Theaters and Use of Old Film Stock.", making it mandatory for the motion picture distribution and industry authorities to consider within one month's time problems of improving the work of film rerun theaters, assign suitable premises for such films in oblast centers and large cities, sponsor film rerun weeks, show films by popular demand, etc. (2, pp 56-57).

The sociologists are pleased to have the conclusions of their studies used by practical workers in their statements, decisions, etc. Despite its great importance, however, such use of sociological information is no more than half of what it should be. The other half is the implementation of conclusions. The research we mentioned was quite successful from that viewpoint. As confirmed by Ye. Taratynov, head of the department of cinematography adaptation of the UkSSR Goskino Main Cinematography and Motion Picture Industry Administration, 2 years after the promulgation of the decree, "the number of motion picture rerun theaters in the oblasts nearly doubled ... in a number of areas the number of such theaters increased severalfold ... the role of rerun film stock in population motion picture services increased and its utilization in all republic oblasts was intensified in the use of various forms of ideological education work through motion pictures. The system of work with reruns is being gradually perfected and assuming an increasingly firm position in the overall organization of motion picture services to the population" (2, p 57).

What is the reason for this effectiveness? Above all, the fact that it deals with a rather acute problem of the cinematographic process: unsatisfied demand for motion pictures, on the one hand, and objective possibilities satisfying it, on the other. The administration's personnel studied the research data. They were concerned by yet another contradiction, i.e., the scarcity of recent (or relatively recent) movies to fill in screen time and the constant difficulties in resolving commercial problems, a scarcity caused by the reduced amount of film allocated for motion picture duplication. Under these circumstances, the older films kept by the motion picture organizations proved to be of essential value and a perfectly usable reserve. Furthermore, the study proved to be quite timely, for the republic's theater network had already acquired experience in regularly showing reruns. This experience had to be scientifically substantiated and extensively utilized. Therefore, the personnel in the motion picture distribution and industry systems were already expecting sociological recommendations.

The time factor largely predetermined the success of the project. Actually, the fruitlessness of many studies is frequently explained by the fact that the sociologists are slow in submitting recommendations. They offer them to the practical workers after the latter have already formulated and are implementing one managerial decision or another. Let us emphasize in this connection that in formulating a research problem we are occasionally guided by the very loose concept of topical relevance. In our view, it would be simple to single out among the practical problems considered "chronic" those which appeared recently and those expected in the immediate future. Correspondingly, this leads to three different types of research. The first is a reaction to identified negative consequences of a "chronic" problem: the second, to the identified consequences of "fresh" problems; the third, to the realized advantages of providing timely solutions in terms of the future. Applied research of the second and third type are, naturally, more effective. The current predominant type of research deals with "chronic" problems. However, as cadres become more skillful, and as the development of special sociological theories and interaction between applied sociology and social practice strengthens, the share of anticipatory studies will increase.

It would be pertinent at this point to consider the active attitude of practical workers toward "sociological assistance." We can say quite truthfully that the application of the results of the study of rerun problems is the work as much of the administration's personnel as the sociologists. A broader view on this problem, based on the overall experience of motion picture sociology, would reveal the existence of substantial difficulties in this area. The practical meaning of data acquired by a sociologist is not always obvious to a manager. This differs from experience sharing, in which the manager is usually offered a concrete prescription on how to act. Nevertheless, the impression develops that some management workers apply the intercourse system typical of sharing experience to their attitude toward sociologists. Here is a typical example: during our processing of raw data, we happened to meet one of the managers of the oblast film distribution administration. The moment we tried to describe the situation we had discovered, we were politely interrupted with the words "we need none of this. Just tell us what to do." Unfortunately, this situation is typical.

It is the sociologist who must determine the practical meaning of the scientific information. However, the practical worker should not avoid such work. Here is why: the sociologist studies the managed system; the translation of his data into the language of efficient decisions requires a profound consideration of the objective, possibilities and conditions of the administrative system. Here all the advantages are on the side of the practical workers, who are better informed and, consequently, less inclined to idealize the possibilities of their managerial authority. It is no secret that all too frequently the practical recommendations of sociologists lead managers to amend so-called uncontrollable variables; in turn, managers consider such recommendations as being extremely naive. Nevertheless, the best possible solution is achieved through the combined efforts of sociologists and practical workers. It is for this and other reasons, organizational, for instance (application is no simple organizational problem),¹ that applied sociology reveals its possibilities as a rule better only wherever it is combined with the active desire of managers creatively to

resolve arising practical problems and wherever everything possible is being done "for science to become truly part of the flesh and the blood and a structural element of life more completely and truly" (1, p 391). The active and interested attitude of the manager toward applied sociology is an important sociopsychological factor of its effectiveness. In turn, the scientist must make purposeful efforts to motivate practical workers to participate in creative cooperation.

Going back to the study, let us emphasize that it was carried out with the participation of the press. This circumstance drew the attention of the public. It is indicative that the decree promulgated by the UkSSR Goskino collegium was adopted "in connection with the article published in KUL'TURA I ZHITTYA" (2 p 57), which summed up the results of the work.

A large number of organizations participated in the implementation of the results: the local movie distribution and industry agencies and the UkSSR Goskino. All of this contributed to the efficient application of the recommendations. Hence, the conclusions that sociologists must not only comprehensively broaden the range of organizations which utilize the results of a study but also to include bodies high up in the administrative structure.

Let us also point out the "genre determination" of the study. This was a specifically applied project, both in concept and utilization. In research practices, however, the two frequently do not coincide, and not in motion picture sociology alone. Most plant sociologists "practice an 'academic' style" (4) which, naturally, diminishes practical returns.

Applied research is a necessary stage in the mind's progress from ignorance to knowledge, able to clarify essential aspects and limits of the target and means for their practical mastery. In order to cover the entire distance, the sociologist must take several steps, each one of which is a different type of research: the first is a search for a practically promising problem and the clarification of the essential possibilities of its solutions; the second is the elaboration of the necessary methodological and methodical concepts, rules and methods; the third is a description and the fourth an explanation of the studied phenomenon. Said types of study (investigative, methodological, methodic,² descriptive and explanatory) constitute the different levels of basic research providing, naturally, that they enrich "pure science." It is with their help that we lay the scientific foundations on which to build the structure of managerial decisions and practical actions. "The richer and deeper the theoretical study, the more effective it becomes on the practical level" (5, p 67).

The translation of a finished specific study into the language of practical recommendations, which can subsequently convert to efficient managerial decisions, is the task of the fifth type of study, of applied research. It is true that the translation of the knowledge about the subject into knowledge of the methods of its practical mastery is a logical criterion, borrowed from the natural and technical sciences,³ for which reason it requires certain changes.

Investigative, descriptive and explanatory sociological studies may be divided into two groups, depending on whether or not the translation of the knowledge

of the target into the language of practical conclusions itself is considered a problem. For example, if a study merely confirms the fact that a specific social innovation yields expected results, no specifically applied study is necessary. In this sense, the work (describing it conventionally as applied) should be considered completed.

If the sociologist suggests the solution of a problem requiring a special practical test, social experimentation becomes pertinent. Such a test may be considered as applied research conducted on a specific level (and of a specific type), characterized by directly combining scientific research with practical activities in anticipation of the extensive application of the sociological recommendation. This is analogous to an experimental industrial development in the technical sciences.

The thought of the researcher does not develop by itself from one logical stage to another (problem formulation, method development, etc.) but assumes specific social aspects. Therefore, a specific study is also an element of social activities, something which is usually ignored in the classification of scientific projects into applied and basic. A study, considered applied in terms of its social status, could be classified on the basis of formal and essential criteria. A formal study becomes applied when the managerial decision on the basis of which it takes place directs it toward finding means for the elimination or identification of a practical problem. In management decision making the cognitive content of a study is considered only in terms of applicability. Whether this involves a single or all five steps is unimportant. The sociologist is given a practical assignment, and the entire cycle of required work (regardless of the number of logical steps within it) becomes an applied research project.

In terms of content, a specific study could be qualified as applied on the basis of social status, according to the direct origin of the problem studied and the direct objective. If both the source and the direct purpose are practical, and we are dealing with a practical project. If both are scientific, it becomes basic.

The thesis of the double nature of such a study and its logical as well as social determination have an unquestionable methodological meaning. The consideration of these two states of research facilitates the planning of scientific work in accordance with the requirements of the unity between theory and practice and helps "related" organizational support of the dynamics of sociological thinking from the formulation of a problem to the formulation of practical recommendations, and, if necessary, the organization of a social experiment. If one is clearly aware of the logical structuring of an applied research project as a social phenomenon, it becomes easier to make a substantiated decision regarding the time of its completion; the individual logical work status can be preplanned and assigned to the members of the scientific collective. In this case, this facilitates in a certain sense the determination of the application target and the end results of the research.

This thesis also helps us to identify some of the reasons for insufficient research efficiency. In particular, we are forced to conclude that a kind of sociological "incompleteness" exists, expressed in the fact that a study which

may be classified as applied in terms of social status does not turn out to be such on the logical level, although the specific knowledge obtained as a result requires further translation into the language of practical conclusions. Naturally, by failure to reach this stage (whenever necessary!), the sociologist lowers the effectiveness of his study. This occurs so frequently that, paradoxical though it may seem, today applied sociology is short of applied research on the logical level. This scarcity is explained above all with the lack of an accurate idea concerning the logical nature of research and the violation of a canon, such as orientation toward end practical results. A research project which has been able to avoid this shortcoming invariably proves to be quite effective in terms of practical returns.

A survey of movie audiences conducted in Azerbaijan is noteworthy from this viewpoint. Its purpose was to determine the reason for which the republic had fallen behind in movie attendance and the possibility of eliminating this shortfall. Actually, this was a joint project conducted by sociologists and practical workers on both organizational and strictly scientific levels. The practical workers participated in the formulation of the program and interpretation of its results. All of this determined the final success. As A. K. Sharifov, Azerbaijan Goskino chairman said, the recommendations of the sociologists proved to be right: 1982 results showed that in one year average attendance reached 12.2 times per urban and 9.1 per rural resident (7, p 114) (corresponding figures for 1981 were 11.6 and 8.1).

It would be pertinent to recall among the works discussing the same problem, the results of which were put to practical use, the study of rural movie audiences in Saratov, Belgorod and Poltava oblasts, conducted in the first half of the 1970s. Whereas the motion picture industry has traditionally concentrated all its efforts on developing a steady public, the sociologists convincingly proved that the overall level of attendance depends less on frequency than on the percentage of viewers among the population. On the basis of such data, the sociologists recommended to the film distribution organizers to shift the center of gravity to broadening the base of the motion picture public. This recommendation was carried out successfully. In one of the rayons, for example, "the number of viewers increased . . . by 12.2 percent" (8, p 123).

Cooperation between sociologists and architects who design and build motion picture theaters is a major trend in the utilization of motion picture sociological data. "The intuitive search for new types of motion picture theaters built by architects is based on the purpose of the theater," writes architect A. Bukhantsov. "We must design new types of movie theaters based on sociological studies of audience requirements" (9, p 22). Long studies of motion picture audiences, aimed at obtaining the necessary data for designing motion picture theaters, have been conducted jointly by the TsNIIEP [Central Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Planning] for Entertainment Buildings and Sports Installations imeni B. S. Mezentsov and sociologists from the All-Union Scientific Research Cinematography Institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences Ural Scientific Center. The resulting sociological data led to the conclusion of the need to build different types of motion picture theaters: for premieres (with cloakrooms and movie concert hall), for multiple programs (with several small premises), recreational or youth with

movie-concert and general purpose exhibition-dancing halls and premises for electronic games and a coffee shop), children's (with a cloakroom and foyer, game and festivity premises, clubs and and a coffee and pastry shop), for reruns (with premises for lectures on cinematography, reading room, movie fan room, and motion picture library) for documentaries (with small lobbies and a buffet) and regional or "home" (with a movie theater for children, premises for games and recreation and coffee shop) (10, pp 28-29).

Layouts for a few such types of motion picture theaters are already being drafted. In a number of cases, based on sociological data, architects have substantially amended their designs. Thus, whereas in the past they were oriented toward the age differentiation of audiences, a detailed study of the matter by sociologists led to a different conclusion: the breakdown of movie theaters should be based on the "type of audience services" (10, p 26).

Sociologists have acquired a certain amount of experience in participating in resolving topical problems in an area of social life such as the making, distribution and development of motion pictures. Whereas in the past we paid a great deal of attention to making practical workers interested, today many managers have become convinced supporters of sociology. In this new situation any promotion of the basic possibilities provided by sociology frequently proves to be anachronistic. Practical returns are the only convincing proof. As A. G. Kharchev justifiably points out, such returns are still small because of the low skill of sociological cadres (5, p 66). This makes the need to study and analyze available positive experience in the implementation of recommendations based on research even more necessary.

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BUDGET SUPPORT FOR YOUTH DWELLING COMPLEX

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(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 47-50

[Article by Sergey Nikolayevich Yeshanov, chairman of the organization committee of the youth dwelling complex at the Moscow City Komsomol Committee. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The idea of a youth dwelling complex is the following. The membership of the YDC consists of members of labor collectives of organizations and enterprises participating on a share holding basis. The main selection criterion is winning the socialist competition for the right to participate in its construction. YDC are built by their future residents with the use of savings as a result of higher labor productivity. Every YDC member builds an apartment both for himself and for someone on the waiting list of the executive committee. The objective of the YDC is not only to provide housing but also to develop a collective at the place of residence. Although the first such complexes, which were Sverdlovsk and Kaliningrad (Moscow oblast), have been in operation for some 10 years, many aspects of the matter have remained unclear. The task is to apply such youth initiative on the basis of scientifically substantiated social experimentation.

A social program for the development of a youth dwelling complex must be formulated long before the initiation of the project. Although the number of planned sociocultural projects exceeds usual housing construction standards, it only meet the basic requirements of candidate YDC members. People working together as members of construction detachments develop the need for action and continue to generate new ideas even after they become YDC residents instead of candidates. For example, the YDC-I in Sverdlovsk is working on a "Zakaz" ASU [Automated Control System], installing cable television and organizing hobby clubs, not to mention building sports grounds, organizing recreation areas, etc. Naturally, all such projects cost money. The experience of several YDC throughout the country, which are already in operation, leaves no doubt that the existence of residential communes and the development of collectivistic relations at places of residence directly depend on the development of the economic foundations for YDC functioning.

What are its sources of financing? They come, above all, from the city economic services, culture palaces, pioneer clubs, children's clubs of housing operation offices, DOSAAF, and sports societies-- the so-called centralized sources for the satisfaction of social needs. Another source is the fees paid by YDC members for "additional services." Finally, funds are sporadically "injected" by shareholding enterprises, consisting of contributions of materials and funds.

The first source is available to all: the state makes no difference between a YDC member and a resident of a microrayon, and any request for additional funds from the city budget is related to the desire of the urban services to spread such benefits among a greater number of residents. The organization of branches of Pioneer houses, clubs and sports sections at YDC is based on the stipulation that they will be "open," i.e., accessible to all. In this manner the YDC commune contributes to the use of available city funds. The less orderly work of sociocultural services is, the more the YDC residents stand out like thrifty managers, and vice versa. If housing and cultural service administrations are thrifty, this source of YDC financing dries out and their members find themselves in the unenviable role of petitioners instead of thrifty owners. In a word, the first YDC financing source, used at the operational stage, contributes as much to the complex's population as any other resident. It is in no condition to maintain and ensure the development of the specific features of YDC as territorial collectives.

A suggestion has been made to use the citizen's private funds as payments for additional services. This method requires no particular sanctioning. It is convenient and efficient. In order for social benefits, such as clubs, sports sections or amateur circles to be accessible to all, such dues must be kept low. However, the cost of building and operating the public institutions which the YDC would like to have is quite high. Financing based on dues paid by the population would mean that some people would be deprived of facilities available to neighbors with a higher family budget. This is unacceptable within the framework of a YDC. Lowering the dues, however, would aggravate the economic difficulties, for even organizing a music lovers' club would become a most complex project. Furthermore, here as well, such financing ignores the specific nature of the YDC.

The last source of financing--materials contributed by enterprises to YDC--is rarely used due to the lack of legal regulations covering such cases.

Therefore, although superficially possibilities of providing material support to YDC appear numerous, they are insufficient to maintain the stability of the collective and to provide an impetus for the further development of settlement communities. The YDC in Kaliningrad, near Moscow, is an example of this fact. For the past few years, the residents of this youth complex, the first of its kind in the country, have been unable to build even the simplest sports facility--a covered game room.

Regardless of when the complex was built, the steady generating of new ideas, the formulation of new tasks and their strict implementation are prerequisites for the existence of collectivistic relations among the YDC population.

However, virtually no one is concerned with providing economic support for this process. Even at the Sverdlovsk YDC-I, in which the experiment has been organized on a stronger scientific basis than elsewhere, the emphasis is on the social level rather than economic development. Extensive programs are formulated and new coaches are added to the train although a sufficiently powerful locomotive engine which could pull it has not been found as yet.

What suggestions could be made? It is clear to those acquainted with the experience of YDC that the most important objectives of this socialist experiment are by no means the building of housing and cultural projects but perfecting the consumer and cultural services to the population at their place of residence and improving the social upbringing of children and adolescents. The specific features of such housing appear precisely when the housing and public use premises become functional on a basically different, a collectivistic basis. Necessary outlays of free time should be reduced for YDC members, thus expanding the leisure time and, above all, ensuring its rational utilization. In other words, the YDC is a living environment most consistent with the growth of a comprehensively developed individual at the present stage. From the economic viewpoint, such an individual is a productive force of a new quality.

Capital investments in the building of the complex begin to yield returns immediately, for the very principle of the selection of candidates leads to upgrading labor activeness and automatically lowers cadre turnover. At that stage, the worker has not as yet acquired the conditions necessary for his fuller development but is only struggling for them, mobilizing his inner strength. The main effect, even from the purely economic viewpoint, should be fully manifested when the complex has become occupied and when the active YDC members live under incomparably more favorable conditions. The task is for such favorable conditions to be maintained at all times. However, the socio-cultural measures and housing construction fund--the most realistic source for securing the further development of the YDC community--remains virtually unused after the complex begins to operate. In other words, the strong tie which existed between shareholding enterprises and the newly organized YDC during the construction period becomes unjustifiably interrupted whereas, conversely, it should have been strengthened. For example, why not make the amount of withholdings for YDC development dependent upon the productivity of resident workers? Naturally, the development of specific means to this effect is no easy matter and demands extensive scientific and practical studies. However, they should be undertaken as of now.

We know that the YDC organized hobby clubs not for recreation purposes only. A studio for monumental decorative art was built by the architects at the Sverdlovsk YDC-I. Currently, the layout of the Shartash forest park is being drafted on a voluntary basis. It is true that the question of how long the enthusiasm will last without economic support and, in general, is emphasis on mere initiative without economic support possible, arises? A collective auxiliary farm could become another source of income for the YDC. It could be organized like any other auxiliary farm. Under YDC conditions, however, it could be more effective.

The problem of operating the residential and public facilities could also be provided with a new solution. For example, economic incentive may be provided for saving on electric power and heat: the YDC collective could be given credit for the difference between average city costs and the indicators achieved by the complex.

Numerous ideas have been expressed on this subject. Unfortunately, they do not go beyond the idea stage, for there are no economic projects or corresponding legal norms. The so-called residential collectivism developed within the YDC is nothing but the leftover of the labor collectivism which had developed during the construction period. This collectivism noticeably declines once the complex has been occupied. We are forced to note that the social experiment involving the creation of YDC as the prototype of future communities has so far retained its embryonic form.

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AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE HOUSE....

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[Article by Galina Nikolayevna Karel'ova, candidate of economic sciences, docent at the political economy chair, Ural Polytechnical Institute, specialist in social problems of labor and youth. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] "With my beloved even a hut is paradise." The core of this truth is ageless. There is no question that the counsel of love determines the future of the young family. However, with every passing year demands regarding the "hut" grow and become increasingly dependent upon the very fact that a new family has appeared, the number of children, the stability of the marriage and the nature of relations between spouses and between the newlywed and their parents, relatives and friends. Naturally, the desire of young people to live away from the parents and to have their own comfortable premise has always existed. However, today the age old concern for one's home has assumed a special social value. In this case the interest of individuals has become virtually identical to that of society.

Yet, the housing difficulties which remain in the country affect above all young people. We made a study of a number of enterprises in Sverdlovsk and Novosibirsk oblasts. It became clear that the minimal waiting time for an apartment for young workers and employees was about 10 years. The problem is further aggravated by the fact that people marry at a younger age, which leads to an increased number of young families. Nor are there sufficient preschool facilities. Dissatisfaction with living conditions is one of the reasons for high cadre turnover, reduced birthrate and increased number of divorces (the divorce indicator in the large cities in Sverdlovsk Oblast ranges from 40 to 50 per 100 marriages).

The building of youth dwelling complexes (YDC) is one of the solutions to this problem which will be discussed here. Currently, such complexes are being built in Leningrad, Kaliningrad (Moscow Oblast), Kazan, Sverdlovsk and other cities. The YDC are a social experiment, the importance of which would be hard to overestimate. It would be relevant to consider the initial results of this experiment at this point. Thus, let us look at the YDC in Sverdlovsk.

A YDC means obtaining housing not by circumventing the waiting line set by the executive committee but the possibility of acquiring "one's home," built by the young people themselves. The involvement of temporary manpower in such construction enables us, to begin with, to reduce manpower shortages and accelerate the use of state capitalist investments; secondly, it helps to improve the overall urban housing situation. In the view of the organizers of this experiment, every young person should work 18 months in construction and build two apartments: the first for himself and the second for another Sverdlovsk resident. Incidentally, so far YDC detachments have already spent more than 16 million rubles, or less than half the amount needed by YDC.

However, an experiment would not be one had it excluded the search for new solutions. In addition to testing the very possibility of the creation of a youth housing complex, what mattered to the organizers was the possibility of developing new ways of living, recreation and child education, for 98 percent of YDC families are small nuclei and their average age is 28. Consequently, their type of life and recreation are largely identical and should remain unchanged for quite some time in a relatively "pure" way.

On what principles was the experiment based? Above all, that of consistency between the allocation of housing and other benefits and the quantity, quality and results of the work of individual participants. The existing housing allocation system is oriented essentially toward the quantitative indicator --labor seniority. The enterprise provides housing essentially to cadre personnel. Is this fair? Unquestionably, it is. Everyone knows, however, that one of the main reasons for expanding available housing is the appearance of second generation families. Most of those who waited their turn are actually providing housing for their children. This leads to the development of consumerist feelings among people not employed at their parents' enterprises. Through the YDC the young people not only acquire their own premises but also improve the housing conditions of the senior generation. Thus, the 477 young families which moved to the Sverdlovsk YDC provided more comfortable living conditions for 147 parent families.

Improvements in housing conditions are one of the essential incentives for labor and one of the factors determining the economic behavior of young people. This sociological conclusion, which was adopted by the YDC organizers, was fully confirmed. The group of construction workers consisted of winners of the socialist competition "For the Right to Be a Fighter in Komsomol-Youth Construction Detachment." The results were based above all on activities at work and participation in the collective's social life. The following facts confirm the efficiency of this intensive system: in the course of the socialist competition, the labor productivity of candidate members for the Sverdlovsk YDC increased by an average of 10 percent, cadre turnover declined by two-thirds and 20 percent of the participants in this labor competition earned promotions. As a result of increased productivity, the enterprise was able to fulfill its state plan with fewer workers and assign some young people to construction detachments for a period of up to one year.

The skill which many boys and girls had acquired in the student construction detachments was a major factor in the successful completion of the project. It is noteworthy that the output of the future YDC members was 50 percent higher than the average annual output of "Main Central Ural Construction Administration." The quality of the work was significantly higher as well.

The organization and development of the YDC covered three stages: preparatory (1977-1980); construction (construction of the first building began in 1980); and operational (1982).

During the first stage, the young people were acquainted with the idea of the complex; YDC candidates and shareholding enterprises were accepted. Problems of financing the planning and construction were resolved, socioeconomic computations were made, the bylaws of the YDC and the Komsomol-Youth Construction Detachment were drafted and, finally, socialist competition was organized. The latter was preceded by the study of the objectives, nature and tasks of the social experiment. We must point out that not all young people intended to participate in the competition, although most of those surveyed needed housing.¹ The main reasons cited were the following: Work based on the YDC program takes a great deal of time; it adversely affects the person's career; a number of people were not certain that the socialist competition results would be determined objectively. Another contributing fact was that some of the respondents were hoping to improve their housing conditions through the existing housing allocation system.

During the second stage construction detachments were set up (based on the results of the socialist competition), a youth construction site headquarters was set up and subotniks were practiced by YDC candidates. At the same time, a social development plan was drafted, a search for new forms of social work at the place of residence was made and clubs for children and adults were organized. Naturally, however, the construction project itself was the main thing. Floor after floor went up and the capital construction department of the city executive committee provided steady assistance to the YDC staff.

The residential area was allocated in accordance with current regulations, based on the unit settlement principle. The quality of the premises (floor, layout) was based on the rating in the competition. The results of the latter were established at the general meeting of the detachment.

The most difficult period was that of the first steps taken in YDC functioning. Let us anticipate the study of achievements and arising problems by citing preliminary data from a sociological study of the time budget of the young people (1). As a consequence of moving to a YDC, time spent in household chores and self-services increased by more than two hours (See table). The time allocated for daily cultural life was reduced. This is explained by the following circumstances: during the first year of existence of the YDC, it had virtually no sociocultural facilities. Prior to moving, one third of the young families had lived with their parents, who had performed some of the household chores. One half of the families lived in hostels where some household chores are not required. Before kindergartens had been organized close to the YDC, the residents of the complex lost more time commuting. As a whole, the study revealed that significant positive changes took place in the time budget of the young people.

The activities of the complex are based on principles quite unusual for large cities: the people know one another well, neighborly mutual aid is extensively practiced and there is public self-management. This enhances the social responsibility of the individual and strengthens social control and the

authority of the social organizations in the complex. The dwellers set up specialized house development brigades. For example, a radio brigade mounted television antennas; washing facilities were jointly installed in the kitchens; a convenient attachment for laundry drying was installed in the balconies of those who wished it, etc. Current plans called for organizing joint apartment repairs. All of this is a base for the creation of a favorable moral-psychological climate in the complex and for the efficient organization of living and resting facilities. Cooperation in raising children has become widespread in the YDC. Parents take turns in preschool clubs, managed circles and sections, etc.

YDC Member Time Budget, Number of Hours Weekly

Type of Occupation	Efficient Time Budget Forecast for the year 2000*	Time Budget Prior to Moving	Actual Time Budget	
			On 1 June 1982	On 1 June 1983
Sleeping, eating, personal hygiene	67.6	65.4	65.4	65.4
Working time	40.5	44.6	48.0	46.0
Commuting to work	4.7	5.0	6.1	4.9
Sociopolitical activities	0.8	0.5	4.9	5.3
Household chores	17.6	20.2	23.5	24.0
Daily cultural life	23.2	20.5	8.5	11.9
Physical culture, sports, out of town trips	3.1	1.0	3.7	3.2
Meetings with friends, visiting, other types of recreation	5.1	6.0	2.9	2.8
Time with children	4.9	4.1	4.1	4.5
Non-budgeted time	0.5	0.7	-	-

*Source: (2).

It was initially feared that the breakdown of one of the consequences of urbanization-- the anonymity of interpersonal relations--may bluntly penetrate the delicate and sensitive area of intrafamily relations, norms and standards. The 2-year experience proves that as a whole the family retains the autonomy required for normal functioning (taking into consideration the fact that the organization YDC required greater unity among the residents). At the same time, the sensible combination of individual and collective interests remains the most important task in the further development of the complex. This is confirmed by the following data: the most popular among all forms of spending leisure time was visiting with relatives and friends. The actual share of such intercourse in the weekly time budget dropped by more than half after moving to the YDC (see table). This is explained not only by the increased time spent in other activities but also, in all probability, the desire of the members of the family either to be by themselves or with people close to them.

Social planning deserves particular mention. It is a necessary prerequisite for the activities of the complex, the implementation of self-management principles and the solution of education problems. Such plans are formulated for 1-year periods. The social council formulates and implements the plan in close contact with the local party, state, and Komsomol bodies and public organizations. The steps stipulated by the plan are being successfully implemented. This is ensured by the high social activeness of the young people: 42.8 percent of the residents are steadily involved in various projects and 41 percent carry out temporary assignments related to the socialist competition for model homes or work for the YDC social council, the comrade court or the voluntary people's unit; 96.5 percent of the adults (as a rule together with their children) regularly participate in subotniks for improving the courtyard, installing children's grounds, landscaping and equipping clubs.

The YDC plans pay prime attention to the spiritual growth of the people and their way of life and leisure time. Mandatory use of sociological research data is made in the formulation of such plans, such as, for example, information on preferred types of recreation. Incidentally, sociological data proved to be quite a surprise to many YDC organizers, leading to changes in stereotypes. Few people assumed that being with relatives and friends would assume a leading position--45.6 percent (respondents were offered several choices), followed by out of town trips--40.6 percent; it came as a surprise that sports (30.7), family recreation evenings (30.3), or passive entertainment (30.2) would assume a roughly identical share and that going to theaters, museums and concerts would be the least popular (21.4).

Hobby clubs proved to be quite popular. Currently, such clubs exist for book lovers, hiking, music, theater, motion pictures, photography and radio. A women's club has been set up as well. A third of the complex's population practices amateur hobbies. However, the further development of this initiative requires the solution of many problems, such as hiring training instructors and determining the legal status of such clubs and providing for their material and technical support.

The YDC has a network of consumer establishments offering a large number of services: shoe repairs, dry cleaning, laundering, fabric cutting, dyeing

and minor garment repairs. Nevertheless, consumer services are still not meeting the full needs of the complex's population. Waiting time for some services remains unjustifiably long. The creation of a commercial consumer center will contribute to service improvements. The YDC organizational committee has undertaken the planning of such a center.

Children are a subject of particular concern of the YDC collective. Currently they number about 900. Virtually all school students and 70 percent of school children over the age of four are members of circles, sections or studios. The council has set itself the task of ensuring the uninterrupted and continuous upbringing of children in the family, at home and children's institutions. What helps the educational process greatly is the fact that under YDC conditions children spend a great deal more time with their father's mothers or with parents of coevals, for most circles are headed by members of the complex.

The YDC has set up a council of directors of sociocultural enterprises, whose job is to coordinate and carry out the steps earmarked by the complex's council, the staff of the construction project and other organizational committee subdivisions. Cadre selection is one of the main trends of work. It is in charge of a special commission. So far, however, such activities are mainly of a consultative character, in the nature of recommendations. We believe that a unified management of all sociocultural enterprises within the territory of the microrayon should be organized experimentally.

How do the young people of Sverdlovsk living in YDC rate their living conditions? The overwhelming majority were of the opinion that the hopes they had for the complex have been entirely justified; 16.7 percent of the respondents expected more while 10 percent have still not formed an opinion. Empirical observations prove that YDC members are distinguished by their autonomy and high feeling of personal responsibility. As we pointed, many complex organizers have become production managers. This fact is quite indicative. Another pleasing feature is that the birthrate has increased noticeably from 1.3 to 1.6 children per family; families with two or more children account today for 47.3 percent of the total. All of this can confidently be classified among the positive results of the experiment.

The young people in the YDC gain training in actual participation in the administration and social affairs at their place of residence. It is here that an active life stance is molded and new forms of self-management are developed. Furthermore, YDC membership encourages skill upgrading, develops rationalization and invention and contributes able managers to the production process. The YDC develops high sociopedagogical efficiency. Here new methods of work with children and adolescents are tested and subsequently disseminated in other parts of the city. Raising children in the example of their seniors creates a live link between generations and ensures the continuity of ideals. Gradually, collectivism at play develops into a consciously adopted life stance. A personality with comprehensive capabilities and requirements is molded.

The youth complex involves the person in its orbit at an important stage of life. It is a stage of setting up a family and acquiring the skill of raising

children and earning a social status. The system of the individual's moral values has already been shaped and from an object of upbringing he becomes an active subject of the latter. If collectivistic values are developed not on a speculative basis, the conceptual principles which become part of the personality at that time will last forever.

As to the future of the youth complex, let us emphasize that it has not exceeded the limits of social experimentation as yet, i. e., the "practical utilization of an innovation on a limited scale with a view to testing its suitability for widespread application" (3, p 163). The mechanism of the experiment is being steadily perfected. This idea is making its way through the inertia of administrative thinking and obsolete economic practices and bureaucratic administration. The success of the experiment greatly depends on its scientific backing and support by state bodies and the public. Sociology should contribute to this as well.

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FOOTNOTE

1. Here and subsequently we have relied on the results of the sociological study. In this case, 10 percent of young people in four enterprises were surveyed. Furthermore, the survey covered all YDC candidates (more than 3,000 people) and the entire adult population of the complex (more than 1,000 people).

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"YOUTH BUILDING LEVELS": YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
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[Article by Al'bert Ivanovich Kravchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate, USSR AN ISI [Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research]. Specialist in the area of labor sociology and territorial communities. Regular contributor to our journal (No 3, 1981; Nos 2 and 4, 1982; Nos 1 and 2, 1983, etc.)]

[Text] No single view prevails on the subject of youth dwelling complexes (YDC). Their supporters cite the example of the successful experience in Sverdlovsk, whereas their opponents refer to their failure in Kaliningrad. Such a restrained attitude toward a new development is fully justified, for it is a question of substantial state capital investments, the amendment or adoption of a number of legal documents and the use of substantial manpower.

Three complexes have been built and settled in the country (in Sverdlovsk, Kaliningrad and Kazan). Several tens of other cities have taken up this initiative. The initial YDC appeared nearly 10 years ago. Their tasks, objectives, place and role within the system of the territorial organization of society changed with time. The social and economic concepts of the youth complex gradually changed as well. This calls for a comprehensive assessment of acquired experience and the interpretation of problems and contradictions.

Past experience has made it perfectly clear that YDC help to improve the practice of housing allocation and contribute to the efficient solution of the housing problem. As we know, in addition to higher wages, the prospect of obtaining a comfortable apartment is a powerful social factor affecting the mobility and consolidation of young people at enterprises. Furthermore, ordinarily the young family must wait several years before it can obtain an apartment. Yet this time is the most fruitful period in strengthening the family and giving birth to and raising children. Furthermore, housing conditions affect the divorce rate and are indirectly correlated with the number of labor discipline violations.

This problem has its qualitative aspects as well. What is important is not only the time when the young worker is given an apartment but also the way the apartment is obtained. According to current practice, priority in housing allocation is given to war veterans, leading production workers,

large families and individuals with long work seniority at the same place. From the view point of social priorities, this approach is entirely legitimate and socially justified. Frequently, however, parents stand in line for an apartment less for themselves than for their adult children. The separation improves the living conditions of the senior generation as well. This means that housing is obtained by no means on the basis of labor contribution. It promotes the dissemination of social infantilism and a consumerist mentality among young people. The building of youth cooperatives as well does not eliminate the problem.

Many enterprises have the necessary funds for housing construction. However, the low capacity of house building combines and manpower scarcity limit their use. Furthermore, the improved material wellbeing of the people and the satisfaction of prime vital needs (for housing, clothing, food, etc.) make it possible to involve private savings and the individual's labor participation in meeting growing population requirements. The popularization of housing cooperatives and housing repairs by apartment tenants, paid courses, interest sections and circles, and, finally, the construction of youth complexes are all manifestations of a general trend of further upgrading the population's economic activeness and increased labor contribution. In a word, this experiment is part of new developments covering a broad range of economic and social relations.

Another noteworthy feature of YDC is the development of collectivistic relations in a job unrelated environment.

Daily experience and empirical observation prove that collectivism is more developed at work than at home. In an enterprise the end result of the common effort and, consequently, the size of the wage depend on the qualitative and prompt work of every individual. Mutual aid, cooperation, and collective support have a reliable material foundation in this case.

As to YDC functioning, here labor collectivism develops while working in the construction detachment, which is mandatory for all candidates. Labor division and cooperation and the functional interconnection among workers here is the same as at an enterprise. In this case, however, wages are replaced by an equally significant sociopsychological reason: acquiring housing.

The development of collectivistic relations through leisure time activities is much more difficult. The standard urban microrayon has facilities aimed essentially at a passive leisure style: the red corners of housing administrations are sometimes poorly equipped and infrequently attended; there are shortages of circles and interest sections. Furthermore, a collective can be organized only with the existence of an actively operating managing authority. The housing management offices which provide technical services do not perform such functions. The same could be said of the social bodies of the microrayon, largely consisting of retired people.

The people who belong to such territorial associations, described as a diffuse group, i. e., consisting of a mechanical conglomerate or sum total of individuals, share nothing but common space and time. Here any transforming or value-standardizing influence has been reduced to a minimum. Social control

is weakened, interpersonality contacts are limited to good manners and rendering minor favors. Sociological studies have confirmed that the methods of working with the population at home are inconsistent with contemporary requirements, converting the people's leisure time into a source of reproduction of non-collectivistic relations above all. Enclosed within their home surroundings, today's urban residents prefer either indirect (the telephone) or direct (personal contacts) forms of intercourse. Orientation toward family comfort and passive recreational methods (television, reading) predominate.

Society is not indifferent to the social losses stemming from the uncontrolled organization of human territorial settlement. Existing leisure time forms cannot be a guideline in the formulation of a social policy at home. Clearly, it is necessary as of now to develop models of communal settlements optimal for and acceptable to a socialist society. The point of departure in this case could be the youth complex, which is a developed collective in the sociopsychological sense, i. e., which is a group of people in which "interpersonal relations are mediated through socially valuable and individually significant meanings of joint activities."

What are the most common features of such a model? Professional work in material production, with its mandatory technological rhythm, regulated rights and obligations and socially significant purpose can be well supplemented by amateur work in the realm of leisure time activities, based on voluntary participation, a free system of attendance and satisfaction of personal interests. Such reciprocal complementing of labor activities, different in content and nature, is one of the possible means for the implementation of the law of labor variety. The theory of this matter is being steadily enriched with the broadening of social experimentation. It is true that so far there is no scientifically substantiated sociological concept of YDC, awaited by planning authorities. That is the reason for which the study of the real problems accompanying the development of a youth complex is so important.

From the architectural viewpoint, the YDC social infrastructure represents a functionally interrelated system, which includes a house building and territorially adjacent consumer enterprises. The efficient long range layout of each element within this system is of determining significance in the development of social relations at the place of residence. As a rule, the YDC house building is a multi-storied large panel house within an improved layout, typical of a modern city. In Kaliningrad, up to 50 percent of the available housing consisted of premises with small rooms for single people or small families. The problem of crowding appeared with the birth of the first and second child. The problem which faced the YDC council was ensuring a rational housing allocation. It was partially resolved with the completion of two more buildings, most of which consisted of two- and three-room apartments. However, many people broadened their housing area by trading apartments or leaving the YDC.

The apartment structure at the Sverdlovsk YDC consisted initially of 70 percent two-room, 20 percent three-room, 10 percent one-room apartments. This was better than in Kaliningrad but insufficient in terms of matching the demographic growth of young families. A socially adequate housing environment must be based on the future (socially useful) growth of the family in its

current size. The ordinary urban construction framework proved to be inadequate in terms of YDC.

To this day the social opportunities offered by YDC are underestimated due to mental inertia. The "people's construction" method became the officially acknowledged new development in Kaliningrad 10 years ago. In other words, the value of the YDC was considered to be the solution of the housing problem for young people, applying the most economical "self-building" method. It is clear today, however, that the use of construction detachments of house owners is not a YDC invention or merit. In our view, reducing the merits of a youth complex merely to the creation of new types of way of life, maximally involved with housing, is erroneous.

But let us go on with our study of the social infrastructure of the YDC, the planning of which involves a number of still unresolved problems. The opinion prevalent among the opponents of such complexes is that all of this has long been known. They refer, in particular, to the communal houses of the 1920s and to N. Osterman's new way of life house plan. Its characteristic features were a system of passageways, incomplete small premises and a kitchen alcove. With this layout, the main leisure time facilities were outside the apartment, consisting of a reading room, a food stand, game rooms, etc. According to the planners, this would have relieved the families of unnecessary concerns and created the best possible conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual. Practical results proved the opposite: the system of mandatory collective recreation emasculated and depreciated the fullness of family and individual activities. Such a peculiar "open" housing environment frequently led to the outbreak of conflicts.

On the surface, the effort to identify the Kaliningrad YDC with Osterman's new way of life home appears substantiated: the system of passageways is the same and so are premises for recreational activities. However, the study of the actual facts proves the opposite: the common hallway down which six to eight apartments are located rallies the people within a closed micro-society and creates neighborly contacts. In order to intensify this psychological effect, halls for interstory intercourse and for practicing some types of recreational activities, such as embroidery, cutting and sewing, etc., may be found on each floor in so-called insets. The main area of mass-cultural work was to be a special cultural-sports center, territorially adjacent to the YDC. As it were, it was not built. Therefore, virtually all cultural activities took place in the halls, which created additional inconveniences for the house residents: noise, dirty premises, etc.

Practical experience proved the effectiveness of the principle of completing sociocultural projects before the completion of the house building. In YDC construction, however, the house building was the first to be built. This could not fail to create certain difficulties in organizing mass-cultural work with the population. In our view, this is a psychological error. The satisfaction of individual requirements (acquiring comfortable housing) may lower under certain conditions the need and desire of the collective to build cultural projects, which may be entirely viewed as supplementary rather than vitally necessary benefits. If the initiative of creating collective

recreational facilities weakens, it is replaced by administratively mandated work methods. For example, after the first house building is occupied, the competition for the right to be a candidate YDC member is continued. At this stage, points are earned by organizing circles and lectures. In our view, such social work is coercive to a certain extent, rather than voluntary. It is carried out for the sake of acquiring housing. What will happen when the main objective of the candidates has been attained?

Under YDC conditions it is relatively simple to improve the methods of educational work, to eliminate obsolete forms and to develop a new network of hobby circles or clubs, for instance. It is far more difficult to correct architectural-planning errors or change material living conditions. An example of this situation is the Kaliningrad YDC, where such omissions have led to changes in the membership of the collective and lowered its sense of unity. Another problem is shaping the social structure of the youth complex. In an ordinary urban microrayon it develops spontaneously. The social structure of the YDC is shaped on a planned basis: the professional groups of candidates are based on the specialization of shareholding enterprises which finance the construction and operation of the complex, and the qualification standard is based on the results of the socialist competition. From the viewpoint of YDC interests, this approach offers certain advantages. However, society is unlikely to be interested in this selective method for developing territorial communities, for the socially passive workers turn out to be "undistributed." If all other YDC are created on the basis of the same principle, the sum total of youth complexes will prove to be unrepresentative for the country at large. For example, workers account for more than 60 percent of the social structure of the Soviet population, whereas they account for one-half of that figure at the Sverdlovsk YDC. The main contingent here is one of highly skilled specialists and intellectual workers. In our view, it would be expedient gradually to equalize the social structure of youth complexes.

Nevertheless, the current YDC structure offers unquestionable advantages as well. Let us consider the problem of the rapprochement among social groups with the help of a comparative analysis. Although working side by side, workers and engineering and technical personnel in an enterprise are engaged in the solution of different production problems and hold different positions in the social organization of labor and the production management system. The YDC have a single objective which affects most important vital interests: the comprehensive development of the individual, joint upbringing of children, expanding neighborly cooperation and many others. The social significance of a YDC member is based not on professional status but on individual contribution and labor activeness. In our view, a change in the type of work, whether at work or during leisure time, professional or amateur, also contributes to such a rapprochement.

The elective nature of the shaping of the social structure of YDC is based on the competitive principle. This principle was used in the selection not only of young people needing housing but of those considered most active and target oriented. Let us note that this includes a segment of workers who are best trained in adopting and developing collectivistic values. In the course of joint labor activities, not only do individuals adapt to the collective and promote its stabilization but their personality changes for the better, i. e.,

their motives and concepts change in favor of collectivistic values and targets. Whether the initiators of the experiment wished it or not, objectively a mechanism for controlling youth social activeness was developed. This mechanism may not be perfect in all of its aspects. As a whole, however, it should be classified among the positive features of the social experiment.

Awareness of the time parameters of the changes in the social structure of the YDC is important as well: what will happen to them 20 years hence?

The aging of the contingent raises a number of questions for the organizers of the experiment: what changes will occur in the needs of and relations among people, what forms will collectivism assume at the new stage and will there be a natural dampening of social activeness and initiative? The Kaliningrad experience proves that no drastic worsening of the social situations occurred. However, not everything has remained unchanged. For example, a number of activists at the Kaliningrad YDC earned promotions and assumed responsible job positions. The time they could spend in social work at home had become significantly lesser. This cannot be described as the breakdown of self-management. However, today the emphasis here is different. Thus, payments are required for joining a number of circles, and the people prefer to pay for the services of a manager of a circle attended by their children rather than doing such work themselves. Gradually, attention in mass-cultural work is shifting from adults to children.

Another facet of the problem is what to do with old parents 10 to 20 years hence? To live together means to worsen one's housing conditions, to change the sociodemographic composition of the YDC as a whole and to return to the initial family structure. Would a conflict of values between generations arise? Twenty years from now the adult children of the YDC members will have their own families. Once again, questions will arise which must be anticipated and resolved as of now.

A variant of YDC social development suggested by the Sverdlovsk people is of interest. They consider the "aging" of the youth complex as its gradual transformation into an efficiently organized residential cell. This implies the preservation of the positive features of the structure of human inter-relationships and strengthening the most durable forms of collectivism resting on a firm material base: a social infrastructure of a new type. At the same time, the search for new means and methods for organizing human activities is continuing. In other words, the social experiment is a permanent condition of aiming the collective toward new developments.

In formulating the social prospects of YDC and the possibility of their implementation, we must clarify the nature of the youth complex as a new social phenomenon. To begin with, it encompasses a great deal of the positive experience acquired in building socialism in terms of the territorial organization of the population and the solution of the housing problem. Secondly, the youth complex embodies a number of most important features of mature socialism: the development of society on the basis of its specific collectivistic principles, distribution according to labor, unity of the territorial and labor collectives, etc.

The actual achievements of the YDC (collective upbringing of children and the development of neighborly communities, enhanced demographic potential of the family and its stabilization, involving adolescents in productive toil and lowering delinquencies) proved that the youth complex can resolve important social problems. They should not be limited to housing or the creation of a new environment. Society has the right to expect much more. We believe that young people can participate even more actively in reaching the strategic objectives of the government's social policy, such as the development of a socialist way of life, collectivistic relations, the education of the new man, the stabilization of the family, the perfecting of self-management and optimizing the process of elimination of social disparities and the creation of comfortable material conditions for the restoration of human physical and mental forces.

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NEW FORM OF ASSISTANCE TO THE YOUNG FAMILY

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[Text] One of the main objectives of a YDC [Youth Dwelling Complex] is to provide the young family with housing. However, this does not mean in the least that all problems encountered by the young couple will be thus automatically resolved. The new situation in which YDC find themselves could significantly improve intra- and inter-family relations. However, it could also create unforeseen difficulties. That is why the formulation of a sociological program for the stabilization of the family, the purpose of which is to take into consideration possibilities of consumer services, recreation, the education of children, interpersonal contacts and, finally, something of particular importance, reproduction behavior, plays an important role among various tasks of this social experiment.

Sociological studies prove that poor housing conditions (in addition to difficulties of raising the first child related, among others, to placing the child in a nursery) are one of the main reasons for the unwillingness of families to have a second child. In our view, on the one hand, the prospect of acquiring a private comfortable apartment could encourage, to a certain extent, having a second or even a third child. As to the question of the opportunity to place the child in a preschool institution, its gravity will be greatly alleviated as a result of the widespread neighborly child care

cooperation in YDC (house micronurseries, "evening" kindergarten). Such methods ease the situation of working mothers and, in a number of cases, compensate for the absence of relatives' help. Also exceptionally important is educational work with school-age children at home, organized at YDC.

However, the positive influence exerted by the social situation in YDC on the birthrate should not lead us to overestimate the significance of such factors, not to mention expectations of a new "demographic explosion." The anticipated effect--the stabilization of the birthrate on the level of two children per family--should hardly be considered the final solution of the problem. However, taking into consideration the increasing popularity of one-child families in big cities, this trend may assume a substantial importance.

How can YDC conditions influence the nature of intra-family relations? The study of a young family in Moscow revealed that the separate use of leisure time by the husband and the wife and their orientation toward exclusive relaxation at home adversely affect family stability and satisfaction with the marriage. The YDC offer new leisure time opportunities. Cooperation among neighbors in raising preschool children can free a considerable amount of time for the young mother and enable her to engage in a variety of forms of relaxation and go more frequently to movies and the theater or visit other people together with her husband. Hobby clubs and various sports sections sponsored by YDC play a major role in improving the psychological climate in the family for they considerably broaden the range of interests of the couple.

Of late many researchers have noted a substantial decline in the authority of the male--husband or father--in the family. The changed status of women in society is not always paralleled by the necessary redistribution of household chores, including child care. Furthermore, under urban conditions traditionally male types of household chores are gradually assumed by service enterprises. This leads to a certain alienation of men from the performance of family functions and a parallel decline of their authority in the family. Since, as a rule, it is men who take part in the building of YDC, this increases their contribution to the organization of family life and enhances their authority in the family.

The problem of intensifying interpersonality contacts in the YDC deserves special consideration. On the one hand, combining the family and job circles of intercourse of the spouses, based on the place of residence, will contribute to the growth of integrative processes with the family group and the establishment of a value orientation unity of the couple not only within the family but on the outside as well. On the other hand, unexpected consequences of a psychologically intensified contact between a family and its immediate social surrounding and, in particular, the appearance of new incentives for the destabilization of marital relations, could not be excluded.

As a whole, however, we believe that the shaping of a unified collective by the residents of the complex and the elimination of the anonymity inherent in an urban way of life will increase social control over the behavior of the

spouses and will hinder the appearance of socially negative forms of behavior, drunkenness in particular, which is one of the main reasons for divorce.

Another circumstance worth noting is the following: the shortcomings of child raising in a partial family (as a rule a mother alone) are familiar to all. The active participation of husbands--complex residents--in the work of children's clubs and sections sponsored by the YDC would make it possible to compensate to a certain extent for the absence of male influence and eliminate the consequences of feminine oriented upbringing in such families.

Unquestionably, the experience of YDC should become widespread, for it opens new possibilities of stabilizing the young family. However, work on the creation of such complexes should be based on planned social experimentation involving specialists in many scientific areas. For the time being, we can confidently speak of the tremendous social impact of this initiative, related to the intensification of the creative and labor activeness of young people.

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ECOPOLIS: THE DESIRED AND THE ACHIEVED

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[Text] The International Conference of Experts on the program "Man and the Biosphere" (MAB), organized by UNESCO, UNEP (United Nations Environmental Program), USSR GKNT [State Committee on Science and Technology] and the Soviet MAB Committee, to the ecological approach to urban planning, was held in Suzdal in September 1984. O. N. Yanitsiy, chairman of the MAB-13 research project in the USSR, considers the sociological problems of implementing this approach.

The word "ecopolis" has been in constant use in the press for several years. The popular magazines ZNANIYE - SILA, NAUKA I ZHIZN', and KHIMIYA I ZHIZN' are also not far behind. Three years ago SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA also wrote about this promising beginning (4). The number of scientific and popular publications on this topic continues to grow. Scientists, journalists and the general public discuss the details of life in the "ecological city" of the future in practical terms. Today it is possible to boldly confirm that the concept of this ecopolis already exists in the mass consciousness. However, it exists fragmentarily, in details, from which it is still impossible to assemble an integrated whole.

The pebble which brought down this avalanche of ideas and formulas was a small pamphlet written by a philosopher and biologist, very far-removed professionally from traditional urbanization (5). Ever since, the idea continues its

triumphal march across the pages of newspapers, magazines and collections. A number of foreign publications on this topic came out. Finally, the idea was expressed in a special report at the Suzdal conference. However, for a while sociology, above all urban sociology, said nothing, even on the subject of the legitimacy of the ecopolis idea.

Urban sociologists were just barely included in the discussion on ecological problems at the last minute. However, they should not be blamed for this. In the first place, they have been traditionally dealing with "their own" ecology: inner-city settling, the formation of territorial communities, and the population's demands on its immediate habitat. In the second place, according to some, nowhere is it clearly written, but in a very steadfast tradition this branch of sociology, like many others, considered its problem situations as though ideally pure, perceiving nature only as an object of influence by individuals, groups and entire cities. Living nature's very own laws, their influence on the city and on man is not taken into account in urban sociologists' conceptual plans. In the third place, in the last decade man and humanity have realized that their interrelationships with nature are social, thanks to the efforts of natural scientists. They were the first to sound the alarm, to agitate public opinion, to urge the making of a number of pressing decisions.

Initially, it seemed that sociology had nothing to do with it. However, it soon became clear that the proposed measures were impractical or were implemented so slowly as to become meaningless. It was also found out that an entire spectrum of ideas concerning the quality of the city and the surrounding environment exists in the mass consciousness, and even more importantly, that people's level of personal interest in changing this quality varies widely. More on this later. The social factors of increased interest in ecological problems became clear, such as better education, the length of residence in a city and the influence of mass information media. Today the thought of social, psychological and cultural reasons for our concern about the state of nature no longer seems paradoxical: the more man is alienated from nature, the more sensitive he becomes to this gap.

If we turn to the MAB program materials, it is evident that 10 years ago the ecological approach to the problem of cities was thought of primarily as the optimization of the urban metabolism, i.e. of the exchange between matter and energy which occurs within the city, as well as between it and the entire biosphere. Such formulation of the question essentially went beyond the bio-ecological framework in the area of technical and economic problems, which became more sensitive in the West because of the world energy crisis. Shifting the emphasis over to local resources, including energy sources, automatically gave rise to a whole tangle of social and cultural problems. The increased level of urban pollution aggravated the situation involving the use of waste, which increased, the higher the level of society's energy saturation. Environmental pollution related to energy potential turned out to have a growing influence not only on the population's state of health, but also on all of its way of life and in extreme cases, even on migration processes. The problem of country-to-town migration, caused by an imbalance between the growth of the rural population and the rapid exhaustion of local resources, became simultaneously relevant.

The evolution of the traditional idea of "greening" cities is striking. This hygienic and architectural-aesthetic component of the ecological approach rapidly developed into the problem of the quality of the urban environment, for the most part economic. "Instead of the traditional creation of vast grassy areas, regular planting of trees (often exotic), and the organization of flower-beds," J. Davidson (England) observed in her report at the Suzdal meeting, "we propose the creation of an inexpensive, labor-intensive, ecological, local vegetation industry with natural meadows and urban forests..., to use free urban soil productively for creating farms, leasing plots and designing public squares". Just what sort of gigantic shift must have occurred in the English consciousness, to dare encroach on the lawns, this inseparable attribute of foggy Albion [England]? One of the MAB leaders, S. Boyden (Australia), made the most systematic attempt to describe the ecological approach. In his opinion, such an approach ought to meet the following requirements: 1) to serve as a theoretical base for analyzing the interaction between qualitatively distinct processes and variables; 2) to be oriented towards studying these interactions on all levels--individual, regional, societal and biospheric; 3) to serve as a theoretical base for studying the influence of a city or region's ecological state on people's health and well-being; 4) to include any aspect of the "human situation"--biotic, abiotic, psychological, social and cultural; 5) to formulate its own principles and concepts relative to models of the interaction of different variables, in accordance with its development; 6) to "operate" in any social area--in the environment of students, nonprofessionals, planners, decision-makers, or academic scientists; 7) to include a conceptual model of a study of various types of culturally adaptive reactions to unfavorable changes in the surrounding natural environment; 8) to have possibilities for internal agreement of ideas and concepts related to various aspects of "human situations," and also to ensure compatibility of ecological concepts with concepts existing in the natural and social sciences (6).

The first impression from this list is "Open sesame!". Virtually anything which a theoretician, methodologist and practical worker could desire in all research areas is demanded from the ecological approach. However, one begins to understand something else as well: this is a list of problems unsolved by the West's "positive science", precisely the type of problems on which social scientists and naturalists must cooperate. We easily perceive the methodological problems here, which are of key importance to any such interdisciplinary research. The first among them is the social and cognitive status of the ecological approach.

This approach is basically social. It is the result of an awareness of the high extent of interdependence between the realm of social life with nature as the "body" of this life. Mankind's efforts are directed towards achieving the proper correlation of the developing practical production (and, we emphasize, the socioreproductive) activities of man with the laws of biosphere's functioning. Today this has become a socially meaningful goal. Whatever way the so-called natural imperatives may be formulated, they have always been and will remain the outcome of advancing social practice and will exist only as its inherent values. In the gnosiological level these imperatives reflect a certain level of understanding by science of the historical character of the natural human environment.

The ecological approach integrates knowledge and action within itself. The development of research projects oriented towards the solution of practical problems is one of the most essential achievements of the MAB program. The "natural" behavior of social organisms of varied types and scales, including cities and regions, is merely a starting point for analysis, since it was intended for their optimization. In this sense, the ecological approach is a variety of the systemic approach. However, it has an important feature.

In the course of the systemic analysis the range of research interests is usually limited "merely to those aspects of the object's behavior which are essential for assessing the effectiveness of the planned interaction" (7). In the ecological approach the researcher considers a problem situation as the interaction between two or several objects, linked by systemic connections. The object's environment is interpreted both as its integral part (a life-support system) and as an independent system on a broader scale. In this sense, the ecological approach is, in a certain way, "supersystemic." Hence it follows that the ecopolis cannot be a city in the conventional sense of the word. This is a system with a pronounced nucleus and very undefined borders which go far beyond the bounds of the official city limit. The last decade's keen discussion of the "city-region", "city-space", and even "urbanization without cities" is witness to the need to reconsider methodological approaches to the problem of the city as an organism.

On the whole, if one studies ecology as a natural science discipline, in the words of the famous Soviet ecologist, Academician S. S. Shvarts, ecology is the "work" of the Earth's living surface in its integrity, then social ecology as a branch of social science is the "work" of the social "surface" during its interactions with natural ecosystems and the entire biosphere.

According to the social trend this is an optimizing approach. The study of methods for connecting social organisms between themselves and with nature serves as a way to achieve the primary goal--their interdependent development, increase in the level of stability and mutual compatibility. Initially, it seemed that the problem of optimizing (based on resource-energy criterion) urban and other sociobiotechnical systems led to their rationalization, not affecting the social principles of functioning. To avoid energy waste, it is better to use local resources. These are the basic optimization methods.

The evolution of the western MAB participants' research directions presented a serious lesson. For example, in a study of the interaction between the population and the ecosystem of the island Gotland (Sweden), conducted by A. Jansen, at first the emphasis was placed on a comparative analysis of naturally renewable and industrial energy flows. In the end, the basic analysis had become a study of man's production activity, including the economics of the island in its dependence on trade and economic relations with the outside world. As a result, the target was the optimization of the economic and ecological capabilities of the island with a consideration for preserving "socially desirable goals", since analysis of the situation showed that the energy balance of the island and its social life, from the everyday structure up to the employment level, were closely interrelated. Any "optimization"

projects should be subordinate to high social goals. Essentially, the ecological approach is a humanistic approach, or, using V. I. Vernadskiy's term, noospheric, based on the realization of the uniqueness of life on Earth and originating from principles of reason and justice. Today we already sense within ourselves the consequences of absolutizing the goals of a social subject (be it an enterprise or a city), which resists the environment, looking at the surrounding world as a collection of gifts for its activity.

The significance of the ecological problem was recalled by K. U. Chernenko at the October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "It is necessary to act very carefully, so that while transforming the earth, not only do we not inflict harm on it, but we improve it, better it, increase the capabilities of nature. We must all live not only for today, but also for tomorrow. Hasty, unreasoned decisions must not be permitted". K. U. Chernenko quoted Marx to the effect "that people using the earth, like good family fathers, should leave it improved for the next generation" (3).

This was said in connection with a the party's long-term land reclamation program. However, the above has a direct relationship to the development of the ecological thinking of all Soviet people and the standards of our socialist culture and way of life.

One could say that the ecological approach is an approach taken by a social subject, aware of being a part of his habitat and therefore, being the end object of his own actions. Moreover, the environment is a part, a very sensitive part at that, of man's "body." This social action and the understanding by every person of the qualitatively different fabric (of nature) as a part of his own "I" acts as the principal socioethical basis for the ecological approach.

In such an orientation the ecological approach resists primitivism and any dismemberment of living, an organic entity into inanimate "parts". It tends towards universality, appearing both as a method and as a value orientation, a moral imperative. The universality of the ecological approach as a method is contained in its aspiration to encompass social life within the maximal completeness of its goals, means and results, to grasp direct and inverse relationships of a social organism and the environment, of the whole and a part, of the subject and the object. In this case, any "locus" (town, countryside) is studied in the context of global variables, particularly as a manifestation and necessary form of existence of the universal, in the present, as a prerequisite for the future.

Speaking at the Suzdal conference, Soviet scientists I. Frolov and V. Los' emphasized the methodological importance of studying urban ecological processes in their global aspect. They proved that it was precisely Marxism-Leninism which lay the foundations for the concept of global development and which outlined a strategy for solving the root problems of mankind. The universality of the ecological approach is realized as a multilevel ecological programming system. Yu. Bocharov and B. Kedrov singled out four such levels: all-union, pertaining to the formation of an overall plan for settling in the

country, regional (republic), local, limited basically to large agglomerations, and urban. A thesis on the relationship of the present and the future found its reflection, in part, in A. Krivov and M. Berezin's idea on the need for dynamic planning, for consideration of long-range plan developments not as "ideal cities", but as the permanent activity in breaking socioeconomic forecasts down. It is for precisely this reason that it is necessary to create models which simulate the social and ecological consequences of urban development decisions.

Within the framework of the ecological approach, industry should be considered in the entirety of its longest-range effects. Indifferent environments and "no-man's" land must be excluded from conceptual designs. It can only be a question of the degree and the dates of reciprocal influence. Ecologists have shown, for example, that the more strenuous the vital activity of man in urbanized areas, the greater his zone of influence on the adjacent landscapes will be and the more spacious the "rest zones" in the biosphere, which are thousands of kilometers distant from such urban centers, should be. The biosphere is becoming a global translator of the consequences of urbanization; the processes of industry and the reproduction of social life are "enclosed" within the cycles of nature. Therefore long-range ecological zoning will have a growing impact on the social-settlement structure of the entire country. As V. Vladimirov, A. Gol'dshteyn and E. Rusa said at the conference, the Estonian SSR's territory is divided into three types of zones: highest economic activity (let us note that this includes both town and country), ecological balance, where construction of population centers is limited and will be conducted according to special plans, and a buffer whose task is to compensate for the "ecological inferiority" of the first. Thus, the area of man's social activity is ecologically regulated.

Finally, if there is air, water and earth, our common property and the permanent foundation for our life, from the social point of view the final goal of the ecological approach is the conversion of a naturally protected, nature-renewing activity into a universal foundation for any human activity, i.e. the conversion of separate "ecological" goals into universal program guidelines for the socialist way of life. Conversely, the principles of communist morality and socialist community life should serve as the basis for our relationships with nature. We cannot, said S. S. Shvarts, cultivate some special kindness towards nature, "we must simply cultivate a kind, cultured person" (10).

Human ecological awareness and behavior will occur not by isolating man from nature and not by the "parallel" development of the natural and social environment, but by further dissemination and intensification of this morality and the principles of community life, by perfecting the way of life on a universal reproduction basis. The modern ecological imperative "everything goes somewhere" and the ancient saying "You mustn't spit in the well, for you may have to drink its water," are actually saying essentially the same thing.

In Suzdal both theoreticians and practical workers have persistently strived to expand the above-mentioned principles to a system of requirements aimed at specific disciplines. Urban developer A. Gutnov interpreted the principles of the ecological approach as follows: a strategy for ecological protection (a

fight against pollution, noise, etc.), the creation of an ecological infrastructure (systems of natural elements needed for the health of the city-dweller), a human space scale (optimal correspondence of dimensions of courtyards, streets, and the number of storeys), the preservation of historically formed urban fabric, and the active inclusion of living nature in buildings and facilities. Biologist V. Mazing, describing the concept of the city as an ecosystem in biological terms, emphasized that the basic changes in people's consciousness and overcoming the consumerist attitude toward nature are the most important conditions for ecological optimization.

The need for equal participation of sociology and the general social science disciplines in the MAB program was realized far from suddenly: leadership belonged the biologists at first and they opposed participation of sociologists or allotted them a strictly subordinate role "related" to the public. To evaluate the extent of the shifts which occurred, let us review the history of the MAB program's development.

In a few words, the need for participation of the social sciences had always been recognized, but up to 1981, i.e. after ten years of the program's existence, only 5% out of 884 field studies being conducted in all 14 projects actually integrated the social with the natural science approach (11, p. 303). At a special seminar of MAB participants from asian countries it was suggested that the name of the "Man and the Biosphere" program be changed, for it ignored man specifically as a social being (12). The English scientist B. Spooner, one of the MAB theoreticians, observed that the MAB projects could be divided into two sections: most were run by natural scientists, and fewer, by social scientists.

While the social sciences were found on the periphery of these projects, no one particularly tried to understand their theoretical principles. However, as soon as the prospects for their complete participation in research were discovered, the matter took a completely different turn. It became clear that Western society was not particularly interested in involving sociologists. In the words of A. Whyte (Canada), the reason is that a sociologist sees a natural outlet for his research in political action. If an engineer finds a mistake in a design, he tries to correct it. If a social scientist sees an injustice or a "gap" in society, he strives to change the situation. "The nature of the object of research and the approach it to resulted in the fact that the social scientist became viewed as a person who suffers from insufficient objectivity; in the worst case he is perceived as a potentially disruptive social agitator and political activist, in the best, as a specialist in social security" (11, p. 304).

Of course, we can only speak seriously on sociology's equal participation in research if the public is ready for certain changes of a non-technological, a social nature. The crisis experienced by the Western world encouraged such changes and, consequently, also the consideration of sociologists' opinion.

At first social science played a very strange role--to "supplement" social parameters with "rational instructions", i.e. preset recommendations given by the natural sciences. This was a shift, but only a partial one--psychology

and cultural studies could not replace socioeconomic analysis (13). Later the entire hierarchy of levels of interaction between the social and natural sciences was developed: mono-, multi-, plura-, cross-, and finally, the highest level (14). The predominant significance of human activity in understanding the state of the surrounding environment was reflected in the key concept of the MAB program, "systems used by man". S. Boyden did a study in which the role of sociocultural factors in supporting the relative stability of an urban ecosystem was shown. The main role of social reasons was demonstrated in a study of the ecological imbalance of the Fiji islands and in the work of Austrian scientists on tourism's influence on the ecological situation in the high, mountain valley of the Tyrolean Alps. The Academician P. Zaremba (Poland) did a lengthy study on ecologically oriented urban and regional planning methods. Intensive development and the introduction of the principles of ecologically urban-oriented policy is followed in socialist countries.

Nevertheless, how do matters stand with the ecopolis, with its conceptual base? The history of the ecopolis covers a somewhat longer time period than the MAB program. When Hippocrates separated winds into "good" and "bad" and related them to the orientation of city streets, when Aristotle likened the activity of city-builders to the labor of the viticulturalist planting grapevines, when the philosopher and Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon admonished in great detail on how one should select a site for a dwelling and how to arrange its surroundings in his treatise "On Buildings" (today we would call it recommendations), they were already working on the ecopolis concept. The interactions between man and nature in an ideal society were the principal questions for Thomas More or Campanella. It would be no exaggeration to say that the history of the ecopolis is as long as that of "ideal cities".

As this, strange though it may seem, occurred precisely when the Haeckelian concept of ecology was being formed, the spirit of the times was dominant in the thinking of urbanists: nature became, in the words of Marx, "nothing but a useful thing" (1), having demonstrated its value as space and a resource, and as a field of application for man's mind and hands. The breakdown of nature into elements and the search for their new combinations became, like Rubik's cube, the most fascinating occupation.

This opinion was not overcome even in the much-talked-about book by the English bourgeois reformer Ebenezer Howard at the turn of the century. His work "City-Gardens" and that of its apologetics in the book "Sady-Goroda" [Garden-Cities] by the Russian liberal P. Mizhuyev, although being the source of one of the first ecological movements, were essentially the total opposites of the ecopolis idea in its contemporary understanding. In order to bring man closer to nature, it was suggested that each city-dweller be given a plot of land. A company, which built the London garden-suburb of Hampstead advertised it in plain terms: tending the garden provides healthy relaxation for the poor and improves their nutrition, enabling them to have their own vegetables. The gardens quickly turned into kitchen-gardens.

In prerevolutionary Russia, excluding the capitols and several industrial centers, all cities were gardens, not due to Howard's prayers, but by virtue of the force of the specifics of the country's economic history. Therefore,

when the land became public property after the October Revolution, it seemed that it was sufficient to tear down the fences between buildings, and the city-garden would become a reality.

The new stage began during the first Five-Year Plan. The gigantic scale of industrialization sharply raised the question of the concept of a socialist city. The idea that the socialist city should be a garden city ran throughout the discussions between "urbanists" and "anti-urbanists" and the speeches by scientists, state and public figures. "Cities in verdure", "Buildings Drowning in Greenery", "The Spreading of Green Plantings throughout the City's Territory", etc. seemed as though such a transformation of nature into an attribute of the new conditions of urban life would be endless. M. Kol'tsov and A. Tolstoy spoke out in favor of the idea of creating a "green city." In A. V. Lunacharskiy and N. K. Krupskaya's speeches at the discussion rang the very same key (15).

However, the word "verdure" here carried a strictly social connotation. Many participants in the competitions for drafting Moscow's general plan, which took place in the early 1930s, envisioned the future capitol as a grandiose cultural Park--"a central base for social upbringing and a center of cultural supply", "a central body, which would plan and regulate all cultural life..." (16). Not only the need to provide access for all workers to nature, but also for the spiritual, elevating role of similar intercourse were deeply realized.

Subsequent practical experience proved that joining the city with nature (both by organizing access to it, and by landscaping inner-city areas) became one of the standardized social principles of urban policy in the USSR. Today the availability of vegetation for the residents of our cities is the highest in the world.

However, in romanticized 1930 plans for a socialist city, nature was only a means, hardly distinct from other types of urban development. The abstract form of "verdure", which was established in the minds of professionals and the general public, was surreptitiously nurtured by the concept of "domination", so plainly expressed after several years in the famous Michurinite slogan. Yet by that then, the concept of the biosphere, as well as the principles of its support by man, had already been formulated by V. I. Vernadskiy. He had expressed the essential consideration of "the universally mandatory nature of scientific truths" (17).

Today the situation is completely different. The customary term "landscaping" means, as V. Mazing emphasized in the Suzdal meeting, a very complexly structured and technological activity. The process of planting vegetation in courtyards, streets and squares, observed G. Potayev, another Soviet scientist, begins with the development of a system of natural territories on the republic scale. J. Dwyer (United States), a specialist in urban afforestation (there is now such a profession), showed that the nature and state of urban landscaping largely depend on the mass consciousness concepts formed. In general, the role of landscaping has not been entirely clarified so far. The more greenery there is, the longer our life is, is a fact established by

Soviet scientist T. Gavriyanova. For man it is also important to see greenery, N. Reymers assumes. Is this merely a perception? No, N. Tolokontsev asserted in his report. Equally important are intercourse and the multi-sided contacts between man and nature.

Are these not all problems of the ecopolis theory? If we try to formulate very concisely the essence of the discussions which took place at the Suzdal meeting, we could say that the ecopolis today should meet the following requirements: 1) to contribute to maximal conservation of all types of resources, especially nonrenewable; 2) to gradually convert from a consumer-city into a generator of resources, particularly of food; 3) to contribute to more balanced relations between the city and the area of the surrounding rural populations; 4) to improve the urban environment, to return to the cities their individuality, and to the population, their ties with nature; 5) to ensure the participation of the urban population in developing and maintaining the urban and surrounding environments.

Each of these points merits special consideration. However, in my opinion, there are related problems which run through any similar list. Above all, this applies to the socioecological concept of the city, or rather, to conurbation systems. In their addresses the participants of the Suzdal meeting considered the important aspects of studying these systems: water balance (M. Numata, Japan); production of food (R. Ganapati, India; D. Davidson, England); urban forests and greenery (G. Potayev and V. Mazing, USSR; H. Zukop, West Berlin; D. Dwyer, United States). However, as I have tried to show in my own report, a more general concept is needed.

It is my deep conviction that the connection between the processes of the production of material goods and the reproduction of man himself and of his physical strength and spiritual potential is of essential methodological significance. Therefore, by urban ecology I mean a territorially localized social organization, arising in the course of interaction between the two types of production: the production of objects and the production of people. From my point of view, urban ecology is a socially necessary form of their integration.

A considerable difference exists between them. Contemporary material and spiritual production is a transcending system. Therefore incentives for developing the urban organism go far beyond the range of its territorial boundaries. As far as the socioreproductive cycle (labor, mode of life, rest) is concerned, it is always localized in space and time. Therefore, the urban ecological organization is formed in the course of the interaction between sectorial and local forces.

Here we approach a very important point. From my point of view, the main incentive for developing an urban socioecological structure is the contradiction between the volume and nature of industrial and social requirements of man on the one hand, and man's individual reproduction capabilities on the other. The city amplifies the individual's socioreproductive potentials. As O. Pchelintsev observed in his report, the city is a "machine" for developing man's productive forces and the nucleus of a system for labor resources reproduction. Naturally, this "machine" is effective only when all that is urban,

including people's immediate habitat, becomes the focus of the most developed conditions of human activity. Thus, the above-mentioned contradiction is resolved by concentrating the universal within the local and the macro within the micro.

In summation, it is possible to say that urban social ecology is a socially necessary form of organization of the immediate habitat in which the individuals (within the framework of the norms of life processes) obtain the capability to maximize their living resources and to meet social requirements. The norm of the vital process means the stable ability of the individual to systematically regenerate his physical and spiritual potential without excessive stress. Let me emphasize that the concept of norms (the norm of the urbanization process, for example) is of major methodological significance. In an urban environment the standard life process acts as its stereotype. Like the material production process, the process of social reproduction of individuals also has its own structure, a sequence of phases, their temporal length and spatial localization. The life resource of a social individual is the sum total of means at his disposal needed to maintain the standard life process.

The city-dweller constantly expends intellectual, emotional and physical energy, and consequently should constantly replenish his reserves. Marx noted that "the formation of a reserve independent of any historical forms of society is the natural condition of human life" (2).

The role of primary ecostructures can be understood only through a multidisciplinary approach. From the positions of philosophy, a primary ecostructure is a method by means of which the bipolarity of human existence (micro and macro) is achieved. Assimilating the universal within his single and individual life, the city-dweller thereby adapts himself to the surrounding social world. From the viewpoint of political economy, the primary ecostructure is a link in the organization of the process of complex manpower reproduction. From a sociological point of view, this structure is an organizational form of the life process by which the individual adapts to urban life and transforms it in correspondence with his needs. The primary ecostructure is a kind of workshop for the reproductive process. Psychologically, this structure serves as a support for the level of comfort of ordinary human activity and for ensuring an optimal correlation of "involvement" in life and isolation from it, during which the socioreproductive process is most effective. In a sociocultural aspect the structure under consideration is an individualized world of culture, created by the city-dweller in correspondence with his needs and value orientations. Interacting at home and at work, in the process of rest and education, the individual gradually creates a certain cultural space for his life activity.

Unquestionably, this space includes suburban recreation areas. However, as Soviet scientists A. Melluma and R. Rungule pointed out in their studies, the behavior of people in these areas varies: some, oriented towards "the benefits of civilization", seek a comfortable nature and entertainment facilities; others seek quiet and a natural environment. In nature man tries to compensate for the shortcomings of the urban environment, its monotony, imposed

rhythm, etc. In constructing new cities, especially in pioneering development areas, another problem arises: organizing primary ecostructures, "civilization's armor", in B. Prokhorov's expression, i.e. an integral system of human life support. While singling out different functions of the ecostructure, let us emphasize that the main point is their integration. Let us recall that the term "ecology" originates from the Greek word "oikos", a dwelling. A dwelling where the most varied inhabitants and the environment form an integrated entity.

Another problem related to the ecopolis is the role of the city-dwellers themselves in the "ecologizing" of the urban environment. Should the ecological urban environment be offered to urban dwellers, like a "turnkey" apartment, or should it be created by them? What role do we personally play in the interrelationships between the city and nature: are we only intruders in a theoretically organized system of interactions or else are we its main creators? Finally, how should we look at our own "disorganized" actions: with irony, as the ultimate vanity, since they have a habit of exceeding the predetermined theoretical framework, or else seriously, since the totality of these actions is also a socioecological process?

I have already had the occasion to write about this (18) and today I am more convinced than ever that the social (in the broadest possible meaning of the term) activeness of the population is as much an essential factor in forming the urban organism, as are the activities of enterprises, service institutions and others. In a survey, more than half of Leningrad's adult population expressed itself in favor of using population funds and personally participating in the solution of urgent ecological problems. Such were the results of a study made by A. Baranov and V. Visharenko. In Krasnoyarsk, Odessa and Minsk Ye. Rozenblyum noted that the residents were actively involved in a multi-step process of discussing draft proposals on improving the urban environment. Unlike the accepted system everyone was able to become acquainted with the design process, which forced the designers to carefully consider all aspects of their professional activities. The more actively the population is involved, the more rapidly projects are implemented, the more economical they are and the more consistent they are with the actual social and ecological situations. In a special study prepared by V. Glazychev and the author of this article for the Suzdal meeting, it was noted that more than 50% of the surveyed experts deemed it expedient to involve public opinion already in the stage of formulating the concept of the project, as well as in all subsequent stages, in particular, several years after its implementation, in order to determine the actual extent of positive changes. This is no longer a simple, one-time participation, but concern for the future.

Finally, yet another related problem: the future of interdisciplinary interrelationships. In recent years scientists have cooled somewhat towards discussions about "integration", and some Western specialists have even declared that they found themselves unable to achieve scientific integration in ecological research, since only administrators, not scientists, were interested in it.

In my opinion, this is really not so. Administrators are interested in balanced decisions, in itself the process of interaction of the sciences is

of little interest to them. Scientists really do not object to intercourse between the sciences, but to the loss of their professional autonomy and professional face, to the transformation of knowledge gained by their labor into a prestigious decoration of the decision made, or to a reduction of interdisciplinary dialog up to the level of [obydennogo] language and "common sense." Therefore, an increase in the interaction between scientists themselves, as well as between themselves and decision makers and also the general public, remains an urgent research problem.

A profound change in the organization of designing and planning activities occurs under the influence of ecological goals. Urban policy, observed A. Yershov (USSR), is the sum total of design-planning, urban construction and social-organizing activity, characterized by the intensive fusing of scientific, design and management processes. Yu. Vanagas (USSR) pointed out that a system of inverse relations in the "design--implementation--use" chain is beginning to take shape. This suggests qualitative changes in design organization. The cooperation between city builders and the population is a necessary link in this chain.

To sum it up: so far the ecopolis is not a concept, but an objective which paraphrases the task of optimizing the interaction between the city and nature. If we consider the meaning of this term, then a "polis" can no longer exist (history does not repeat itself). Nor would there be cities, in the sense which we intuitively invest in this word. And "eco", as we tried to show, also becomes different.

The achievement of absolute harmony between the city and nature is a myth! Man will organize, but also violate it, since he uses the material and forces of nature for his own purposes. Developing practical production and cognitive activity inevitably engenders new requirements, and consequently, also new methods for its ecologizing. In the 1920s it seemed that it would suffice to remove the fences; in the 80s it is a question of the essential restructuring of the entire settlement system.

The only thing which remains unchanged while man exists is his preoccupation with his interactions with nature. In this sense, the ecopolis is not simply a technical project, but a socioeconomic alternative to the unregulated, i.e. the most typical, manifestation of capitalist urbanization.

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SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE GENERAL PLAN OF SETTLEMENT IN THE TERRITORY OF THE USSR
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[Article by F. M. Listengurt, I. A. Portyanskiy and G. S. Yusin. The authors are associates at the State Civil Constructive Administration Central Scientific Research and Design Institute. Feliks Mikhaylovich Listengurt is doctor of geographic sciences and head of the settlement sector. He is the author of the monograph "Sistema Rasseleniya v SSSR. Voprosy Kompleksnogo Planirovaniya" [The Settling System in the USSR. Problems of Comprehensive Planning] (1978, co-authored). Igor' Andreyevich Portyanskiy is candidate of geographic sciences, senior scientific associate and specialist in socio-economic forecasting and modelling urban development and settlement systems. Georgiy Semenovich Yusin is architectural candidate specializing in the planning and social problems of regional settling. This is their first publication in our journal]

[Text] The first formulation of a general settlement plan for USSR territory was undertaken more than 10 years ago. The first such scheme was drafted by the Central Scientific Research and Design Urban Construction Institute (TsNIIP) of the State Civil Construction Administration in 1972-1975. Since that time it has undergone several expert evaluations and coordinations on the level of different ministries and departments, including the USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosstroy. It was amended as necessary and its collective of authors was expanded on an interdepartmental basis. This yielded positive results: in 1982 the general settlement plan was accepted as the starting preplanning document in the elaboration of the main trends of the country's long range economic and social development.

A general settlement plan for a new time period was drafted in 1982-1983. This was an important step in integrating systemic views on settlement, covered by independently developed concepts: a unified settlement plan (2), group settlement plans (3), territorial settlement plans (4) and a framework for settlement and territorial organization of the national economy (5). Furthermore, the general settlement plan summed up the practice acquired in USSR regional planning (6). This made it possible to combine the efforts of scientific research organizations of the USSR Gosstroy State Civil Construction Administration, USSR Gosplan, USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR Ministry of Higher and

Specialized Secondary Education, All-Union Agricultural Academy imeni Lenin, and RFSSR Gosplan. The general settlement plan on USSR territory, which was completed in 1983, was approved by the USSR Gosplan and its materials were used in drafting the Basic Directions in the Long Range Economic and Social Development of the Country. The social, economic, urban construction and ecological aspects of the general settlement plan stipulate the following:

Organizing a unified urban and rural settlement of USSR territory, inter-related with the country's unified national economic complex;

Converting from autonomous to more closely interrelated development of cities, towns and rural settlements with a settlement system organized on the basis of territorial-production complexes and large urban agglomerations;

Limiting the growth of large cities, above all those in the European part of the country, developing medium sized and small towns in labor-surplus areas of central Asia and Kazakhstan, and a network of urban and rural settlements in Siberia and the Far East;

Comprehensively developing settlements and perfecting their planning, building, architecture, layout and landscaping with a view to creating favorable conditions for population's working, living and recreation conditions, upgrading public production efficiency and ensuring environmental protection;

Reorganizing the rural settlements with a view to developing a modern agrorindustrial complex and retaining the active population in the countryside, developing rural settlements with primarily garden-type housing with industrial outbuildings, and radically improving communal and cultural consumer rural population services.

The social objective of the general plan is to use settlement and urban construction methods for the purpose of upgrading material and cultural standards and the all-round development of the individual; the economic objective of such steps is to promote intensification and upgrade the efficiency of the development and location of production facilities; the ecological purpose of these steps is to ensure the protection of the environment and to create favorable ecological and sanitary-hygienic conditions for the population's activities.

Each of these basis targets was developed extensively. Thus, the social target has seven subtargets. Without undertaking their detailed description, let us note that the sum total of social targets and subtargets of the general settlement plan is subordinate to the further enhancement and satisfaction of the material needs and spiritual requirements of the Soviet people. Some of the means used to enhance the social homogeneity of Soviet society include intensifying the role of the unified urban and rural settlement system. This will mean accessibility to a variety of jobs, cultural and consumer

The steady enhancement of the level of "involvement" of the country's population within the single system of urban and rural settlement on all basic levels will be of essential significance: the macro level will apply to the country as a whole; the meso level to republics and oblasts (krays); the micro level will include zones of influence of the large cities, administrative rayons and rural interfarm systems. The unified urban and rural settlement system and its structural components will create objective prerequisites for the social equalization of living conditions in different urban and rural settlements. Quite relevant in this connection is the view that "social equality can be achieved not in terms of individual conditions but the sum total of their qualitative characteristics. This presumes, first of all, making cities and villages accessible to the entire population and creating opportunities for the population's use of the various features of towns and villages, thus ensuring the reciprocal complementing of such characteristics. Secondly, advantages of working and living in a city should be compensated with the advantages of rural life and vice versa" (7, p 99).

It would be expedient to compare some conceptual stipulations in the 1975 and 1983 documents.

The 1975 general settlement plan was based on the principle of the dynamic complementary nature in the development of qualitatively new targets of urban construction control: a trilevel settlement systems. Their organization was contemplated within areas of stable spatial-temporal accessibility, subordinate to daily and weekly activity cycles. Such zones are developed around cities which become centers of different sizes and reciprocally supplement each other. In the not so distant future they could cover the country's entire permanently settled territory. The varying economic and sociocultural potential of such centers (large, big, medium-sized or small) and differences in the economic development of their zones of influence would lead us to hope only for a relative equalization of socioeconomic and ecological-urban construction "habitat" offered by such systems. Therefore, the main task was the reorganization of the entire settlement structure in the USSR (8).

The 1983 general settlement plan is aimed, above all, at perfecting the existing population settlement, although the question of its reorganization remains until the necessary conditions for it have matured. This approach called for combining two principles in the general settlement plan: a hierarchic subordination system and a dynamic supplement. The former reflects the natural historical course of population settlement and is related to the implementation of the idea of a uniform as well as territorial settlement systems. In both cases, the settlement system and its structural components are within the framework of the basic administrative-territorial units and socioeconomic and planning zones.

The social significance of the organization of a systemic settlement based on the principle of hierarchical subordination is quite substantial. It introduces a settlement structure set from top to bottom within the framework of the actual political, economic and administrative management of the country, thus ensuring unity among functioning settlement structures interrelated with the territorial production and infrastructural systems (9).

The principle of the dynamic supplement, as included in the 1983 general settlement plan, is directly related to the target process of settlement reorganization and helps to implement the concept of group settlement systems (above all in its large city variant) and, to a certain extent, the concept of a support settlement framework.

The target reorganization of the settlement system requires special mechanisms, taking into consideration the programmatic aspects of socio-economic planning. Obviously, this process will remain subject to investment restrictions for the foreseeable future and can be applied only on a selective basis, adapted to the projects included in target program planning. Territorially, this applies to target territorial-production complexes (10) and large agglomerations which urgently need a planned-controlled way of development because of social and ecological restrictions.

Interacting with target territorial-production complexes, the group settlement systems lay the social and urban construction infrastructure for the development of new areas, preventing the unjustified splintering of newly created settlement networks and developing a favorable environment not only for the strictly industrial but also the scientific and technical potential of areas under development.

The organization of group systems of settlements based on large urban agglomerations may be successful only if the latter are given official status. The extreme necessity of this step is dictated by the need to develop a new systemic quality for such agglomerations. A passive attitude toward agglomerations, merely noting of the fact of their existence in a limited number of urban construction plans and a certain reliance on their self-regulating would be wrong. Unfortunately, such views may be found both among the proponents and opponents of this national economic and urban construction projects (11).

Naturally, the estimated period for the implementation for the general settlement plan is insufficient for the reorganization of all agglomerations throughout the country into planned-regulated settlement systems. Their actual number, determined according to the method applied by the Urban Construction TsNIIP, increased from 68 in 1970 to 100 in 1979. Another 93 potential agglomerations exist. The basic socioeconomic and planning-ecological parameters of all 193 agglomerations have been studied in sufficient detail leading, in particular, to the conclusion that the contradictions between their socioeconomic and planning-ecological functioning were growing.

The materials of the USSR Gosplan Council for the Study of Production Forces, which drafted the general plan for their location, confirm the existence of a quantitatively measurable agglomeration effect inherent in large and very large cities and their suburban areas (4). The TsNIIP established the ecological limitations of the various parts of the country and areas of higher production and population concentrations (12). It was determined, among others, that the state of the environment was close to normal in 126 agglomerations; more or less tangible negative deviations from standards were noted in 33, and excessive deviations from standards were noted in another 34.

The elimination of contradictions between the economic efficiency of the agglomerations and their economic shortcomings is of great social importance, for about 60 percent of the total and nearly 70 percent of the urban population of the USSR is concentrated within actual and potential agglomerations. In terms of resource limitations, the program target measures would convert agglomerations to a systematic development so far applicable to the large and largest cities alone. The question of intensifying the planning influence on the development of the overwhelming majority of agglomerations can be successfully resolved within the framework of zonal planning.

The relatively limited possibility of developing group settlement systems as program-target projects does not provide grounds for rejecting the currently quite popular view formulated in the 1970s, according to which such systems are among the most promising forms of settlement with a high socioeconomic and cultural potential. The question of the content and quantitative indicators of this concept in terms of cities as centers of potential group settlement systems was developed in sufficient detail in the general settlement plan.

The sociocultural potential is interpreted as a combined indicator of the extent of conditions created on the territory of a city (agglomeration) and possibilities of sociocultural development of the individual. Since the material foundations for such development are found above all in the social infrastructure of projects concentrated within a given territory, the indicator used in measuring the sociocultural potential is related to the quantitative and qualitative assessment of institutions performing sociocultural services and represented by higher educational institutions, academic institutes, theaters and museums. The quantitative assessments of the level of the sociocultural potential are based on indicators characterizing the degree of uniqueness of the respective projects and the internal complexity and variety of activities. The sociocultural potential indicators were estimated with the help of computers, for 273 cities with a population of more than 100,000 (based on the 1979 population census). This created a base for determining the state of preparedness of the large cities in the country to implement their central functions within the settlement systems.

The level of required sociocultural potential needed if the large cities are to carry out their function as regional centers was established. The results of such computations are given below (See table 1).

The implementation of the systemic settlement principles not only broadens the territorial boundaries of an individual settlement: it also widens the social boundaries of the daily habitat, which is consistent with the exercise of the most important constitutional rights of the Soviet people.

As we know, the USSR Constitution does not merely codify the right to work: it grants the right to a choice of profession and type of employment or occupation consistent with vocation, ability, professional training and education and social requirements. The right to rest is guaranteed with the annual paid leave, weekly days of rest and the creation of favorable opportunities for relaxation at home.

TABLE 1--Development of the Sociocultural Potential of Cities
as Centers on the Regional Level in 1979

Macrozone	Total Number of Regional Centers Planned	Level of Development of the Sociocultural Potential of Regional Centers		
		Adequate	Achieved Through Extensive Development	Requiring Intensive Priority Development
USSR	51	19	10	22
including:				
European Part	25	14	6	5
Siberia and Far East	18	1	3	14
Central Asia and Kazakhstan	8	4	1	3

The pendular mobility of the population is already being interpreted as being one of the most important features of the way of life (14). In its various manifestations, it is the binding element of the unified urban and rural settlement system on all levels (See Table II).

On the macrolevel, pendular mobility is manifested as information-business and sociocultural trips. The type of relations on the mesolevel is greatly similar. On the microlevel, as in a number of mesolevel systems, work, cultural-consumer and recreation relations predominate.

For the first time in history, the unified system of urban and rural settlement in the USSR is becoming a socioeconomic and structural-planning reality and embodies V. I. Lenin's prediction: "At the present time, when electric power can be transmitted over a distance and when transportation technology has developed to such an extent that passengers can be transported at a speed in excess of 200 versts per hour at a lower cost (compared to the past), no technical obstacles whatsoever exist for the treasures of science and art, accumulated in a few centers over the centuries, to remain inaccessible to the entire population dispersed more or less evenly throughout the country" (1, pp 150-151).

The problem of controlling the growth of cities plays an important role in the general settlement plan. It is no secret that it is frequently presented as pitting large against small cities. The sources of such contraposition are usually seen in the system of state regulatory measures aimed at limiting the growth of large cities on the basis of new or expanded industrial construction and preferential development of industry in small and medium-sized cities with the necessary facilities to this effect. One could hardly find a more or less knowledgeable specialist in the area of regional economics, sociology, social and economic geography, ecology, environmental protection and, finally, a professional field such as urban construction, who would be able to formulate non-controversial arguments in opposition to said restrictions or preferences.

TABLE II--Unified USSR Urban and Rural Settlement Systems

System Level	Base for System Formation		
	Administrative-Territorial Division	Socioeconomic and Plan Zoning	Target Territorial Programs
1. Macrolevel	The entire country	Inter-republic scale region	
2a.	Republic	Republic and inter-republic scale region	Largest possible territorial-production complexes, of the West Siberian and Kansk-Achinsk type
Mesolevel			
2b.	Oblast (Kray), ASSR	Intra-oblast (intra-rayon) scale region	Territorial-production complexes of the Sayansk, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz and South Achinsk type; urban agglomerations based on large cities
3. Microlevel	Primary administrative rayon, village Soviet	Territory covered by a group of farms or an individual farm	

In the general settlement plan, the interpretation of the actual features of urban development are related to the ratio between extensive and intensive factors of national economic growth and essential regional differences based on a large number of sociodemographic, ethnic, natural and other parameters.

For quite some time extensive trends predominated in the urbanization process in the USSR. They reflected above all the basic feature of the urban development base on which Soviet cities took shape during the period of socialist construction and the initial stage of the developed socialist society--the availability of huge labor resources in the agrarian economic sector. In the interval between the 1926 and 1979 all-union population censuses, migrants from the countryside accounted for 93.1 million or 70 percent of the overall increase in the urban population, which totalled 133 million people (15).

Most significant population increases (13.8 million people) occurred during the 10th Five-Year Plan. These were essentially people in the active age group (20-59), whereas in the 11th Five-Year Plan they totalled 7.7 million and will be negative in the 12th (-1 million) (16).

Under the Soviet system the number of cities increased by 1,200, totalling more than 2,000 today. The basic urban unit, which includes nearly 4,000 urban type settlements, was virtually built from scratch.

By the end of the 1970s, urbanization in the USSR has assumed quite clearly the nature of a system of large cities. The large cities with a population in excess of 100,000 accounted for 37 percent of the country's population in 1979, compared to 1926, when the entire urban population of the Soviet Union accounted for 18 percent of the total. Since then the share of the population inhabiting the largest cities of more than 500,000 people nearly doubled (from 16 to 31 percent).

The reasons for the high population concentration in many cities lie in one of the basic laws of the sectorial organization of production forces: production concentration. The scale of industrial concentration throughout the country, including the large cities, substantially outstripped similar scales in developed capitalist countries, including the United States (17). As a result, the USSR was able to resolve a most important social problem: attaining full employment of the active population. This created a radical difference between socialist urbanization and so-called false urbanization (referring to developing countries) and the urbanization characteristic of developed capitalist countries, which is paralleled by the crisis of large cities and mass employment.

The development of large cities rests on socioethnic foundations caused by the multinational nature of the Soviet state. The development of a widespread network of capitals of national states and national autonomous areas objectively broadened the range of "capital"-type cities. The same type of cities are centers of oblasts and krais, as necessary elements of territorial-administrative divisions of the huge territory of the Soviet state. Naturally, in both cases, such centers have an adequate potential for active growth beyond the 100,000 population limit.

The social environment of the large cities is characterized by the number of obvious advantages of comprehensive production and non-production activities. However, we must not forget the many shortcomings of the large cities, particularly those of a planning-ecological nature.

Obviously, the long term effect of factors which contribute to the accelerated growth of large cities was the cause of a certain conflict between the objectives of society relative to limiting the growth of large cities and the real prerequisites for achieving such objectives during a specific historical stage. Essentially, this contradiction arose as a result of the disparity between sectorial and territorial management methods (18, 19).

The beginning of the 1980s was marked by the increased importance of intensive national economic development factors. The urbanization process was intensified as well. The current demographic situation requires a more active labor conserving policy for both town and country. Furthermore, the priority assigned to the Food Program is a prerequisite for reducing the migration of the rural population to the cities. For the USSR at large, such migration should not exceed 1 percent of the natural annual growth (20).

In the European part of the country, Siberia and the Far East, urbanization must become "settled" within the framework of the natural growth of the urban population. Without lowering the rates of natural growth of the native population of central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Azerbaijan SSR, it is important to intensify the migration from country to town. Such migration must be oriented toward the small towns--the areas where new enterprises related to head production facilities and centers of primary agroindustrial complexes--complexes--will be located. A solution of the problem of population labor surpluses in the southern macrozone, even by partially shifting the latter to the western and eastern macrozones, is unlikely within the foreseeable future because of socioethnic and natural-climatic noncomparability (21).

Requirements concerning the "quality" of labor resources become stricter as a result of intensification. This presumes the skillful utilization of the potential of the large cities, which are drawing numerous small and medium-sized towns and rural settlements within their areas of influence.

D. G. Khodzhaev, a senior USSR Gosplan worker and one of the authors of the unified settlement system and group settlement systems, has justifiably pointed out that "the existing concept of limiting the growth of large and developing small and medium-sized towns, although preserving its significance, is no longer entirely consistent with the contemporary stage of economic development... The practical meaning of the general settlement plan is, above all, the fact that the efficient solution of existing numerous complex and conflicting urban construction problems is possible only on the basis of the purposeful development of a system of settlements rather than the narrow framework of the individual city" (22, pp 55-56).

The general settlement plan is a major tool in the conversion from theoretical concepts to practical solutions of topical problems of development of the country's urban and rural settlements.

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EVERYDAY SERVICES AS TARGETS OF URBAN CONSTRUCTION PLANNING

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[Article by Igor' Vladimirovich Bobkov, architecture candidate and junior scientific associate, Scientific Research Moscow City General Plan Institute. This is his first publication in our journal]

[Text] We know that in addition to such indicators as accessibility of jobs and housing conditions, consumer services are a component of the concept of "urban environment comfort" (1). The data provided by the all-union study "Condition and Basic Trends in the Development of the Way of Life of Soviet People" prove that, as a whole, the population's assessment of the activities of consumer service enterprises and establishments was quite high (2). Nevertheless, both studies indicate that certain disproportions remain between the dynamics of the growth of requirements and the possibility of their satisfaction. In our view, this is due to three objective reasons. First, the steady territorial expansion of cities, as a result of which accessibility to service complexes historically developed in the city centers, becomes harder. It is true that transportation improvements compensate for this shortcoming to a certain extent without, however, totally resolving the problem. Furthermore, new problems arise, such as higher infrastructural costs, worsening of ecological parameters, etc. (3).

The second reason related to the intensiveness of information exchange is the fast popularization of standards of spiritual and material consumption and views on comfortable housing and a certain lifestyle (4, 5). Finally, the third reason is the worsening of contradictions between requirements of maximally condensing the social time of the urban dwellers spent in the nonproduction area and the scattering of consumer service projects throughout the city. The intensification of said trends, even despite significant volumes of construction of consumer service facilities, weakens social relations and intensifies their stochastic and unpredictable nature. The consequences of this are quite undesirable: from a structure-shaping element, the service industry becomes an element of disorganization of the urban environment and the population's way of life. We note not only the unproductive use and waste of funds to meet the social needs of the city but also the unjustified increase in the amount of time spent on procuring daily services.

In the majority of our cities, the development of the service system has reached the stage at which its quantitative growth no longer yields tangible

quality results. The point is that the network of daily services consists of a limited set of projects and, naturally, whenever the question of expanding it arises, the most common solution offered is that of increasing their number. The attention is focused on reducing the radius of accessibility of consumer service enterprises of the same quality. Practical experience has indicated, however, that with a significant variety of services or their steady expansion it is no longer possible to offer all types of services within a network maximally localized in terms of residential areas. The study of domestic and foreign experience in the urban construction organization of service facilities proves that this approach is justifiable only in the case of food stores and household services such as laundry and dry cleaning establishments, shoe repair shops, etc. As to more costly and more durable industrial commodities and a broad variety of services which can maximally take into consideration the requirements of the customer, the possibilities of trade and consumer services located in the city center are higher than in the suburbs. This circumstance is the sociopsychological reason for which people go to the central parts of the city to satisfy their requirements.

This trend of consumer behavior conflicts with the worsened accessibility of the center as the urban territory expands. The following question arises: which one of these two trends is more significant under the conditions of a large city? This is by no means a rhetorical question. Its answer determines the choice of a strategy in the development of the service industry and the socioeconomic effectiveness of capital investments appropriated for the construction of consumer industry facilities.

According to estimates, the growth rates of turnover (per unit of area) at Moscow's central enterprises, such as GUM, TsUM and "Children's World," is between 10 and 30 percent higher than the city's average. In this case, however, it would hardly be accurate to speak of the "magical" attraction of a city center, for similar indicators are characteristic also of the largest general stores located on the periphery of the capital. Obviously, we are dealing here with a direct ratio between capacity and type of enterprise in the noncomestible business and their attractiveness to the population. Hence the conclusion of the most preferable trend in the development of the nonproduction network of trade enterprises, which is the necessary transition to the development of consolidated commercial centers. Yet the use of such an idea, which is so ordinary in terms of urban construction practice, does not appear all that obvious if approached from the positions of the developed urban planning system.

The system used in planning the social development of cities is based on the norms of availability of service establishments per 1,000 population. The sociopolitical sense of such norming is the equal distribution of services on all levels of the territorial organization of the service industry, from the rural settlement to the largest city. At the same time, as we pointed out, in reality such a principle can be observed only when the full variety of services is provided within each element of the urban network. In the majority of cases, this is virtually an unattainable task. To the honor of the supporters of this approach, which was tested as early as the 1950s, let us point out that they did take this shortcoming into consideration: a differentiation

in standards was established among rayons and a maximal closeness to the population within a certain radius of accessibility of projects of urban significance was established (6). And although the problem of daily population services within the rayon was thus resolved relatively well, in terms of the city at large this meant the scattering of consumer projects throughout the entire urban territory. Initially, under the conditions of relatively small urban construction, the quality and ease of services did not suffer. Furthermore, the relatively modest needs of the basic sociodemographic groups were fully satisfied with the available variety of commodities and services offered by the individual enterprises.

The situation began to change starting with the first half of the 1960s. A contributory factor was the significant territorial expansion of the city and the increased well-being of the working people. However, the standardized approach did not take into consideration the improved qualitative characteristics of consumer establishments; furthermore, elements of formalism were introduced in the process of urban construction layout. Refusal to deviate from standards became a self-seeking purpose, behind which, in frequent cases, one could see the unwillingness of architects to deal with the effectiveness of the projects and service facilities they designed.

The organization of the social infrastructure becomes part of urban construction planning. Consequently, planners should have certain rights in terms of coordinating it with the dynamics of population requirements. This requires, above all, a comprehensive assessment of the efficiency with which the network of service facilities is established. This is no simple matter. It requires the combined efforts of sociologists, architects and specialists in the operation of the respective projects. In turn, this presumes the formulation of a reliable methodical set of tools with the help of which such an assessment could be taken into consideration in planning. So far, urban construction standards are the only such tool. However, they are virtually unrelated to the work indicators of service establishments. As a result, the administrative bodies frequently face the following dilemma: either to observe the legal stipulations, as required by the plans for socioeconomic development, of availability of service enterprises and reduce the profitability indicators of services or achieve a work efficiency, as required by the planning authorities, by holding back the pace of new construction of social facilities. The actual dynamics of changes in the capacities of a number of such networks is determined in the majority of cases precisely by the second approach.

The most characteristic dynamic series are given in Table 1. They clearly show that the growth rates in the number of consumer service enterprises are closely related to changes in the amount of services provided during the preceding period. The increased turnover in this network was essentially due to quality improvements, although according to legal requirements the rate of the quantitative growth should have remained on the level of the 9th Five-Year Plan.

Let us consider the Moscow movie theater network. Most of it (more than 80 percent) was developed in the 1960s; in the subsequent 15 years the rate of movie theater construction declined by a factor of 8. Therefore, it would be more accurate to analyze the dynamics of development of this network on the

basis of the dynamics of changes in attendance rather than the corresponding standard, only about half of which was reached. As to the trade network, so far we can speak of a complete consistency between its development and the growth rates of turnover. However, some stabilization features of sales lead us as of now to consider the usefulness of trying to reach the stipulated norm of availability of trade enterprises. Furthermore, foreign experience in the use of different methods of home deliveries, telephone orders and subscription services make it possible to consider essentially new trends of investment policy in this area (7).

Table 1--Dynamics of Service Sphere Indicators in Moscow From 1966 to 1983
(at the beginning of the year, in % of 1966)*

<u>Service Indicator</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1983</u>
Trade enterprise turnover	138	191	269	278
Including:				
Comestible goods	147	172	235	246
Noncomestible goods	130	209	291	318
Trade area of commercial enterprises	116	126	142	148
Including:				
Comestible goods	119	154	168	184
Noncomestible goods	113	123	129	133
Number of consumer service enterprises	117	129	120	120
Amount of consumer services provided	170	191	252	265
Movie theater capacity	143	153	159	162
Movie attendance	94	69	75	75

* Computed from (10).

The inconsistency between the excessively static urban construction standards and the dynamics of social requirements and technological innovations leads not only to the inefficient expenditure of funds appropriated for social requirements. In order to experiment with the most efficient means of providing services to the population, the consumer service complexes must be consolidated. However, to base the expediency of building such complexes proceeding from the system of indicators of urban construction planning would present great difficulties to operating and design organizations. Furthermore, in demanding that quantitative indicators be reached and considering them as stable parameters of social development, the planning authorities themselves frequently hinder quality improvements in the service industry, for most of the funds are channeled into construction instead of reconstruction or improvements of the already existing network.

It is no longer possible today to do without socioeconomic standards, their fuller consideration in the formulation of consumption dynamics and new technological and organizational developments. It is to this purpose that the structure of the standardized parameters must include either additional qualitative characteristics of the service industry or more generalized essential components which would take into consideration the end social effect of norming. The second method is, in our view, better consistent with the contemporary approach to the distribution of goods and services, according to which the

main attention is focused on the study of budget characteristics. The inclusion of such characteristics among the plan indicators enables us to include in the planning process firm structures of the consumption fund and the necessary time for expecting social results of long-term developments (4). As the comparative analysis shows, they are closely related to the development of the consumption area, reflecting the most significant changes in the people's way of life. Thus, a comparison between the studies of the 1920 and 1980 budgets (8, 9) reveals the following trends: less time spent doing household chores and increased leisure time (Table 2). More time has been gained in meeting the physiological needs of the people as well. Along with a reduction in the socially necessary working time, this is an indicator of an overall improvement in the quality of life.

Table 2--Structure of Time Outlays of Workers and Employees in 1922 and 1980 (hours per work day)

<u>Nature of Time Outlay</u>	<u>Average Outlays Per Person</u>		<u>Budget Time Changes (1922 = 100%)</u>
	<u>1922</u>	<u>1980</u>	
Daily amount of time	24	24	100
Including:			
Working time	8.27	7.88	92
Job-related time	1.73	1.65	92
Household-related time	3.61	2.52	70
Leisure time	2.9	3.17	110
Time for satisfaction of physiological needs	7.36	8.67	118
Other time outlays	0.13	0.11	98

The use of budget features in such economic planning enables us to achieve the most expedient correlation among the various forms of activities. The rational consumer budget (RPB) and the rational time budget (RBV), which are considered base indicators in computing the necessary volume of construction of service enterprises, are linked through standard recomputations with operational planning indicators (network operational parameters). The result is the capacity of service projects which can also be presented in a standard urban construction planning variety, per 1,000 population, as follows:

$$P_k = \frac{a:NT_k}{O_k \Delta T_k V_k}$$

in which P_k is the estimated capacity of service projects of the (k) type; N is the population size; T_k are standard time outlays for a type of service (k) based on RBV; T_k is the time needed for a one-time service of the (k) variety; V_k is the working time of the enterprise; O_k is handling capacity per unit of measurement in the service enterprise of the (k) variety; a is the overload coefficient.

The essential difference between these indicators and the standards currently used is the close link between social and economic indicators. The nature of

this difference may be illustrated with a simple example: according to the current standards, the construction of enterprises for noncomestible trade in a large rayon with a 300,000 population is based on the norm of 100 square meters per 1,000 population (6). This would mean 30,000 square meters of commercial area out of which it is necessary, furthermore, to subtract some capacities of citywide importance in the center of the city (which is exceptionally difficult in designing a local area). Let us assume that the entire amount of resources is provided in a given rayon. In that case, in accordance with the existing nomenclature, it could be divided into networks of built-in or added low-volume stores, five or six large general stores or one single trade center. Since from the standardization viewpoint these three choices are of equal value, any further decision based on a specific situation would be determined by entirely different and frequently not urban construction-related criteria. For example, the requirements of the construction organizations, interested in the maximal simplification of the blueprint, the clients, who try to complete the construction plan as soon as possible, financing conditions, etc., will begin to play an essential role. In this case, lacking clear socioeconomic substantiations for one solution or another, the designer is frequently forced to draft the simplest and easiest to complete blueprints. As a rule, they are based on the extensive utilization of built-in or added networks scattered along road arteries. Under such circumstances, in order to have the total variety of services, the population must waste a significant percentage of its leisure time for repeated shuttles among the individual stores. Subsequently, the increased number of such stores not only does not improve but, conversely, worsens the situation. The operational parameters of the developed network are poorly taken into consideration. This frequently lowers its profitability and hinders technological improvements.

The use of the above formula enables us, at the very beginning of the computation, to establish the admissible time losses, the optimal operational parameters of the network and the potentially possible overloading coefficients. Thus, the probable time outlays for going to noncomestible stores, according to the RBV would average 1 hour weekly per person. The time for a one-time service could be assumed to be within the 50-minute range and the overloading coefficient on a peak Saturday hour would be 2.5. The load per unit of measurement would be 1 hour per 1 square meter of commercial area per hour. Let us compute the result: in a rayon with a 300,000 population the commercial area needed would equal 20,000 square meters, i.e., it would be half the current norm. The advantage, however, is not only in reducing the amount of construction but the fact that in addition to the capacity resources, we regulate operational and budget characteristics, which are the base for subsequent decision-making.

In the reduced formula, if we replace time outlays with data on the rational consumer budget, we can also obtain the parameters of the expected turnover in the consumer industry network. This will enable us to estimate the probable profitability of planned service projects and thus strengthen operational indicators. In this case, the levels of the imbalance between the average turnover indicators, planned for the city, and similar parameters applicable to individual enterprises and establishments may be used as criteria of the efficiency of this solution.

The extended list of socioeconomic indicators offers good possibilities of applying the method of alternative modeling of different strategies in consumer construction, taking into consideration the current tasks of the specific planning period. Furthermore, we must emphasize that perfecting the procedure for computing the indicators of urban social development requires improvements in the existing system used for gathering basic information and developing a system of social monitoring, based on regularly conducted budget studies and economic assessments of consumption dynamics. Unquestionably, this would contribute to upgrading the efficiency of current and long-term planning.

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WHY THE FAILURE TO RESTRAIN THE GROWTH OF LARGE CITIES?

Moscow SSOSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 90-92

[Article by Lev Lyudvikovich Trube, candidate of geographic sciences, docent at the Gorkiy State Pedagogical Institute imeni A. M. Gorkiy. Author of the books "Nashi Goroda" [Our Cities] (1954) and "Naseleniye Goroda Gorkogo" [The Population of Gorkiy City] (1982). This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The negative consequences of the growth of large cities is well known. Special studies of this problem, frequently discussed in the press have been made. However, the question of what prevents its solution remains unanswered. Many researchers avoid it, in general, while others assume positions we deem wrong. Thus, in his interesting and meaningful article, G. L. Yepiskoposov, cites as the main reasons for this situation (he lists as many as 10) "shortcomings in controlling the development of cities, errors made by planning bodies and the ineffectiveness of their influence on city-forming factors" (1). In other words, he emphasizes the key role of subjective means of influencing the existing situation.

In our view, the main reason which hinders restricting and limiting the growth of large cities is objective and based on the existing prevalence of the sectorial principle in the development of the national economy as a whole and of cities in particular. So far, the territorial principle has been unable to oppose it or, rather, to balance it. Such a "foreshortening" is frequently included in the stage of shaping of new territorial-production complexes and industrial centers, i. e., where it may seem that both principles should, above all, operate on a parity basis. An example of this is the "capital" of the Sharypovo KATEK [Kuybyshev Plant for Automotive and Tractor Electric Equipment and Carburetors] and the new petroleum extraction cities, in which the departmental approach in designing and financing construction and exploitation complicate the implementation of social assignments.

In the large cities the sectorial principle is reflected in the construction of new industrial enterprises unrelated to servicing the urban population and urban economy. Thus, during the last Five-Year Plan an actually new plant for the manufacturing of truck axles was built at the Gorkiy Motor Vehicles Plant, under the guise of a machine assembly building (which was even given a number). In the current five-year plan construction involving hundreds of millions of rubles has been carried out. The project is now openly described as a diesel engines plant. It will cover a huge area and will require a substantial influx of manpower.

The main reason in favor of this new production facility was quite substantial: considerable savings of hundreds of millions of rubles. Naturally, had the plant been built outside city limits, the costs would have been substantially higher. Furthermore, the requirements of the city soviet executive committee were taken into consideration at the planning stage and the necessary funds were allocated for the development of general urban projects and resolving the social problems of the motor vehicles collective. The Ministry of Automotive Industry as well promised to consider the city's interests. "However, when the project reached the stage of expert evaluations and approvals, outlays for such purposes were excluded to a significant extent. As a result, the first to be harmed were the interests of the workers at the plant and the population of Avtozavodskiy Rayon, numbering more than 300,000" (2). Under such circumstances, can we speak of shortcomings in controlling the development of cities, errors made by planning authorities and their ineffective influence on urban-forming factors as the reason for the inability to restrain and limit the growth of our cities? We believe not. Practical experience confirms that in this respect so far the planning organs do little.

As to the economic advantages, usually presented as the main argument in discussing the construction of new industrial enterprises in large cities, they frequently can only harm the urban infrastructure. In that same Gorkiy, which is a large industrial center in the country, the development of the service industry is considerably behind that in other cities which are not only of equal size but even substantially smaller. This is confirmed, in particular, by the following data: as a whole, employment of the population in non-production sectors here is almost 3 percent lower than the average for the RSFSR. Availability of movie theaters, restaurants, trade enterprises and public catering facilities and services is between 50 to 80 percent of the norm (3). Furthermore, all such enterprises are distributed extremely unevenly through the city. They saturate the old rayons and are scarce in the new.

Unfortunately, this situation cannot be considered exceptional. Rather, it is typical. The pace of industrial development in many large cities is so high that even the vital needs of urban construction are given second priority. As a result, because of insufficient capital investments, the functioning of the most important urban economic sectors including population services, leaves something to be desired.

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RETAINING SPECIALISTS IN AGRICULTURE

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[Article by Genriyetta Aleksandrovna Pchelintseva, candidate of economic sciences, head of sector, Organization of Labor and Wages in Agriculture Department, USSR State Committee for Labor Scientific Research Labor Institute. Specialist in the field of labor resources in agriculture. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] Ensuring the availability of highly skilled specialists in agricultural production is one of the most important tasks the solution of which greatly determines the successful implementation of the Food Program. At the present time, the need of the countryside for personnel with higher training is by no means fully satisfied. Whereas in 1980 there were 64 VUZ graduates per 1,000 people employed in industrial enterprises, corresponding figures for sovkhozes and kolkhozes were, respectively, 25 and 14 (1). Yet, under the conditions of agricultural production intensification and the extensive application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, it is difficult and, frequently, even impossible to do without a solid stock of knowledge and substantive training, which can be acquired only in a VUZ.

Based on data of economic and sociological studies conducted by the Scientific Research Labor Institute in 1982, we tried to determine some factors influencing keeping highly skilled cadres in agriculture and suggested steps aimed at reducing their turnover.

Studies were made in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia, as well as in the Maritime Kray and in Orenburg Oblast in the RSFSR. Five or six farms were selected in each one of these areas, in which the percentage of managers and specialists with higher agricultural training was the highest in the total number of personnel, and as many farms in which the same indicator was the lowest for the region.¹ This study covered 56 kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The economic and social living conditions on these farms were studied essentially on the basis of annual reports and materials of reports submitted by rayon executive committees. Furthermore, more than 1,000 individuals with higher agricultural training were surveyed, including not only personnel in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes we studied, but also in enterprises and organizations in other sectors and administrations located in the large cities of the same areas.²

Table 1--Farm Description

Показатель (10)	Регионы (1)									
	Группы хозяйств (2)									
	(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)	
	Приморский край		Украинская ССР		Казахская ССР		Узбекская ССР		Туркменская ССР	
	(8) «передо- вые»	(9) «отстаю- щие»	(8) «передо- вые»	(9) «отстаю- щие»	(8) «передо- вые»	(9) «отстаю- щие»	(8) «передо- вые»	(9) «отстаю- щие»	(8) «передо- вые»	(9) «отстаю- щие»
Доля лиц с высшим об- разованием в общей чис- ленности руководителей и специалистов, %	89,3	28,0	26,2	15,2	59,2	48,7	64,2	36,0	29,6	15,5
(11) Валовая продукция в среднем на одного ра- ботника хозяйства, тыс. руб.	4,9	4,5	3,2	3,3	8,5	3,4	3,5	2,6	4,6	3,2
(12) Прибыль в среднем на одного работника, руб.	951	136	116	173	2000	-600	1171	-35	1,26	98
(13) Стоимость основных фон- дов на одного работни- ка, тыс. руб.	7,8	7,7	11,4	10,5	25,6	15,8	3,6	3,2	11,0	9,1
(14) Стоимость производст- венных фондов на одно- го работника, тыс. руб.	0,9	0,6	4,2	3,9	4,6	3,7	0,6	0,5	3,9	2,3
(15) Среднемесячная заработная плата, руб.	217	176	214	192	162	162	185	181	287	169
(16) Отработанные одним ра- ботником, в том числе	251	305	266	270	280	291	276	275	245	287
(17) ИТР, человеко-дни	268	288	285	287	296	296	297	302	340	350
(18) Средний стаж работы ИТР, всего лет	19,9	17,2	14,8	12,0	11,0	14,0	14,1	15,8	19,1	17,8
(19) Средний стаж работы в данном хозяйстве, лет	9,1	8,4	7,6	3,8	4,0	3	10,5	9,2	8,5	6,5

Key:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Region | 13. Average profit per worker, rubles |
| 2. Farm Groups | 14. Value of fixed capital per
worker, thousand rubles |
| 3. Maritime Kray | 15. Value of nonproduction capital
per worker, thousand rubles |
| 4. Ukrainian SSR | 16. Average monthly wage, rubles |
| 5. Kazakh SSR | 17. Man/days per worker, including
engineering and technical
personnel |
| 6. Uzbek SSR | 18. Average seniority of engineering
and technical worker, years |
| 7. Turkmen SSR | 19. Average work seniority in a given
farm, years |
| 8. "Frontranking" | |
| 9. "Lagging" | |
| 10. Indicator | |
| 11. Percentage of individuals
with higher training of the
total number of managers
and specialists, % | |
| 12. Gross output per farm
worker, thousand rubles | |

In addition to the areas we listed, the study included the Latvian SSR. The choice of this republic was not accidental: here the situation could be largely considered model in many respects. In this connection, we tried to make a close study of the Latvian experience in the creation of working and living conditions in rural areas, the development of the social infrastructure, the selection of students for enrollment in the Latvian Agricultural Academy, the organization of student practical training and job assignments of the graduates.

The data in Table 1 show that the social infrastructure is much more developed in the "frontranking" farms which, furthermore, show better economic indicators. This proves, on the one hand, that specialists with higher training have specific requirements concerning living conditions and, on the other, the role which higher-skill workers play in perfecting the organization of the production process.

Table 2--Classification of Answers to the Question "What Do You Consider Unattractive in the Work of an Agricultural Manager or Specialist?", %

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Maritime</u> <u>Kray</u>	<u>Orenburg</u> <u>Oblast</u>	<u>Ukrainian</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Kazakh</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Uzbek</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Turkmen</u> <u>SSR</u>
Length of work day, lack of free days, paid leave at inconvenient times, stressed work	29.9	14.6	40.0	46.5	34.9	29.9
Nervous stress, great responsibility	13.4	22.8	2.2	0.4	34.0	0.4
Heavy load	--	6.3	1.7	--	6.6	5.8
Rudeness on the part of management, inattentiveness, lack of mutual understanding	9.1	8.3	3.9	14.4	--	8.7
Specialists are not valued; their opinion is ignored	6.9	--	5.6	--	6.6	2.1
Unskilled management, bureaucracy and money-grubbing	3.6	14.6	3.9	--	--	--
Excessive supervision by superior bodies and individuals, lack of independence in resolving important problems	11.4	4.2	11.1	12.4	--	0.4
Overloading with secondary matters (paper red tape, looking for spare parts, etc.)	10.2	16.7	9.4	10.0	8.5	12.3
Delays in doing the work, shortcomings in material support, etc.	4.4	2.1	7.8	--	9.4	14.0
Other	11.1	10.4	14.4	16.7	--	11.9

Remark: Dashes indicate lack of answer from respondents

In the "frontranking" farms of the areas covered by the study, the gross output per worker was worth 4,400 rubles, compared with 3,400 rubles in the "lagging" farms. Per capita profit in the first group averaged 940 rubles compared with a 40-ruble loss in the second. The value of productive and nonproductive capital was higher in the "frontranking" kolkhozes and sovkhozes, respectively, by 22.2 and 33.3 percent; average monthly wages here were 18.8 percent higher than in the "lagging" farms, whereas the work load was 2.7 percent lower. All of these advantages play a positive role in retaining the specialists. This is confirmed, in particular, by the fact that the labor seniority of the workers of a given category in the "frontranking" farms covered by the study averaged 8 years (6.3 years in the "lagging" farms).

The survey helped to identify the basic factors which make managers and specialists working in sovkhozes and kolkhozes dissatisfied with their work (Table 2). The respondents relay the unattractiveness of labor in agriculture above all to the excessive length of the working day, the lack of days off, the impossibility of obtaining leave at a convenient time, and the intensive work regimen (average 37.4 percent of the answers). This was followed by destabilizing factors such as the low level of labor organization, "paper red tape" in particular, the need to perform the duties of "procurement workers," etc. (10.6 percent) and high nervous stress and tension (8.7 percent).

Dissatisfaction with the work style of superiors accounted for nearly one-quarter (22.6 percent) of all reasons. Thus, in 8.3 percent of the cases the respondents noted that managers frequently replace efficient orders and a businesslike attitude in relations with subordinates with rudeness and control over the implementation of orders with nagging. On the other hand, excessive petty supervision, deprivation of autonomy (7.8 percent), lack of respect for the work of specialists and underestimating his importance (4.1 percent) were criticized; 2.4 percent of the respondents named "unskilled management," "bureaucratism" and "money-grubbing."

In our view, this situation is largely explained by the fact that agricultural institutes and courses for upgrading skills pay insufficient attention to training people for kolkhoz and sovkhoz management. Many shortcomings remain in the selection and placement of leading cadres as well.

We know that the road of young specialists is particularly difficult at the beginning of their careers. As a whole, answers to the question "What were the difficulties you encountered during the first years after VUZ graduation and your assignment in a kolkhoz or sovkhoz?" showed the same breakdown as those of the previous item. The stressed nature of the work was pointed out by the highest percentage of the respondents. Furthermore, the main difficulties included lack of reciprocal understanding with superiors on problems relative to improving the production process.

In the studies conducted in the Latvian SSR, in answering the same question, in 60 percent of the cases the young specialists noted their lack of practical skills and 30 percent considered expedient the intensified study of progressive farms by university students. The need for a closer tie between training and practical experience was emphasized by 42-69 percent of the respondents. Practical training in production and labor collective management is particularly important. Without it, the young specialists, even though possessing

extensive professional knowledge, refuse to engage in independent work or to manage farms (2). According to our survey, between 51.3 and 61.9 percent of the respondents were unwilling to assume more responsible positions. Experts confirmed this fact. Their average assessment of the organizational activities and ability of young specialists independently to formulate and efficiently to resolve production problems ranged between 3.7 and 3.9 points on a 5-point scale.

Experienced kolkhoz chairmen believe that students who participate in construction detachments as their practical training do not truly become part of the farm's labor system. It would be more expedient to assign one or two students to each brigade. Under these circumstances, the adaptation to the common labor rhythm is faster. The student masters better labor skills and becomes accustomed to discipline. It would make sense to extend the duration of practical production training and to award diplomas after practical training in the first year following VUZ graduation.

Interesting data were obtained in the survey of experts, conducted by the Latvian Agricultural Academy. They assessed the quality of training of the academy's graduates with practical experience ranging from 1 to 10 years, in the following areas: political maturity, professional knowledge and organizational ability. Although, as we pointed out, the situation in that republic is more favorable compared to the areas we studied in a number of respects, the experts were of the unanimous opinion that student training had to be intensified in the areas of labor and production organization, labor collective management and work with people.

Along with the destabilizing factors in the work of agricultural specialists, we also identified its positive and attractive aspects. In their answers, the respondents singled out essentially not specific features but the general aspects of the work of organizers and technologists and, in particular, the possibility of displaying creativity, making independent decisions, communicating with people at work, and the respect of colleagues and comrades (49.8 percent). The share of those attracted by the work from the viewpoint of its importance to the country's national economy was significantly lower (25.4 percent). An even fewer number of respondents noted their satisfaction with their participation in the development of the farm's economy, the scale of the work and their high responsibility (4.3 percent). We have cited average figures here, and although some deviations could be noted among the different areas, as a whole this trend was quite typical (Table 3).

The attitude toward unattractive and attractive labor aspects has definite objective prerequisites which we tried to identify. The length of the working day during seasonal and nonseasonal periods was determined by noting the time spent on various operations. According to the respondents working in agriculture, their working day was 9.2 hours in winter and 12.1 hours in the summer. Furthermore, as a rule, during the stressed periods, this worker category has no days off. According to the respondents, during their days off or holidays they work 3.9 hours in winter and 7.2 hours in the summer. Therefore, their work week totals 59.1 hours in winter and 79.8 hours in summer. In other words, farm managers and specialists total 18.1 hours in winter and 38.8 hours in summer in overtime, which exceeds legal limits by 44 and 94.6 percent respectively. Table 4 shows the breakdown of the working day depending on the job.

Table 3--Breakdown of Answers to the Question, "What Do You Consider Attractive in the Work of the Agricultural Manager and Specialist?", %

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Maritime</u> <u>Kray</u>	<u>Orenburg</u> <u>Oblast</u>	<u>Ukrainian</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Kazakh</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Uzbek</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Turkmen</u> <u>SSR</u>
Opportunity to display creativity and independent decision-making	14.8	18.4	13.5	52.8	38.5	16.2
Importance of the work for national economy	16.6	2.0	18.0	20.6	24.0	46.1
Managing people and communicating with them at work and respect for comrades	30.8	24.6	24.1	20.1	28.8	13.4
Specific nature of the work and the possibility of seeing labor results	13.2	6.1	11.8	--	--	11.2
Participation in farm economic development, implementation of assignments, responsibility, solution of complex problems and scale of work	8.2	24.4	11.2	--	--	--
Love for the land, communicating with nature	1.6	6.1	5.6	--	--	--

Remark: Dashes indicate lack of answers from respondents.

Table 4--Average Annual Length of the Working Day* of Farm Managers and Specialists, Hours

<u>Position</u>	<u>Maritime</u> <u>Kray</u>	<u>Ukrainian</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Kazakh</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Uzbek</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Turkmen</u> <u>SSR</u>	<u>Average</u>
Sovkhoz director, kolkhoz chairman	10.6	12.2	10.5	11.7	11.3	11.2
Relieved deputy kolkhoz chairman		10.2	10.1	11.0	12.1	11.2
Chief agronomist	10.1	10.4	10.2	11.3	9.3	10.2
Chief zootechnician	11.0	10.7	8.0		9.2	9.7
Chief veterinarian	11.5	10.6	10.2	11.0	9.1	10.5
Chief engineer	9.6	9.5	10.0	--	--	9.7
Chief economist	9.2	10.2	9.3	9.5	9.3	9.9
Chief bookkeeper	8.5	9.5	8.0	11.6	--	9.4
Senior economist	8.0	8.7	7.4	7.0	8.4	7.9
Bookkeeper	8.0	8.0	7.0	8.8	8.4	8.2
Zootechnician	8.3	10.0	10.0	8.3	--	9.23
Section manager	9.1		--	11.7	--	10.4
Brigade leader	8.3	10.0	--	9.0	--	9.1
Average	9.7	10.3	9.7	9.6	9.4	9.7

* 6-day work week. Dashes indicate no such positions on surveyed farms.

Let us now consider similar data found in official documents. According to bookkeeping records, the working year of sovkhos ITR [engineering and technical workers] is 276 days in the Maritime Kray, 296 in the Kazakh SSR, 300 in the Uzbek SSR and 345 in the Turkmen SSR. According to annual kolkhoz reports, kolkhoz chairmen worked annually an average of 297 man/days; relieved deputy kolkhoz chairmen (other than chief specialists), 296; chief (senior) specialists (agronomists, zootechnicians, veterinarians, engineers), 290; chief (senior) bookkeepers, 295; and specialists (economists-planning workers, labor norming engineers, including chief and senior), 287 days. According to the law, the annual working time must total 1,730 hours. The working time of farm managers and specialists, even with a 7-hour work day, exceeds this indicator by 232-685 hours, or by 11.7 or 39.6 percent. Furthermore, since, as we know, a farm administration has the right to increase the length of the day (shift) during intensive fieldwork to 10 hours, the duration of the working day significantly exceeds the stipulated norms and that of the working year, as recorded by the respondents, is significantly higher than shown in the records.

A comparison between the time records of respondents working in kolkhozes and sovkhos and information obtained through the same method, provided by graduates of agriculture VUZs but working in urban organizations and enterprises, would show that in the second case the situation is by far more favorable. In this group, the duration of the working day averages 8.2 hours in winter (based on a 5-day work week) and 8.9 hours in summer, and 0.8 and 0.7 hours respectively on days off and holidays. Therefore, the work week is 42.6-45.9 hours. Let us recall that in the members of the first group, the indicators were 59.1 hours in winter and 79.8 hours in summer. The disparity, therefore, is quite substantial. It is precisely this circumstance which hinders the retaining of specialists in agriculture and results in their reassignment in other sectors.

As we know, the total amount of working time for workers in agriculture has been legislatively set in accordance with the seasonal nature of agricultural work. Seasonal above-norm work is compensated, in particular, by granting additional leave (3). Furthermore, work during days off and holidays is considered double time (3). However, as a rule, kolkhoz and sovkhos managers and specialists are not given such compensations. No more than 16.1 percent of those surveyed answered that they were given free time for working during days off and holidays or doing overtime; 11.3 percent of farm managers and specialists were given monetary compensation. No records are kept of the actual time worked during regular working days, days off or holidays. Working time is not divided into "regular" and "overtime." No limits have been set for admissible actual duration of the daily, weekly, monthly or annual amount of time worked.

According to the legislation, the unnormed work day is limited by the size of the working week and must essentially coincide with the amount of normal working time. Individuals whose working day is not normed are relieved from work during the regular free days and holidays as a general rule. The administration does not have the right systematically to ask such personnel to work overtime or demand overtime work (4). However, the law does not prohibit overtime pay (3).

In our view, if the observance of a normal work day is impossible (actually, the limits of the work week are systematically exceeded by farm managers and specialists), compensatory free time or overtime pay are entirely legitimate.

The study of the answers given to the question of possible means of compensating for stressed labor confirms the following: 29.5 percent of managers and specialists favored compensatory time taken during the 2 weeks following the overtime; 19.9 percent asked for a sliding schedule with a strictly limited work week of 41 hours; 19.8 percent called for totaling the amount of overtime and hours worked during days off or holidays, subsequently compensated for with off-season leave; 16.9 percent supported the concept of two-shift work with a strictly limited work day, and 13.9 percent called for double time.

Therefore, this problem can be resolved several ways: a two-shift work day, similar to the system practiced by shift engineers at industrial enterprises; a sliding schedule; totaling the amount of working time and giving the workers time off, including adding such time to their paid leave if so desired. Furthermore, the duration of the working time could be significantly reduced as a result of its more efficient utilization. A comparison between the time breakdowns of a working day in "frontranking" and "lagging" farms indicated that farm managers and specialists in the first group spent more time on their immediate obligations and less on various types of writing orders, planning meetings, traveling, looking for spare parts for agricultural machinery, drafting reports, marketing, etc.

Matters are further complicated by unclear official instructions which are too general and do not provide specific recommendations. A number of obligations are assigned to different specialists, thus occasionally making it quite difficult objectively to determine the contribution of the individual person to the implementation of one assignment or another. Under such circumstances, even most energetic action is not guaranteed deserved recognition. By the same token, carelessness and unconscientiousness could remain unnoticed as well.

It has become urgently necessary to formulate new time norms for the implementation of all specific actions assigned to individual specialists and managers and, on this basis, to draw up a list of official obligations based on the assigned length of working time. In particular, we must distribute the obligations of department personnel among managers, specialists and brigade leaders.

One of the important factors which influences satisfaction with labor is the possibility of taking regular leave. Bookkeeping data show that by no means is this available to all. Thus, in Maritime Kray, only 77.8 percent of the ITR in "frontranking" farms and 56.5 percent in "lagging" farms took their paid leave between 1979 and 1981; the corresponding figures for the Ukrainian SSR were 71.6 and 66.7. Judging by their answers, the respondents were extremely dissatisfied with the time allocated for such leaves. Much more leave is granted during the winter compared to the wishes of the personnel. Conversely, only between 20 and 42 percent of the people were granted leave in the areas studied (other than the Turkmen SSR) between 1979 and 1981. The same indicators for personnel with higher educational training employee in industrial enterprises and management ranged between 63 and 100 percent.

Let us consider the role which social origin and reasons for enrolling in agricultural institutes play in regaining specialists in the countryside. According to our study, 60 percent of all rural specialists come from peasant families. As a rule, people who have become accustomed to a rural way of life since childhood are less oriented toward moving to the city. Social origin is particularly important in the Turkmen SSR, although in the other areas as well the influence of this factor is quite tangible (with the exception of the Maritime Kray, in which the percentage of migrants from the western parts of the country is high).

The most favorable situation develops whenever VUZ graduates return to the villages where they were born or went to school. Individuals with an equal length of labor seniority averaged 11.7 years in farms where they spent their childhood compared to 8 years for people who came from elsewhere (the respective figures for Turkmenia were 9.0 and 2.6 years). On an average for the areas studied, 70.2 percent of the specialists were natives; the respective figures were 84 percent for Turkmenia, 75.5 percent for Kazakhstan, 62.1 percent for Uzbekistan and 59.4 percent for the Ukrainian SSR.

The most frequent answer to the question as to why the respondents chose to enroll in an agricultural institute was the answer "Accustomed to farmwork since childhood" (27.5 percent), followed by "I like the rural way of life" (19.7 percent), "I wanted to work in agriculture" (17.5 percent) and "This is my vocation" (15.8 percent). Ten percent of the respondents were assigned to such studies by their farms. The remaining answers accounted for an insignificant percentage (Table 5).

Table 5--Reasons for Enrolling in an Agricultural Institute, %

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Maritime Kray</u>	<u>Ukrainian SSR</u>	<u>Kazakh SSR</u>	<u>Uzbek SSR</u>	<u>Turkmen SSR</u>
Vocation	11.0	14.6	13.9	32.6	16.6
Wanted to work in the sector	12.4	19.5	20.0	23.7	16.0
Accustomed to farmwork since childhood	19.2	29.5	34.0	11.6	21.2
Likes the rural way of life	26.9	20.0	22.5	18.0	14.8
Assigned by the farm	6.9	8.8	5.6	8.0	19.0
Less competition than other VUZs	3.2	0.8	1.0	4.5	4.3
Easier compared to other VUZs	2.5	2.4	1.0	--	3.4
Other reasons	17.9	4.4	2.0	1.6	4.7

Remark: Dashes indicate lack of answer from respondents.

The fact of remaining in a kolkhoz or sovkhos is directly related to the reasons for enrolling in the corresponding VUZ. Thus, work seniority in the farm (average for the area) among those who consider the chosen profession as their vocation was 10.7 years, compared to 11.7 years among those who had become accustomed to farmwork since childhood. Corresponding figures for labor seniority among those who "like the rural way of life," "like to work in the sector" or were "assigned by their farm" were 10.8, 9.8 and 10.4 years.

As to "accidental" graduates ("less enrollment competition" or "easier studies"), as a rule they worked in the farms between 5 and 7 years. The conclusion based on such data is clear: even greater attention should be paid to the rural population in the enrollment of secondary school graduates in agricultural VUZs, assigning particular priority to those with practical experience in agriculture of no less than 2 years; places should be reserved in the institutes for students coming from farms and areas short of skilled specialists. It would also be expedient to facilitate correspondence institute studies by production frontrankers living in rural areas and individuals with secondary agricultural training working in farms.

Housing and living conditions are among the most unquestionable factors for retaining cadres or their turnover. We already pointed out that in the "frontranking" farms standards in the development of the social infrastructure, i.e., housing, communal and sociocultural services, are significantly better than in "lagging" farms. In specific figures, this means the following: compared with "lagging" kolkhozes and sovkhozes, "frontranking" kolkhozes and sovkhozes offer 9 percent more housing, 26.9 percent more facilities in children's preschool institutions, 45.8 percent more public catering enterprises per worker. The settlements in the "frontranking" farms are more urbanized, with a significantly higher percentage (tens of times) more apartments with bathtubs and centralized water supply.

The study showed that 50 percent of the respondents prefer to live in urban-type settlements and 97.5 percent would like to have housing with centralized gas, water, sewers, heat and hot water. Incidentally, the share of those who considered the possibility of having a house of their own as one of the attractive features of rural life was quite insignificant--no more than 1.9 percent. It was noteworthy that 32.5 percent of those with higher agricultural training working in the city answered the question "Under what circumstances would you like to move to the countryside?" as follows: "If proper working and living conditions are available." These data prove the accuracy of the viewpoint according to which the necessary level of development of the social infrastructure can be achieved by building large residential blocks with the combined funds of enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial complex. According to our computations, 600 billion rubles would be required for the total reorganization of the countryside, involving the building of individual cottages and retaining the small settlements. Three hundred billion rubles would be required to preserve small settlements and build apartment buildings, and 160 billion rubles would be necessary if the population would be concentrated in large residential blocks (of up to 4,000 people) and constructing multistory housing and developing the full complex of the social infrastructure on the level of a medium-sized city. Therefore, the allocations for housing construction stipulated in the Food Program would enable us to complete the reorganization of the countryside by 1996.

More than half of the respondents named lower wages among the main factors triggering dissatisfaction with work, particularly in the first years of work in a kolkhoz or sovkhoz. Indeed, until recently the level of the average monthly wage of ITR in sovkhozes was significantly lower than in a number of industrial sectors. It is true that this gap was narrowed as a result of

salary raises (by an average of 30 percent). However, in terms of hours worked, wages in agricultural remain lower by a factor of 1.6-2.3.

Finally, another circumstance worth noting is training a management reserve. Many shortcomings remain in this area. The lists of promotion candidates are drawn up without substantial knowledge of the possibilities and capabilities of the people. As a result, thus-selected cadres frequently fail to cope with their obligations. The following data confirm the poor work done in training a reserve of specialists. Asked "Have you been included in the promotion reserve?" only 7.1 percent of the respondents answered in the affirmative; 56.6 percent were unable to say anything on the subject and 37.3 percent answered in the negative. On a five-point rating, a career--one of the most significant elements in satisfaction with the work--was rated no higher than 3.6. Certification must become the key link which will enable us to undertake the purposeful organization of the growth of specialists.

Therefore, the following are among the prime problems the solution of which would contribute to retaining highly skilled specialists in agriculture:

(1) the implementation of a uniform intersectorial policy in observing the normal regimen of work and leisure time, compensation for overtime and work during days off and holidays and bonuses; (2) developing the socially necessary standard of social services based on combining the funds of enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial complex within a given territory; (3) formulation and application of time standards for the implementation of the specific duties of farm managers and specialists; formulating on this basis official instructions which would include a clear list of assignments and observing the normal length of the work year; (4) intensifying the training of students for practical activities as kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers. To this effect, it would be expedient to introduce in curriculums subjects such as style and nature of behavior in business relations with subordinates and the organization of one's own working time and that of subordinates (totaling no less than 30 hours of theory and 30 hours of practical games); (5) organizing the production training of agricultural institute students in front-ranking farms (in positions ranging from assistant link leader to assistant chief specialist or director or board chairman).

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FOOTNOTES

1. For the sake of brevity, the first group farms will be described as "frontranking" and the second as "lagging."
2. The method applied in kolkhozes and sovkhoses was that of blanket selection (n = 819). In the cities enterprises employing mostly specialists with higher agricultural training were selected on the basis of expert evaluations. The survey covered all of them (n = 213).

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YOUTH VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION UNDER CONDITIONS OF AGROINDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 103-106

[Article by V. A. Zubkov and R. P. Kutenkov. The authors are associates at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Agroindustrial Complex. Vladimir Aleksandrovich Zubkov is candidate of philosophical sciences, head of the living environment-shaping sector; Rudol'f Petrovich Kutenkov is candidate of technical sciences, head of the mathematical support section. They are the authors of the article "Factors of Agricultural Population Stabilization" published in our journal (No 4, 1983)].

[Text] A planned vocational orientation system is one of the most important factors in keeping young people in the countryside. This was confirmed by a survey which was part of a project of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of the Agroindustrial Complex of drafting a program for retaining cadres in the countryside and stabilizing rural labor collectives.

The study of the results confirms that the majority of young people surveyed (81 percent secondary school students and 54 percent workers aged 17 to 25) were oriented toward a rural way of life. This stipulation, however, is quite unstable, for it is supported neither by economic nor social prerequisites. The young people value the advantages of the rural way of life--fresh air, closeness to nature and an unhurried way of life, but not farmwork itself. Hence the decline in the prestige of agricultural professions: thus, only 12 percent of the surveyed senior-grade students expressed a wish for "purely rural jobs"; the number of girls who wanted a farm job was even lower--7 percent. Particularly unpopular are jobs such as land reclamation worker, machine milker, agronomist, veterinarian and zootechnician. Fourteen percent of the adolescents would like to have urban-type jobs.

Although the contemporary agroindustrial complex in the country needs specialists in 120 different skills, the current system for the vocational guidance and labor training of secondary school students continues to inform the young people about a rather narrow range of professions. The same could be said of the regular schools.* The situation of jobs for girls is particularly adverse:

* In Saratov Oblast, for example, only eight of the 28 subjects offered by the SPTU [Rural Vocational-Technical School] in Saratov are in the area of the agroindustrial complex.

only one of the 358 rural schools in the oblast offered training in construction and three in trade and public catering. As a rule, the others train mechanizers or livestock breeders. That is precisely why 92 percent of the girls were not pleased with their future jobs and 75-80 percent look for city work every year.

The existing cadre training system in rural vocational-technical schools conflicts with development trends of contemporary agroindustrial integration, which requires the accelerated location of processing industry enterprises, artisan industries and production facilities and establishments providing social, cultural, consumer, trade and medical services to the population in the rural areas. This alone would enable us to eliminate disproportions in the job structure for men and women, expand possibilities of the application of female labor, ensure an equal choice of professions for young people compared with the city and increase opportunities for meeting the spiritual requirements of the population and, consequently, considerably reduce rural migration.

Correspondingly, we must systematically perfect the system of cadre training, including on the regional level. In particular, under the conditions of the Povolzhye, with its intensive reclamation work and huge capital investments in the social reorganization of the countryside, directing young people toward jobs such as land reclamation worker, construction worker, fitter-repairman, electrician, poultry farm operator, service industry worker and others not directly related to agricultural production is of tremendous importance. Interestingly enough, 64 percent of 10th grade students would like to be trained in any one of these skills.

Unfortunately, by no means do senior classmen always consciously choose their future skill. They are suitably knowledgeable in the selection of skills which are most widespread in rural areas. This is understandable for, as the study indicated, the student's family, comrades, school, sponsoring farm and mass information media exert the strongest influence on the choice of a profession (Table 1).

Table 1--Factors Determining the Choice of Profession,
% of Overall Number of Respondents

<u>Reason for Interest in Selected Profession</u>	<u>Stage of Selection of Profession by the School Students</u>	
	<u>Awakened Interest</u>	<u>Shaped Interest</u>
Family	52*/64	18/46
Comrades	19/30	12/38
School and farm vocational guidance	10/24	14/77
Mass information media	5/12	8/76

*The numerator is an indication of the factor; the denominator indicates the factor combined with other factors, %.

Most of the surveyed students choose skills which require training in higher or secondary specialized schools. The desire to pursue one's studies in a VUZ or technicum was the highest among children of employees and specialists and

lowest among workers in agricultural jobs. The fact that having relatives in the city had virtually no influence on the plans of the children of either socioprofessional group but was manifested only in the choice of job: an orientation toward strictly urban professions was more clearly manifested among the children of employees and specialists, whereas children of agricultural workers expressed various preferences, the most popular among which were cook, seamstress, driver or sales clerk.

The shaping of career plans of students may be efficiently influenced by changing the means and methods of vocational guidance.

Based on the answers of 10th grade students, the best-liked among the entire set of vocational orientation measures were meetings with members of various professions, trips to production facilities and topic discussions with teachers. Such measures, however, are taken rather rarely and are not always well-organized because of the low level of skills of individuals in charge of such work in the schools. Suffice it to say that a survey of rural school principals in Saratov Oblast revealed that they were familiar, rather generally at that, with the conditions and nature of the work of only three-quarters of all skills practiced in agroindustrial complexes. The schools are directing their graduates to training in rural vocational-technical schools quite insufficiently; they essentially train young people for work immediately after 10th grade graduation.

The mass information media have a decisive influence on the desire for higher or secondary specialized training. It is noteworthy that the percentage of girls who expressed such wishes was nearly 50 percent higher than that of boys. Here as well, however, problems showed up. Most of those surveyed were poorly informed of the professions they had chosen and, as a rule, had overestimated their own possibilities. It turned out that 30 percent of secondary school graduates who were planning to hold jobs in the various economic sectors after their graduation from a VUZ or technicum, had an average diploma grade of less than 3.5.

In the course of our study we were able to trace the level of awareness of the profession chosen by the graduates based on most important vocational guidance factors (Table 2).

The study shows that it is precisely the school and the farm which direct the graduate to the choice of agricultural schools and encourage a firmer conviction as to the accuracy of the choice. However, as the survey indicated, a high percentage of young workers choose their profession themselves. As a whole, they accounted for 41 percent of the total, including 56 percent of mechanizers, 51 percent of repair workshop personnel, 50 percent of agricultural specialists and 48 percent of the teachers and cultural workers.

Consequently, the steps earmarked as part of the reform of general education and professional schools are quite tiny. However, regional specifics must be taken into consideration. In particular, in the Povolzhye, taking into consideration the characteristics of the development of the area, the range of skills studied in the schools should be expanded significantly. It would be equally expedient to open in educational institutes departments for the training of labor teachers and for agricultural VUZs to include the subject of

specializing in education (similar to existing engineering-pedagogical departments). In order to take better into consideration the wishes and requirements of the adolescents themselves, periodical surveys should be made. Our study, for example, determined that the most topical measures affecting the work of school students in Saratov Oblast included improving the work of circles, providing more detailed information on rural professions, equipping the vocational orientation classrooms with training combines and student production brigades with modern equipment and improving their working conditions.

Table 2--Awareness of Professional Choice by Rural School Graduates Depending on Vocational Guidance Factors, % of Total Respondents

<u>Degree of Choice Awareness</u>	Most Important Factors in the Students' Vocational Guidance				
	<u>Overall Choice</u>	<u>Family</u>	<u>School, Sponsoring Farm</u>	<u>Comrades</u>	<u>Mass Information Media</u>
Is confident in the correctness of his choice, believes that he has corresponding ability and is familiar with the conditions and nature of the work in the chosen profession	32	32	36	33	20
Is confident of the correctness of his choice and his abilities but is not fully familiar with the conditions and nature of the work	16	12	16	14	15
Is convinced of the accuracy of his choice but is uncertain as to his abilities	21	16	22	29	31
Is not entirely convinced of the accuracy of his choice but believes he has the necessary abilities	11	15	11	9	7
Is not entirely confident of the accuracy of his choice and does not know whether he has the necessary abilities	17	18	11	10	26
Other answers	3	7	4	5	1

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ALLOCATION OF HOUSEHOLD CHORES IN THE KAZAKH FAMILY
[FROM MATERIALS OF A POLL OF THE INHABITANTS OF CHIMKENT OBLAST]

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 106-109

[Article by Mutan Dzhunusbayevich Dzhunusbayev, candidate of economic sciences, rector of the Chimkent State Culture Institute imeni Al-Farabi, specialist in family sociology. This is his first article in our journal. The article is based on a survey conducted in Chimkent Oblast]

[Text] Sociological publications have convincingly proved that increasing the variety of forms and conditions for the functioning of the contemporary family is the main trend in its development (1). First among the determining way of life factors are the individual-typical traits of the spouses' behavior and their intrafamily relations. It is not external circumstances, given by the social environment, but cultural and spiritual traditions which shape the needs, interests, value orientations and norms of family life, which are playing an increasing role in regulating such relations. "To the extent to which these standards and orientations are manifested as components of individual...behavior, 'emerging' in practice, they turn out to be much more subjectivized, i.e., dependent on the overall standards of the individual and his ideological-political standards, civic and moral maturity and aesthetic tastes" (2, p 34).

Said trend is characteristic not only of the European part of the country but also areas in which traditional types of families remain widespread.

The sociological study we conducted¹ revealed that substantial social changes in the structure, role allocation and value orientations which reflect a common trend of internationalization and equalization of the way of life, are characteristic precisely of urban Kazakh families. We must bear in mind that Chimkent is one of the typical industrial and cultural centers in the republic in which intensive international intercourse takes place, for which reason the percentage of national-heterogeneous marriages included in the survey was substantial (37.5 percent).

This overall trend was clearly manifested in the changed structure of family leadership and the increased share of egalitarian families, where all basic problems are resolved jointly, on the basis of the reciprocal accord and trust between spouses. Concepts relative to the head of the family have experienced substantial changes. Whereas in the past primacy was based on patriarchal tradition (adat) and mandatorily went to the husband or the member of the senior generation, today it depends on practical experience, knowledge,

autonomy and authority of the family member. Characteristically, household chores and the allocation of other obligations are becoming increasingly equal and unregulated by rigid prescriptions. The allocation of household chores in the family in Chimkent, most of which are virtually the same as in Moscow, is of significant interest in this connection (Table 1).

Table 1--Household Chores Assigned to Spouses, %

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Chimkent</u>		<u>Moscow</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
If both spouses are employed, household chores should be divided evenly	40.1	56.8	34.2	64.1
Household chores should be divided between spouses depending on work load, inclination, etc.	22.3	24.4	43.5	22.1
Women must deal with women's affairs and men with men's	31.4	15.5	14.1	7.0
Household chores should be essentially performed by women, employed or not	0.5	0.8	1.7	2.1
Men must earn the money and women stay home and manage the household and the children	2.5	0.8	1.7	2.1
Uncertain	2.0	0.3	1.2	2.5
No answer	1.2	1.4	1.1	1.7

These data show the high level of egalitarian (equal) concepts of spouses regarding family obligations; 62.4 percent of the men and 81.2 percent of the women believe that chores should be divided evenly or on the basis of the job load of the spouses. These figures characterize the predominant aspiration of the spouses to equality in family life.

Let us note a certain difference between men and women in their views on equality and distribution of family obligations. Chimkent women favoring equality in domestic life exceeded the number of men with similar views by 16.7 percent. In Moscow the "gap" was nearly double that figure. In our view, this confirms the preservation of the stereotypes of "male" and "female" types of activity in the mass consciousness. The same circumstance explains the substantial prevalence of men oriented toward traditional family relations, who presume that men should deal with "male" affairs only and women with "female" obligations. This viewpoint is inconsistent with changed historical living conditions of the contemporary family and is not supported by public opinion, for in itself the division of obligations into "male" and "female" is gradually becoming meaningless. Nevertheless, actual family activities do not exclude contradictions and conflicts which break out on the basis of the uneven allocation of obligations. In Moscow, where the traditional rules of family life are less effective, this problem is much more crucial than in southern Kazakhstan. Let us note that, according to the investigation, 15.5 percent of Kazakh women support the traditional division of labor. Yet male diktat in the family is considered today a violation of family morality standards. Nevertheless, approximately 1 percent of the Chimkent families we studied were strictly authoritarian and, paradoxical though this might seem, this suited perfectly the women in these families.

The structure of intrafamily relations is not exhausted by matters of "authority" distribution. The actual breakdown of duties and various types of activities between spouses is the most essential aspect of intrafamily interaction.

The structure of intrafamily interaction has two essential functions: functional and role. The former presumes the study of the economic, educational, recreational and other family functions. Inherent in the traditional type of family relations was the rigid assignment of male and female roles, the distribution of which is the second aspect of intrafamily interaction. Our study indicated that the correlation between the functional and role structure in the contemporary family is characterized by a reduced simplicity and predetermination of interrelationships.

The survey of Chimkent and Moscow families indicated that there were virtually no functions exclusively assigned to men, women or other relatives (Table 2). Furthermore, the noncoincidence in the answers given by men and women proves the lack of stereotype and the "mixed" nature of many types of activities. In Chimkent, for example, about one-half of all men answered that, as a rule, their wives wash the dishes. The figure for the women, however, was 62.7 percent. This disparity is based less on a systematic confusion in the views of the respondents, than on their natural desire to present themselves in a better light. A comparison between the actual distribution of chores and educational functions between spouses confirms that at the present time the rigid assignment of one type of household activity or another on the basis of sex has been virtually eliminated. The sociological study did not reveal men totally uninvolved in household chores. However, the level of their activity was insufficient and women continue to play the leading role in such activities. The structural breakdown of the participation of family members in household functions stipulates the following "strategies": a) women's individual participation; b) men's individual participation; c) joint performance of household chores by the spouses; d) involving the senior generation in household chores; e) even distribution of household chores among all members of the family, including children. The study of empirical data indicates that the first type (work performed by women) predominates in types of household activities such as cooking (women perform this work without the help of their husbands more frequently than men without the help of their wives by a factor of 14.5), dishwashing (tenfold), housecleaning, laundry and mending clothes. Activities such as shopping and paying bills were distributed approximately evenly (26.6 percent women and 22.3 percent men); taking children to kindergarten, nursery or school (women, 18.0 percent and men 14.7 percent); checking homework (women, 6.2 percent and men 5.1 percent); playing and taking walks with children (women 10.2 percent and men 13.1 percent). In some intrafamily activities individual male work predominates. This applies above all to repairing household appliances and furniture (90.4 percent of men do this with no help from their wives) and cultivating the family plot (men 26.9 percent and women 5.3 percent). The breakdown among Moscow families was similar.

At the present time the participation of men in household chores is not of an individual nature in the majority of cases. It consists rather of helping their wives in one type of work or another. Joint performance of household

duties is the leading form of participation of men in family work. Men participate in cooking less frequently by a factor of 5, wash dishes less frequently by a factor of almost 6, clean the apartment less frequently by a factor of almost 9 whenever they perform such chores not by themselves but jointly with their wives.

Table 2--Breakdown of Household Chores in the Family, %

(1) Виды внутрисемейной деятельности	(2) Ответы мужчин					(8) Ответы женщин				
	(3) муж	(4) жена	(5) вместе или по очереди	(6) родите- ли му- жа или жены	(7) дети	(4) жена	(3) муж	(5) вместе или по очереди	(6) родите- ли му- жа или жены	(7) дети
(9) Приготовление пищи	4,56	66,53	21,81	7,10	—	65,88	2,22	20,11	11,5	—
(10) Мытье посуды	5,58	52,33	35,52	3,55	3,04	62,71	1,77	30,23	3,55	1,77
(11) Уборка квартиры	5,07	42,17	48,25	2,03	2,53	52,11	8,01	36,81	2,66	0,44
(12) Стирка белья	1,01	65,56	27,40	5,53	0,50	70,74	0,88	23,52	4,44	0,44
(13) Починка одежды	9,64	70,37	16,21	2,53	—	81,80	5,77	8,88	3,11	0,44
(14) Покупка и оплата сче- тов в сберкассе	22,31	23,81	48,83	5,07	—	26,60	14,60	52,58	6,22	0,01
(15) Ремонт бытовых при- боров	90,38	3,55	4,56	0,51	1,01	4,44	83,22	7,11	4,88	0,44
(16) Сопровождение детей в детсад, ясли, школу	14,71	15,71	31,41	4,56	0,50	16,0	11,10	34,21	4,44	—
(17) Проверка школьных заданий детей	5,07	4,06	15,22	0,51	0,01	6,22	2,22	6,66	0,44	—
(18) Игры, прогулки с деть- ми	13,11	11,11	51,23	2,03	1,01	10,2	7,55	50,60	5,77	—
(19) Работа на приусадеб- ном участке	26,92	2,53	23,81	4,06	1,01	5,33	11,1	27,11	4,44	0,44

Key:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Type of intrafamily activity | 12. Laundry |
| 2. Men's answers | 13. Mending |
| 3. Husband | 14. Shopping and paying bills at the savings bank |
| 4. Wife | 15. Repairs of household appliances |
| 5. Jointly or in turn | 16. Taking children to kindergartens, nurseries or schools |
| 6. Husband's or wife's parents | 17. Checking homework |
| 7. Children | 18. Playing and walking with children |
| 8. Women's answers | 19. Cultivating the family plot |
| 9. Cooking | |
| 10. Dishwashing | |
| 11. Apartment cleaning | |

Remark: The total for some items is less than 100 percent, for the respective questions were answered only by respondent subgroups such as those with children, with family plots, etc.

Characteristically, the leading position in the structure of male types of household activities is care for the children and their upbringing. Concern for the children--the most important factor in the integration of the socialist family--today is the realm of intensive interpenetration between male and female roles.

It would be simplistic to reduce equality between spouses to attaining an absolute "balance" in their family roles and chores. The question is not one of formally equal distribution of nonworking time but of regulating family life on the basis of personal preferences and inclinations. However, the revealed disproportions remain quite substantial and prove the unevenness of the loads and, consequently, existing elements of inequality between men and women in daily life. The standards and ideals of a socialist attitude toward women, which have been established in our country, substantially influence the shaping of egalitarian conditions. Nevertheless, the fact that the standardized prescriptions have been accepted by the mass consciousness does not as yet mean their actual implementation. The sociological study leads to the conclusion that a certain disparity exists between proclaimed concepts and actual behavior. Thus, a comparison between standardized stereotypes of breakdown of intrafamily obligations and the actual implementation of household chores indicates that although 62.4 percent of the men are oriented toward an equal distribution of obligations, this is confirmed to a much lesser degree in their actual behavior. We must point out that a relative disparity between terminal and instrumental values is always inherent in the mass consciousness (3). Nevertheless, there is an unquestionable need for accelerating the development of the family infrastructure and the creation of real conditions for relieving women from inefficient outlays of household work.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The survey was conducted in 1983 within the framework of the all-union study of "The Family as a Factor for the Reproduction of Society's Social Structure" conducted by the family sociology sector USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. A total of 500 families were surveyed in Chimkent on the basis of the probability nonrecurrent selection method. The data are representative for the employed urban population with a 5 percent mean error. The author is grateful to associates of the family sociology sector of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research for the opportunity to use data for the Moscow area for comparison purposes.

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FACTORS OF SPATIAL ORGANIZATION IN REGIONAL PLANNING

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(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 113-116

[Article by Rastam Irfagil'yevich Shayakhmedov, associate at the Astrakhan Branch of the USSR Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry Center for Scientific Organization of Labor and Production Management. Specialist in social planning. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] We know that scientific data-gathering methods are of exceptional importance in each stage of regulating social processes, including in the geographic area (town, region). The topic of this article is one such method: the social certification. Let us emphasize above all that certification problems have been developed on the level of the enterprise and are being intensively developed on the town level. The same, however, cannot be said of regional certification. Nevertheless, the urgent need for comprehensive information concerning the nature of social processes occurring within a certain territory has created the problem of optimal reciprocal complementing of sociological and statistical data relative to the development of one area or another (let us point out that individual approaches to this problem are being formulated quite successfully).

A study of the systemic features of individual urban settlements within a region was conducted by Kazan University in 1970 (1). Based on the degree of development of the production complex of the town and the scale of its participation in the territorial division of labor, the project defined the nature of the integral city and established the basic levels in the development of urban settlements. This project, which dealt with the mathematical-geographic method of studying urban settlements, was primarily based on statistical accountability data.

By the end of the 1970s, scientific personnel at the Tallin Polytechnical Institute, who studied the way of life (2), undertook the study of the behavior of individuals in their environment and pointed out the need to take into consideration the spatial aspect (mapping way-of-life charts). However, problems of information support for optimal designing and planning the way of life under the conditions of a specific area were not studied to any significant extent. Such problems were partially discussed by V. S. Panyukov and V. M. Golovatyuk (3), who worked on such problems in selection with the social certification of a city (a more open system). The works of N. A. Aitov, G. F.

Kutsev and ZhT. Toshchenko convincingly proved that the city is an open system and that its essential features and functions are systemic (4).

One of the important problems is that of using in a social certification cartographic data (which could be equated to information obtained from state statistical documents). Since such information is relatively accessible and highly informative, and since it takes the "spatial factor" maximally into consideration, it can be used in quantitative assessments (ratings) of the status of the individual within the regional settlement system.

Currently the following indicators are used for this purpose: distance to the rayon center, distance to the oblast center, size of the population in the area of residence of the specific individual, population density in the residential area, etc. The value of such indicators is their relative computation simplicity; their shortcoming is that they take into consideration only a few, although the most important, components of the system, regardless of their interconnection and interaction.

Table 1--Matrix of the Distance Among Members of a Territorial Community, Number of Traveled Minutes

<u>Group</u>	<u>Groups</u>	
	<u>Point A Population</u>	<u>Point B Population</u>
Point A population	20 minutes	20 + 15 + 20 = 55 minutes
Point B population	20 + 15 + 20 = 55 minutes	20 minutes

Following is an indicator largely free of said shortcomings. It is a location coefficient computed according to the formula

$$R = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N r_i}{N} \quad (1)$$

in which r_i is the distance between the given members of the territorial community and all others, while N is the population of the given territorial community.

The initial data in computing this indicator on the regional level are the size of the population in each center and the matrix of the distance of traveling between and within settlements in terms of hours. The Monte Carlo method may be used in computing this indicator.

Before computing the indicator, we must be certain that the area is a system, for simple administrative-territorial-unity and a unified management process are insufficient in this case. The systemic features of the area become fully apparent not with any spatial organization but up to a specific threshold.

In order to assess the degree of "system" of the area the coefficient of the population's territorial organization indicator may be used.

This indicator is computed with the help of the following formula:

$$\bar{R} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N \sum_{j=1}^N r_{ij}}{N^2}, \quad (2)$$

in which r_{ij} is the distance between each pair of members of the territorial community in terms of the number of traveling hours, taking into consideration distances within each settlement and among settlements and the category of roads linking the settlements; N is the population's size in a territorial community.

Let us provide an example by computing the indicator $\bar{R}$ on the lowest possible level. Let us assume that a village soviet consists of two settlements, A and B (with respective populations of 1,500 and 500 people), located along a republic-level road at a 15-minute traveling distance from each other. To simplify the computation, we shall consider the average distance within the settlements as equaling 20 minutes. All possible pair combinations may be found in Table 1.

The distance between each pair in the 1,500 X 1,500 square will equal the distance within Settlement A; the distance within Settlement B will be 500 X 500. In the two rectangles 1,500 X 1,500 this distance will equal the sum of the distance within point A, within point B and between them. Hence, for this couple of settlements:

$$\bar{R} = \frac{1500^2 \times 20 + 500^2 \times 20 + 1500 \times 500 \times 2 \times 55}{(1500 + 500)^2} = 33.1. \quad (3)$$

Therefore, this group of settlements could be considered a single settlement, with a distance between each pair of members of the territorial community of approximately 30 minutes, i.e., when $0.5 \leq \bar{R} \leq 1$, prerequisites exist for having a single housing-communal economy (for merging the settlements). Interestingly, as the population in the settlement increases, the indicator $\bar{R}$ remains approximately the same (development of the network of roads and transportation within the settlements).

If the number of settlements is higher than two, the following formula can be used:

$$\bar{R} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^k n_i^2 r_i + \sum_{i=1}^k \sum_{j=1}^k n_i n_j (r_i + r_j + r_{ij})}{\left(\sum_{i=1}^k n_i \right)^2}, \quad (4)$$

in which k is the number of settlements in the territorial community, $r_i(r_j)$ is the distance within point i and the group of points ($\bar{R}$ is lower) and $n_i(n_j)$ is the size of the population of point i .

If the number of settlements exceeds 10 (for example, Ikryaninskiy Rayon, Astrakhan Oblast has five worker settlements and 11 rural soviets), the $\bar{R}$ indicator can be computed analytically. A faster method, however, is the Monte Carlo. In our case, a deck of cards may be used as a model, in which to each settlement will correspond a number of cards proportional to its share in the rayon's population. In order to compute it, let us draw up a table (see Table 2).

Table 2--Initial Data for Computing $\bar{R}$ for Ikryaninskiy Rayon

Consecutive Number	Name of Settlements and Centers of Settlement Groups	Population Size, Thousands	Number of Cards in the Deck
1	Ikryanoye village	5.5	3
2	Ilinka urban-type settlement	4.1	2
3	Krasnyye Barrikady " "	5.9	3
4	Mumra " "	4.7	2
5	Oranzherei " "	5.7	3
6	Trudfront " "	3.5	2
7	Bakhtemir village	2.0	1
8	Zyuzinov "	2.0	1
9	Zhitnoye "	2.0	1
10	Sedlistoye "	2.0	1
11	Fedorovka "	2.0	1
12	Ninovka "	2.0	1
13	Chulpan "	2.0	1
14	Yamnoye "	2.0	1
15	Sergiyevskoye "	2.0	1
16	Vostochnoye "	2.0	1
Total		49.4	25

Let us mix 25 cards and lay out a first random series. Let us record it on the second time, shuffle 15 cards and lay out a second random series which we record, thus obtaining 25 random pairs and let us determine r_{ij} for each pair:

$$\bar{R} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{25} r_{ij}}{25} \quad (5)$$

Let us repeat this procedure four times and compute the average. In our case, it will be roughly 2 hours. An analytical computation would yield the same results.

Therefore, the average distance between each pair of members of the territorial community will be 2 hours. This means that prerequisites for intrarayon pendular migration are insufficient, i.e., that commuting between home and work should not exceed 1.5 hours. Therefore, this rayon is not a system of settlements; in the nearest approximation, it could be broken down into two or more systems or else we should exclude from it a given settlement (or group of settlements) located "at a distance."

On the interrasyon level (town-suburban rayons system) the indicator $\bar{R}$ should not exceed 2 hours. This creates prerequisites for the population of the suburban areas to use (on Sundays) the urban service facilities, and for the urban residents to benefit from the recreation facilities offered by the suburban area.

If $\bar{R} \geq 2$, elements of "neighboring" systems find themselves in this settlement conglomerate and should be eliminated before we undertake the study of the system.

The threshold value of $\bar{R}$ changes according to the systems criterion we adopt. If our criterion is the possibility of creating a single communal economy, the value of $\bar{R}$ should be in the vicinity of 0.5 hours. If the criterion is the possibility of a pendular migration, the value of $\bar{R}$ should not exceed 1.5 hours. If the common area of services and recreation is taken as a criterion, $\bar{R}$ should not exceed 2 hours.

On each level, through the method of consecutive approximations, "adding" or "removing" "peripheral" settlements from the system (area), the research target itself could be singled out more clearly and limited. Such a definition of the "boundaries" of the system would also enable us to determine the situation of every individual within the system. In turn, this will enable us to compare information obtained from the individual with a survey, with his location in the settlement system, which will provide us the necessary information on the interconnection between the subjective and objective aspects of the system's functioning.

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STUDY OF SUBSCRIPTION TO PERIODICALS

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[Article by Vladimir Grigor'yevich Mordkovich, doctor of philosophical sciences, deputy director for the Gorkiy Department, USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research]. Author of a number of monographs on the sociopolitical activeness of the working people, and Irina Yulianovna Romashevskaya, senior economist, oblast Soyuzpechat agency. Neither author has been previously published in our journal]

[Text] Our study was conducted in Gorkiy oblast, on the basis of information from two subscription campaigns, in 1982 and 1983.*

The customers were interested in the social structure of consumers of periodicals, the criteria of the efficiency of Soyuzpechat work and, finally, the type of organization of the process of distribution of periodical publications among the population.

The study indicated that 72 percent of the urban population in Gorkiy Oblast accounts for 77 percent of the total circulation of subscribed periodicals; the rural population accounted for, respectively, 28 and 23 percent. Such ratios assume a different aspect in the case of specific publications, journals above all. Furthermore, members of the intelligentsia and employees, who account for about 20 percent of the oblast's population social structure, account for 51 percent of total subscriptions to periodicals. The guideline indicator of "subscription saturation" proved to be quite informative: in 1983 it was 0.6 for workers, 1.4 for rural residents and 2.5 for employees.

The expectations of the Soyuzpechat personnel related to changes in the prices of periodicals were not justified. It turned out that the method of simple multiplication of the older number of subscribers times the new price of the publications could not be relied upon. However, this was the precise method on which the oblast Soyuzpechat agency based its subscription plan.

In the past, all periodicals, particularly the most popular, had a relatively steady group of subscribers. Each family established for itself a more or

* Information obtained in a survey of 2,500 respondents from two selections (territorial and professional-group), including respondents from four rayons in the oblast sector and several urban-type and rural settlements.

less stable set of publications, based on personal preferences and means and funds allocated for subscriptions. The increased prices of periodicals may have forced some people to drop some of them. As a whole, however, the situation remained steady. A guideline in subscribing was less the material situation of the family than the stable behavioral stereotype which had developed in the past.

In the course of the campaign many of the voluntary press distributors voiced the idea of subscription on credit: 25 percent as a general suggestion and about 70 percent on an individual basis (on their own initiative they stretched payments over 1.5 to 2 months or even for the entire duration of the subscription campaign). Many respondents spoke out in favor of credit, particularly in the case of expensive publications. Thus, some 20 percent of them said that they were forced to reduce their customary subscriptions because of lack of money at subscription time. Apparently, the time of the campaign (August-September) is not the most convenient, for it coincides with expenditures for paid leave and preparations for the winter. Extending the subscription to 15 November is equally ineffective, for the temptations of pre-holiday expenditures prove to be stronger than the offers of public press distributors. Subscriptions on credit could substantially change the situation.

The survey of subscribers and public distributors revealed an adverse situation in terms of subscribing to professional and specialized publications, many of which are unpopular among the targeted groups. Unfortunately, no group subscription is possible for such journals, for workers in specific sectors or brigades, or personnel of a department or laboratory. Obviously, one should think of increasing somewhat departmental subscriptions to precisely such journals.

About 30 percent of the respondents (25 percent of the workers and 50 percent of the members of the intelligentsia and officials) favored group subscriptions. A somewhat higher percentage (37 percent) were against such subscriptions, essentially residents of villages and rayon centers; 34 percent of the respondents had no opinion as to the idea of group subscription. We believe that it is precisely among them that the public distributors of the press should work harder. Such subscriptions are particularly important in the case of expensive publications. It should be encouraged not only among university student groups, secondary school classes and colleagues but neighbors, for example, as well.

The study indicated that, although differing in terms of choice of subscribed publications, different type families (with preschool, secondary school or university-age children, consisting of representatives of three generations) have many "intersecting points." This makes it possible to set up a variety of "press sets." The most typical is a selection consisting of a central and oblast newspaper, one or two youth (children's) publications, a journal for the women in the family and another one to meet the sports interests of the men. The question of the "press set" awaits its detailed study and experimental trial.

The final point we would like to make is the following: the increased price of some publications affected most profoundly students and pensioners. These

categories significantly reduced their subscriptions in 1982 and 1983. It may be worth thinking of making subscriptions easier for young people and the elderly and for families which subscribe to a larger number of publications or applied for the "press set."

Although our study was able to answer some problems, it raised even more. What is clear is that the sociological study of subscription campaigns and means and methods of distribution of periodicals must be continued.

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ON THE LANGUAGE OF SOCIOLOGY AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

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[Article by Irina Anatol'yevna Butenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and junior scientific associate, USSR AN ISI [Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research]. Specializing in the area of linguistic sociology. Author of the article "Rapprochement Between Positivist and Phenomenological Orientation in Linguistic Sociology" published in our journal (No 2, 1982)]

[Text] Despite the great variety of individual living conditions, the social behavior of a person is determined by his contacts with other people. As the main means of communicating, language permeates our daily world, "materializing" everything which, one way or another, is within the realm of human activities. In this sense, language is a universal phenomenon. This article will discuss a more specific problem: the specifics of sociological language which, initially, does not appear different from ordinary language.

The interest of sociologists in linguistic problems has been largely encouraged by the clarification of the fact that most sociological information is verbal. Furthermore, linguistic structures play a very substantial role in theoretical and applied studies of human activities and awareness. "Sociology cannot advance as a science," H. Sacks writes, "as long as language as a social phenomenon is used in the study and interpretation of phenomena in social life while remaining unstudied itself" (1). Not only linguists but sociologists, ethnographers and anthropologists are engaged in the study of the role of language in the West, influenced by neo-Humboldtianism, according to which each national language acts as a self-sufficing force, which determines not only the nature of the perception of phenomena in social reality but the entire course of the thoughts of a person speaking in a given language.

We shall proceed from the obvious fact that the strategy of applied sociological research is built on verbal interaction, be it a survey, interview, test or study of documents. However, in the methods based on the verbal self-reporting by respondents, uniform norms of scientific research assume a profoundly specific coloring: sociological information could turn into a product of the imagination of the researcher should he ignore the linguistic characteristics of the perception and expression of opinions and attitudes. This makes the problem of the language of description and survey particularly crucial. However, methods which enable us to obtain uniform verbal information from

various groups and categories of respondents, who have different perceptions of linguistic elements included in the surveys, and can express their opinion in a variety of ways, are almost totally absent.

So far, sociology has developed neither complete formulations of questions nor universally acceptable rules for the formulation and interpretation of data in various investigations, taking into consideration deviations caused by the inadequate use of linguistic structures. The lack of the possibility of systematically controlling information distortions, which arise under the influence of linguistic factors, characteristic of verbal communications among different social groups, does not as yet allow us to develop optimal formulas fitting one category of respondents or another.

It is common knowledge that any type of applied research must be based on a number of theoretical assumptions and postulates. However, the ability of the respondent to understand the questions and to answer them properly has rarely been the subject of special consideration. As a rule, this ability is considered natural and self-evident, although the grounds for such a view remain unclear. Such premises, which are of a methodological nature, make us critically evaluate the substantiation of a number of works in which the task of establishing the meaning of the respondent's statements is reduced to the use of implicit knowledge, sensations and rules for streamlining experience and ascribing a significance to events and statements which are part of the sociologist's baggage. The respondent is frequently considered merely an "external condition" of a sociological study, as a source of social information which he offers--enthusiastically and sincerely--on demand by the sociologist.

No one finds anything new in the need to take into consideration the sociopsychological processes which occur in the mass consciousness in drafting any type of surveys. In practice, however, this requirement is by no means always fulfilled. One of the reasons for ignoring sociopsycholinguistic factors which may distort the phenomenon under study is the lack of development (within the framework of sociological research methods) of problems of the nature and extent of a verbal distortion of thoughts.

Since all cognitive questions are formulated verbally (and so are their answers), the nature of their formulation also determines the form in which we perceive them. That is why, any completed thought expressed in words should be considered at least in terms of two aspects: reality, which such a thought should reflect, and the people, who should understand it. In the first case, we determine whether or not the thought adequately reflects the objective world; in the second, the consistency between the cognitive image and its actual content.

In the case of documents in which verbal sociological information is collected, the questions (or statements) made in the course of an investigation, test or interview should answer the following conditions: 1) their formulation must be consistent with the research projects, i.e., it must ensure that information is obtained precisely on the feature, condition, and so on, studied, rather than concerning anything else; 2) it must be consistent with the possibilities of a respondent as a source of information. The ability of

questionnaires to meet these requirements is directly dependent on the respondent's "vocabulary": although the latter is of interest to the sociologist essentially as being a kind of averaged representative of one social group or category or another, it is a specific individual who answers the questions. Therefore, both the perception of the question and the formulation of the answer obey certain psychological laws the neglect of which may take the sociologist far from the real situation.

A great number of reasons exist for which an inner state (situation, reason, interest) may be expressed inadequately. The respondent may be unable to answer some questions for failure to understand them or to understand their meaning adequately, or else he may be unable to express his attitude toward the question. He may conceal his attitude deliberately or subconsciously or express something different which may be socially more desirable, acceptable or universally acceptable and stereotyped. The respondent may react to some questions entirely differently from the sociologist. Furthermore, even in a written survey, the respondent is always included in a process of communicating with the researcher and, consciously or subconsciously, will use the language which, in his view, is proper or at least suitable for the occasion. Therefore, the situation which develops in the use of most sociological methods may be described approximately as follows: that answers the question without being equipped for this with means which could have no two interpretations. In order to express his views he must find such means by himself. Even when it is a question of answering a closed question the problem of the meaning invested in the "prompting" of the sociologist and the meaning as interpreted by the respondent and the problem of identity or even similarity of the attitude expressed in the course of the survey and the attitude toward this phenomenon as it occurs in the daily life of the respondent remain open. These aspects of the quality of sociological information, obtained in the course of surveys, have lacked so far any reliable methodological support.

Any method which would include terms such as values, relations and concepts (i.e., words extensively used in daily life as well), may provide distorted information if no caution is exercised in their use in questionnaires. The respondents would understand them either in the sense to which they have become accustomed in daily contacts and which, naturally, may vary among different groups, or else as scientific concepts. Obviously, the sociologists must use words quite common in daily speech and take into consideration the possible existence of a variety of additional shades of meaning in such words, which could substantially change the nature in which the subject of the investigation as a whole is perceived.

It is precisely from their daily language that the respondents draw, as a rule, the categories with which they interpret social phenomena. The sociologist himself is not always able to determine whether or not a word he has used in his survey is used in an ordinary or scientific sense. Therefore, in drafting his questionnaire and interpreting the answers of the respondents, he must determine the precise meanings with which they operate and not confuse the means of ordinary and scientific knowledge.

This most clearly calls for determining a way to adapt the language of surveys to the respondents. In other words, the researcher can never be entirely

confident of the validity of a method based on verbal information unless he is familiar with the laws of the linguistic manifestation of feelings and attitudes in a survey situation.

It is no accident that in recent years methods have been developed involving a minimum linguistic self-expression and that observance of nonlinguistic behavior, motion in space and other methods have been actively developed. However, such methods, which may be quite suitable in psychology, where the number of surveyed people is relatively small, can hardly meet the needs of sociology, which deals with substantially larger groups. The solution to this situation, which presents difficulties to the sociologist, is the elaboration of linguistic problems through applied research, the study of problems of the influence of language on certain respondent groups and to seek means for obtaining information free from the influence of psycho- and sociolinguistic factors.

What linguistic means can be best supplied with one type of audience or another in the study of a problem situation? How to make the best possible use of such means if we consider that information must be obtained from different groups under different circumstances and even with the help of different methods? So far, no simple answers to such questions exist. We shall try to formulate some general views on the adaptation of the language of tests, investigations and interviews to the specific conditions of their application (the individual and the situation) by optimizing linguistic means.

Concern for the clarity of problems and "prompting" must stipulate the simple and single interpretation of words and expressions suggested by the sociologist. The situation of the survey itself, in which an anonymous researcher asks the questions and the respondent spends his own time in answering such questions in detail does not always contribute to the development of a positive attitude toward a survey. That is why one of the means for eliminating a negative attitude toward the survey is the particular preliminary work done to stylize the questions (preferably converted into statements on the opinions of other people with whom the respondent may agree or disagree), in a spirit of friendly informal talk. To this effect, it is desirable to avoid word combinations characteristic of the language used in mass communications media, the terminology of which usually expressed a socially approved view with which the respondent may not always agree, but which, by virtue of certain psychological laws of perception, will be presented as his own opinion. Conversely, means which create the impression of informal contacts (use of some idiomatic elements and grammar typical of informal speech and a vocabulary familiar to the respondent as being the language used by his friends, etc.) can eliminate a sometimes subconscious psychological rejection which appears for a great variety of reasons and entice the respondent to be frank. Whereas in an interview the experienced researcher can evaluate when and to what extent are the answers of the respondent subject to the influence of external conditions or triggered by his psychological condition at the moment, this is virtually impossible to achieve in a survey.

In analyzing the most expedient method for conducting applied research, E. Noel mentions the specific dramatic nature of the survey, which should make a pleasant impression on the respondent, awaken his interest, earn his trust, strengthen the belief of the respondent in his possibilities and prevent him from becoming bored, thus making him answer sincerely and with pleasure (2).

The need to "translate" the research into survey questions, which will enable us indirectly, with several examples, to determine the data of interest to the sociologist without, at the same time, insulting the respondent, is hardly questionable. The study of a number of surveys, however, indicates that questions relative to opinions or attitudes which are by no means always synonymously understood by the respondent, are formulated bluntly. Many researchers tend to proceed merely from intuitive concepts of their validity and rely on the "self-substantiation" criterion. Thus, for example, for some reason some of them believe that "attitude toward learning" is a feature contained in the answer to the question "what is your attitude toward learning?" (see, for example, "Survey of a Student," developed by the USSR AN ISI in 1984). However, to the conscientious researcher, whose objective is the serious study of the problem, this "frontal" approach to the inner world of the respondent is totally unacceptable.

This equally applies to questions involving self-rating. For example, it is hardly expedient to be limited by exclusively closed choices in establishing the degree of information, as was the case with the "Form for Determining the Opinion of Working People on the Organization of Labor," in which the only question on this subject was "Do you know how your enterprise's profit is formed?" (USSR AN ISI, Moscow, 1979). As psychologists have established, it is much easier for the respondent to answer "I do" than admit the opposite.

Considerable difficulties arise also when the questions involve considerations of prestige and ignore the self-esteem of the respondent. It is hardly likely that objective information can be derived from questions such as "Is it characteristic of you to respond to events lively?" or "Is it characteristic of you to neglect personal interest for the sake of the common cause?" (investigation "Sociometric Study of the Individual." USSR AN ISI, Moscow, 1971).

In frequent cases the view of the researcher is imposed on the respondents to a greater or lesser extent. For example, the survey "Muscovites on 'Olympiad-80'" included the question "Which is, in your view, the positive significance of the Olympics?" However, the researcher could impose his own view in a more covert form, by listing his "suggestions" in a closed question according to his own views on their significance. As a rule, the respondents would mark the first choice. Obviously, it would be better for the choices to be given in a random sequence or else for two variants to be provided in which such "suggestions" would either follow the ascending or descending order of the social desirability of the expressed attitude, view, etc.

Sometimes considerable confusion develops simply because the respondents fail to understand the meaning of one word or another but are unwilling to admit it. For example, in a survey conducted in connection with the school reform, in a number of questions on the attitude toward some items of the reform, choices included answers such as "positive" and "negative," or else "I find it difficult to answer." A considerable percentage of the respondents in rural areas, although clearly aware of their attitude toward the subject of the survey (as determined in a subsequent interview) checked "I find it hard to answer," simply because they failed to understand the meaning of the other two answers.

The sociologist who drafts the questionnaires sitting behind his desk may consider the questions impeccable. However, in order to determine the extent to which the questions are consistent with the problem, he must, as is pointed out in any aid on conducting applied sociological research, take a sample survey in the course of which he will determine the extent to which the questions and the "suggestions" have been properly understood. In a number of cases, it would be expedient to present questions and "suggestions" in different sequences to the different subgroups and determine whether or not the respondent interprets the questions in the same way as the researcher, or else invests them with another meaning; in other words, at this stage particular attention should be paid to the mechanism of reciprocal understanding between the researcher and the respondent and the "psychological climate" of the survey: establish the point at which the respondent begins to be tired, bored, etc., so that in conducting a mass survey, to consider the special problems whose purpose is less to obtain specific information than to develop in the respondent a proper mood and the desire to answer sincerely and in detail.

Therefore, the main requirement concerning standard methods from the viewpoint of the sociology of language, is to find and extensively use means of communicating which will ensure not a formal but a friendly contact between the respondent and the sociologist. The possibility of establishing a sincere dialogue is the most important prerequisite for obtaining accurate information.

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EXPANDED FACTORS METHOD

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[Text] Sectorial analysis is extensively used today in a great variety of scientific areas, including sociology. The publication of several extensive monographs which describe its variations and practices in processing empirical data is one of the confirmations of the interest shown in this statistical method (1). However, the possibilities of sectorial analysis are still not used to their fullest extent. The stage of result interpretation is the weak link in this case. Frequently, it is simply omitted and the presentation is reduced to an enumeration of the features included in the factors.

One of the reasons for the difficulties experienced in interpretation is the unjustified limitations imposed in the use of this method. As a rule, in sociological research it is used in factorizing homogeneous features exclusively: practical qualities, satisfaction judgments and value orientations. Furthermore, most researchers would rather choose factors which may be reduced to a "simple structure" through a revolving procedure. This criterion, however, is by no means the only possible or mandatory one. Other rotation criteria exist as well (1). Finally, it would be legitimate, from the purely mathematical viewpoint, to use nonrotating factors as well; essentially, they are frequently interesting matrixes reduced to a simple structure. Their interpretation, however, is more labor-intensive. Briefly, the factor interpretation technology has been insufficiently developed, and this most important stage in research is still considered an "art."

The following method could contribute to the development of said technology. We shall add to the initial selection of factorized indicators features which were previously not included, for they did not directly relate to the researcher's task. As a rule, a large number of them may be found in any sociological study. If the matrixes of the initial factors are retained with such expansion, the newly added features would enable us to clarify the meaning of the initially determined correlations (2).

This method is particularly effective when the researcher, instead of adding random characteristics, is guided by more or less clear hypotheses relative to the meaning of the obtained factors. In this case, the procedure of their "expansion" becomes a sort of experiment: if the hypothesis is correct, the initial factors should encompass (or, conversely, "block") some new variables.

The increasing use of computers offers favorable opportunities for repeated and efficient factorizing of the same key features with different sets of "explanatory" variables. In conducting a dialogue with the computer, the researcher influences the initial factorial matrix, obtains quick result data and, on this basis, corrects his assumptions.

We shall use the expanded factorial matrix method to explain the ratio between productivity and satisfaction of the workers with their job.¹ As previously indicated (3) the latter is found in two factors, one of which describes the direct and the other the inverse ties among the variations of said variables (see Table 1, first and second columns).

The sex and age of the respondents were related to productivity and satisfaction (4). It is obvious that sociodemographic characteristics play a determining role in the correlations of interest to us. Table 1 (columns 3 and 4) shows that the connection between age and the first factor proved to be quite significant: the older the person the greater his satisfaction and his productivity. Consequently, a direct correlation between said variables may be interpreted as the result of parallel and equidirectional influences of age on each of the compared groups of characteristics. However, indirectly age reflects a wide set of features (experience, education, motivation, etc.), for which reason it is difficult to interpret the established links with productivity and satisfaction. The same could be said about sex. In order to obtain more specific and definite conclusions relative to the determining features of the correlations we are interested in, it would be expedient to include more "analytical" and simpler indicators in the factors. In order to eliminate the influence of sex and age variables, we singled out in the general array four subchoices, equally in terms of sex and relatively homogeneous in terms of age (in the initial array the latter ranged between the ages of 17 and 60).

Both previously established factors were retained in the three age-sex subchoices (see Table 1, columns 5-10).² This enabled us to turn to the search for and investigation of more specific hypotheses on the mechanisms of the appearance of said correlations. The initial assumptions were related to the fact that the positive results and "acquisitions" of the person in the course of his work are the major feature in determining the correlation between productivity and satisfaction. Corresponding features characterizing earnings and income, housing conditions, work grade, prospects for upgrading skills (indicators based on worker self-ratings), the complexity of the job (not the indicator of length of professional training), consistency between required and actual skill, performance of managerial functions by the worker and the quality of labor conditions (information provided by foremen) were added to the initial factorial matrixes.

Table 1--Initial Direct (I) and Inverse (II) Ratios Between Productivity and Satisfaction (Extracted From Factorial Matrixes Before Rotation, Main Component Method)

(1)	Весь массив (N = 4003) (2)		Весь массив (N = 4003) (2)		Мужчины 21—25 лет (N = 371) (3)		Женщины 41—45 лет (N = 314) (4)		Мужчины 41—45 лет (N = 267) (5)	
	I (23%)*	II (17%)	I (21%)	II (15%)	I (22%)	II (17%)	I (23%)	II (15%)	I (25%)	II (27%)
(6)										
(7)	0,40	—0,55	0,42	—0,53	0,30	—0,66	0,34	—0,43	0,40	—0,53
(8)	0,48	—0,64	0,50	—0,62	0,34	—0,70	0,45	—0,63	0,62	—0,53
(9)	0,50	—0,56	0,51	—0,52	0,42	—0,58	0,40	—0,62	0,59	—0,48
(10)	0,48	—0,66	0,50	—0,64	0,30	—0,75	0,47	—0,60	0,54	—0,60
(11)	0,54	—0,65	0,56	—0,63	0,33	—0,71	0,47	—0,65	0,60	—0,61
(12)										
(13)	0,50	0,37	0,48	0,39	0,54	0,28	0,55	0,41	0,43	0,50
(14)	0,48	0,37	0,46	0,39	0,60	0,26	0,52	0,41	0,30	0,38
(15)	0,47	0,45	0,46	0,47	0,55	0,29	0,54	0,38	0,45	0,57
(16)	0,50	0,43	0,48	0,46	0,51	0,32	0,57	0,37	0,43	0,48
(17)	0,55	0,14	0,54	0,17	0,52	0,08	0,53	0,05	0,59	0,13
(18)	0,52	0,18	0,51	0,19	0,52	0,12	0,46	0,19	0,64	0,09
(19)	0,50	0,14	0,50	0,13	0,53	0,10	0,55	0,03	0,42	0,14
(20)	0,44	0,12	0,43	0,14	0,37	0,10	0,45	0,04	0,46	0,18
(21)	0,46	0,17	0,44	0,18	0,51	0,19	0,46	0,06	0,50	0,05
(22)	0,45	0,17	0,44	0,18	0,49	0,06	0,44	0,17	0,51	0,20
(23)	0,42	0,13	0,42	0,13	0,42	0,05	0,34	0,19	0,37	0,28
(24) —	—0,47	—0,39	—0,46	—0,42	—0,56	—0,31	—0,49	—0,21	—0,48	—0,44
(25)										
(26)			0,39	—0,19						
(27)			—0,16	—0,15						

Key:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Indicator | 15. Sanitary-hygienic conditions |
| 2. Total array (N = 4003) | 16. Amount of wage |
| 3. Men, 21-25 (N = 371) | 17. Labor norming |
| 4. Women, 41-45 (N = 314) | 18. Self-realization opportunity |
| 5. Men, 41-45 (N = 267) | 19. Labor processing |
| 6. Productivity | 20. Relations with the foreman |
| 7. Fulfillment of output norms | 21. Skill upgrading opportunity |
| 8. Work quality | 22. Opportunity to participate in
production management |
| 9. Discipline | 23. Number of attractive aspects of
the job** |
| 10. Work initiative | 24. Number of unattractive " " " "** |
| 11. "Frontranking-straggling" | 25. Additional features |
| 12. Satisfaction | 26. Age |
| 13. Condition of the equipment | 27. Sex (1 - female; 2 - male) |
| 14. Even work availability | |

* Here and in the remaining columns parentheses indicate the factorial information level.

**** Characteristics based on answers to the question "What do you like and what do you dislike in your present job? Of the 17 items in the list any number of choices could be entered.**

Table 2--Expanded Factors of Direct (I) and Inverse (II) Ratios
Between Productivity and Satisfaction (Extracts From Factorial
Matrix Prior to Rotation, Main Component Method)

Indicator	Total Array		Men 21-25		Women 41-45		Men 41-45	
	I (14%)*	II (11%)	I (13%)	II (12%)	I (14%)	II (9%)	I (17%)	II (11%)
Productivity								
Fulfillment of output norms	0.57	0.31	0.69	-0.30	0.42	0.35	0.53	0.33
Work quality	0.67	0.35	0.70	-0.26	0.52	0.46	0.75	0.24
Discipline	0.60	0.22	0.62	-0.06	0.48	0.46	0.63	0.15
Work initiative	0.68	0.37	0.70	-0.29	0.54	0.42	0.71	0.33
"Frontranking- straggling"	0.72	0.33	0.67	-0.21	0.56	0.47	0.74	0.32
Satisfaction								
Condition of equipment	0.29	-0.55	0.20	0.53	0.43	-0.51	0.23	-0.62
Even work availability	0.28	-0.54	0.25	0.56	0.41	-0.50	0.11	-0.47
Sanitary-hygienic conditions	0.24	-0.61	0.21	0.56	0.41	-0.49	0.21	-0.70
Amount of wage	0.26	-0.62	0.15	0.53	0.48	-0.44	0.20	-0.61
Labor norming	0.44	-0.35	0.36	0.33	0.54	-0.16	0.47	-0.32
Self-realization opp'y	0.43	-0.33	0.30	0.46	0.41	-0.28	0.58	-0.31
Labor processing	0.44	-0.28	0.32	0.47	0.53	-0.17	0.37	-0.26
Relations with foreman	0.33	-0.31	0.18	0.36	0.41	-0.15	0.31	-0.37
Skill upgrading opp'y	0.35	-0.32	0.24	0.54	0.46	-0.14	0.45	-0.23
Opp'y to participate in production management	0.34	-0.33	0.32	0.37	0.36	-0.28	0.38	-0.39
Number of attractive aspects of the job	0.35	-0.26	0.31	0.29	0.32	-0.25	0.24	-0.38
Number of unattractive aspects of the job	-0.27	0.56	-0.18	-0.60	-0.39	0.35	-0.29	0.59
Add'l features--"acquisi- tions" and conditions								
Wage size	0.36	0.34	0.36	-0.25	0.42	0.12	0.46	0.33
Income per family member	0.05	-0.02	-0.04	0.16	0.17	0.10	0.11	0.21
Housing quality	0.31	0.04	0.09	-0.14	0.06	0.10	0.23	0.06
" area/family member	0.25	-0.00	0.09	-0.11	-0.09	0.04	0.06	-0.01
Skill (grade)	0.34	0.23	0.16	-0.14	0.35	0.14	0.43	0.17
Vectorial difference between existing and required skill	0.46	0.33	0.53	-0.43	0.35	0.46	0.54	0.15
Scale difference " " "	0.04	0.06	-0.46	0.34	0.30	0.45	0.45	0.15
Skill upgrading poss.	-0.05	-0.14	0.12	0.23	0.14	-0.09	0.11	-0.16
Managerial functions of the worker	0.43	0.29	0.24	-0.15	0.21	0.18	0.45	0.16
Condition of equipment	0.32	0.12	0.47	-0.16	0.28	0.09	0.42	0.15
Even work availability	0.06	-0.00	0.04	0.03	0.16	-0.10	-0.10	-0.02
Job autonomy	0.10	0.13	-0.01	0.17	0.18	0.11	0.28	0.07
Job variety	0.12	0.15	0.10	0.13	0.20	-0.06	0.22	0.08
Professional training required for specific job	0.10	0.14	-0.02	0.16	0.20	0.02	0.38	0.06

Remark. In the "vectorial difference" indicator, grade 5 is assessed by the foremen as a qualification which significantly exceeds the required level; grade 1 indicates that the qualification is substantially below; in the scale difference indicator 1 characterizes adequacy; 2, insignificant excess or lag; 3, significant excess or lag. In the equipment condition rating, 5 indicates "excellent" and 1, "very poor."

* Here and in the remaining columns parentheses indicate the factorial information level.

As Table 2 shows, despite the nearly double increase in the set of indicators, the correlations between productivity and satisfaction recorded in the initial factorial matrix have remained virtually the same. The values of variables, which characterize the "acquisitions" of the worker, increase with the increased values of the first factor, i.e., productivity and satisfaction.

In the case of all subchoices and in the array as a whole, the more productive and satisfied respondents (compared with less productive and less satisfied) have higher earnings and grades. The condition of their equipment is better and they perform managerial functions in more frequent cases. Furthermore, the skills of young respondents who do good work and are more satisfied with their jobs are more consistent with job requirements. In a similar subgroup of middle-aged women, job variety, complexity and opportunity for displaying autonomy and even implementation of assignments were somewhat better; the corresponding subgroup of middle-aged men had higher indicators of job variety, complexity and autonomy and better housing conditions. In men in the 41-45 age group the indicators of positive acquisitions are generally related more closely to the first factor compared to the other sociodemographic groups; conversely, they are weaker among young workers. All of these facts lead to the conclusion that it is precisely the allocation of various incentives in proportion to the labor contribution of the worker that is one of the reasons for the direct link existing between productivity and satisfaction.

Furthermore, the good condition of the equipment, even work, job variety, complexity and autonomy may be less the result than the premise for high productivity; they contribute to the increased satisfaction with the work and its conditions. The combination of the last two circumstances as well provides a direct correlation among the considered groups of variables.

Let us now consider the modified variants of the second factor (see Table 2). Unfortunately, the "acquisition" and condition indicators contribute little to understanding the inverse correlation between productivity and satisfaction. These indicators are either not related to this factor at all or are related to it in a contradictory manner. For example, quite naturally earnings depend on productivity (the higher the latter the higher the earnings). However, for some reason satisfaction, including satisfaction with earnings and increased income, drops. Consequently, new explanatory hypotheses are necessary.

Could it be that "losses" or "negative acquisitions" by the subject in the course of the work are a possible reason for inverse ratios between productivity and satisfaction? Attracted by concepts of the "self-value" of activeness, it may be wrong on our part to ignore the existence of fatigue, laziness

or other phenomena which are, precisely, the price of such results. If higher productivity is related to more significant outlays of energy, could such outlays adversely affect satisfaction? In order to test this conclusion we added to the already expanded factorial matrix indicators characterizing the difficulty and harmfulness of the work (as assessed by foremen), fatigue on the job and health conditions (as rated by the workers).

Usually, higher productivity is based on stronger motivation and higher aspirations could, as we know, lower satisfaction. Hence the assumption that the inverse ratio between the variables we considered is determined by motivational reasons as well. We added to the factorial matrix features of the motivational significance of wages³ as well as two indicators characterizing the following: 1) the significance of the production process to the worker and 2) the extent to which his wishes coincide with production requirements.⁴ Therefore, the matrix included indicators reflecting the individual (or individual-family) motivation of the workers and their broader social reasons.

The factorial matrixes which were obtained after the addition of the subjective "cost" and labor activity motivation indicators are included in Table 3. As we can see, the previously recorded correlations among variables have been retained. Although now, after two consecutive expansions, we are factoring not 17 but 39 indicators, once again we obtain two factors characterizing direct (I) and inverse (II) ties between productivity and satisfaction.

It turns out that in the second factor, as productivity grows and satisfaction declines, fatigue increases and health complaints become more frequent. Clearly, within this factor the energy or psychophysiological price (6-7) of the individual labor act is a constant value, i.e., it remains the same for individuals with low or high factorial values, while productivity differences among workers depend on the number of completed useful actions. Productive workers, who perform a larger number of such actions, expend more energy on the job, which leads to fatigue and health damage. The person ascribes to labor conditions responsibility for feeling poorly: sanitary-hygienic factors, unrhythmical work, imperfect equipment and, in a number of cases, inadequately substantiated norms.⁵

Although the individual "cost" indicators of labor activeness were introduced in order to understand the meaning of the second factor, they unexpectedly become part of the first: it turns out that the respondents, who are more productive and better satisfied with their jobs, are less tired and feel better (see Table 3). Two reasons may be cited for the direct connection between productivity and lesser fatigue and better health. On the one hand, an energetic attitude and health obviously play the role of individual resources which precisely create prerequisites for high productivity. On the other, said features may be considered as satellites of the latter. We see from published works that in a number of cases more productive workers use up less strength in doing their job than less productive ones (7) (which, incidentally, is different from situations which occur within the second factor). More than anything else, this is the result of the better training and abilities of the former compared with the latter.⁶

Table 3--Repeated Expansion of Factors of Direct (I) and Inverse (II) Ratios
Between Productivity and Satisfaction (Extracts From Factorial
Matrixes Prior to Rotation, Main Component Method

(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)	
	I (12%)*	II (9%)	I (11%)	II (10%)	I (12%)	II (8%)	I (14%)	II (9%)	I	II
(7)										
(8)	0,55	-0,27	0,54	-0,53	0,39	-0,34	0,52	-0,31	0,38	-0,51
(9)	0,65	-0,28	0,56	-0,48	0,47	-0,43	0,73	-0,24	0,60	-0,49
(10)	0,58	-0,14	0,54	-0,27	0,45	-0,42	0,62	-0,16	0,57	-0,47
(11)	0,66	-0,31	0,55	-0,50	0,51	-0,35	0,69	-0,36	0,52	-0,60
(12)	0,71	-0,27	0,54	-0,43	0,52	-0,42	0,72	-0,35	0,58	-0,59
(13)										
(14)	0,26	0,56	0,35	0,41	0,41	0,51	0,25	0,60	0,43	0,48
(15)	0,26	0,50	0,41	0,41	0,40	0,49	0,12	0,46	0,28	0,34
(16)	0,22	0,61	0,37	0,44	0,56	0,08	0,22	0,66	0,47	0,53
(17)	0,25	0,61	0,31	0,43	0,41	0,50	0,22	0,59	0,42	0,45
(18)	0,44	0,34	0,45	0,17	0,40	0,25	0,48	0,29	0,56	0,10**
(19)	0,45	0,30	0,44	0,32	0,54	0,18	0,59	0,25	0,58	0,09**
(20)	0,47	0,26	0,48	0,31	0,49	0,40	0,40	0,26	0,41	0,16
(21)	0,32	0,30	0,30	0,28	0,38	0,12	0,32	0,33	0,41	0,19
(22)	0,36	0,29	0,42	0,40	0,47	0,13	0,44	0,17	0,47	0,02**
(23)	0,34	0,30	0,43	0,22	0,37	0,25	0,39	0,35	0,49	0,17
(24)	0,36	0,24	0,39	0,16	0,35	0,19	0,27	0,40	0,37	0,27
(25)	-0,26	-0,56	-0,36	-0,50	-0,40	-0,36	-0,31	-0,56	-0,47	-0,41
(26)										
(27)	0,40	-0,46	0,26	-0,42	0,47	-0,31	0,46	-0,39	0,24	-0,36
(28)	0,04	0,02	0,01	0,16	0,20	-0,12	0,10	-0,21	0,00**	-0,11**
(29)	0,30	-0,06	0,00	-0,14	0,05	-0,07	0,22	-0,09	0,14	-0,09**
(30)	0,24	-0,01	0,01	-0,13	-0,08	0,00	0,07	0,04	0,06**	0,03**
(31)	0,37	-0,28	0,10	-0,20	0,37	-0,29	0,42	-0,20	0,23	-0,15
(32)	0,45	-0,28	0,33	-0,58	0,32	-0,42	0,54	-0,14	0,35	-0,25
(33)	0,05	-0,05	-0,30	0,47	0,28	-0,43	0,45	-0,14	—	—
(34)	-0,02	0,13	0,24	0,18	0,18	0,10	0,12	0,14	0,10**	0,09**
(35)	0,44	-0,29	0,19	-0,21	0,21	-0,15	0,43	-0,21	0,32	-0,26
(36)	0,30	-0,05	0,38	-0,30	0,25	-0,02	0,42	-0,13	0,31	-0,22
(37)	0,05	0,00	0,04	0,03	0,14	0,11	-0,09	0,05	-0,07**	0,07**
(38)	0,12	-0,18	0,05	0,16	0,18	-0,13	0,27	-0,11	0,14	-0,06**
(39)	0,16	-0,19	0,14	0,07	0,23	-0,00	0,22	-0,10	0,10**	-0,03**
(40)	0,14	-0,18	0,05	0,16	0,22	-0,10	0,38	-0,09	0,23	-0,09**
(41)										
(42)	-0,04	0,25	0,01	0,07	-0,16	0,29	0,14	0,07	0,15	-0,02**
(43)	-0,03	0,18	-0,02	-0,04	-0,12	0,15	0,10	0,08	0,11**	-0,02**
(44)	0,09	0,26	0,21	0,30	0,33	0,27	0,15	0,35	0,18	0,20
(45)	-0,03	0,15	0,07	0,36	0,29	0,21	0,16	0,41	0,26	0,19
(46)										
(47)	0,28	0,02	0,31	0,04	0,25	0,03	0,22	0,06	0,17	0,01**
(48)	0,30	0,14	0,37	0,21	0,22	0,07	0,26	0,13	0,22	0,04**
(49)	0,15	0,19	0,22	0,10	0,24	0,01	0,22	0,02	0,12	-0,01**
(50)	0,20	-0,54	0,04	-0,47	0,22	-0,30	0,15	-0,45	-0,04**	-0,28

Key:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Indicator | 26. Additional features--"acquisitions" and conditions |
| 2. Total array | 27. Wage size |
| 3. Men, 21-25 | 28. Income per family member |
| 4. Women, 41-45 | 29. Housing quality |
| 5. Men, 41-45 | 30. Housing area per family member |
| 6. Men, 41-45 | 31. Skill (grade) |
| 7. Productivity | 32. Vectorial difference between existing and required skill |
| 8. Fulfillment of output norms | 33. Scale difference between " " " " |
| 9. Work quality | 34. Skill upgrading possibility |
| 10. Discipline | 35. Managerial functions of the worker |
| 11. Work initiative | 36. Condition of equipment |
| 12. "Frontranking-straggling" | 37. Even work availability |
| 13. Satisfaction | 38. Job autonomy |
| 14. Condition of equipment | 39. Job variety |
| 15. Even work availability | 40. Professional training required for specific job |
| 16. Sanitary-hygienic conditions | 41. Additional features--"losses" |
| 17. Amount of wage | 42. Job difficulties |
| 18. Labor norming | 43. Job harmfulness |
| 19. Self-realization opportunity | 44. Fatigue on the job |
| 20. Labor processing | 45. State of health |
| 21. Relations with foreman | 46. Additional features--"motivations" |
| 22. Skill upgrading opportunity | 47. "At home I forget about the job"*** |
| 23. Opportunity to participate in production management | 48. "At work I have to do something I would not do on my own"*** |
| 24. Number of attractive aspects of the job | 49. "The social usefulness of the job is more important than earnings" |
| 25. Number of unattractive aspects of the job | 50. "Adequate earnings" |

Remark. In the "job difficulty," "job harmfulness," "fatigue" and "state of health," the higher values correspond to lesser job difficulty or harmfulness, etc. In general, all value indicators have been turned to the "better" side. The last two columns show correlations between the features of the expanded matrix and the individual values of initial factors. Correlation coefficients are significant when $p < 0.001$, starting with 0.21.

* Here and in the remaining columns parentheses indicate the factorial information level.

** Zero and insignificant correlations.

*** Agrees--1; disagrees--5.

Therefore, the participation of the "cost" indicator in the first factor provides yet another area of interpretation: high satisfaction is the consequence of less fatigue and better health; high productivity is either the consequence of those or a parallel circumstance.

Let us now consider motivation parameters. Only one of them is durably linked to the second factor: the size of the desired earnings: the factorial loads

of this indicator are quite significant in terms of absolute value. The higher the wage to which the worker aspires the greater his productivity and the lower his satisfaction. Clearly, it is precisely here that the desire to earn more becomes the base for increased productivity. This assumption is confirmed by the highly positive ($p < 0.001$) pair correlations between productivity and desired earnings in people, with opposite values in terms of this factor (within the first factor the respective correlations were close to zero). If the person has to "pay a high price" for his activities, i.e., if they are accompanied by fatigue and health disturbances, such work can be performed intensively only if the motivational factors are sufficiently strong. The desire for future acquisitions should outstrip the daily hardships of the labor process. This consideration is one more argument in support of the fact that in this case high earnings and the related well-being of the individual and his family are a motivation for higher productivity.

It would have been natural for the dissatisfaction with the wage to increase with the increased amount of "adequate" earnings. However, as we pointed out, this correlation is not characteristic of the second factor. Why? Obviously, answers given by the respondents to this question express their relative satisfaction or relative lack of satisfaction (8). The latter depends on the extent to which the earnings of the individual outstrip or, conversely, lag behind those of his colleagues. But then workers who would like to earn more and work more productively indeed earn more than their comrades whose wage requirements are relatively more modest: it is no accident that the value of the real earnings indicator is identical to the desired amount. It is precisely all of this which prevents a drop in the satisfaction with earnings among people with high aspirations.

Actually, not wages but other circumstances affect the growth of dissatisfaction. The point is that the desired wage remains significantly above actual earnings. Workers who realistically assess the situation and the specific mechanisms applied in wage changes place their hopes for surmounting said gap on the need for changes in labor conditions. That is why the "gap" between the "desired" ("adequate") and the real earnings is manifested in a dissatisfaction not with wages but with the reasons which determine them--the poor condition of the equipment, uneven supply of work, shortcomings in the norming system, etc.⁷

Three motivational indicators have proved to be stably related to the first factor as well: the higher the productivity and the satisfaction, the more valuable becomes for the respondent the social usefulness of his work, compared to monetary rewards, and the more frequently he thinks of the work during his leisure time and the more strongly he begins to feel that his personal interests coincide with those of the enterprise. Such variables reflect the importance of the good of the republic to the individual. Obviously, the desire to be useful to the people and, above all, to the collective of his enterprise, motivates the worker to increase his productivity. However, if a person cares for the good of his social environment, as a rule he will try to express in his satisfaction ratings approval and support of the enterprise and the collective. Therefore, adding motivational indicators to

the factorial matrix helps us to identify the third circumstance which determines positive ties between productivity and satisfaction: both variables are different manifestations of the broad social motivation of the worker and his loyalty to his enterprise (9).

If orientations related to the interests of the enterprise are increased within the framework of the second factor, paralleling the growth of individual-family or "private" motivations, they would somehow restrain the worker's manifestation of dissatisfaction with labor conditions. Said social motivation indicators, however, are either totally excluded from the second factor or are higher among individuals whose "private" motivations are less expressed and, consequently, have no restraining factor in manifesting their dissatisfaction.

Therefore, with the help of two consecutive expansions of the factorial matrix we were able to test a number of hypotheses with the reasons for direct and inverse ratios between the indicators of labor productivity and job satisfaction. We have seen that both types of relations are the result of the combined effect of several circumstances. Direct relations appear for the following reasons: first, as it turned out, the highly productive workers who expend less psychophysiological efforts, are better rewarded for their work, which has a positive effect on their satisfaction. Second, the equidirectional changes in productivity and satisfaction arise under the influence of features such as the amount of inner resources of the individual (ability to work, energy), the quality of his working conditions and the extent to which his broad social motivations, including loyalty to his enterprise, are manifested. Let us reemphasize that all of these laws operate only within the first factor.

The inverse ratios are explained, first of all, with the fact that productive workers are most frequently tired and ill compared to their less productive comrades. Secondly, that the high productivity of such individuals is motivated exclusively by the desire to earn more (both laws are manifested within the second factor only). The more productive workers consider equipment imperfections and faults, poor sanitary-hygienic conditions, unrhythmical production and noirning and planning shortcomings the reasons for their greater fatigue and worsened health. They are also the obstacles which stand in the way to higher wages. Therefore, it is precisely said aspects of the organization of the work that create a feeling of dissatisfaction.

These statistical correlations are emphasized to a lesser extent among young workers compared with middle-aged workers or to the entire array. Nevertheless, the pattern we discussed is quite stable. The two types of correlations between productivity and satisfaction are reproduced in the subchoices of Leningrad workers with equated type of work and have been traced in the studies conducted in Togliatti (B. G. Tukumtseva, 1977) and Irkutsk (V. A. Martynova, 1982). In both cases an investigation (full or partial) of the conclusions relative to the additional features which are added to the direct and inverse relation factors was conducted and it too confirmed the facts presented in this article.

In choosing the variables added to the factorial matrix, we were guided by several hypotheses. Another selection principle requiring no particular preliminary considerations may be used as well. To this effect, the selected members must be assigned individual values based on the factors, followed by a computation of correlation ties between these integral indicators and the remaining features available to the researcher. Let us cite as an example the correlation between individual values in the subchoice of men between the ages of 41 and 45 as shown in Table 3 (9th and 10th columns). Here we find close correlation ties between the individual values of the factors and indicators which were subsequently entered into the expanded matrix with substantial factorial values. Features for increasing the factors may be chosen on their basis.

In themselves, however, such correlations do not take the place of the expanded factorial matrix. In any case, no confidence should be expressed beforehand in the legitimacy of such substitution. The existence of factorial pair correlations with a number of individual indicators does not in itself guarantee that their entire set will be included in the factor: to begin with, the indicators themselves may prove to be reciprocally incompatible; secondly, their simultaneous addition may destroy the initial factorial structure.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The author has used data of the student conducted in Leningrad on "Worker-1976" (headed by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Prof V. A. Yadov). The study covered 4,003 workers in 12 industrial enterprises: 2,233 men and 1,770 women. The foremen rated the fulfillment of production norms, labor quality, discipline and worker initiative and, furthermore, provided a general reference based on the "frontranking-lagging" scale. The higher the points the higher the productivity. The workers rated their satisfaction with the various aspects of their labor situation on the basis of a 5-point scale ranging between "totally dissatisfied" (1) and "totally satisfied" (5). For details see (3). The computations were made at the computer center of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Processes based on the SKOSI system, developed under the guidance of V. T. Perekrest; T. V. Khachaturova programmed the factorial analysis.
2. In order to resolve the question of whether or not the factors taken from different matrixes coincide, like other authors (5, pp 56-60) we use the quality criteria: similarity or difference of signs and relative values of identical indicators. In principle, it would have been more convenient to use quantitative characteristics such as, for example, the congruence coefficient. This coefficient, however, is still imperfect. As I. I. Yeliseyeva and V. O. Rukavishnikov point out, the selection of a value "in the region of which factors may be considered congruent is subjective." (ibid., p 51).
3. The indicators were obtained on the basis of answers to two questions: "What average monthly earnings would you consider adequate for yourself?"

and "Which of the expressed views represent your opinion: any work is good if well paid (1 point); what matters most is earnings but one must think of the meaning of the work as well (2); one must not forget earnings but the main thing is the meaning of the work, its social usefulness (3); any job is good where you are more useful and needed (4)?"

4. The indicators reflect the extent to which the respondents agreed with the following views: 1) "The moment I am home I forget the job" and 2) "A great deal of what I am forced to do at work I would never do on my own." "Totally agree," 1; "Totally disagree," 5.
5. These views are supported by correlation pairs obtained in the selection of individuals with opposite values relative to the second factor (3). In all groups there is a direct correlation between the level of productivity and the degree of fatigue and health difficulties; the greater the fatigue and the lower the health assessments are, the greater is the dissatisfaction with sanitary-hygienic conditions, rhythm, equipment condition and norming.
6. It is not astounding that the indicators of fatigue and health were not included in the first matrix factor obtained for the entire array (Table 3, column 1) for in that case the influence of age group differences remains. As we know, the energy reserves of the body decline with age; the health worsens. Such trends neutralize the connection between high productivity and lesser fatigue and better health.
7. This is confirmed also by the pair correlations obtained in the subchoices of individual with opposite values for the second factor. In all cases, the amount of the desired earning was much more closely related to dissatisfaction with the condition of the equipment, steady work availability, norming and sanitary-hygienic labor conditions compared to dissatisfaction with the wages themselves.

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DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY IN THE PRC IN THE 1970s-1980s

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(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 146-150

[Article by Yelena Stepanovna Bazhenova, candidate of economic sciences, junior scientific associate, United Nations courses for demographic specialists from developing countries, Moscow State University. Author of a number of articles and books on problems of PRC population and demographic policy. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] The current population of China is 1,031,883,000 (1). Huge human resources are an objective prerequisite for aggressive economic growth. However, under the conditions of an exceptionally low level of development of productive capital, the demographic situation of the country is hindering the growth of labor productivity and the pace of socioeconomic progress. All of this requires taking steps to limit the birth rate.

In the time between the two population censuses (1964 and 1982), the PRC population increased by 313,600,000 people, or by 45.1 percent, at an annual growth rate of 2.1 percent. Whereas during the first half of that period the growth rates achieved 2.68 percent annually, as a result of which the population increased by 186,700,000 (20.7 million per year), over the subsequent 9 years the growth rates dropped to 1.5 percent and the population increased by 126.9 million (14.1 million annually) (1). The demographic policy aimed at reducing the birth rate played a major role in this connection.

Some steps in this direction were taken as early as the mid-1950s. Since then, demographic policy, its nature and substantiations have frequently experienced substantial changes. The periods of "activeness" and "decline" have largely depended on the condition of the country's economic and political life.¹ During the 1950s, campaigns to limit the birth rate were essentially of a propaganda nature and had no essential influence on birth rate dynamics. During the "cultural revolution" (end of the 1960s), no proper attention was paid to population problems. Starting with the first half of the 1970s, however, the Chinese leadership began to ascribe increasing importance to such matters. As in previous decades, later marriages were encouraged as well as intervals of 4-5 years between children. The main emphasis, however, shifted to limiting family size. A special leading group was set up in 1973 (headed by Li Xiucheng) in charge of planning the birth rate, under the PRC State Council and under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Health. Similar

groups were set up on all administrative levels, from provincial to production brigades in rural areas and from enterprise to urban residential districts. The all-China conference on this problem (1973) decided to strive for natural growth of no more than 1 percent in the cities and 1.5 percent in the countryside by 1975.

The reasons for the need for such measures were changed. Whereas previously, the main reasons were "protection of motherhood and childhood" and "planning population growth under the conditions of a planned economy," now the increasingly cited reasons were "economic development difficulties" and problems of "employment" and "food supplies."

February 1978 may be considered the start of the next stage, when demographic policy was legislatively codified and adopted at the First Session of the All-China National Assembly (VSNP), Fifth Convocation of the PRC Constitution. Article 53 stipulated that "the state encourages and supports family planning" (3). At the middle of the same year the group on birthrate planning was put under the direct jurisdiction of the PRC State Council. It was headed by Chen Muhua, deputy premier, PRC State Council, CCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of foreign economic relations and trade. After the Third CCP Central Committee Plenum (December 1978), which earmarked the general long-range development trends of the country, priority was given to the correlation between the growth rates of the population and economic development. Realizing that implementation of the "four modernizations" program was possible only with an efficient long-range demographic policy which, in turn, could be formulated on the basis of accurate and reliable information on population dynamics and structure, the PRC leadership decided to conduct an all-China population census. The census was carried out on 1 July 1982 with the help of the United Nations Foundation for Population Activities (4).

In August 1979 RENMIN RIBAO published Chen Muhua's article "The Planned Limitation of Population Growth Is Necessary for the Implementation of the Program of Four Modernizations," in which the concept of the one-child family was supported ("one child best of all, maximum two"), and for the first time the question of long-range population development planning was raised. The article announced that the first stage in the demographic policy would end by 1985. Its purpose was to reduce the growth rates of the population to 1 percent; at the end of the second stage (by the year 2000) the indicator was to reach zero value. Somewhat later the decision that by the year 2000 the population would not exceed 1.2 billion people was announced. As it subsequently became clear, the reaching of such objectives entailed tremendous difficulties.

In 1980 the central press published an "Open Letter to All CCP and KSMK [Communist Youth League] members on controlling population growth." In this document, in addition to the appeal to observe the stipulation of the State Council regarding one-child families, it was explained that the need for this requirement was the existing demographic situation. The letter also expressed the thought of a possible revision of population policy, providing that favorable changes would take place in this area. That same 1980 another important measure was implemented: the creation of an all-China society for birthrate planning, the purpose of which was to rally the efforts of the public and demographic specialists for the implementation of the planned course.

The head birthrate planning group of the PRC State Council drafted a national law. The administrative, moral and economic measures to encourage one-child families and penalize families with several children are now being implemented in a number of Chinese provinces. Characteristically, the "Regulation on Planned Birth Rate" describes family planning as the most important strategic task in the implementation of the "four modernizations" program. As PRC State Council Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out in his report to the first session of the National People's Congress, Sixth Convocation, which was held in June 1983, "restraining the population growth is our governmental policy and basic strategic measure. We must tirelessly encourage late marriages and one-child families, strictly limit the birth of a second child and categorically block giving birth to a third. We must actually take effective contraception measures and firmly protect newborn girls and their mothers. In order to accelerate efforts related to a planned birth rate, we must actively develop, with the help of all social forces, old-age insurance, through all possible methods" (5). In other words, a planned birth rate is now assigned a prime role in enhancing the country's national economy. This is confirmed by Article 25 of the PRC 1982 Constitution, which reads as follows: "The state pursues a planned birth rate in order to make the population's growth consistent with plans for socioeconomic development" (2, p 297). Population reproduction indicators were included in the fourth and fifth five-year national economic plans. In order to control the birth rate, a number of laws and governmental decrees were passed at the start of the 1980s. A new law was enacted on 1 January 1981, which calls for raising the marital age from 20 to 22 for men and from 18 to 20 for women, and so were regulations limiting the birth rate (3). This question was also raised at the September 1982 12th CCP Congress. Hu Yaobang, CCP Central Committee general secretary, pointed out in his report that "the population problem has always been an exceptionally important problem in China's socioeconomic development. Family planning is the base of our state policy" (6).

In addition to taking administrative, legal, economic and moral steps aimed at lowering the birth rate, in recent years the volume of demographic and sociological studies on this subject has been significantly increased in the PRC. The Chinese press has published a number of theoretical articles analyzing the country's population problems and their impact on the development of Chinese society. The study of demographic problems has been increased in scientific research centers and so has the number of applied sociological studies conducted above all with a view to assisting the implementation of the policy of limiting the birth rate. A network of scientific research organizations and establishments has been developed to train demographers and sociologists. The work of centers, which are part of the higher education system and are scattered throughout the country, is headed by the Population Study Problems Institute of the People's University in Beijing. Work is also being done by scientific research establishments outside this system. The Institute of Sociological Research of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences was opened in Beijing in 1979, and an All-China Sociological Society was organized, headed by Fei Xiaotong.

Only seven of the 34 papers on results of empirical studies were presented at the First All-China Conference on Population Problems, which was held in 1978

(with the participation of representatives of 49 VUZs, nine scientific research institutes and various establishments and organizations). The number of such reports increased subsequently. The report submitted by Zhang Xuexing, head of section, Higher Education Department, Ministry of Public Education, at the International Conference on Population Problems, which was held in Beijing in 1980, listed the following scientific research topics studied at various PRC universities: survey of 5,000 families in Beijing's suburbs; study of the living conditions of the adult population and student youth in Shanghai; study of 100 homesteads in the main districts of Kiangsu, Szechwan, Anhwei and Northwest China provinces; study of one-child families; study of areas inhabited by national minorities, etc. (7).

What did the results prove?

According to the sociological study of three districts in Hupeh Province, the average age at which women married until 1949 was 18.16 years. In the 1960s, rural girls married most frequently close to the age of 20; starting with the 1970s, the average age reached 22 and was even higher in the north (8). Correspondingly, women had their first child later. Whereas in the 1950s a rural woman had her first child when she was slightly over 21, by the end of the 1970s, she was already 25 years of age.

The higher marital age reduced the number of children per family. According to the same study, until 1949 a woman gave birth to an average of 5.5 children, 3.7 of whom survived. Between 1952 and 1971 the average number of births dropped to 4.8, although the number of surviving children remained virtually unchanged—3.6. A different situation was noted in the 20-29-year age group of women during the period covered by the study (June-October 1981). In this group, the average number of children per woman was two and of surviving children, 1.8 (9).

For a while, the natural population growth in the country gradually declined: the most significant drop was achieved in the second half of the 1970s. At the beginning of the 1980s, however, this trend was replaced by a stabilization in natural growth and, subsequently, a certain increase.

One of the reasons for this situation is that presently a significant number of young people, who were born in the 1950s and 1960s, are reaching marital age. As Qian Xinzong, chairman of the State Committee for Planning the Birth Rate of the PRC State Council, emphasized in an interview granted to the correspondent of GUANGMING RIBAO, by the year 2000 approximately 22-23 million young people will be marrying every year and the birth rate may increase for about 10 years. Under such circumstances, in order to keep the population within the 1.2 billion range by the year 2000, administrative and economic measures must be taken with a view to restricting the birthrate element" (10).

Currently the Chinese leadership considers the one-child family the basic means of optimizing the population's reproduction. In 1981, 14 out of 33 million one-child families, or 42.3 percent, were issued a "one-child family certificate."² A total of 20.7 percent of all births in 1970 were single children; the figure rose to 41.8 and 46.55 percent respectively for 1980 and 1981.

Nevertheless, the study of the contemporary demographic situation in the PRC and of the reproduction behavior of the population indicates that, particularly in rural areas, the people are still not prepared to accept and observe the one-child family stipulation. For example, a second child accounted for 25-36 percent of all 1981 births; third and subsequent children accounted for 28.09 percent (in some rural areas the figure was 40 percent (2, p 298)).

In this case, the traditional belief in the need to have sons plays a major role. The materials of the Hopeh study we mentioned show that only one-third of all families with two children wanted the second one to be a girl, whereas almost two-thirds of the families which already had two daughters wanted a third child, in the hope of having a boy. Only 2.2 percent of the 543 people surveyed, who were willing to limit themselves to a single child, expressed the wish to have a girl. One of the main reasons for this preference is the fear of remaining without any support in old age. In the 808 peasants studied in Hupeh Province, 51.0 percent cited precisely this fact as a reason for having descendants; 24.9 percent cited the traditional continuity of generations; 20.7 percent the need for manpower and 3-5 percent the pleasure of having children.

The introduction of the so-called system of production responsibility in the rural areas conflicts with the one-child family policy. Assigning land to individual families increases the interest of the peasants in expanding their families, particularly with male manpower. Under such forms of organization of agricultural production, improved material well-being creates conditions for supporting a large number of children, which strengthens the tradition of large families, characteristic of China.³ The Chinese press has acknowledged that the system of production responsibility "dealt a blow at planned parenthood."

Plans for the delivery of agricultural commodities are being amended to resolve this contradiction; in particular, the system of "two-order contract" is practiced or the "double-guarantee" system, according to which the production contract stipulates not only the quantity and quality of produce but also the obligation of the families to practice planned parenthood. As pointed out in the 14 March 1982 RENMIN RIBAO editorial, following the application of various forms of production responsibility in rural areas, the population plans were to be integrated within the agricultural development plans in such a way that the growth of the population be consistent with the development of the national economy. The norms of agricultural deliveries will be considered fulfilled providing that the stipulations on limiting the birth rate have been met.

Demographic policy during the last decade has influenced, as a whole, changes in the population reproduction system and resulted in a certain lowering of the birth rate and the natural growth. Between 1970 and 1979 the former indicator dropped from 33.59 to 17.90 per thousand (46.7 percent); the latter, from 25.95 to 11.7 per thousand (54.9 percent). However, as a result of the effect of a series of socioeconomic and demographic factors, the opposite trend was noted as well; the current birth rate coefficient is in excess of 20 per thousand per year while the natural population growth exceeds 14 per thousand (2, p 297). Such data are yet another confirmation of the fact that

keeping the size of the population to the 1.2 billion level by the year 2000 would hardly be possible. Taking into consideration the fact that large groups of young people, born in the 1950s and 1960s, will reach marital and birth-giving age, the number of new family couples will average 11 million per year. If each family has two children, by the year 2000 nearly 400 million people will have been born and the overall population size will exceed 1.3 billion. In order to achieve the set objective, the natural growth over the next 18 years should be kept on the level of 9.5 per thousand, which would require a further strengthening of family planning measures.

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FOOTNOTES

1. For details on the periodization of PRC demographic policy see (2).
2. At the present time the state encourages in many Chinese cities and provinces the use of economic and moral incentives for young families to limit themselves to a single child. Women who have pledged to have no more than one child are issued certificates of "excellent in planned birth." Such families are given priority in placing the child in a kindergarten, medical services and housing. A single child will be given priority in VUZ enrollment or job. Parents with a single child are given a monthly aid of 5 yuan (about 10 percent of the average wage) until the child is 14. They pay no education taxes. Until the age of 8 the child is given free medical aid. These steps are being taken in Beijing, Shanghai and many Chinese provinces (11). Following the birth of a third child (until the child is 14), 10 percent of both parents' salaries is withheld; 15 percent is withheld for a fourth and 20 percent for a fifth (12).
3. According to the study of family budgets of members of communes the average net per capita income increased by 62 percent between 1978 and 1981, totaling 220 yuan. Similar studies conducted among workers and employees revealed that the average net income used to meet basic needs increased per family member by 46.8 percent, or a total of 483 yuan (13).

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STUDY OF YOUTH VALUE ORIENTATIONS IN THE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA

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(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 151-157

[Article by Evelina Aleksandrovna Shauro, candidate of historical sciences, junior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, specialist in social problems in African countries. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] The study on which this article is based is one of the first of its kind made by Soviet scientists in Africa. Therefore, in order to achieve a better understanding of the essence of this matter, it would be expedient to preface the presentation of empirical results with a short introduction.

In traditional African societies work was considered a necessary prerequisite for the sustenance of life. However, in the eyes of the people it had no intrinsic value. Thus, a study of the traditional way of life of the Ogoni peoples, in particular (southern Nigeria) (1) proves that the education of children did not include the development of labor initiative. From the age of 3 to 7 the child was trained to hunt, fish, etc.; later he was taught wood-cutting, singing, swordsmanship and many others. The only purpose, however, was to raise "good people." What was demanded of a person, above all, was to observe behavioral models and, in particular, to heed the elders in everything. It is only relatively recently that developing in the individual the aspiration for professional recognition has been emphasized in youth education.

Changes in value orientations are related, above all, to the dynamics of social structure of society, determined, above all, by the economic system (2). However, since the new forms of economic management were developed under the conditions of a colonial regime, the changed attitude toward labor was quite contradictory. A barrier separated primarily "white" management and "black" labor. Tribal chiefs and elders were the binding link at the early stages of colonization. This function was subsequently assumed by a small group of members of the native population, consisting of educated people. They did work previously accessible to Europeans only--office clerks, low-level officials, grammar school teachers or medics. The colonizers were quite interested in increasing said local stratum, which would implement their policies. The majority of such Africans were paid less for their work than for loyalty to the authorities. As a result, a distorted consumerist concept was developed in the population of the interconnection between labor outlays and

wages (3). A disrespectful attitude was formed not only toward physical and unskilled but productive labor in general. It was essentially white-collar work that was considered prestigious.

These features were characteristic above all of the urban colonial community. With the intensification of migration, expansion of the cities and development of the economy and mass communication media, changes in value orientations affected, first of all, broader population circles, including those in the countryside. Secondly, the concepts and expectations in the area of labor themselves became more complex and differentiated, although the values developed under the colonial system remained quite strong in the minds of the African population, its educated segment above all.

In this connection, the researchers face the particularly crucial question of choosing working concepts and indicators. Labor concepts have become more complex above all in the area which could be conventionally described as "individual-labor-society." In our view, two indicators must be considered basic in this situation. The first is "professional prestige" (or "popularity of a profession," which resembles it). Prestige develops under the influence of the general factors of the macroenvironment and reflect long-term trends. Intergroup differences and the influence of the microenvironment in this area are better characterized by another indicator: "attractiveness of a profession." Both enable us indirectly to judge of many important features which shape value orientations in the labor area.

Table 1--Professional Orientations of Different Groups of Nigerian Youth, % of Respondents*

<u>Employment Group</u>	<u>Students in Urban Secondary Schools, East- Central State</u>	<u>Rural Youth Around Ife</u>
Medical professions (physicians, nurses, pharmacists)	34.5	94.1
Technical specialists (engineers, pilots, architects)	16.7	44.2
White-collar workers and employees (clerks, administrators, diplomats, etc.)	14.6	45.2
Specialists in the humanities (lawyers, journalists, economists, historians, etc.)	9.9	38.4
Agricultural specialists		
Including:		
Agronomists	8.1	--
Officials	0.6	0.4
Peasants, farmers	1.7	16.3
Educators (teachers, instructors, school principals, etc.)	5.6	63.8
Businessmen, merchants	5.2	34.9
Painters, musicians, actors, etc.	1.8	3.5
Skilled workers (mechanics, drivers, electricians, house painters, etc.)	0.6	10.5
Clergymen	0.6	17.4
Officers, soldiers, policemen	0.6	26.8

* Source (8). For the sake of convenience the table lists not professions but professional groups. The respondent was given a choice of several items.

The prestige of intellectual work, requiring sufficiently advanced training, increased as broader population strata in the African countries became employed. Occupations accessible at that time to Europeans only (such as lawyer, physician) were particularly valued. This was followed by officials and employees and by professions which required a certain production skill.

Substantial changes in the social development of a number of African countries took place with independence. The range of preferred occupations gradually broadened. This process, however, is being restrained by the overall condition of the economy and the obsolete educational system inherited from colonialism. "The poor and poorly technically equipped colonial school was actually deprived of means to develop in the students a liking for the natural and physical-mathematical sciences and for engineering in the broad meaning of the term" (4). To a large extent this situation is typical of today's African school as well. The very structure of expenditures on cadre education and training, insufficient allocations for vocational and technical education above all, are essential factors in the preservation of the old labor priorities.

Nevertheless, what are the most typical changes today in value orientations in the labor area? The study of empirical data from Western studies of African youth (for details see (5)) and data on the attractiveness of professions obtained by the authors in a survey of African students attending Soviet VUZs (6) indicate that young people are attracted not only by occupations traditionally considered prestigious and now accessible with independence but also professions needed to surmount backwardness (see Table 1). The prestige of engineering and technical professions has increased substantially, largely helped by the drastic increase in the training of secondary skill specialists, the opening of more than 30 higher educational institutions on the continent, training technical and economic cadres, the increased percentage of students studying technical subjects, etc. (7).

It is true that many Western authors have pointed out that as in the past skilled worker professions are not particularly popular among young people. Nevertheless, the following must be taken into consideration: surveys used in this connection are conducted above all among secondary school students, i.e., those who, under contemporary African conditions, could hope for highly prestigious positions. Unquestionably, the answers reflect youthful maximalism and exaggerated requirements typical of this age group. Finally, in assessing the dynamics of orientations, it is important, in our view, to take into consideration the specialty rather than the required skill-educational level.

Said changes are related to shifts in the overall concept of life and the outlook. In the past, the Africans viewed positions such as official or a profession in the humanities above all as a possibility of having a successful career. Interest in specialties involving productive toil was frequently paralleled by the desire to be useful to one's country, in addition to attaining personal success. However, the low level of economic development, the influence of the traditional value system and, in particular, the passive perception of the achievements of industrial civilization lead to the fact that in terms of one type of work or another the concept of "mastering" rather

than "building" predominates among the youth. Thus, usually singled out among attractive professions are driver rather than machine builder, pilot rather than aerospace designer, etc. The reasons for the choice of professions in the humanities have changed as well. The young people want to study history, philosophy and sociology not only because of the traditional prestige enjoyed by specialists in these areas of knowledge and the trend toward the humanities which was followed by universities created during the colonial period. Today this wish is a manifestation of a developing feeling of civic duty and responsibility for the socioeconomic changes occurring in the country.

We have indicated merely the most general trends in the evolution of the value orientations of African youth in the labor area. Let us now turn directly to empirical research data.

This was a pilot study, a fact which must be especially underlined. The value orientations of African youth have been either studied little (professional orientations) or not at all (attitude toward labor). In this situation, the author relied essentially on open questions. The answers were classified and the statistical breakdown was subsequently computed on the basis of the summed up choices. Naturally, the percentage of research subjectivism is higher with such an approach. To a certain extent, however, this is justified, if we take into consideration the polysemantic nature of social indicators, not to mention ordinary vocabulary. In the Nigerian selection, medical professions enjoyed the highest popularity among the respondents and were marked by 22.2 percent of those surveyed. As a whole, the breakdown of preferences was as follows: farmer, 14.0 percent; teacher, 13.2 percent; businessman, merchant, 11.2 percent; white-collar worker, official, 10.9 percent; technical specialist, 10.1 percent; specialist in the humanities, 5.6 percent; other skills requiring education, 5.3; other professions, 7.6. The desire to become a physician is explained not only with the social significance of the profession and the scarcity of medical cadres but also the relatively high earnings, particularly in the private sector. As a type of occupation, that of farmer took second place in the answers of respondents in the Olode settlement and Zaria city where many of those interviewed came from the countryside. Incidentally, those surveyed in Lagos--all native urban dwellers--did not list this occupation as attractive at all. The share of people coming from the provinces remains high in the group which chose the traditionally prestigious professions of office employee and teacher. In the capital, in addition to medicine preference is given to technical specialties and white-collar workers and employees.

However, the evolution of individual (group) concepts in the labor area can be properly understood only by taking into consideration the changes which are taking place in the overall social consciousness. This was confirmed by data of surveys conducted in Guinea-Bissau and Angola (see Table 2).

Let us begin with the fact that the current situation plays an unquestionably determining role in the choice of individual preferences. The Angolan respondents attending a vocational training center were not oriented toward the traditionally prestigious career of medical workers, although they were aware of the importance of such professions. The set of preferred professions was

far broader among students attending general education schools (in Guinea-Bissau). As is customary, the percentage of those attracted by the profession of teacher or employee was quite high among individuals born in the countryside. Nevertheless, the data shown in the table confirm the existence of substantial disparities between individual preferences, on the one hand, and the general assessment of the popularity of one profession or another, on the other. Thus, answers to the second question reflect, above all, traditional views: as in the past, "white-collar worker" prestige remains high. The answers to the third question reveal the respondents' understanding of the country's needs.

Table 2--Views of Guinean and Angolan Respondents on Labor, % of Respondents*

<u>Profession Group</u>	<u>Guinea-Bissau</u>			<u>Angola</u>		
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>
Technical specialists (engineers, pilots, architects, technicians-mechanics)	25.6	22.7	27.3	17.4	30.4	55.6
Medical professions (nurses, physicians, medics, pharmacists)	12.6	16.8	26.9	--	1.7	12.2
Specialists in the humanities (lawyers, journalists, translators, economists, historians, philosophers)	11.8	6.3	5.5	1.7	4.3	3.5
Educators (teachers, instructors, professors)	10.9	16.0	19.3	5.2	9.6	15.6
Skilled workers (fitter-mechanics, electricians, construction workers)	10.9	4.2	16.8	77.4	27.8	63.5
Various types of agricultural professions (farmers, peasants, agronomists)	9.2	7.1	41.6	--	--	15.6
White-collar workers, employees	8.8	8.4	2.1	2.4	10.4	0.8
Occupations requiring higher training (diplomats, etc.)	1.7	10.1	0.8	2.4	23.5	2.4
Businessmen, merchants	1.3	1.3	0.8	--	--	--
Craftsmen (tailors, carpenters)	0.8	0.4	--	0.8	--	--
Military, police	0.4	0.8	--	1.6	4.3	6.9
Scientific workers	--	0.4	0.8	--	--	0.8
Other answers	--	16.4	18.6	--	3.2	--
No answer	8.4	24.4	15.5	4.3	14.8	9.6

* The figures are for the following questions: I--"What professions do you like personally?"; II--"What professions are popular among your coevals?"; III--"What are the skills most needed by the country?" All questions were open. The respondent could make several choices.

As to differences in answers among the selected individuals, considering their small number and the fact that this was a pilot study, no comprehensive comparison is possible. So far, factors of a most general nature could be included in the interpretation. Above all, these countries are quite dissimilar economically. Guinea-Bissau has a small territory, few natural resources and

a poorly developed agrarian economy and processing industry. Conversely, Angola is one of the largest states on the continent and has rich natural resources. It is true that the economy and infrastructure of the individual provinces have been developed unevenly. These circumstances affected, above all, answers to the third question. The Angolan young people are much more aware of the need for skilled workers and technical specialists. Agricultural professions are considered particularly important in Guinea-Bissau. In the Guinean selection no one noted the military profession as needed. This profession, however, was singled out by the Angolan respondents. This view was largely the result of the influence of the permanent threat of war presented by South Africa and dissident groups operating in many parts of the country.

Let us now turn to the general concepts of our respondents concerning labor. Table 3 shows that most respondents consider labor a natural and necessary form of human existence. Such views express most general concepts on labor, developed since childhood. Gradually, the African youth is also developing the concept of labor as the principal means of achieving social change. This assessment is quite important in developing initiative and a conscious orientation toward labor. So far, this view is typical of urban dwellers and, above all, the students in the capital's high school. Clearly, these concepts reflect knowledge drawn from textbooks.

Table 3--Ratings of Importance of Labor by Respondents in Angola and Guinea-Bissau, % of Respondents*

<u>Answer Groups</u>	<u>Angola</u>			<u>Guinea-Bissau</u>		
	<u>Total Selection</u>	<u>Born in: Town</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Total Selection</u>	<u>Born in: Town</u>	<u>Country</u>
1. Labor--universal form of life	44.3	25.0	52.7	41.2	41.2	40.9
2. Labor molds and develops man and society	25.2	30.5	20.3	33.1	36.4	29.1
3. Labor--means of material support of life	21.7	19.4	22.9	23.5	26.0	20.9
4. Social significance of labor is great	9.6	16.7	6.7	5.5	2.5	8.2
5. Other answers	1.7	2.8	1.3	0.4	--	--
6. No answers	3.5	--	5.4	5.0	0.8	10.0

* The combined groups presented in the table include the following views most frequently expressed by the respondents: 1) Labor is a universal form of life; it is the base of human life; it is a necessary and natural condition of man; life is impossible without labor; labor is a natural condition for life for all people; it is the only form of life for a person, etc. 2) Labor shapes and develops the person and society; labor created man; labor enhances man; no progress is possible without labor; labor makes life better, it makes the person independent and makes him dominate nature, etc. 3) Labor is a means of material support of life; one must work in order to sustain oneself; one must work in order to feed one's family, to earn money, to acquire a profession, to have a job, etc. 4) The social significance of labor is great; one must work for the people, for one's country, for others, etc. Some of the statements by the respondents were distributed among several groups.

A significant number of respondents relate the need to work above all to material sustenance. In our view, these answers are a utilitarian "extension" of the evaluations classified in the first choice. In the Angolan survey the group consisted primarily of people from the countryside, to whom the main importance of labor was the sustenance of the person and his family; in Guinea-Bissau this included young people in high school, who already had practical experience. Few of the answers described labor as a means of progressive development. Knowledge concerning labor came essentially from the classroom and was still not consciously related to future activities and the need to be useful to society. As a whole, the results of the study indicate that general views on labor were shaped above all under the influence of the personal practical experience of the respondents or their school training.

In this connection, the question of the link between value orientations in the labor area and general conceptual views is of interest. The information in Table 4 enables us to draw some conclusions on this account.

Table 4--Breakdown of Answers to the Question "What Do You Consider Essential in Life?", %*

<u>Answer Groups</u>	<u>Angola</u>			<u>Guinea-Bissau</u>		
	<u>Total Selection</u>	<u>Born in: Town</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Total Selection</u>	<u>Born in: Town</u>	<u>Country</u>
Work (undifferentiated answers)	51.3	41.7	52.7	25.6	13.4	40.0
Health, life itself	37.4	25.0	41.9	25.6	27.4	24.5
Active orientation toward the transformation of social life	14.8	19.4	8.1	21.0	25.2	15.4
Satisfaction of personal material needs	27.8	27.8	29.6	20.6	26.0	15.4
Work for the good of society	4.3	5.5	4.0	18.1	17.6	15.4
Acquiring an education and a profession	38.3	36.1	21.6	12.6	9.2	16.4
Peace and friendship among nations	0.9	--	--	5.0	5.0	5.4
To be a good person	7.8	11.1	4.0	1.7	--	--
Other answers	1.7	2.8	1.3	2.5	--	0.9
No answer	5.2	13.9	1.3	2.5	2.5	1.8

* Some of the respondents' statements were recorded in several groups.

As the table shows, work holds one of the leading positions in the views of most respondents. However, views on the importance of labor personally to the respondent and to society were quite vague. The respondents included labor in virtually all cited values. Unquestionably, this is the consequence of identifying labor with various forms of activity. Nevertheless, we can also clearly see the influence of contemporary socioeconomic processes taking place in Africa. Thus, the number of people oriented toward active social change, including productive toil, was substantially higher among the higher school

students in Guinea-Bissau than among Angolan students. This is the result, first of all, of the experience in labor activities and, secondly, the educational level. The answers of the Angolan youth reveal a predominating practical approach. They combine the strong influence of traditional views with the aspiration for a solid material status. The views of the respondents were also influenced by the technical level side of their education, the short term of training in the center and the rural origin of most of them. Incidentally, native urban dwellers showed a more active and varied attitude in their answers.

Let us sum it up. Concepts of labor among young people unquestionably become deeper and more complex. The most important positive feature in this case is the view displayed by many respondents of the high value of socially useful activities. This view is a mandatory prerequisite for active participation in socioeconomic change. This, however, requires yet another prerequisite. Said assessment must be supported by the concept of engaging in daily conscientious work in modern production. In order for such an attitude to be adopted by the broad population strata, it is necessary, above all, to surmount the limited concept of labor as a natural and simple condition for the reproduction of human life and the viability of the community. Distorted views inherited from the colonial past, in which consumption rather than labor was considered a leading factor in the system of values, must be removed.

The task of taking a new attitude toward labor has been included in the programs of many revolutionary democratic parties, which consider it an important prerequisite for involving the broad population masses in conscious participation in political and economic undertakings. The nature of this task was well-formulated by Agostinho Netto in his report delivered at the first MPLA-Labor Party Congress: "The MPLA is struggling for the creation of a society in which labor will become the right and obligation of all citizens, lose its alienating nature and stop being merely a source of means of existence and become a matter of honor for all citizens" (9).

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FOOTNOTE

1. With a view to the empirical study of youth public opinion, the author conducted field studies in Nigeria (1976), Guinea-Bissau (1979-1980) and Angola (1981). A total of 357 students, including 54 fourth and sixth graders attending the Royal College, in Lagos, the country's capital, 26 fourth through sixth graders attending the secondary school in Ibadan (the second largest city in the country), 65 third and fourth graders attending the secondary school in the Olode settlement, not far from Ife (both schools are humanities-oriented) and 212 sixth-graders of three secondary boarding schools in the rural area surrounding Zaria city (administrative and university center) were surveyed. A total of 238 people were surveyed in Guinea-Bissau: 129 seniors at the K. Nkrumah National Lyceum in Bissau (the country's capital), 23 vocational school students in the Bra site, 29th fifth- and sixth-graders in the high school and seven workers at the diesel electric power plant in Farim, 40 seventh through ninth graders attending the Ho Chi Minh High School in Kashungo and 11 seventh through ninth graders attending the boarding school in Bafata. A total of 115 students were surveyed in Angola, at the Vocational Training Center for Individuals with Completed and Unfinished Grammar Education, located in Lobitu. The age of the respondents ranged from 12 to 36 (the average age was 20.1). Most of the respondents were boys.

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INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL VIEWS OF THE U.S. POPULATION

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[Article by Aleksandr Sergeyevich Popov, candidate of philosophical sciences, instructor at the Philosophy Faculty, Moscow State University. Mark Solomonovich El'port is a graduate student, Department of Philosophy, Moscow State University. This is their first article in our journal]

[Text] Religion has always played an important role in U.S. sociopolitical life. Despite a certain decline in attendance and the specific nature of American religiosity, the United States remains the country with the largest number of believers (second to Ireland) in the capitalist world: according to the Gallup Institute, 94 percent of all Americans consider themselves believers, and 40 percent state that they ascribe religion a very important role in human life (it is interesting to note for comparison's sake that only 7 to 10 percent of the population of Japan, the FRG, France and England ascribes such great importance to religion (2)).

The events of the past decade prove the increasing activeness of religious organizations and movements in the United States. Liberal and conservative American churches are directly intervening in the political struggle, in shaping public opinion and in the course of electoral campaigns.¹

Is there a connection between the strictly religious views held by such associations and their sociopolitical orientation? Naturally, it would be methodologically erroneous to derive specific political positions held by one or another religious unit on the basis of its confessional features and catechism. In principle, politics should not be reduced to "purely religious" motivations or explain one superstructural phenomenon through another.

However, it is obviously impossible totally to "divorce" the religious features of clerical institutions from their political concepts. In this article we would like to trace a certain trend in relations between church-theological liberalism of American religious organizations and political liberalism and, conversely, to emphasize that conservatism (fundamentalism) in theology is also extended to the area of sociopolitical relations.

We know that American religious and church life has always been distinguished by democracy and tolerance. V. I. Lenin himself pointed out that the official state connection between capital and religion is manifested least of all in

the United States. This, however, does not prevent the ruling classes from using it to further their own objectives (1). The mechanism of this phenomenon was analyzed in D. Ye. Furman's book "Religiya i Sotsial'nyye Konflikty v SShA" [Religion and Social Conflicts in the United States], in which he describes the manner in which such an official independent status of religion enables it to play a stabilizing role in American bourgeois society (3).

The connection between the particularly democratic religious life and the overall development of bourgeois democracy in the United States is unquestionable. However, it is quite complex and multidimensional. On the one hand, unquestionably, it was not religious tolerance and the variety of theological doctrines which laid the foundations of American democracy but, rather, the opposite. On the other, the traditions of American liberal Protestant thinking had a notable influence on the development and specifics of social processes in which American believers are actively involved.

Such traditions or, to put it better, trends in the development of American theology, include enthusiasm for religious-clerical experimentation, extreme forms of modernism, pluralistic theological trends and the dissemination of ecumenical² contacts, which exceed a purely religious framework.

The most essential feature of Protestant thinking in America is the aspiration of its representatives to apply Christianity in its sociopolitical dimension to economic, family, political and other realms of activity.³

How can such seemingly purely theological trends influence the shaping of American political views? The rejection of traditional theological ideas, the debunking of any "eternal verities" of Christian doctrine and the erosion and reinterpretation of religious dogma and biblical mythological plots and symbols, which reflect the general crisis of the church in the contemporary world, obstruct the use of religion in substantiating the inviolability of the existing order. The assertion of the principle of pluralistic theological approaches, i.e., the peaceful coexistence of various viewpoints, concepts and opinions, is extended to the sociopolitical conclusions of theologians, including the most radical or those which the right wing described as "procommunist."

The broad view of ecumenism facilitates the organization of contacts in cooperation between American believers and democratic strata sharing other beliefs and nonbelievers in the struggle for peace, for example. U.S. ecumenical processes involve the most representative and prestigious organizations distinguished by their liberal sociopolitical views. The main ecumenical association in the United States--the National Council of Christian Churches (NCC) includes more than 30 different religious associations. The NCC itself was set up in 1950, consisting of 26 Protestant and five orthodox organizations representing 32 million members. The most active in this movement are influential Protestant organizations such as the American Lutheran Church, the United Methodist and Episcopal churches, the Presbyterian Church, the United Church of Christ, the Christian Scientists and a number of Baptist organizations.

The hopes which the members of the ecumenical movement of the 1960s had of achieving religious unity have now disappeared. However, this movement did not lose its prestige and influence, particularly in practical life. The point is that the "peak" of purely religious church organizational and theological modernistic innovations was crossed by the American Protestant churches in the mid-1970s. It seemed that anything which could have been updated had been changed. However, in their effort to be in step with the century, the ecumenical associations, their leaderships above all, met with a rejection of their activities on the part of the rank-and-file believers, whose awareness frequently fell behind the flight of theological thinking at its superior and elitist level. The ecumenical trends toward unification and the merging of religious organizations themselves were considered by many believers as "suicidal": "Churches cannot merge unless they want to die" (4).

The discontent of some of the rank-and-file membership of religious organizations with the course of modernization which their leaderships pursued toward the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s extended also to problems of the country's foreign and domestic policy. A significant percentage of Americans fell under the influence of official propagandist chauvinistic zeal and developed a mistrust of the line followed by the leaderships of the most noted American religious organizations.

It is common knowledge that the liberal political activeness of a number of large American churches has a strong tradition. Religious leaders with a strong ecumenical orientation, the National Council of Churches above all, pay close attention to the mood of the public and the pulsebeat of the times as well as the development of democratic processes in the country and youth, women's, black and ecological movements. We know that in the 1960s these religious struggles opposed the dirty war in Vietnam and segregation. They were in favor of civil rights for oppressed minorities and the solution of the problems of poverty and unemployment. In the 1970s they welcomed detente and criticized its enemies within the country. Curiously, during that period, the purely religious aspects of ecumenical activities of liberal American churches were sharply criticized by the most leftist theologians for their "abstract," "archaic" and even "reactionary" nature. However, most of the criticism came from the right. The end of the 1970s was characterized by the counteroffensive of forces related to the military-industrial complex, which considered detente a major threat to economic, political and ideological interests. A real psychological war broke out against the forces of peace, detente and democracy. Floods of propagandist anti-Soviet and anticommunist fabrications and falsehoods ~~was~~ poured on the Americans. During that period, the liberal position of American ecumenical associations and the World Council of Churches became the target of particularly fierce attacks on the part of fundamentalist American communities, which were superconservative from the religious and political viewpoints. Nor was the notorious psychopathic idea of the "hand of Moscow," directing the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches, omitted, along with considerations about the "Red contamination" which had stricken the movement and its "anti-American" trend.⁴ The system of "proof" used by the fundamentalists may be reduced essentially to two basic theses: the ecumenical movement includes churches from the socialist countries, which form a "Red bloc" within it; the position held by the World Council of Churches and the NCC does not coincide with that of the "true Americans."

During that period, the alliance between political hawks and extreme right theological trends in the United States strengthened. The "firm hand" in politics shook up the "firm hand" in theology. The internal harmony between American Orthodox religious fundamentalism and right-wing political conservatism became even clearer. Extreme forms of religious traditionalism were openly supported by right-wing political groups. To the latter, the public benedictions of orthodox theologians were converted into solid propaganda capital. Furthermore, orthodoxy became one of the means through which attacks were mounted on moderate-liberal or insufficiently conservative political circles.

The "Moral Majority," led by Jerry Falwell, a Protestant preacher from Lynchburg (Virginia), is distinguished among the various groups of modern American neoconservative fundamentalists with its aggressiveness, financial power and organization. The movement, which has rallied the most religiously orthodox and politically reactionary Americans, numbers, according to the press, 4 million members. They include some 72,000 clergymen. Falwell's Sunday sermons are heard by 25 million U.S. citizens and 3.5 million American families give material support to the Moral Majority (6).

The social base of such movements is found primarily among the population of small provincial towns, people who are quite helpless politically and are frightened by the economic decline and the uncertainty of their rather relative well-being, people who oppose anything which, from their viewpoint, is fraught with changes of the system. Such people expect nothing good from change. The social status and mentality of this petit bourgeois social group are such that during periods of crises it easily falls prey to dreams of a "firm hand" which could keep the country away from "chaos and anarchy." The magic words "law and order" and appeals to return to the "good old times" have a truly hypnotic effect on the petit bourgeois mind. History is familiar with the frequency with which essentially most reactionary doctrines and programs are concealed behind such appeals.

The Moral Majority assumed its final shape in the summer of 1979. In January 1980 Falwell began to publish his own printed organ, the MORAL MAJORITY NEWS, which reached a circulation of almost half a million by October of the same year. The NEWS is distributed free of charge. However, the names of the subscribers are entered on the lists of those who are urged to support the movement with donations. Falwell's daily sermons are broadcast by 275 radio and 310 television stations throughout the United States.

The religious-political credo of the Moral Majority may be reduced to the following: biblical morality applies to the individual and to the entire American nation. The free enterprise system and the political structure of capitalist countries are entirely consistent with the norms of Biblical morality and are exemplary in all respects. America is a God-chosen country which is the example of the implementation of a divine plan. Its purpose in the world is to bring the values of freedom and democracy, opposing the global expansion of "satanism" as represented by the USSR and the other socialist countries. Churches, like "simply moral people," must dedicate all their forces to improve America's health and lead it back to the primary economic, political and spiritual principles, i.e., the principles of marketplace capitalism (7).

Such concepts provide a firm foundation for the alliance between conservative religious and political forces in the United States. The Moral Majority's political sympathies were clearly expressed at the 1980 republican convention. However, the definitive alliance between extreme right politicians and religious leaders took place at the so-called "Meeting on National Problems," which was held in Dallas in August 1980. At the meeting, attended by 15,000 people, both sides presented a joint program for action and demonstrated a complete unity of view. Under a hail of ovations, Reagan, who addressed the meeting, said to the exalted audience: "I would like you to know that I support you and what you are doing!" (8)

In turn, Falwell said in an interview that he had voted for Reagan, for "the platform on which he built his electoral campaign was quite similar to mine..." (9). In propagandizing Reagan's policy, as allegedly reflecting the interests of the broad masses of believers, Falwell himself energetically contributed to the popularization of the Republican Party program when he addressed the Republican Party caucus in Detroit. After Reagan's victory, R. Billings, Falwell's closest assistant, became part of the White House apparatus as adviser in relations with the Christian right.

However, the extensive advertising in the press and on television of the basic principles of the ideological program of the religious neoconservatives and, above all, some methods used in their practical implementation, which became known, and which frequently did not coincide at all with the promised "correct behavior," triggered the discontent of the American public. Indignation was expressed even by representatives of moderate conservative circles, frightened by the fact that the extreme degree of anti-intellectualism, fanatical intolerance and the narrow-minded primitivism of the propagandists of the movement could shock the broad American strata and throw them into the arms of free-thinking liberalism." Articles were published in the American press exposing the specific "mechanisms" through which the right wing was observing the "divine ordinance": they were exposed drafting "blacklists," which included "communist agents," economic boycotts and political intrigues, and the organization of advertising "publicity" of political hawks. The step from the theological stipulation in defense of the capitalist system to the business methods of the "free" political marketplace proved to be quite small.

Naturally, compared with the Moral Majority movement, the activities of the ecumenical World Council of Churches and National Council of Churches seem diametrically opposite. Whereas the Moral Majority leaders comprehensively promote the idea of the "God-given" nature of capitalism and consider today's United States a model of statehood, many members of the World Council of Churches extensively criticize its economic foundations, discrimination and social inequality. The dominant topics of their appeals and slogans increasingly concentrate on demands to defend the rights of the "oppressed and tyrannized" social groups and classes by imperialism. This position was fully manifested at the Fifth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches (Nairobi, 1975), at which M. Manley stated, in referring to capitalism, that "to this day history has not been familiar with such an economic system, based on total processes of suppression in the political, social, psychological and even philosophical areas" (7, p 63).

The common religious-political platform of the World Council of Churches is drastically different from the views of the Moral Majority and may be formulated roughly as follows: justice and concern for the have-nots and the oppressed is a central Biblical theme. Criticism of capitalism as the main source of injustice is correct in many of its aspects and, consequently, the overthrow of the capitalist order (violently in some cases) is justified from the Christian viewpoint, as is the subsequent establishment of socialism. The latter is more consistent with evangelical doctrine. Today's America is an imperialist state which supports right-wing anti-people's regimes, critically exploiting the majority of natural resources on the planet and absolutely indifferent to the needs and expectations of the nations. The church must join the liberation movements which are directed against imperialism.

Although such views suffer from some one-sidedness and limitation, they reflect the views and moods of the broad believer strata who are actively joining in the struggle for the establishment of just social relations.

It can be said, therefore, that contemporary America has been split into two opposite camps. The first, the official-governmental, includes defenders of the present U.S. course, such as the Moral Majority, whereas the second is that of supporters of the so-called concept of "alternate America." The latter is defended, in particular, by the country's liberal ecumenical circles which (above all the churches affiliated with the National Council of Churches) account today for one of the most significant forces opposing the Reagan administration.

The ideas of an "alternate America," related to the need for an immediate "reorientation" and "remaking" of its present course, played a noticeable role in the 1984 electoral campaign. By alternative or remaking, the liberal forces mean, above all, a rejection of the aggressive foreign policy course pursued by the United States and "Reaganomics" inside the country or, in other words, the government's reactionary policy.

At a meeting of the NCC in Philadelphia, in May 1981, delegates and guests representing more than 40 million Americans tried to sum up the basic positions of their "fundamental," as they said, disagreement with the Reagan administration's "vision of America." This "vision" and course, as was emphasized at a special declaration by the leading NCC bodies, threatens the existing "image of America" as the "model and embodiment of a just human society" (10, p 207).

The liberals have also their own interpretation of the idea of "America's special mission," to which they give a content different from the official point of view. According to the supporters of the influential NCC, superiority should be attained not in the least in the areas considered desirable by the present administration. "The objective of Reagan and his supporters," the NCC statement notes, "is to make the United States 'country No 1.' This applies not to the level of literacy or the prospects of life of the citizens, aid to developing nations, freedom from the crisis of moral values or elimination of crime and drug addictions, but in the area of nuclear confrontation and the possibility of imposing its will on others" (10, p 211).

This type of "philosophy" of the Reagan administration, the NCC leaders emphasize, should be exposed to merciless criticism, for it has no right to be imposed upon the American people, neither from the moral nor the religious point of view. They offer another "alternate America," a "new Jerusalem" free of poverty and oppression, where the forces of evil and the "old world" will be buried forever (10, p 210).

Let us emphasize that the concept of "alternate America," used by the liberal ecumenical circles, does not affect the foundations of bourgeois society. In a number of aspects, above all in its criticism of the foreign policy course of the present administration, the idea of "another America" has a considerable mobilizing potential. Religious symbolism, or the biblical language of ecumenical documents neither can nor should conceal their main topic: the aspiration of the simple Americans not to fight but to resolve problems peacefully. The processes of sociopolitical differentiation within American society are increasingly affecting religious circles as well. The fact that many of them are expressing the will of the progressive and democratic segment of the U.S. population is also confirmed by the open letter of representatives of the most important American religions (1984) containing the sharpest criticism of the president ever made by a religious community (11).

The letter developed the concept of "two Americas"; one of them is the America of Ronald Reagan, ready to risk nuclear destruction for the sake of a feverish pursuit of nuclear superiority, ignoring violations of human rights in countries such as South Africa and El Salvador, and using military force in interfering in other people's affairs. The "other America," which, according to the letter, includes the majority of the country's population, "sees the way to strengthening security not in stockpiling mass destruction weapons but in a policy aimed at narrowing the widening gap between rich and poor. It is an America respectful of cultural, religious and ethnic differences, the America of Martin Luther King.... It is the America to which we belong and which, we believe, embodies the ideals of the tremendous majority of Americans, believers as well as nonbelievers" (11).

The religious defenders of the "other America" try to counter the atmosphere of fear and suspicion with an entire set of educational and propaganda measures aimed at shaping an "ideology of trust" and "images of friends" instead of "enemies." The attacks of the right wing on Soviet society for its "sinfulness" and "Godlessness" as well are not supported by liberal church leaders. They consider "Godless" not socialism but the arms race.

Characteristically, both right- and left-wing leaders of religious movements in America are trying to prove that it is precisely their views which are consistent with Biblical teachings and Christ's sermons. Naturally, we should not ignore the fact that religion and its concepts and images and religious education have quite sufficient "cumulative" possibilities to shape a variety of sociopolitical aspirations and objectives. The alliance between religion and politics frequently creates quite conflicting products hard to classify simply. Those who study them should not ignore specific attributes of religious outlook or the specific sociopolitical "content" of religious ideological forms.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Some aspects of the religious-political situation in contemporary American society have already been discussed in this journal. See SOTSIOLOG. ISSLED., No 2, 1983, p 63, and No 4, pp 165-167.
2. Frequently understood by ecumenical processes are all manifestations of religious integration and relations and ties among religious groups aimed at establishing contacts and achieving mutual understanding. This is the maximally broad interpretation of ecumenism. In the more narrow sense, said term is primarily used to indicate movements for the unification of Christian churches, coordinated by the World Council of Churches. Today this council includes more than 300 religious organizations from approximately 100 countries (a total of more than 350 million members), including all the largest churches in the socialist countries. Although popular in the 1960s, the idea that the Roman Catholic Church could join the World Council of Churches now seems incredible, nevertheless ecumenism as such is not rejected by official Vatican policy.

3. This theology is known as "horizontal," unlike the "vertical" aimed directly at identifying the dogmatic foundations of the Christian doctrine, the religious-spiritual "ascension" to God, etc.
4. Characteristic on this level is the work of the fundamentalist American Church League, "Wages of Sin: The World Council of Churches Unmasked" (5).

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GYNECOCENTRISM VERSUS ANDROCENTRISM (A NEO-FREUDIAN CONCEPT)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 167-171

[Article by Valentina Konstantinovna Ushakova, laboratory technician, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research Theory and History of Sociology Department. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] Gynecocentrism is a trend of sociological, psychological and philosophical research in problems affecting women and seeking in this area a key to the solution of topical problems of contemporary bourgeois society.

As early as the end of the 19th century, on the basis of entomological, botanical, zoological, biological, anthropological and sociological data, the American scientist Lester F. Ward developed a theory which he named--unlike the androcentrist theories of other scientists--gynecocentrism, i. e., a theory which asserted the superiority of the female over the male species (4). As he developed his theory, Ward tried to prove that, from the point of view of the efficiency of the species, the female is the prime being, of greater importance to the preservation of the species and, consequently, superior to the male.

We find an emphatic attention paid to female psychology in the works of many psychoanalysts. In their view, such a reorientation of research contributes to attaining scientific objectivity, for it is one of the means of eliminating age-old prejudices which have become rooted in the minds of both men and women. "Our entire civilization is male-oriented," Karen Horney, for example, writes. "The state, the laws, morality, religion and science are all male inventions" (1). This view is an extreme simplification of the question of the trend and motive forces of cultural-historical development and the objective nature of the study of man and society, reducing it to the problem of interaction between the sexes. Nevertheless, it is unquestionable that the physical and, subsequently, social male dominance triggered a peculiar androcentrist philosophy, clearly manifested in the sociopsychological climate and standards of contemporary bourgeois society.

Gynecocentrism is not a phenomenon exclusive of the 20th century. One of the first voices which were raised in demand for equality and which even claimed a certain superiority of women over men was that of the French philosopher of the Enlightenment Marie Jean Condorcet (2). The later works of Auguste Comte,

the founder of bourgeois sociology, were imbued with gynecocentrist ideas. Comte not only rejected marital subordination but was the first to proclaim the need for the sexual liberation of women: in his view, man should become the background, an unnecessary addition which the woman could do without in the not so distant future (with the help of science). He suggested the "systematizing of human knowledge, making it exclusively dependent on women" (3).

Under the influence of gynecocentrist ideas, some contemporary psychoanalysts considered it necessary to revise Freud's legacy and develop a theory which would reflect more adequately the biological and cultural-historical characteristics of relations between sexes. Such views were held, for example, by Gregory Zilboorg, who called for "making a new study of the cultural changes which have taken place of late and revising many traditional views on psychology" (5). Zilboorg saw in women's aspiration for equality the desire to regain the freedom they had at the initial stage in the development of civilization, long before the very concept of freedom developed in men.

According to Mary-Jane Sherfey, the reason for the suppression of the psyche and freedom in women is their exaggerated sexuality. She writes that "It is only very recently that the old social prescriptions against the free expression of women's sexuality have been decisively rejected. This unprecedented event was born of the scientific revolution" (6), which resulted in the development of effective birth prevention means, which also created a new "physiological" equality and emotional honesty (Ibid.). "It is difficult to predict," Sherfey goes on to say, "what would happen if this trend is continued. What is unquestionable, however, is that if prove unable to control their sexual motivations, thus threatening family life and concern for children, a return to the strict and coercive elimination of such motivations would be inevitable and mandatory. Otherwise, the biological family would disappear and the type of models of educating children and relations between adults which replace it would be impossible to predict at this point" (Ibid.).

For many decades Freudian psychoanalysis was considered and used by bourgeois ideologues (and criticized by the Marxists) for being strictly androcentrist, denigrating the dignity of women and, furthermore, being a grossly biologized, individualistic theoretical structure. A certain "softening" in psychoanalysis, achieved as a result of the consideration of cultural factors and individual interrelationships was noted in the neo-Freudians K. Young, A. Adler, K. Horney, and others.

The psycholanalysts who support the gynecocentrist concept objected to such an interpretation, finding not only in later but even earlier Freudian works grounds for a certain reassessment of the role of his theory in the development of contemporary androcentrist bourgeois culture. They are convinced that with a proper understanding and application of Freudian methods, relations between the sexes could become stable and harmonious and mankind at large could become happier. In this case the main attention should be concentrated to educating the future wife and mother within the family (in this, the supporters of gynecocentrism believe to be true to Freud), for it is on her that the psychological health and fate of subsequent generations depend. Thus, the French psychoanalyst Pierre Daco writes that "If the rebirth of our entire earth depends on that of Woman and if, on the other hand, mothers

influence the subconscious of their daughters to the same extent, the future of our planet depends precisely on the mothers" (7).

Therefore, Freud finds himself part of traditional bourgeois enlightenment.

It is precisely on this basis, from the enlightening enthusiasm of gynocentrism, that practical recommendations are formulated on the development of new forms of relations between the sexes with a view to safeguarding and developing the couple--the long-term and stable union between a man and a woman, joined in pursuit of a common objective and with emotional affective ties.

Unquestionably, the problems of raising girls and preserving the couples, as interpreted in gynocentrist oriented psychoanalysis, i. e., essentially questions of utilizing psychological and value-emotional personality mechanisms in the process of upbringing and family therapy, are worthy of attention. F. V. Bassin and V. Ye. Rozhnov, noted students of problems of the subconscious, who have considered in detail psychoanalysis on the basis of Marxist positions, have justifiably pointed out that the criticism of Freudianism and neo-Freudianism should not follow the path of rejecting the questions which are raised but "thoroughly reviewing" and finding a truly scientific interpretation of the meaning of the corresponding concepts in their study from the psychoanalytical viewpoint (8).

Setting purely psychological problems aside, let us consider the social and ideological aspects of gynocentrist concepts. How justified is the formulation of the question of an androcentrist bourgeois societal climate, adverse in terms of the development of the female personality? Let us bear in mind that women account for 52 percent of the population in the capitalist countries and for 50 percent of their GNP. Nevertheless, there is frequent discrimination against women in the professional-labor area. In the United States, the richest country in the Western world, average earnings of male college graduates are almost one third higher than of women (13). Furthermore, a number of sociological studies have proved the instability of the female personality, caused by the uncertainty of the social status of women in a capitalist society. Here women are deprived of the possibility of self-knowledge and self-realization (9). The social and moral-psychological situation inherent in bourgeois society deforms the consciousness of women, unilaterally determining their choices: either a life totally dedicated to family concerns or professional activities under the conditions of a male-oriented public production process. In trying to resolve this conflict, women throw themselves from one extreme to another. Gynocentrism is a confirmation of the awareness of this fact and a symptom of a deeply rooted social illness.

Another question is that of the adequacy of drugs offered for the "treatment" of this disease. It is a question of the adequacy of psychoanalysis in changing the nature of the person and interpersonality relations. Its educational trend, at least in its gynocentric interpretation, appears, to a certain extent, justified. However, whereas prior to the appearance of Marxism, bourgeois enlightenment played a progressive role, under the conditions of contemporary capitalist reality, bourgeois enlightenment in general and "enlightening Freudianism" in particular perform an apologetic function.

This refers not only to the theoretical principles of Freudian psychoanalysis, which have been repeatedly and substantively criticized by Soviet and foreign Marxists, but also to the social functions of Freudian concepts.

The Freudian interpretation of the personality and forms of interpersonal intercourse, extended to efforts to explain the shaping of social structures, institutes and state systems, and the elaboration of concepts of anthropo- and sociogenesis, is a description of mechanisms of social and personality interaction "normal" in bourgeois society. The fetishizing of the various social circumstances, presented in the form of scientific interpretations, was exposed by the Marxist-Leninist classics, who proved through the example of bourgeois political economic thought that raising the product of human activities in its socially determined concreteness (forms of relations among people in general and between the sexes in particular, as they exist in bourgeois society, may be considered as such a product) to the status of a universal idea is inherent in bourgeois awareness on all its levels.

Whereas in "German Ideology" the mechanism of a fetishistic awareness was exposed on the level of shaping conventional concepts of the world, in a number of other works, "Das Kapital", for instance, Marx and Engels proved the way in which bourgeois scientific consciousness considers as "objective scientific fact" merely the appearance of a social phenomenon, thanks to which it can reproduce the fetishism inherent in ordinary awareness in the formalized categories of "objective" science.

This process has been insufficiently studied by Marxist critics in its psychoanalytical aspects. From L. S. Vygodskiy (10), who wrote of the need for a creative reinterpretation of Freudian legacy, to the contemporary Soviet researchers, the criticism of psychoanalysis is conducted by pitting Freudianism against the concepts, methods and ideas of Marxist psychology and sociology. Although accurate and legitimate in itself, this method does not allow us adequately to interpret the ideological and political meaning of the functions of Freudianism in general and its gynococentrist interpretation in contemporary bourgeois awareness in particular. This also hinders positive Marxist development of corresponding psychoanalytical problems, such as those of the subconscious, attraction, sex, love, eroticism, etc.

Let us point out yet another quite noteworthy circumstance: gynococentrism is a characteristic cultural and ideological phenomenon representing an attempt to include Freud's legacy within the tradition of bourgeois enlightenment. In this sense, gynococentrically oriented doctrines, which link the fate of humankind to that of women, are part of a syncretic ideology which is developing today in the capitalist countries, the purpose of which is to limit and, subsequently, eliminate the fatal consequences based on the nature of bourgeois society. In addressing themselves to women as mothers, sisters and daughters, the supporters of gynococentrism do not reduce their role in the least to giving birth and preserving the human hearth. They call upon women to participate in building a new society drastically different from the bourgeois society which was created by men. The ideas of gynococentrism encourage anti-imperialist trends. The latter relate to the "free search for new moral values...the total reconciliation between men and

Naturally, the efforts to "revolutionize" gynecocentrist concepts do not go beyond the limits of purely liberal views. Similar precedents in the history of sociological thinking may be traced, for example, in the ideological evolution of Fromm and Marcuse, whose "revolutionarism" was replaced by a search for the moral perfection of the individual.

The so-called problem of women has been given an accurate and time-tested substantiation in Marxism. "The status of women is not merely a means but an objective, one of the most important aspects in resolving the problem of the liberation of the working people and attaining social equality (12). In resolving the global problems of the revolutionary reorganization of the world, Marxism thus also resolves the question of the status of women in society. Historical experience proves that the success of the revolutionary movement is possible with the active participation of the broad toiling strata, including women. Said tasks are much broader and more difficult compared to the ones the ideologues of gynecocentrism set themselves. In that sense, gynecocentrism is a bourgeois intellectual trend not going beyond the capitalist social system. It is limited and utopian.

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13. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, No 6, August 1984, p 46-47.

FOOTNOTES

1. The concept of the couple, which became so popular in 20th century psychology and sociology, was originally used in the works of the utopian socialists, Saint-Simon and Fourier in particular.
2. Thus, for example, between 50 and 70 percent of all surveyed Italian women employees showed alarm and concern; 62.5 percent feel that they are not sufficiently happy and 37.7 percent believe that they are on the verge of physical exhaustion (9).

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 172-180

[Text] Ye. A. Filatova, Moscow: "Taking a Deeper Look"

To the Editors: I read carefully the article by V. M. Kishinets "Self-Expert Thesaurus Test of Satisfaction with the Marriage" (3, 1984). A number of considerations arose in my mind in connection with this article. For the sake of convenience I have combined them in three separate groups.

1. Theoretical aspect. The test under discussion is described as one aimed at determining the satisfaction with the marriage. However, its study indicates that it determines satisfaction with 38 moral-psychological and six qualitative features which reflect the external, physical and cultural data of the spouse. Unquestionably, these qualities are the components which establish the satisfaction with the marriage. However, they do not account for the entire structure of the latter. Instead of pointing out the significance (weight) of the 44 cited qualities in the structure of satisfaction with the marriage, the author considers them as reflecting satisfaction as a whole. From the author's viewpoint, quite important components such as the nature of the moral and psychological attitude of either spouse to the others and in the area of sex are of no serious significance and are unworthy of attention.
2. Methodical aspect. At the beginning of the article, the author writes "the accuracy of measurement results based on traditional methods is low. This limits the use of formal-mathematical methods" (p 155). The conclusion is that said methods are a self-seeking target unrelated to the meaningful aspect of the problem. V. M. Kishinets then notes that "the person cannot...adequately correlate his ratings with a highly subdivided numerical scale" (p 155). This, however, is unnecessary. It is universally known that one must measure on the basis of the accuracy which the person is capable of providing.

The author goes on to say that "the small number of divisions... significantly hinders the solution of research problems" (p 155). In rejecting the accuracy of this statement, we are forced to repeat trite arguments, such as the fact that measurements should be made not with a maximally possible but with optimal gradations. If in this sense the

measurement is reliable, it will enable us to resolve the research problems most adequately.

One of the shortcomings in the article is the fact that the model of marriage satisfaction indicators is totally groundless. It is unclear why the author has "reconstructed the uniform satisfaction indicator" in precisely this manner. The procedures used here of self-assessment (said "self-expert evaluation") have not been brought to a logical end: the indicator model totally ignores choices in which all qualities of the spouse are positive with a single negative exception (such as "clearly expressed preference for alcohol"). This incompleteness leads us to question the grounds on which this instrument has been selected.

The author displays his poor knowledge of the theory of measurements in statements such as "weight coefficients ensure the subordination of the assessment of satisfaction...to the laws of mathematics" (p 156) or "satisfaction indicator have mathematical properties and can be analyzed with the help of any type of mathematical methods" (p 159).

As regards the survey, it is clear from turning to the respondent (in quality rating) that the latter is assigned the role of expert. He is not asked how important the qualities of his spouse are to him but the importance of the quality of the spouse in general. Such incompleteness has led to a corresponding systematic error in measurement.

3. Study of the quality of the text and the interpretation of results. In his effort to substantiate the need to use the instruments suggested in his article, the author compares the results of the measurements obtained with the use of the test and the method of direct surveys aimed at determining satisfaction with the marriage. However, V. M. Kishinets's claims notwithstanding, the results of the comparison prove that the direct investigation turned out to be more reliable than the test. In answering the direct question, 5 percent of the respondents in the "non-divorcing" group checked the item "totally unsatisfied (with the marriage)" (p 158). Other studies have indicated that the roughly same percentage of people dissatisfied with the marriage do not seek a divorce because of the children or for other reasons. V. M. Kishinets has been unable to single out this specific group on the basis of his test, a fact which proves the assumption that the test determines not satisfaction with the marriage but something else.

The breakdown of the test results merely proves that among those seeking a divorce the majority are dissatisfied with the qualities of the spouse, whereas among those not seeking a divorce the majority are satisfied with them. In other words, V. M. Kishinets's test enables us to establish the link between divorce intentions and satisfaction with the personal qualities of the spouse. This should have been described in detail, which would have made the article quite interesting. Correspondingly, the threshold of divorce seeking is studied by V. M. Kishinets not on the basis of the satisfaction with the marriage but of satisfaction with the qualities indicated in the list.

V. M. Kishinets, Moscow: "Author's Answer"

Dear Comrade Filatova: In this answer to your letter I shall try to clarify some of the concepts expressed in my article. Above all, I do not equate in the least, as you claim, "broad concepts such as all qualities of the partners and qualities chosen for the test." (For example, the number of personal qualities do not include "eloquence, good memory," etc.). The fact that the latter are adequate in determining satisfaction with the marriage is confirmed, among others, by a test of the validity of the method, regarding which, judging by everything you have said, you have no remarks. As a whole, there is no major obstacle to broadening the personal qualities used in the test. What matters is for them to be consistent with the requirement of non-contradiction, which is ensured by selecting them from a single topic dictionary--the thesaurus. From the practical viewpoint, it is more relevant to lower the number of items (qualities) in the test, providing that the metrological characteristics are preserved, although this problem is quite complicated and cannot be resolved automatically. The possibility of such a reduction is determined by the existence of a certain interconnection among personal qualities. Thus, for example, the situation you describe, in which "all the qualities of the spouse are positive yet the divorce is caused by a single reason (such as a "clearly manifested inclination toward alcoholism")" is unlikely. The materials of the study and practical experience indicate that drunkenness involves an entire "set" of negative features, such as wastefulness, rudeness, lying, etc. Otherwise, it would not lead to a divorce. A custom no less harmful to the health--smoking-- which, however, does not lead to a degradation of the personality, does not cause a breakdown in a family. The nature of sexual relations, which are somewhat difficult to determine, is also reflected in the perception of other personality qualities and is thus taken into consideration in determining the satisfaction. Actually, one cannot deny that this interconnection could be subjected to a more thorough study with a view to upgrading the quality of the test.

You consider necessary "to indicate the significance (weight)...of personality features in the structure of satisfaction with the marriage." However, regardless of the method used to obtain them, such values, as I pointed out in the article and with which, I hope, you will agree, do not coincide with the views of the respondents necessarily. In other words, it is not possible to have identical weight coefficients, for the personal qualities of the spouses may be more important to some respondents than to others. That is precisely why the test explains the importance of these assessments by the respondents themselves, i. e., what takes place is something I describe as self-expert evaluation, which you call self-weighing.

The line of your reasoning in which, on the basis of a sentence borrowed from my article, you draw the conclusion that the use of formal-mathematical methods is self-seeking, is totally puzzling. Let me explain my view point in order to avoid a misunderstanding: in no way could the use of formal-mathematical methods be considered self-seeking. Nevertheless, as practical experience indicates, their substantiated use is quite effective in the study of essential problems.

I cannot agree with the fact that "one should measure with the accuracy to which the person is capable." In other words, if I properly understand this statement, without the use of special measuring methods which would enhance the accuracy and reliability of the basic value judgments of the respondents. This concept not only cannot be considered "universally known" but, in my view, contradicts the logic and practice of scientific development. In order to meet the "trite" stipulation of optimal number of divisions (trite, incidentally, only in terms of a most general statement), measurement accuracy should at least provide an optimum. In the normal process of scientific development, this should be a necessary optimum. Consequently, the required accuracy of measurement rises steadily. This, indeed, is a universally known concept. Unfortunately, the contradiction between the theory of measurements and the fact that the satisfaction indicators have mathematical characteristics is not entirely clear. It seems to me that this assumption should be somehow substantiated.

The purpose of the type of questions used in the survey, such as "On the basis of your personal experience, please rate the importance of the following qualities in terms of family life"...is to make cooperating with the respondents easier. At the same time, it would be difficult to assume that people have two different opinions on this subject, one for themselves and another for others, which would also exclude this feature as a source of systematic (?) errors.

If you look more closely at the breakdown of test results (p 158), you would find that they do not contradict the fact that some spouse are not breaking up the marriage despite a low level of satisfaction. At the same time, the results of the testing confirm, for example, that any figure below the level of satisfaction--0.65--could prevent a divorce. This is a fact which cannot be established through grading.

The test I have suggested could be refined and improved within the framework of the basic principles of its structure. Also of great interest are data contained in the assessments by the respondents of the importance of one quality or another of their spouse which, as the study indicates, are largely based on sex, education, age and other socially demographic features. Let me use this opportunity to note that the test, with the use of a corresponding thesaurus, could be applied in determining satisfaction with other aspects of life, such as work, recreation, etc.

Professor B. A. Grushin, doctor of philosophical sciences, Moscow: "Unexpected Turn of the Topic"

Following the publication of my article "Structure and Composition of Social Awareness" in No 4, 1983, the editors of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, added, as we know, a remark requesting "specialists to express their views on the concepts formulated by the author." Taking into consideration the exceptional complexity and relevance of the questions raised in the article and the extreme variety of views expressed on such topics in our publications, naturally, I could only welcome an editorial decision of this kind and begin to await with interest the start of the discussion. I admit, however, that the first response to the article (No. 3, 1984) was the subject of a great

disappointment and annoyance to me, for instead of an essential continuation of the initiated discussion, all I found were remarks unrelated to the matter, i. e., to the real subject of discussion.

Briefly, what was the topic of my article? First, that Marx's method of ascension from the abstract to the concrete should be used as the basic method in reproducing the general structure of social consciousness. Second, that during the first, the analytical stage in resolving this problem (within which my article was virtually limited!), the purpose of the study should be reduced to determining, within the structure of social consciousness, the maximally complete set of its abstract basic formations. Third, that singling out such type of components should be based on specific methods for the division of the subject, strictly in accordance with existing regulations and demands of logic, so that, subsequently, at the final stage of the study, a synthetic picture of the macrostructure of social consciousness could be obtained, which would include a variety of specific forms of the latter. It is clear in this case that, by virtue of the selected foreshortening of the consideration of the subject, I discussed in my article precisely the forms, the formal components of social consciousness with total abstraction, at this precise stage of the study, of meaningful, functional, subject or any other characteristics.

Naturally, I will readily concede that some philosophy teachers or scientific workers may partially or totally disagree with my considerations and would hold other views on the problem. However, the debate should always cover the essence of the matter and remain within the limits of the questions raised which, in our case, is questioning the applicability of said Marxian method to the theoretical reproduction of the structure of social consciousness or determining the incorrect or erroneous nature of the suggested "grounds for division" of the subject, or else the formulation of some different trends and means for its structuring, and so on and so forth.

Unfortunately, we find nothing of the sort in G. G. Nasonov's response. Instead, we find a great deal of other things. First, the interpretation of the approach in my article as being "formal-logical," allegedly chosen by me in opposition to the "dialectical-materialistic methodology," is totally puzzling. Second, it is categorically inadmissible to ascribe to me concepts which I not only do not share but against which I openly speak out in my article, such as, for example, the fact that in the study of social consciousness the "gnosiological and sociological approach is unacceptable," that "society is a kind of a set of parallel systems," that social consciousness is "splintered into a number of subsystems," etc. Third, the formulation of a number of inappropriate (within the range of the considered problems) wishes, such as that the researcher should "focus his attention on the meaningful aspects of the dynamics of the mind (?), orienting himself toward development problems," that "an objective (?) analysis (and synthesis) presumes the study of an objective source of the origin and development of one structure or subdivisions of social consciousness or another, i. e., deriving them from social life," and so on. Last but not least, we find the repeated use of "clever" word combinations, the meaning of which to me personally (I would think also to their author) remains totally inaccessible, such as assertions that I formulate as my objective "the study of invariant relations of the

system's object" or that I reduce the study of consciousness "to the procedural-technical aspect of structuring" or that "the formalism noted in structuring blocks of social consciousness is also a manifestation of the groundlessness of the globalistic aspirations of the empirical approach."

Naturally, like all researchers, I firmly favor discussions and debates. As we know, however, in order for them to be effective, they must respect certain inviolable rules. Fearing another accusation of using the "formal-logical" approach, I shall not undertake now to list a number of them, but merely mention one, considered the most essential and obvious: any participant in a discussion should make the effort to understand what precisely the preceding "speaker" had in mind, even if he had failed to express all of his ideas with adequate simplicity. Unfortunately, I am forced to conclude that it is precisely this rule which was violated by the first participant in the discussion on my article.

V. G. Britvin, V. F. Sklyarov and I. K. Tereshkin, Moscow: "Our method is already functional"

To the Editors: We have been consistent readers of all SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA ever since it was founded. We are pleased to note that in the 10 years of its existence, the journal has developed into one of the most representative printed organs in which important and topical problems of the building of communism are raised and discussed on a high scientific level. The existing practice of publishing materials for discussions on problems which are still lacking a uniform and definitive resolutions deserves a positive rating.

In submitting our article to the journal, understandably we did not exclude the fact that some of its concepts may become subjects of constructive polemics or trigger objections on the part of the readers. Publishing in a humanities journal materials on methods for processing sociological information, not to mention the inclusion of block systems and sometimes even programs, are unusual phenomena which, frankly stated, have not met with universal support. However, the dissemination among sociologists of the work programs we have suggested indicated that the risk taken by the authors and the editors was entirely justified. At the same time, we have never exaggerated our contribution in the area of processing sociological data or believed that our work has absolutely no shortcomings. What was most important to us were the needs of practical workers and the sincere desire to help sociologists who, in the century of electronics, are forced to use primitive manual information processing facilities.

Our article, which appeared in Issue No 2 for 1984 of this journal, and which triggered the response of one of the readers, which could hardly be considered academic in tone (SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1984, pp 174-176), dealt less with theoretical than instrumental problems: perfecting methods for the storage and utilization of sociological data in information systems of enterprises, associations and sectors. Specialists are familiar with the true and, unfortunately, unsatisfactory state of affairs in this area, for which reason we did not attempt to describe the situation prevailing in this field to its fullest extent.

Let us consider the essence of the objections and remarks expressed in A. F. Gurdzhi's letter. Our article indeed does not explain the meaning of the symbol "C" (the number of surveys stored in the computer's memory), used in the table. We are grateful to our opponent for this remark. As to terminology ("number of respondents" or "number of lines in the data matrix") or expressions of the type "CEIL Y--Upper Full Figure for Y," they are admissible to the extent to which others could be used as well. This is not a subject for serious discussion, which is what defines the content and practical value of a scientific work. Quite frequently practical experience and time settle arguments on the "aptness" of the use of one concept or another and its usage. In our view, this exhausts the constructive content of the remarks of our opponent. Comrade Gurdzhi states that "to say the least, he does not understand" how a problem with two incompatible choices ("question," to use his expression) could be fed into a computer memory. Since apparently the author of this letter has indeed failed to understand the nature of the matter, let us explain our position once again. The first article (SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1979, p 115) displayed blocks of a standard investigation which was subsequently used in the study. The structure of this investigation stipulated the code choice "no answer" whenever the respondent failed to answer the question. This very essential prerequisite included in the latest article was singled out with the sentence which followed the formula used in computing the capacity of the memory: if no answer is given to a question or should the respondent choose the last value of the figure stipulated in the investigation as a "no answer" choice, the condition of the memory assigned for question i does not change. In other words, for all m_i bits the memory section will be a zero" (p 142). The error of the author of the letter, who obtained a zero result on the basis of our formula, is that he did not take into consideration in his computations the third code item--"no answer".

Let us consider the opinion of the author of the letter concerning the data "compression" methods suggested in the article. Gurdzhi offers detailed "information" to the readers concerning obvious things: the possibilities of modern computers and programming languages. Let us point out that the authors of the article do not ignore these possibilities in the least. At the same time (this is a basic stipulation in their work) they indicate a method which makes it possible to eliminate the "inconveniences" which appear in placing in the memory of a computer a typical sociological document such as a survey. What specifically are we talking about?

In creating a survey, the sociologist tries to provide for maximal reliability and accuracy of information gathered in its course. Nevertheless, a "good" sociological document, used as an instrument in data gathering, does not mean in the least that it is equally "good" from the viewpoint of the efficient utilization of computer resources in storing it into the computer's memory. The suggested modification of one of the method presumes the use of "line bits" for information storing. However, the matter is not limited to this. In order to achieve the maximally admissible (or close to it) "compression" of data for computer software and the PL-1 language, the authors of the article suggest the use of a procedure for converting the information contained in the sociological element into a shape more convenient for computer use. Machine

memory is saved (by a factor of 2-4, compared to the amount required in entering initial data in the form of "line bits") as a result of the more "condensed" placement of questions with incompatible choices. Understandably, as the number of such questions increases the compactness of the recording will increase as well. It is useful to take this circumstance into consideration in recording on magnetic tape (even though the price of the latter may be 80 rubles) documents such as a sociological survey. The same should be said on the possibility of recording on floppy disks, the cost of which is substantially higher.

The absence of a block-diagram for the use of the methods and texts of the program in our article was due to the need for a more efficient use of the space offered by the journal and not the fact that such block systems or programs are not available to the authors and that, consequently, any discussion of method is no more than bare theorizing. The authors do have at their disposal "compression" algorithms for practical use. Furthermore, such algorithms were given to a number of organizations. Therefore, the planned sociological laboratories require neither time nor material outlays for developing and fine tuning the programs mentioned by Comrade Gurdzhi.

Finally, one more feature must be discussed in order to answer our opponent. Whereas the claims he made could be the result of his lack of understanding of some views expressed in the article, at this point, it seems to us, we cannot limit ourselves to mentioning the author's lack of information or emotional lack of restraint. Here we see more than anything else prejudice. How else to understand his claim that we call for "identifying those who have filled the forms in the course of data processing from personnel records?" Furthermore, Comrade Gurdzhi asks: "Have the authors considered the ethical aspect of this approach?" Yes, they have, both when they wrote the article and now, as they are answering its critic.

On that first occasion we pointed out the vulnerability of the procedure of "combining data arrays" with the help of codes (ciphers) against personnel names in the roster and in the sociological document (SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1984, p 139). The reason is that in this case the specific person is indeed "identified" at the survey stage. In our case, the identification of one document or another with a view to combining the arrays is based on a set of features according to which we are investigating not individuals but statistical observation units. Naturally, such units include the individual surveyed. Thanks to the natural process of cadre turnover, the sum total of observation units changes. Along with the possibility of selecting documents containing data on a specific individual, this does not exclude the combination of data characterizing different individuals. The latter, however, is not essential to the researcher studying mass statistical processes, in which the effect of the probability mechanism is presumed.

Such is the essence of the method of combining arrays suggested by us. Even without unextensive information, it is clear that it helps us to eliminate some objective prerequisites for the use of sociological information for unseemly purposes. As to individuals prepared to "abuse them," unfortunately, such individuals still exist. Our suggestion is to erect additional barriers on their way, although such barriers would not be 100 percent effective. We

believe that one should struggle against such individuals. This is what the moral aspect of the problem consists of.

The letter of our opponent is instructively entitled "Trust But Check." This appeal in itself makes sense. In turn, we draw the attention to another wise statement: Trust but consider who you trust.

A. N. Komozin, Moscow: "Once Again on the Possibilities of Surveys"

To the Editors: The article by M. I. Zhabskiy "Survey Possibilities, Limits and Techniques" published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (No 3, 1984) is noteworthy for the very reason that it forces us to think and generates the desire to argue with the author, to refine his position and to express our own views on the subject. The possibilities and limits of the survey, which is one of the working tools of sociologists, have been discussed in the past as well. The author of this article, however, finds new facets both in the formulation of the problem and the means to resolve it. Let us note what we consider very apt formulation of a "paradoxical situation" (the author's term) according to which a "representative of science, a specialist, who must answer the vital problems of the phenomena and processes characterizing one social community or another, himself turns to questions addressed to rank and file people, at this point relying on their ordinary knowledge" (p 165).

How does this method become scientific? The author believes that the problem is resolved through the "enrichment" of ordinary knowledge. Judging by individual statements (let us point out that this part of the article, otherwise written in quite clear language, is the least intelligible), the author relates the "transformation of ordinary into scientific knowledge" essentially to the methods of empirical summation of the results of the survey. The use of a representative selection, systematizing and classifying the study of data, methods of mathematical statistics, etc., would enable us, according to the author, to "convert data based on ordinary knowledge from the level of the individual to the level of the social group, thus establishing on this basis significant social indicators of specific activities" (p 166).

With such an approach the role of sociological theory in the conversion of ordinary into scientific knowledge is willy-nilly given second priority. This is mentioned in the article as part of the overall enumeration, alongside mathematical statistics. In our view, it is precisely theory which plays a decisive role in the "enrichment" and "compression" of knowledge and its translation into a "higher level of reflection." The technical methods for data processing and analysis, including mathematical statistics, are of secondary importance. In order to be able to enrich ordinary views obtained as a result of a survey, from the very beginning, starting with a stage of preparing the program for the sociological study, the presumed result must be interpreted within the framework of theory. Only thus is it be sensible to expect to obtain scientific facts instead of information arrays only. We must think from the very beginning of the limits of the effectiveness of a survey, as M. I. Zhabskiy properly points out. However, the article virtually ignores the role of theory in defining such limits. The ordinary knowledge of the respondent is insufficient, as the author points out, if a problem is to be studied profoundly and completely by using the survey method. It can

satisfactory reflect the characteristics or indicators of no more than a certain part of the phenomenon (p 167). However, since the nature of the phenomena, the study of which could be achieved with the help of the ordinary knowledge of the respondent, is not identified, the scientific value of this concept is low.

In emphasizing the determining role of sociological theory, particularly in defining the possibilities of the survey method, we believe that the following should be pointed out: empirical knowledge can never rise above ordinary knowledge unless enriched by theory. At the same time, nor could general sociological theory lead a normal existence without specialized knowledge about one problem or another and without constant references to empirical data. The scientist, who undertakes a study of even a very limited problem must "ascend" to the peak of Marxist-Leninist theory. Unfortunately, this does not always happen. This is due, in some cases, to methodological or theoretical immaturity or, in others, the insufficient development of the transitional "steps," the so-called middle-level theories. A phenomenon under study, which has not been enriched by theory and history, can easily blend with the ordinary knowledge of the respondent, which is determined with the help of a survey. The consequence is the appearance of misleading results. The method of advance from general sociological theory to empirical knowledge or, in other words, the path which must be followed by the sociologist in undertaking the study of one phenomenon or another, deserves a special discussion. At this point, we should merely outline the problem. Quite popular among sociologists is the concept of motion from the high levels of sociological theory to lesser standards and, in the final account, to empirical knowledge, as a "drop" to the level of an abstract commonness of knowledge. Making concepts operational is the basic method used along this path. In our view, this constitutes an extreme simplification of the interpretation of the method of motion from theory to empirical knowledge. It is essentially a question of a process of reverse empirical (formal-logical) summation. The history of scientific knowledge proves that a combination of ordinary knowledge, a conceptual level of thinking and theory is impossible within the framework of formal logic.

The danger of giving priority to operational concepts as the basic method of progress from theory to empirical knowledge is that it does not guarantee in the least the proper conversion of concepts into empirical references. The meaningfulness of a general theoretical formula used in a study is a matter of indifference in terms of formal logic. What is important is a logical lack of contradictions. It may be that no conversion of concepts into empirical reference points take place and that the change affects only the form of ordinary knowledge. Let us illustrate this with views cited in the article on the question of studying the interests of school students. In selecting the study method it is of essential importance to determine what is understood by the word "interest," and whether the term is used on the conceptual level or the level of ordinary awareness. In the latter case, statements by school students on their inclinations and likings would largely characterize their interests and resolve to a large extent the problem of the technique of the survey and the adequate interpretation of resulting data. If it is a question of the concept of "interest" as characteristic, above all, of the place of the

social group in the structure of social relations and only then to the extent to which one individual or another shares or is aware of this interest, in such a case the survey is merely an auxiliary means.

In conclusion, we would like to request of the editors to continue the discussion on the working tools of sociologists and to describe other methods for gathering data, their principles and their possibilities.

B. N. Kolodizh, Yaroslavl: "Fails to Draw Attention"

Dear Comrades: I came out with two separate impressions from reading the third anniversary issue of your journal. On the one hand, I felt a sense of professional pride, this being the only sociological periodical published in our country, a periodical which is improving with every passing issue. On the other, however, I find it sad to realize that, judging by the size of its edition, the journal is used far below its potential. In my view, the readership of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA is undeservedly small. I am convinced that this damages both science and practical work.

My conclusions are not speculative in the least but based on a survey I made. On a number of occasions I have lent an issue to economists, cadre workers, foremen, shop chiefs or trade union workers. Each time I have noticed a most lively interest in most articles. I established that, as a rule, until then the people had been unfamiliar with this journal or that a brief exposure to it had failed to draw their attention because of its appearance.

It seems to me that the editors insufficiently take into consideration the existence of a certain inertia in the process of "finding out about" the journal. In order to surmount it, the editors should meet with potential readers more frequently. Carelessness in this case is inadmissible. The readers must be won over and develop a view on the journal. I personally could act as an organizer-middleman for such encounters in my plant, with the party and economic aktiv of Leninskiy Rayon in Yaroslavl (the leading industrial rayon in the city) or the oblast's trade union aktiv. All this would require would be a thought-out practically useful bright presentation. This is not so difficult to achieve and would be of use to readers, editors and sociology as a whole.

Excerpts from letters

O. I. Kryshtanovskaya, Moscow: The articles in the "Problems of Development of Sociological Science" section could be more impressive and meaningful. In its current aspect, this section seems to me colorless. In my view, in order to improve the content of the journal it would be expedient to expand the "discussions" section and include within the same issue articles presenting different approaches and even different viewpoints. Unfortunately, the journal rarely publishes articles on practical experience in conducting field studies (not about their results but about the process itself used in gathering data, work with interviewers, etc.)...

V. N. Bassin, Riga: In my view, the editors allocate unjustifiably large space to the part in the journal from "Social Problems in Foreign Countries"

to "Book Reviews." By compressing somewhat the materials in these sections (expressing broader concepts with fewer words), the front sections which are of greater importance to the readers, could be expanded.

V. A. Ivanov, Yaroslavl: Greater attention should be paid to the quality of materials published in the "From the Sociologist's Desk" section. The question which arises after reading many of them is "So what?" Here is another wish addressed to the editors: let us eliminate the misuse of pseudo-scientific terminology for, in my view, it does not upgrade the scientific level but the pseudo-scientific nature of the articles.

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UPGRADING SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH EFFICIENCY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 181-182

[RATAU report]

[Text] A practical science conference on the development of sociological research was held in Kiev, on 20-21 November, at which theoretical and applied aspects of sociology in the light of the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and the requirements of the June 1983 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums were discussed. It was attended by senior personnel of the CPSU Central Committee, the central committees of communist parties of union republics, oblasts and city party committees, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Central Statistical Administration, and the USSR State Committee for Labor, vice-presidents of the republic academies of sciences, personnel of scientific research institutions, higher educational institution teachers, heads of territorial departments of the Soviet Sociological Association and practical sociologists.

The conference was opened by UkSSR Academy of Sciences Academician I. I. Lukinov, vice-president of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences. Several reports were read at the conference. Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president, presented a thorough study of the condition of sociological science in the country and the prospects for its further development. The need to concentrate the efforts of sociologists and other social scientists on the study of large scale social problems raised by life at the contemporary stage of perfecting mature socialism was noted. Problems of the more effective utilization of social reserves, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, material and moral incentives, and the fastest possible practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology and, on this basis, upgrading labor productivity, were discussed. The importance of the study of changes and trends in the development of the social structure of Soviet society and defining the specific means for rapprochement among classes and social groups was emphasized. Particular attention was paid to the implementation of forecasting functions in Marxist-Leninist sociology.

The conference was addressed by A. S. Kapto, Politburo candidate member and CP of the Ukraine Central Committee secretary. He informed the participants of the achievements of the Ukrainian working people in the implementation of the 1984 and Eleventh Five-Year plans and with the work done in the republic to

increase the contribution of the social sciences to the solution of the practical problems of accelerating the economic, sociopolitical and spiritual progress of society. He described the growing role of sociological research in perfecting the practice of party guidance and state management of social processes. He described the specific steps taken by the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee to develop the science of sociology and train sociological cadres in the republic.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. N. Ivanov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, discussed topical problems of sociological research in light of the June 1983 and subsequent CPSU plenums. The speaker analyzed the results of studies recently conducted by the country's leading sociological centers, including topics of the dynamics of the social class structure of Soviet society, the socialist way of life and sociodemographic processes. He described the experience gained in the participation of scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research in the formulation of long term social forecasts, conducting the economic experiment in the country and formulating plans for improving coordination in sociology and providing methodical aid to sociologists in production associations and enterprises.

G. N. Yenukidze, CP of Georgia Central Committee secretary, discussed problems of methodology and practice in the study of public opinion. The speaker reported on the successful work done by the CP of Georgia Central Committee Center for the Study, Shaping and Forecasting Public Opinion. Its recommendations based on surveys are extensively used by party committees, ministries and departments with a view to perfecting ideological education among the various population categories.

UkSSR Academy of Sciences Academician V. I. Shinkaruk, director of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, described the experience acquired in organizing sociological research in the Ukrainian SSR. He formulated some urgent problems of development of sociological research conducted by subdivisions of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, the VUZ social science chairs and the sociological services of ministries, departments and enterprises.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Zh. T. Toshchenko, head of the chair of ideological work, CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, reported on the utilization of results of sociological studies in party work. He summed up the experience of a number of party committees in applying the results of sociological research in ideological education and suggested specific steps aimed at upgrading the methodological standards of research as a necessary prerequisite for increasing their practical returns.

Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor L. A. Kostin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor, discussed topical problems of the functioning and development of the sociological service in his sector and touched upon some aspects of perfecting its structure and improving cadre availability. He pointed out that the activities of sociological services in a number of sectors convincingly prove their positive influence on shaping a healthy moral and psychological climate in labor collectives and ensuring

the fuller utilization of social factors in upgrading social production efficiency.

L. M. Topyuk, secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk gorkom, CP of the Ukraine, and A. S. Dolbilov, party committee secretary at the Arsenal imeni V. I. Lenin Plant, spoke on the most efficient ways of utilizing sociological surveys in party work. A wide range of theoretical, methodological and methodical problems of development of sociology were considered in the addresses by Doctor of Sociological Sciences Professor Kh. N. Momdzhyan, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences Soviet Sociological Association, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences academician E. Yu. Yusupov, vice-president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, I. A. Matsyavichus, Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and academic secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Department of Social Sciences, Ye. M. Babosov, director of the Institute of Philosophy and Law, Belorussian Academy of Sciences, and corresponding member of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Economic Sciences I. I. Sigov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. G. Zdravomyslov, senior scientific associate

, CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. G. Kasov, chief of the Main Administration for the Teaching of Social Sciences, USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, and others. Problems of improving the work of sociological services in production associations and enterprises were discussed by Hero of Socialist Labor V. S. Solov'yeva, general director of the Production Clothing Association imeni 40-Letiya VLKSM in Tiraspol, and V. L. Ovchinnikova, chief of the sectorial laboratory for sociological research, Dneprovskiy Machine Building Plant.

Academician P. N. Fedoseyev summed up the work of the practical science conference.

The conference passed recommendations aimed at the further upgrading the efficiency of sociological research. Topical trends in the development of sociological science were defined and the need was emphasized to improve the coordination of activities of scientific institutions and planning bodies, ensuring more completely the needs of party committees for sociological information and perfecting the system of training and retraining of sociology cadres.

The conference was attended by D. P. Griбанov, head of sector, CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department, M. A. Orlik, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and F. M. Rudich, head of science and education institutions department, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee.

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SUBJECT OF SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE DISCUSSED

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 183-186

[Report by A. I. Zheltukhin]

[Text] Each new stage in the building of socialism presents the social sciences with increasingly complex theoretical problems and requires new methods for relating them to practice, consistent with changing circumstances. At the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenum, K. U. Chernenko substantiated the need to interpret and sum up the active implementation of positive experience, based on the tried Marxist-Leninist methodology of scientific research. Interest in the correlation among historical materialism, scientific communism and sociology is increasing as a result of the increased requirements facing the social sciences and their intensified practical returns. Problems related to the subject and object of sociology, refining its structure and concretizing the practical tasks of scientific research are the focal points of scientific debates.

A methodological seminar on "Structure of Sociological Knowledge and Methodological Problems of the Study of the Social Area of Activities of Soviet Society" was held at the USSR AN ISI [Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research] in October 1984. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. N. Ivanov, USSR AN ISI director, was the main speaker. He spoke on "Methodological Problems of Marxist-Leninist Sociology." The need to discuss theoretical science problems is particularly relevant today, when active preparations are underway for the 27th CPSU Congress and the discussion of a new draft of its program. The main topic of the report was to refine the subject and structure of sociology in accordance with results achieved in scientific-cognitive activities and the experience acquired in the area of sociological research.

As the speaker stressed, the view on the subject of sociology as a science does not remain static. It depends on the depth and fullness of reflection of processes and phenomena occurring in society, the fuller consideration of their characteristics and content and the development of the conceptual apparatus of the science itself and its cognitive potential. A turn to the methodological problems of sociology confirms both the intensification of scientific research as well as the incompleteness of the structuring of the

specific scientific areas as well as differences in views and contradictions in suggested concepts.

The scientific debates of the 1970s failed to provide a single and convincing answer to the question of the subject and structure of sociology. This could not fail to influence the development of sociological research and its practical returns. This is what has been pointed out to sociologists in recent years. Several different approaches may be singled out within the variety of conflicting concepts of the subject and nature of sociology, each single one of which comes only approximately closer to the truth. Thus, for example, efforts to consider sociology as a synonym with social science, or else to identify its subject with historical materialism, are equally wrong. In the first case, sociology is presented as a sum total of sciences engaged in the study of society; in the second, it is limited to the study of the most general laws of social development. Both viewpoints were justifiably criticized in their time.

These concepts were replaced by that of sociology as a "tri-level science." Did this resolve the problems? According to the speaker, such was not the case because of its initial limitations. The shortcoming of this approach is that it is as though from the level of the study of society as a whole sociologists "leap" to the study of relatively narrow realms of activities and behavior of various sociodemographic groups. Furthermore, to raise empirical research to the level of a separate science would be inexpedient, for the fact alone that such research is no more than a specific variety of scientific work. It is within its framework that the sociologist uses the data of historical materialism, scientific communism, political economy, etc.

The speaker pointed out that in this case one must proceed from the dialectical unity between scientific system (theory) and scientific approach. Hence the straight and most effective way leading to the structuring of the type of methodology in which general theory, along with resolving its specific problems, becomes a substantiated and developed applied sociological research. In studying the laws governing the development of human society as a whole, historical materialism successfully implements its methodological and conceptual functions. This precisely constitutes the unity between its philosophical and general sociological aspects.

This formulation of the problem offers the possibility of defining in more specific terms the object of sociology--the social sphere. The content of the latter is revealed through the interaction among people, resting on common basic interests. The "social" category, the definition of which remains debatable to this day, should be understood, in this case, as a substantiation of socialist collectivity. The interaction among social subjects is always determined by the dominant production method in society, which defines the social status, way of life, trend of interests, nature of interrelationships and value orientations of people.

The nature of the "social" category and the understanding of the subject of sociology have been subject to historical changes in the various socioeconomic systems. The criterion of differences here is the class approach, the party-mindedness in sociology. That is why socialist collectivity is the

nature of the social factor today. The historically new type of unity is based on the interaction among the different population groups, heterogeneous in terms of their state social status, role in collective production and means of earning and size of income. Furthermore, social differences exclude the antagonism and conflicting political and economic interests. Class differences are replaced by professional differences. This means that in the retained systems of social division of labor the subject of social relations are bearers of various types of activities among which the unequal economic status has been eliminated.

Such are the historical and objective laws of the development of the social area in socialist society. It is precisely they which are studied by the science of sociology and reflected in corresponding categories and concepts. Sectorial trends and special sociological theories are, in this case, concretized concepts and conclusions of scientific communism. The concept of developed socialism expresses the laws regulating the functioning of the entire society, whereas sociology raises them to the level of social communities, classes and groups. The speaker expressed the confidence that as the area of sociological research expands and as its qualitative standards improve, ever new scientific theories and trends will make their appearance.

In answering the question of the subject and levels of sociological knowledge, V. N. Ivanov specified his position concerning the "tri-level" concept. He pointed out that it would be more accurate to consider the levels of knowledge as elements or parts of an overall sociological structure and to consider them separately according to the way the subject of this science is broken down.

In his speech, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor G. V. Osipov pointed out that the structure of historical materialism, as it exists today, is no longer consistent with practical requirements. A number of serious problems remain here, needing thoughtful and thorough analysis. The situation is such that any discussion on the subject of historical materialism has become closely interwoven with a discussion of the subject and tasks of Marxist sociology. In singling out four basic approaches to the subject of historical materialism, the author described their limitations comprehensively and in detail. Specifically, efforts to interpret the subject of philosophy ontologically, by area of social functioning or reducing the nature of social laws to the modification of material laws are erroneous.

An intermediary link exists between philosophy and historical materialism: the materialistic understanding of history. Thanks to it the categories of practice, activities and revolutionary change are introduced in this science. The materialistic understanding of history is not the same as historical materialism and performs an independent methodological function. On the one hand, it completes the philosophical knowledge of society and, on the other, serves as a methodological base for sociological research. Social determinism (social laws) is the subject of sociology, i. e., the influence of social life on human consciousness and activities. Understandably, in terms of its structure sociology is an integral science, although it has its theoretical and applied levels of knowledge.

Before we speak of social communities as the subject of sociology, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor F. R. Filippov pointed out, we must explain their nature. Historical materialism is of decisive significance in this area. Marxist philosophy alone helps us to get rid of superficial empirical criteria (such as living conditions, income, etc.) on the basis of which efforts are being made to set up social communities and to apply a general-theoretical and class approach. Consequently, sociology demands the exclusive use of the philosophical method. It would be erroneous categorically to divorce historical materialism from sociology. This would be equally harmful to both sciences. Joint efforts alone would enable us extensively to develop the philosophical-sociological aspect of knowledge.

The classification of sciences is based on the variety of dynamics of matter, including social life. Labor or education sociology enables us to combine the results of the studies in this specific area with knowledge of society as a whole. If one area or another becomes most influential in governing the development of social processes and becomes practically relevant, the corresponding area of sociology gains the right to life as well. This status is not granted to secondary processes. Thus, we speak of the sociology of education but not of sociology of VUZs, technicums or post-graduate studies.

In his address, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Z. T. Golenkova pointed out that, because of its international nature, Marxist science must also reflect national characteristics. In this connection, she drew attention to scientific discussions on the subject of Marxist philosophy taking place in socialist countries, such as Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, N. I. Alekseyev suggested that not historical materialism but all of Marxism with all of its components--historical materialism, scientific communism and political economy--be considered the methodological foundation of sociology. In such a case, sociology itself turns into the new, the fourth part of philosophy, i. e., into a structural element which directly addresses itself to practice which contributes to the main increase in the volume of new knowledge. For example, all three philosophical sciences use categories such as level of development of production forces, distribution according to labor and transformation of labor into a prime vital necessity. However, it is only sociology which offers clear empirical criteria of such concepts and enables us to establish the sequence and specific stages in the development of social processes.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor A. G. Kharchev noted in his address the pattern of a gradual refinement of the subject of Marxist sociological science, which started with the International Congress in Varna, in the course of the preparations for which Soviet sociologists formulated the "tri-level" concept.

Although different in terms of subject and structure, under socialist conditions all social sciences come closer together as areas of a methodologically and humanistically single social knowledge. If we proceed from the fact that historical materialism is a reflection of the dialectics of social life, system and logic and organic continuity of basic postulates of Marxist-Leninist

philosophy become some of the main requirements relative to its structure. We cannot resolve the problem of the subject of sociology without refining the subject and structure of historical materialism and scientific communism. The existence of relatively vast areas of common interests does not mean that the subjects of these sciences are identical. Each one of them has its own specific emphases, approaches and methods of study.

We are familiar with the interpretation that historical materialism means extending the concepts of dialectical materialism to the study of social phenomena. Indeed, deductive knowledge plays a determining role in historical materialism. Conversely, the research sociologist reaches the level of philosophy essentially through the inductive method. However, some publications, articles published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in particular, indicate that not all authors rise to the philosophical knowledge and have acquired a perfect mastery of the dialectical method of knowledge. Does this stop them from being sociologists? Naturally, it does not. Not only the individual sciences but, within certain limits, the individual scientists have their specific ways of including empirical results in scientific theory. Therefore, it is no accident that in the course of their research work the different sociologists reach different general philosophical standard of knowledge and and that their contribution to the growth and development of specific philosophical theory varies.

If we consider Marxist-Leninist sociology from the aspect of its scientific-cognitive possibilities, we should single out in its structure general sociological and specific sociological levels above all. If we take also into consideration the level of the primary summation of empirical data, they could be described as higher and average. It would be incorrect to blend trends in specific sociological studies, sometimes also known as individual sociological disciplines (sociology of the town, the countryside, labor, etc.) with middle-level sociological theories. The latter, as we know, can develop along the same directions or in the areas in which they converge. They may be closely related to the study of empirical data or the analysis of methods, procedures and programs. The basic difference between them and superior theory is not the topic but the level of abstraction and summation of initial data.

Several vulnerable sides of the "tri-level" concept of the subject of sociology have become apparent over the past 10 years. In particular, the object of sociology has been identified with that of historical materialism in terms of the scope of problems covered. In other words, the former was interpreted as a characteristic "expansion" of the latter "from below." Meanwhile, little attention was paid to the study of specifically sociological social problems, such as that of communities holding an intermediary status between classes and nations, on the one hand, and individuals, on the other.

We find different levels of scientific knowledge in all social sciences, ethics or aesthetics, for example. However, they do not claim that their general theoretical level is precisely the same as that of philosophy. The philosophical sciences which, in addition to those we named, include sociology, have a great deal in common with philosophy itself. However, traditionally, they are not considered structural components of philosophical knowledge in the strict meaning of the term. The sociologist must mandatorily

proceed from historical materialism as a research methodology. However, as we already pointed out, he does not necessarily have to rise to the level of philosophy in his scientific summations. The structure itself of this general theoretical level which, in the final analysis, reflects the specific subject of sociology, entirely coincides with the structure of historical materialism as a structural component of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It would be more accurate to consider, on the one hand, the higher philosophical level of sociological knowledge and, on the other, historical materialism as an integral philosophical theory and to reinforce this distinction terminologically as well.

The fruitfulness of scientific discussions on the object and structure of science rests precisely on the fact that basic problems of scientific knowledge are being reinterpreted again and again. The depth of penetration into the core of methodological problems is determined, above all, by the orientation of researchers toward the practical side of the science itself and the solution of problems of socialist construction. Methodological seminars, such as the one held at the USSR AN ISI, are of unquestionable interest not only to sociologists and philosophers but also to a broad circle of specialists.

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SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 186-188

[Report by V. A. Los']

[Text] An All-Union Conference on "Social and Methodological Problems of Scientific and Technical Progress," sponsored by the Scientific Council for Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Technology and the Central Council of Philosophical (Methodological) Seminars of the USSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Presidium and the USSR AN Institute of Philosophy, was held last November. More than 500 scientists and specialists attended the plenary sessions and participated in the work of the sections. The conference was opened by Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, USSR AN vice-president. He pointed out that the conferees had submitted exceptionally important theoretical-methodological and conceptual problems for discussion and that their proper resolution would largely determine further progress in all areas of contemporary science and social practice. Today, the speaker emphasized, three problems are considered central: first, the need to achieve qualitatively new results in basic research; second, to develop for the benefit of national economic management practice recommendations aimed at the economical utilization of labor and material resources; third, comprehensively to contribute to raising a harmoniously developed individual and to create the type of conditions which would enable every Soviet person fully to realize his creative possibilities.

The report by Academician Yu. A. Ovchinnikov, USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president, dealt with the future development of biotechnology and the social and ideological aspects of such development. In defining the position of biotechnology in scientific and technical progress, the speaker discussed not only the accomplishments but also the difficulties facing modern biology.

The report by Academician A. L. Yanshin, USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president, was heard with great attention. He analyzed problems related to broadening the mineral and raw material base of society. The intensification of human activities in material production, the speaker noted, should be closely related to environmental protection and the rational use of nature.

The reports submitted at the plenary session considered the most topical problems of the further development of scientific knowledge and the perfecting of social practice: the future of the Soviet power industry (Academician V.

A. Kirillin), the social role of engineering activities and the technical sciences (Academician V. V. Rzhevskiy and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member K. V. Frolov); methods for comprehensive automation of production processes (USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member I. M. Makarov). N. N. Moiseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, considered in his report the cybernetic-mathematical approach to the problem of modelling the "man-biosphere" interrelationship.

A great deal of attention was paid to the discussion of methodological problems of social knowledge. In particular, Academician A. G. Yegorov noted that it was precisely Marxism-Leninism which laid the foundations for the profound theoretical-methodological interpretation of the laws governing scientific and technical progress.

Economic intensification based on NTR [Scientific and Technical Revolution] accomplishments, Academician D. M. Gvishiani emphasized, is the most important prerequisite for improving the well-being of the people. It would be difficult in this connection to overestimate the significance which long-term forecasting and predicting trends in the development of science and technology assume today. The question of the purposeful control of the process of substantiation and use of new developments becomes particularly relevant as well.

In his speech, B. A. Lomov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, covered in detail problems of the psychology of scientific and technical creativity and the basic means of lifting the psychological barriers which appear in the course of the application of the results of research projects. Academician B. M. Kedrov, who also discussed this comprehensive topic, analyzed the laws of the dynamics of scientific thinking from ignorance to knowledge of the truth.

What are the social consequences of the contemporary state reached by the NTR? An expanded answer to this question was contained in the report by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member I. T. Frolov. The problem of man under the conditions of the NTR was also considered by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member G. L. Smiernov. Shaping a socialist type of individual is the programmatic objective of the CPSU. In directing the efforts of Soviet society to the solution of such a difficult and important problem, the party compares accomplishments with ideals. This enables it to define more accurately all that remains to be done. Educational work, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences R. G. Yanovskiy pointed out, could be truly effective only with a well-organized feedback and with an objective assessment of the extent to which it affects the different population groups. Soviet social scientists must ensure the systematic study of public opinion, the features of mass consciousness and value orientations.

The problems earmarked in the main speeches were discussed by five sections: "Social Determination of Scientific Consciousness," "Sociomethodological Problems of Interdisciplinary Studies," "Sociological Aspects of Science," "Philosophical Problems of the Technical Sciences" and "Education and Dissemination of the Achievements of Scientific and Technical Progress."

The final session was devoted to drafting practical recommendations which stipulated a wide range of measures aimed at further perfecting the research activities of academic institutions and the scientific subdivisions of ministries and departments. In particular, it was made incumbent upon the editors of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA to cover more extensively the experience gained in the practice of social management of the results of research projects.

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SEMINAR ON PROBLEMS OF THE CONTEMPORARY FAMILY

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[Report by Ye. S. Ostrovskaya]

[Text] An interregional seminar on problems of the family and state policy in the area of social insurance, convened on the initiative of the Vienna Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Problems, was held in October 1984. Scientists and specialists from 37 countries and representatives of intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations and specialized United Nations institutions came to Moscow to discuss problems of the modern family.

The seminar was opened by L. R. Shakhani, UN assistant secretary general for social development and humanitarian problems, and N. V. Nikolayeva, Soviet representative to the UN Women's Commission and member of the Committee of Soviet Women Presidium.

The participants discussed a broad range of problems, such as the influence of positive and negative aspects of urbanization, migration and population aging on the structure and functions of the family and intrafamily relations, and national targets and strategic decisions in the field of social insurance. In the course of the scientific discussions, governments, several United Nations subdivisions and intergovernmental and nongovernmental agencies submitted recommendations aimed at strengthening the institution of the family.

One of the main reports drafted by the Department of Social Integration and Security of the Vienna Center, analyzed the structure of the contemporary family, its functions, the allocations of roles and obligations, changes in social values and reasons for family breakdown. It was pointed out that currently a trend toward lowering the number of expanded families and replacing them with nuclear family units, may be traced throughout the world. The birthrate has declined and divorces have increased sharply, as a result of which the number of incomplete families has increased. In many countries single-parent families account for 10 to 15 percent of all families and their number is increasing steadily. Improved population living standards as well increase family instability: women are becoming economically less dependent on men. Increased mobility, migrations in particular, also undermines the strength of family ties. The report noted that changes in family functions are influenced not only by social, economic, cultural, religious and ethnic

traditions of family members but also by the new environment and new relations and values. It is precisely the interaction between these elements that shapes family concepts of resources, needs and behavioral standards.

The Vienna Center also submitted a report on long-range family development in Africa. To consider the role of the family in the development of that area, the report stressed, means to raise the question of the survival of African societies. Modernization processes in the form in which they are developing in Africa adversely affect the family even though some of their results may be positive. Thus, expanded family groups, which are characteristic of the African population, frequently prove to be one more hindrance to industrial development. The African family should be studied extensively in order to determine accurately the contribution of this social institution to the development process on all levels. Another report emphasized the appearance of new types of families in the developing countries. This weakens social and parental relations and disturbs intrafamily equilibrium. New strategic decisions must be made in the area of strengthening the family as a result of the acceleration of the process of socioeconomic change.

More than 20 national reports were submitted at the seminar. Many of them were on the crisis of the family under the influence of various development aspects: lowered number of legal marriages, lowered marriage coefficient and increased number of divorces. To a certain extent, all of this reflects the real situation. However, the opposite viewpoint exists as well, according to which the family is not only not disappearing but is strengthening and thus becomes the shelter in the salvation of man from social ills.

In turn, the Soviet scientists noted in their report that despite the fluctuations experienced by the institution of the family in the course of its adaptation to major social changes in our time, the family is and will remain a reliable support of the individual. The historical experience of the USSR proves that the socialist state ensures the steady development of the family and the enhanced level of its material well-being and all-round education of the young generation. The purpose of the sciences which study problems of the modern family is to ensure its comprehensive strengthening and the creation of maximally favorable conditions for its activities. The Soviet national report on "The Family as the Target of Sociodemographic Policy in Developed Socialist Society" discussed the system of state measures taken to help the family and individual population groups (the elderly, the disabled, women and the youth.

The social problems which arise in modern society as a result of the fast development of the population aging process were studied in the national report submitted by the Ukrainian SSR which was distributed at the seminar. In particular, the report studied problems of satisfying the needs of the aging people in the family. A detailed substantiation was given to the principle of further improvements in geriatric policy and steps which must be taken to protect and strengthen the aging family. All of this will be a contribution to the common process of the socioeconomic development of modern society.

The report submitted by the Center for the Study of Population Problems of Moscow State University dealt with the program-target approach to demographic policy, aimed at ensuring the stable reproduction of the population under

conditions of basic orientation toward small families. The report described the basic models of the modern family, the population's family structure and reproductive behavior. The suggestions submitted by the Soviet scientists on optimizing control over family development triggered a great deal of interest.

The participants in the seminar were acquainted with the basic trends of scientific research and the organization of the training of specialists in family demography and Soviet sociodemographic policy. The encounters organized for the seminar participants with senior personnel of the USSR State Committee for Labor, the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, the Committee of Soviet Women, the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Social Security and the republic's trade unions council, enabled the foreign scientists to acquire personal impressions on the implementation of a number of social insurance and family aid programs in our country.

As Mukunda Rhao (United States), head of section at the United Nations Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Problems, pointed out, all participants in the seminar were unanimous in expressing their desire for peace, detente and close and equal cooperation.

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ANNIVERSARY OF THE BULGARIAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 189-190

[Report by K. A. Salakhyan]

[Text] The Bulgarian Sociological Association celebrated its 25th birthday. A meeting held on this occasion was attended by M. Balev, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary, P. Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, S. Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, and G. Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council. A letter sent by Comrade T. Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee General Secretary and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, was read publicly at the meeting, in which he noted the great services of the BSA [Bulgarian Sociological Association] in the development of sociological studies in the country, the organizational cohesion of the national detachment of sociologists and the strengthening of practical and friendly contacts between the Bulgarian specialists and the social scientists in the fraternal socialist countries, and formulated the problems which Bulgarian Marxist-Leninist sociology must resolve in the forthcoming period.

N. Yakhriel, BSA chairman and BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences] corresponding member, emphasized in his report that the past 25 years of existence of the Sociological Society, which subsequently grew into the Bulgarian Sociological Association, were a period of fruitful participation by sociologists in building socialism and implementing the general line of the BCP.

The special 1967 BCP Central Committee Politburo decision gave a powerful impetus to the further progress of sociological thinking. Within a relatively short time, the BAN set up the Sociology Institute and the Information-Sociological Center. Sociological associations were founded by the NARODNA MLADEZH newspaper, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the radio and television editorial boards, the Ministry of National Defense, the Labor Institute and other institutions. The organization of a system for higher sociological training played a major role in the development of the science of sociology.

The Seventh World Sociological Congress, which was held in Varna in 1970, was a major event in international scientific life. This was the first and to this day the only forum of its kind held in a socialist country. It was a recognition of the scientific accomplishments of Bulgarian sociologists.

Also worthy of the highest praise is the International Varna School of Sociology, which is a model of cooperation among scientists from different countries.

More than 550 empirical studies on problems of sociology of labor, education, art, culture, management, politics, law, youth, family, etc., were conducted in Bulgaria between 1978 and 1982. The speaker stressed that many of the studies were commissioned. The main trend in BSA activities is linking sociological science with practice.

In noting the unquestionable successes achieved by Bulgarian sociology over the past quarter of a century, N. Yakhriel also called for not ignoring shortcomings in the work of sociological centers, fighting formalism more firmly, avoiding unnecessary duplication of topics and participating more actively in giving scientific support to the social changes taking place in the country.

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CHRONICLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
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[Text] Contributed by V. M. Pogostin: Last summer, several committees of the International Sociological Association met in the Italian city of Pavia: the executive, program, publishing, membership and finance. They discussed the topic of the forthcoming Eleventh World Sociological Congress. The formulations suggested by the Western scientists ("The Threat of Social Change," and "Changing Social Formations, Systems and Configurations") were considered non-constructive and were rejected. In the course of a sharp discussion, as already reported in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, (No 4, 1984), the program committee voted in favor of the following formulation of the main topic of the congress: "Social Changes: Problems and Prospects."

Substantial changes were made in the procedure for holding the congress. The number of plenary sessions was reduced to one, at which, in addition to the report to be submitted by the president of the ISA, coreports will be submitted by representatives of the socialist, developing and capitalist countries. Plenary sessions will be replaced by six symposia, four to five sessions each. The preliminary composition of the organizers of the sessions was earmarked. It includes 12 scientists from the socialist countries.

This journal already reported the problems to be discussed at the symposia (No 2, 1984, pp 194-195). The following is the refined list of official symposia and the 27 sessions to be held at the forthcoming congress within them, including some additions and changes.

"Sociological Theories and Social Changes" Symposium. Sessions: 1. Conceptualization of social structure and social changes; 2. Connection between acting individuals and structures; 3. Time element in the process of social changes; 4. Beyond pluralistic co-existence, toward creative comparisons.

"Social Institutions and Changes" Symposium. Sessions: 1. Changes within institutional frameworks; 2. Social movements and arising institutions; 3. Interconnection among institutions; 4. Formal resolutions, unsatisfied requirements and informal decisions; 5. Discussions on facts and values in comparative studies of social changes.

"Science and Technology in Social Changes" Symposium. Sessions: 1. Positive and negative consequences of scientific and technical development in society; 2. Problems of social management of scientific and technical developments;

3. The revolution in information and communications and its influence on national and international power structures; 4. Science and technology and changes in social values.

"Social Aspects of Economic Development" Symposium. Sessions: 1. Sociological significance of the economic crisis; 2. Victims of economic change; 3. Role of the state in economic change; 4. Social consequences of economic internationalization; 5. Alternate ways of economic development.

"Cultural Determination of Social Change" Symposium. Sessions: 1. Upsurge, decline and rebirth of the culture concept; 2. Cultural contradictions and continuity in social change; 3. Cultural maps and their charting; 4. The changing aspect of religion; 5. National aspects of cultural development.

"Sociological Aspects of the World, Militarization and Resolution of Conflicts" Symposium. Sessions: 1. Sociology of peace: status; 2. Movements in the defense of peace as agents of social change; 3. Conflict values and resolutions; 4. Reasons for and consequences of militarization.

Contributed by I. V. Tsurina: Last autumn, sociologists from Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Poland, the USSR, the United States, France and Czechoslovakia participated in the proceedings of Research Committee No 21 of the International Sociological Association. The meeting of scientists representing eight countries was sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences Soviet Sociological Association and the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production. The meeting was held in Bratsk and Irkutsk. The topic of the scientific debates was "Development of Cities and Conurbation Systems: Theory, Practical Experience, Future." Participants and guests of the research committee discussed three subtopics within the general topic: "Theoretical Models, Development Mechanisms and Social Control of Towns and Regional Systems;" "The Problems of New Cities Related to the Pioneering Development of a Territory;" and "Socioeconomic Relations Between Towns and Surrounding Areas."

The participants in the meeting adopted a joint communique and defined the most topical trends of sociological research in urban and regional development: 1. "Local Community, City and State: The Situation Today and in the Future;" 2. "Interconnection Among Economic, Social and Ecological Processes in Regional Development;" 3. "Influence of New Technology on Urbanization and Settlement Processes;" 4. "Renovation of The Cities and Population Participation in This Process;" 5. "Social Significance of Man-Made (Urban) Environment;" 6. "Cooperation Among Specialists in Different Sectors in Urban and Regional Planning and Management."

Contributed by K. A. Shchadilova: An international symposium on "Problems of The Young Family," sponsored by the Bulgarian Youth Institute, was held in Primorsko (Bulgarian People's Republic). The symposium was attended by scientists, youth organization staff workers, journalists from nine countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Cuba, Poland, Romania, USSR, FRG and Czechoslovakia) and representatives of the executive secretariat of the ISA. Professor P. Mitev, Scientific Research Youth Institute director, who opened the symposium, noted the great importance of the problems to be discussed in terms of sociological theory and social practice. He also emphasized the role of this

representative meeting in strengthening international cooperation among scientists and preparations for the Tenth International Sociological Congress.

Professor M. Dinkova (Bulgaria) presented the main report "Trends and Problems in the Forming, Functioning and Development of the Young Family." The main discussion covered the following problems: means for stabilizing the young family, negative social phenomena and young people, social and national characteristics in the activities of young families, experience in preparing young people for marriage and the performance of parental roles, and spontaneously appearing groups in youth life. An exchange of views was also held on the basic trends in perfecting the methods and techniques of the scientific study of young families. Some of the symposium's materials will be published in subsequent issues in this journal.

Contributed by V. V. Lagerev and Yu. T. Trifankov, Bryansk: A regional conference, recently organized by the Bryansk Oblast party committee, the Soviet Sociological Association, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Chair of Ideological Work, and the party construction chair at the Moscow Higher Party School on "Sociological Studies of Ideological Work in the Light of the Resolution of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum" was held recently. The conference was attended by party committee workers from the Nonchernozem Zone in the RSFSR, plant sociological services, VUZ social science department teachers and sociologists. A decision was made to publish the theses of reports and communications presented at the conference. An editorial collegium headed by V. V. Shinkarenko, department head at the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, was assigned to prepare such a collection for publication.

Contributed by N. V. Simakova: An All-Union Conference on "Theoretical Problems of Developed Socialism" was held at Moscow State University. It was sponsored by the capital's departments of the USSR Philosophical Society and Soviet Sociological Association. The conference was attended by noted Soviet scientists, young philosophers and sociologists. Practical recommendations aimed at improving ideological and political education work were adopted based on the results of the scientific discussions.

Contributed by V. A. Poltorak, Dnepropetrovsk: A group of last year students attending the Dnepropetrovsk Chemical-Technological Institute has undertaken work on graduation projects aimed at identifying social production reserves. A similar experiment has been conducted by a number of higher educational institutions in the Ukraine since 1979, in accordance with the resolution of the collegium of the republic's Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. The purpose of such works is to intensify the managerial training of engineers and to help future production managers master the foundations of sociology, social psychology and education. In the past few years the institute has prepared more than 300 graduation projects which have studied problems, such as efficiency of ideological education, optimality of sociodemographic structures of production collectives, and means of strengthening labor discipline and organizing the socialist competition. All the works contained practical recommendations. A survey of graduating students, conducted by mail by the sociological laboratory of the institute, confirmed the great effectiveness of this new project.

Contributed by V. S. Magun, Moscow Oblast: The first all-union course-seminar on "The Family and the Individual" was held in Zvenigorod. It was sponsored by the psychology department, Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov. It included the following sections: "The Family as a Subject of Psychological Study;" "The Family as a Subject of Psychological Aid" and "The Family as a Subject of Psycho-Diagnosis." The participants in the course also studied the work of the family consultation group at the Moscow State University Psychology Department and participated in practical consultations. The following lectures were delivered: "Sex-Related Marriage Problems;" "Family Concepts in Medieval Europe;" "The Family and Moral Upbringing of Children in Japan;" and "The Family's Psychological Time." A round-table discussion was held on methodological principles of the study of the family and the individual.

Contributed by G. A. Zaikina: The Bureau of the Philosophy and Law Department reviewed the work of the editorial board of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. As a whole, ever since it was founded 10 years ago, the activities of the journal were given a positive rating. It was pointed out that the journal plays a significant role in the development of sociology, the coordination of sociological research and the improvement of its methodological and methodical support. The efforts of the editors are aimed at upgrading the scientific and theoretical standard of the issues, the development of the most topical problems of sociology and strengthening its ties with practical work. The increased number of contributors and expanded range of materials published, as well as strengthened contacts with the readership have enabled the journal substantially to improve its structure and introduce a number of new sections. At the same time, the department's bureau indicated existing possibilities of improving the work. Little attention is still being paid to holding scientific debates. Problems of forecasting social processes, the development of national relations, the rapprochement between town and country and the study of public opinion are still paid insufficient attention. The evaluation of sociology works and research projects is unsystematic and lacks the necessary exigency. Analytical surveys of specific areas and problems of sociological science are still infrequently published. The inactivity of some members of the editorial collegium was noted as well. An expanded decree was adopted stipulating measures for further improvements in the journal's work.

Contributed by A. Kurzhinovskiy, Warsaw: A conference of the work group of the problems commissions for multilateral cooperation among the academies of sciences of socialist countries was held in Warsaw in December 1984 on "The Family as a Factor of Change in the Social Structure of Socialist Society." The conference was attended by delegations from Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR. The basic principles and methodical procedures for comparative analyses of data of studies conducted in the socialist countries, based on a unified program and a draft plan for a monograph to be published at the beginning of 1987, in the Russian language initially and, subsequently, in other languages, were coordinated.

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PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 85
(signed to press 14 Jan 85) pp 194-197

[Review by V. S. Gott and V. N. Shevchenko of the book "Filosofiya i Nauchnoye Poznaniye" [Philosophy and Scientific Knowledge] by P. N. Fedoseyev. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 464 pages]

[Text] The new work by Academician P. N. Fedoseyev is a definitive work which studies the role of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in the contemporary development of human society and the growth of its influence on scientific and social practice and on molding the world outlook of Soviet people. The work is distinguished by its concentration on the formulation and resolution of truly relevant problems of philosophical knowledge and by the clarity and accessibility of presentation of very complex ideas. Another unquestionable merit of the monograph is that the author, who sums up the results of discussions of various problems, precisely indicates the distinction between contemporary philosophical knowledge and remaining questionable and understudied areas.

Three main topics run throughout the book: the integrative function of philosophy in the structure of the world outlook; philosophy as the methodology in the study of natural and social phenomena; and philosophy and the practical reorganization of the world.

In the first part, the author defines world outlook as a system of "summed-up concepts of the world as a whole, of the natural and social processes occurring within it and of the attitude of man toward surrounding reality" (p 17). In its Marxist-Leninist understanding, philosophy plays a decisive role in the development of the world outlook, for it performs the "function of integrating science, art, morality and personal human practical experience within a single system of views, the integrity of which is bound together by philosophy" (p 13). This is the radical difference between philosophical and specific scientific knowledge.

With the help of extensive factual data, the author analyzes in detail the integrative function of Marxist philosophy. He pays great attention also to the organic interconnection between science and communist outlook and the process of their reciprocal enrichment.

In discussing the complex and disparate nature of the development of bourgeois concepts of scientific philosophy and methodology in the 1960s and 1970s, the author points out that many Western philosophers, although quite distant from any Marxist ideological orientation, were forced, although in many cases formally, to agree with the Marxist concept of the essential importance of a world outlook on science. Unfortunately, Soviet philosophical and science-study publications have provided some not entirely accurate evaluations of the "post-positivistic" philosophy of science, in connection with which we would like to cite a very important view expressed by P. N. Fedoseyev: "To many modern 'science students,' and 'experts' in 'classical' positivism of the first half of our century, the post-positivistic doctrines which are oriented toward the consideration of the integrity of knowledge, its historical nature and interconnection between philosophical and scientific knowledge, who reject naive-cumulative views on the development of science, consider this as almost a 'Copernican' turn in philosophy and scientific methodology. Actually, although in fact post-positivistic doctrines consider matters within a broader historical-philosophical-conceptual context...one can easily note that they do not constitute any essentially autonomous orientation. As a rule, the efforts to adopt all these approaches, inconsistently and one-sidedly tried in the methodological study of the 'historical trend,' in 'critical rationalism,' and so on, have always been organically inherent in the Marxist method of analysis of scientific knowledge and have now been developed further" (p 52).

The heuristic function of philosophy is a major aspect in giving methodological support to the process of knowledge. Its successful implementation is ensured by the fact that philosophical summations are universal in nature, i. e., that they apply to the sum total of natural and social processes.

The variety of interconnections between philosophy and the natural sciences is presented on the basis of extensive factual data in the section "Philosophical Problems of the Natural Sciences." The section focusses mainly on Lenin's theoretical legacy and the principles of philosophical analysis of achievements of the natural sciences at the turn of the 20th century. P. N. Fedoseyev emphasizes that "the unbreakable link between the study of philosophical problems of the natural sciences and the development of dialectical materialism as a science is a characteristic feature of the Leninist approach to the philosophical interpretation of scientific accomplishments" (p 111).

Lenin's idea of the alliance between philosophy and the natural sciences was successfully embodied in our country. The monograph considers in detail the current implementation of this alliance and the positive results in the various fields of knowledge it has brought about and describes the future prospects for work to be done jointly by philosophers and natural scientists. The author's summations deserve the closest possible attention of the scientific public. Let us note some of the most important among them.

In concretizing the idea of dialectical materialism as the most important tool for the study of nature, the author singles out the following aspect: Marxist philosophy acknowledges the material unity of the world and the existence of qualitatively varied phenomena within it. Objectively, this originates two trends of human knowledge: on the one hand, the aspiration to present the world as a single entity and, on the other, to determine the specific nature

of the various processes and phenomena. Whereas the first is the result of synthesis and integration of knowledge, the second is the result of its specialization and differentiation.

The appearance of new forms of interaction among the sciences and, above all, the comprehensive organization of research should not, as the author justifiably claims, lead to the simplistic concept that differences among sciences are being eliminated and that the various division of sciences based on their subjects has become obsolete. The dialectical nature of scientific knowledge lies precisely in the fact that it is a twin process of scientific differentiation and integration.

Necessarily, the concept not simply of the qualitative variety of phenomena but also of the existence of a hierarchical structure in the material world proceeds from the idea of development, which is a central idea in dialectical materialism. The concept of structural levels as levels of development of matter has become today exceptionally relevant to biology and to the solution of the complex problems of the correlation between the biological and the social and between nature and society.

The drastic complication of theoretical-cognitive tasks facing the natural sciences today has required making substantial corrections to already developed concepts of the two levels of methodology: general philosophical and individual scientific. The author emphasizes quite accurately that the need to single yet another one--the general scientific knowledge "stratum"--is dictated by the very logic of development of contemporary science.

The emphasis in this section is on the methodological functions of philosophy as applied to the natural sciences. At the same time, the author repeatedly reminds us of the fact that in this matter we cannot be limited to methodological aspects alone. We should not forget the development of the science of philosophy itself and the further enrichment of universal philosophical categories. Although the author expresses a number of interesting views on this matter, regrettably some of them have remained undeveloped.

One of the distinguishing features in P. N. Fedoseyev's book is that the presentation of the theoretical-conceptual wealth of Marxist philosophy is inseparably related to an indication of the methodological functions of philosophy. This feature is manifested most clearly in the section on "Dialectics and Social Life," in which the author convincingly proves the fruitfulness of the results of the use of Marxist philosophy and the theory of dialectical materialism in the study of specific contemporary phenomena.

Above all, the author identifies the starting point and essential content of the methodological functions of social science--the theoretical substantiation of the historical (social) law as a law governing not only the functioning but the development of any social organism (p 264). Therefore, the Marxist methodology of social knowledge neither divides nor pits the study of society in its static state (systems analysis) against the study of society in its development (historical analysis).

Having thoroughly considered the establishment and essential features of the systemic approach, the author proves that the systematic study of social objects cannot be considered an alternative to their historical consideration and that the Marxist-Leninist classics always considered the systemic approach an inseparable part of dialectical-materialistic analysis, without considering it as a separate methodology.

The unity between the systemic and historical-genetic approaches to the study of the process of social development as an integral social organism was completed with the Marxist theory of socioeconomic systems. All previous views regarding the philosophical methodology of social knowledge changed most radically with the appearance of the category of systems, which became the cornerstone of the dialectical understanding of history.

The author considers in particular detail the confrontation between the two global systems and the laws governing the revolutionary process of the reorganization of human society, including the scientific and technical revolution as a structural part of this process. An important place here is assigned to the study of the establishment and comprehensive advancement and depiction of the exceptional significance of the concept of developed socialism as the basic conceptual and methodological guideline in the further study of the progress of socialist society toward communism.

Another conclusion of great theoretical interest is that under conditions in which the confrontation between the global socioeconomic systems imbues social life in all continents, the "essential unity of contemporary mankind, the unity of its destinies and final prospects" is increasingly asserting itself in the human mind (p 423).

The scientific and technical revolution is one of the new social phenomena which is having an increasing influence on the awareness of the historical unity of civilization on earth. Its essence lies in the radical, the qualitative transformation of production forces as a result of the conversion of science into a leading public production factor. Although the NTR is a global phenomenon, its forms of development--based on specific conditions--are essentially different from each other. "The dialectics of the contemporary age was manifested in the fact that in a number of countries a socialist revolution preceded the scientific and technical revolution, thus ensuring the necessary social conditions for its implementation....in other countries, the NTR anticipates the social revolution, preparing its material prerequisites and intensifying the basic contradiction of capitalism" (p 292). This conclusion convincingly proves that at the present stage social development has become even more complex, conflicting and many-faceted. In particular, the author accurately notes that even specialists are by no means always aware in the necessary detail of the many-sided objective dialectics of internal and external factors of surmounting backwardness in the liberated countries. Marxist philosophy and the theory of historical materialism have been assigned a determining role in the solution of this and other problems. We must comprehensively interpret and philosophically master huge volumes of accumulated empirical data. In the light of this prospect, it is indeed difficult to overestimate the scientific significance of the author's analysis of the latest trends in bourgeois philosophy and sociology. This material is

distinguished for its ideological pointedness, novelty and precision of theoretical substantiation.

P. N. Fedoseyev, who describes profoundly and comprehensively the laws governing the development of socialist society at the contemporary stage, pays great attention to the problems of contradictions under socialism. We know that insufficiently accurate formulations have been expressed on this matter in some publications. The view which P. N. Fedoseyev takes in the book under review is distinguished by a substantiated and suitably adjusted stance. At each individual stage society comes across entirely definite forms of manifestation of contradictions. A historical turn, when socialism has won a full and definitive victory and when the social and ideological and political unity of society has been achieved, marks a qualitative level reached in the development of the socialist system. "At that stage social contradictions of an antagonistic nature no longer exist or could exist" (P 348). Priority is assumed by the contradiction between the newly developing way of life, on the one hand, and the already established, so to say, life, on the other. However, along with the natural and objective growth contradictions, contradictions of a different nature appear as well, essentially caused by violations of the dialectics of the objective and the subjective and neglect of objective laws and development conditions.

Let us sum it up. P. N. Fedoyesev's new work is comprehensive and many-faceted. Although it contains only a single section directly related to the connection among outlook, philosophy and the revolutionary reorganization of the world, it is clear that the entire content of the monograph is imbued with the proof of a basic idea: the practical significance of sociological research and the organic interconnection between the development of science and social life.

Since it is obvious that this work will be reprinted soon, we would like to express a wish. Despite the exceptionally broad range of materials covered, which is an unquestionable merit of the work, in some areas it is short of summations and, sometimes, more detailed explanations. This particularly applies to the first section and to a number of areas in the section on the philosophical problems of the natural sciences. This wish can be fulfilled by some further work on the text, on the one hand, and by increasing the number of references to be works by Soviet and foreign Marxist philosophers, on the other.

P. N. Fedoyesev's book is a major contribution to the development of Soviet social science. It will unquestionably draw the attention of researchers, propagandists and the broad public.

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SPIRITUAL WORLD OF THE SOVIET MAN

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Review by G. V. Ossipov of the book "Dukhovnyy Mir Sovetskogo Cheloveka"
[Spiritual World of The Soviet Person] by Ye. M. Babosov. Belarus' Minsk,
1983, 336 pages].

[Text] The author of this book concentrates on professional, political and aesthetic standards. The topic is considered in its three aspects: material, ideological and moral. It is precisely this that determines the logical structure of the work.

The monograph is distinguished by the consistent use of Marxist methodology in analyzing Soviet social standards: the profound interpretation of all aspects of human activities and the purposeful identification of the primary material production relations which, in the final account, determine the spiritual values of society. The author develops in detail the historical materialistic concept to the effect that social life must be considered not only from the viewpoint of production but reproduction as well, in which spiritual processes and phenomena play a particularly important role. It is a question, above all, of transmitting knowledge, skills, habits and moral behavioral foundations from one generation to another.

This makes the study of the trends which form the elements of culture which substantially accelerate the spiritual development of Soviet people, undertaken by the author, quite important. The author concentrates on the complex qualitative and quantitative changes which characterize the interconnection between the individual and the cultural wealth of the society. Ye. M. Babosov describes the dialectical nature of this interconnection: the high standard of production forces inevitably stimulates the development of culture and contributes to the maturity of social relations. In turn, the social wealth of society determines successes achieved in the various areas of the country's sociopolitical life. Unquestionably, material factors play a decisive role in shaping the high professional, political and aesthetic standards of the individual. The author convincingly proves that involving the individual in the realm of developed spiritual relations by no means automatically leads to the growth of standards. Such growth is impossible without the reinterpretation and mastery on the level of the individual consciousness of accumulated cultural values and without the conversion of convictions, knowledge and habits into practical action.

The author repeatedly emphasizes the importance of the material foundations of the spiritual life of society. To begin with, as we pointed out, material prerequisites are necessary in order to advance the entire complex superstructure and the ideological, aesthetic and professional aspects of culture. Secondly, the development of material prerequisites is a necessary condition for the gradual combination of all areas of knowledge within a single science of man. Finally, the scientific and technical revolution is having a growing influence on standards. Ye. M. Babosov is the author of a number of works on the social aspects of the scientific and technical revolution. Pursuing this topic, the author characterizes the scientific and technical revolution from the viewpoint of its influences not only on production but also on the spiritual world of the individual. His efforts to define system-forming factors governing the development of the world are of unquestionable interest. He considers as one of the most important among them the attitude of the person toward his natural and social environment. The world outlook is the binding element between them and the inner world of the individual. It resembles a compass which enables the individual to find his way in the complex and varied spiritual heritage, to single out the most essential features in the experience acquired by civilization and to bring to light his own spiritual potential. To man, the author justifiably emphasizes, no assessment is higher than the feeling that the work to which he dedicates his energy, mind and experience is needed by those around him and the country and that collective labor carries the mark of his individuality as well. Therefore, a world outlook gives new facets to human activities: the approval of man's efforts no longer takes place on a limited individual or microgroup level but acquires a social nature and, in some matters related to the struggle for peace, environmental protection, health care, development of outer space and the depths of the ocean, assumes world-wide, global significance.

The conceptual and ideological foundations of the spiritual world of the individual are considered in the book in unity with the political standards of developed socialist society. The scientific outlook of the Soviet person is inseparable from his active political stance in society, his ability to defend his viewpoint in arguing with ideological opponents and the ability substantiatedly and mainly, with deep conviction, to apply lofty moral ideals in life. The author describes in detail the problem of the nature, structure and functions of political standards. This topic appears as a continuation of the studies made by him of problems of politics and standards initiated in a previous monograph (1).

The most important feature of the political standard is its practical trend. The pivot of a political standard under conditions of socialist democracy is the real confirmation of the political expectations of the people and the possibility for the masses actively to participate in governmental affairs and freely to engage in sociopolitical initiatives. Let us note in this connection that the concept of political standards as developed by Soviet social scientists, including the author of this book, is radically different from the narrow psychological approach taken by bourgeois political scientists who base their considerations on the political orientations of individuals.

Ye. M. Babosov pays considerable attention to the shaping of political standards. The use of sociological data in the monograph in this connection deserves complete approval. The fact that the theoretical conclusions are supported by practical data substantially enriches the work and makes the author's position particularly convincing.

One of the merits of the book is that it deals with the still relatively unstudied problem of the ennoblement of the individual. The author counters the pessimism and irrationalism of bourgeois social sciences in this area with an optimistic view and faith in social progress. Rejecting the concept of man as being a "unity of truth, goodness and beauty," he emphasizes that the socialist society creates all the necessary prerequisites for a transition "through beauty to humanity" (p 277). Correspondingly, the process of ennoblement of the individual is considered as the result of the activities of the entire society, where under the conditions of the absence of exploitation, the opportunity arises for reaching in the spiritual development of the individual the organic unity between the elements of science and art. "As mature socialism advances," the author concludes, "the significance of culture in its subjective individual form, embodied in honesty, conscientiousness and spirituality of man and in the spiritual self-development and active ideological, political and production-labor stance of every builder of communism will increase" (p 326).

The book is written in a lively and graphic style and is addressed to the mass readership. Unquestionably, it will be useful also to sociologists, teachers and political training propagandists. This monograph is a major contribution to the sociophilosophical study of the problem of man in the contemporary world.

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EFFICIENCY OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

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[Review by I. T. Levykin of the book "Effektivnost' Ideologicheskoy Raboty"
[Efficiency of Ideological Work] by A. I. Yakovlev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984,
303 pages]

[Text] The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee plenum assigned Soviet social scientists the task of making a profound and comprehensive study of the efficiency of party ideological work. This is no simple task. It can be resolved only by relying on a firm theoretical and methodological base. The development of the latter is the topic of the new monograph by A. I. Yakovlev. Based on the results of the studies of this topical problem, made in our country over the past 10 years, the author determines the role of ideological work in shaping the communist outlook of Soviet people, describes the role and significance of each one of its components and presents the integral system of criteria of the efficiency of ideological influence on the social life, consciousness and behavior of the working people.

Let us immediately point out that the systemic approach to the study of the efficiency of ideological work, which advantageously separates this book from other publications of its kind, is exceptionally important in the organization and conduct of sociological studies on this topic. It is hoped that sociologists dealing with such problems will make use of the author's theoretical conclusions on the characteristics of the object, subject, content, means, management, targets and functions of ideological activities.

The target of ideological work is social reality, on the one hand, and the consciousness and behavior of the working people, on the other. The efficiency of ideological work should be judged by changes in its target in which the criteria used to assess its efficiency should be sought. In other words, in undertaking the study of the efficiency of ideological work, we must clearly define the parameters and basic features of the studied object.

The proper idea of its functions and, above all, its general function, the essence of which, as V. I. Lenin said, is to raise the working people to the level of progressive theory, is of essential importance in understanding the nature of efficient ideological work. Based on this classical concept, the author draws the entirely justified conclusion that "the ordinary mind and the

behavior which develops on its basis may and do appear, in the final account, without any whatsoever substantial ideological inference. A scientific consciousness and theoretical interpretation of behavior can not appear without such an influence. The purpose of ideological influence is to enhance the ordinary views of people, which arise under the direct impact of the social environment and practical experience, to the level of a scientific understanding of the world, whereas a behavior based on ordinary concepts is raised to the level of theoretically interpreted action" (p 93).

In considering the influences of ideological work on ordinary socialist consciousness, the author by no means engages in a simple interpretation of this influence. He introduces in scientific circulation the concept of "ideological-theoretical standard of labor and sociopolitical activeness" (pp 124, 128), thereby emphasizing that not all social activity could be considered a criterion of efficiency of ideological work but primarily the one based on profoundly thought-out communist ideological and moral motivations.

The party's ideological work is an organic part of the spiritual sphere of socialism, which develops in the Soviet people direct impressions of the spiritual, cultural and ideological life of our society and shapes socio-psychological qualities such as competent public opinion, an optimistic social mood, a humanistic moral and psychological atmosphere, etc. (pp 90-91).

Yakovlev considers in detail the targets of ideological work (scientific knowledge of objective reality, shaping a communist consciousness and, as a consequence, the social activeness of the Soviet people), which he relates to its efficiency, justifiably considered as the direct source of criteria for the latter. Hence, the importance of the accurate and substantiated definition of the objectives of ideological work in the course of the practical activities of party organizations and the process of sociological studies of this problem.

"Ideological work becomes effective," Yakovlev writes, "when its strategic objectives serve the successful solution of the vital problems of the present. The immediate tactical tasks will be aimed at reaching end results in party ideological activities" (p 111). This also applies to sociological research, in the course of which the efficiency of ideological work as well must be assessed both on the basis of strategic and tactical objectives. Furthermore, we must not forget their nature, which is not always taken into consideration in practical work. For example, in defining the effectiveness of political and economic training, lectures and oral agitation, we frequently use general criteria, such as scientific outlook, communist idea-mindedness, socialist internationalism, Soviet patriotism, labor and sociopolitical activeness, etc. In such cases, researchers frequently ignore the fact that it is difficult to set quality criteria and to assess the efficiency of ideological work through sociological methods.

The classification of ideological work into branches, types and forms (never before suggested in Soviet literature) is worthy of attention. This enables us to separate quite accurately some objects, phenomena and processes from others and to introduce clarity and definite meanings in the concepts used.

The division into categories of "sort" and "variety" in the monograph enables us to distinguish between similar concepts such as "communist upbringing" and "ideological work." The author classifies as the former anything which has an educational impact on the people, including social institutions, such as science, public education, artistic culture, physical culture and sports, etc. The influence of communist upbringing takes place through the production relations operating in society and the organization of labor in a specific collective and allows means of coercion for educational purposes.

The second concept, according to the author, includes anything aimed at the formulation and dissemination of communist ideology. The main burden in the implementation of such assignments is assumed by ideological-theoretical work and communist propaganda and agitation. They are the backbone of ideological work (p 12) and its "sorts." In turn, the following "kinds" may be singled out within each one of them: philosophical-economic, political, legal, and other social sciences in ideological and theoretical work; economic, political, legal and other propaganda, in propaganda; economic, political, legal and other agitation, in agitation (pp 17-20).

As to science, public education, artistic culture, technical creativity, physical culture, sports and others, these are relatively autonomous types of social activity which, although becoming more or less interwoven with ideological work, nevertheless never blend with it entirely and preserve their socially specific nature.

These types of social activities can be legitimately considered types of communist upbringing rather than of ideological work, the author believes. We can hardly disagree with this view, for in addition to ideological they also have many other social functions. For example, the distinctive function of literature and art and all artistic culture is aesthetic and to reduce all such functions merely to a type of ideology or ideological activity means unjustifiably to narrow their range and weaken their educational influence on the people.

In terms of sociological research, the importance of the classification of ideological work on the basis of kind, type and form is determined by the fact that the efficiency of such divisions is analyzed through the lens of general ideological targets and functions and specific and functional characteristics of the individual groups of ideological activity. This approach is quite fruitful. Aware of the objectives and functions of ideological work as a whole, a sociologist who would study the efficiency of economic training, for example, has only to modify the latter in terms of the specific form. Should the need to study the efficiency of any form of oral political agitation arise, it becomes necessary, above all, to define its role and significance in achieving the overall objectives of ideological work and on that basis formulate a research program, method or tools. It is only in this case that the contribution which one specific form or another makes to general ideological results could be achieved with a relatively high level of accuracy.

One of the unquestionable merits of the book is the fact that the author does not limit himself to purely theoretical considerations. He has summed up the

rich experience in ideological work of some oblasts, krays and republic party organizations and has cited data from a number of sociological studies of the effectiveness of various forms of ideological work and expressed substantiated recommendations on its further improvement.

Naturally, when it becomes a question of major social problems, one is not always able to cover all of its aspects equally extensively and meaningfully. Something has to be omitted and something else mentioned briefly; inaccuracies and unconvincing views may appear. A. I. Yakovlev has been unable to avoid them. For example, in characterizing requirements regarding the subject of ideological work, he has actually reduced them to requirements which face ideological cadres (pp 32-34), although these concepts are not identical. We believe that the author should substantiate better his views relative to the general and the specific aspects in means of ideological work. As a whole, this book is a successful attempt to apply the criteria of efficiency to ideological-theoretical work and communist propaganda and agitation. However, the determination of their contribution to overall results requires a more detailed and accurate analysis.

Despite such omissions, A. I. Yakovlev's monograph can be justifiably described as basic. Unquestionably, it will play a positive role in upgrading the scientific standard of sociological studies of CPSU ideological work.

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PROFESSIONAL MOBILITY IN SCIENCE

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[Review by F. R. Aleksandrov of the book "Professional'naya Mobil'nost' v Nauke" [Professional Mobility in Science] by S. A. Kugel'. Mysl', Moscow, 1983, 256 pages (Sociology and Life)]

[Text] The new book by this noted Leningrad scientist sums up the results of long years of study of one of the most typical phenomena of the NTR [Scientific and Technical Revolution]: the mobility of scientific cadres. The monograph is based on sociological surveys conducted between 1968 and 1982 in 20 Soviet cities of associates of academic and sectorial scientific research institutes, scientific production associations, and VUZ chairs and laboratories. A total of some 6,000 scientific workers and 1000 students in technical VUZs were surveyed., Data from other studies on similar subjects were used as well.

The author justifiably emphasizes that professional changes in science are more intensive than in other areas of labor activity and that controlling this process is of major importance in upgrading the efficiency of scientific research in our country. He disputes the idea of the existence of two types of division of labor in this area--technical and social--and offers his own classification of scientific workers (p 16). Kugel' finds the main feature of scientific work as a type of social activity in the fact that "in terms of its nature, this is a cognitive process" (p 27). In our view, this is not simply a matter of knowledge as such (which is inherent, for example, in a high school textbook and in many occupations of another kind) but in the implementation of this process through means and methods specifically inherent in science. Nor is the author entirely accurate in defining professional mobility, which he interprets as an economic category (p 34), although he subsequently includes in it professional (specialty), skill, position, job and other changes made by scientists (36). Whereas the first two could be considered "purely" professional-skill, a social "coloring" is clearly present in the other two.

The author cites impressive factual data confirming the truly mass nature of the real and potential professional mobility of scientists. Nevertheless, the mobility of scientific associates in terms of grades of official hierarchy is extremely slow, which is explained by the limited number of such ladders and

the insufficiently fast renovation of scientific cadres. The dissatisfaction of scientists with this situation adversely affects their research activities. The same could be said of the excessive number of duties assigned to scientific personnel, particularly the highly skilled ones. According to the author, more than 20 percent of surveyed scientists perform seven to nine different functions (p 66). This frequently prevents the scientist from concentrating on strictly research activities and forces him to waste time in administrative, editorial, organizational or other work.

The author singles out the most typical types of professional mobility in science. He indicates the positive significance of this mobility in the course of which "professional ossification" is avoided, the range of cognitive interests is broadened, the possibility for comparing information of different kinds appears, scientific intuition is enhanced, etc. Accurately noting that "organizational ossification and the absolutizing of boundaries among individual disciplines hinder the processes of professional mobility" (p 85), unfortunately, the author nevertheless does not formulate any suggestions on how to surmount this shortcoming. Yet the intensification of scientific creativity is impossible without its elimination.

The author deals extensively with the subjective aspect of professional mobility--orientations and features of the reasons which motivate scientists to change research directions. He singles out among the motivations the desire maximally to display one's capacity and realize possibilities of professional growth. He analyzes the orientation toward professional mobility among students and different groups of surveyed scientific workers. All of this enables him to recreate a rather full picture of the process under study.

The author's considerations on the type of mobility studied are interesting and valuable from the theoretical and practical viewpoints: "external," "internal," "pendular" (with a return to previously "abandoned" specializations), "seasonal," etc. Data on the social origin of scientific associates and on some other features which characterize intergenerational mobility (both professional and social) are important in the overall assessment of the condition and prospects of social changes in Soviet society.

The empirical data presented in the monograph and the conclusions based on them are, unquestionably, a noteworthy step forward in the study of a complex social process, such as professional changes by scientists. However, there is more to it than that. The book is of essential importance in terms of social planning and management in science and forecasting its cadre structure.

Kugel's work would have significantly benefited from more thorough work on some formulations. The impression occasionally arises that the author contradicts himself. We already mentioned his objections to the use of criteria governing the technical and social division of labor in terms of scientific cadres. One can hardly agree with such objections, for in the differentiation of scientific work, in addition to "production" and organizational and technical factors, social factors related to the social division of labor exert an influence. Kugel clearly supports this view, particularly in cases in which he describes the mobility of scientific cadres as a "social mechanism" (p 38) or when he notes that in the interprofessional and

intraprofessional division of labor there exists, in addition to functional-production differences, other differences "of a broader significance: differences which have their social aspect determined by the different nature of the work and working conditions, professional prestige, etc." (p 59). In this case, the author displays a certain inconsistency.

Despite such faults, Kugel's book is an essential contribution not only to the study of science but to the theory of social and professional changes under socialism as well.

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KNOWLEDGE, LANGUAGE, CULTURE

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[Review by A. N. Malinkin of the book "Poznaniye, Yazyk, Kul'tura" [Knowledge, Language, Culture] (Some gnosiological aspects of the problem) by Ye. I. Kukushkin. Moscow State University Press, Moscow, 1984, 263 pages]

[Text] Contemporary research in gnosiology is distinguished by an increased interest in the problem of sociocultural prerequisites for knowledge. The crisis in the positivistic methodology of science, based on the limited nature of scientism, encourages philosophers increasingly to turn in their research from "pure" gnosiology to sociology and from the theory of knowledge to the theory of culture. In turn, in their study of the ordinary practical awareness of the people, sociologists are increasingly considering the cognitive facilities of sociology and the possibilities they offer, their specific nature and their status. A sociological reflex appears, leading to the scientific form of sociology, its relations with other forms of social consciousness and its natural language. This countermovement is significant and entirely legitimate. It confirms the need for profound sociophilosophical and philosopho-historical research. The problem of the sociocultural prerequisites for knowledge is not new to Marxist theory. The works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism contain not only the formulation but the essential solution of most key problems which were subsequently "discovered" by the sociology of knowledge, phenomenology, structuralism and post-positivism. However, the detailed and comprehensive elaboration of the problem of the sociology of knowledge from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism was undertaken relatively recently. One of the factors which has had a negative influence on the development of research in this area so far has been, in our view, the artificial separation of sociology from dialectical and historical materialism, which traditionally developed in the higher education system. This division in professorial work, justified in terms of training objectives, and this demarcation led to the fact that in the views of many specialists the three training disciplines became "scientific disciplines," each one with its own subject.

The book by Ye. I. Kukushkina, published as part of the "dialectical materialism" series, is characterized by the desire to go beyond the limits of traditional "departmental" limits and to consider in detail problems objectively related to the theory of knowledge. The monograph is based on the idea that

the unity between the ontological and gnosiological aspects of life can be interpreted most fully on the basis of the study of its higher forms--the processes which take place in human society. In our time, the author points out, the traditions which developed in gnosiology are breaking down as we become aware of the organic link between the methodological and sociological approaches to knowledge (p 25).

The approach chosen by the author to the study of the laws governing the development and functioning of knowledge enables him to shed some light on a broad range of problems at the points where gnosiology, sociology and other humanities intersect. The author considers the origin of social consciousness and the interrelationship between science and ordinary practical awareness; he defines the place and functions of philosophy in the spiritual life of society and studies the concept of "style of scientific thinking," which is important in the study of culture and science. Particular attention is paid to the function of language in knowledge.

What is the specific nature of the approach used by Kukushkina, and to what extent could it be useful to the practical sociologist? In asking such questions, we must bear in mind that the usefulness of a method cannot be judged by the results of its application in individual problem areas alone. Implicit in any method is a specific conceptual potential, the actualizing of which may be expressed in changes of ideals and norms of scientific research and in the frame of mind of the scientists. Such "usefulness" is inherent, in our view, in the monograph under review. Although occasionally the study of individual problems undertaken by the author is in the nature of an essay, the method used in formulating and resolving such problems is consistent with the highest theoretical standards.

Thus, initially the question of the origin of social awareness (appearance, development and breakdown of the myth) is quite remote from the problems which the sociologist must solve in the course of his daily professional activities. The link between such problems becomes obvious if we take into consideration the fact that the problem of the beginning of the spiritual mastery of the world by man is as historical as it is logical. Categorical means of resolving it could be borrowed only from the arsenal of sociological thinking, which rises to the level of philosophical-historical summations. Here as well, we clearly see how arbitrary are the boundaries which separate the formal (logical) study of knowledge, which may be traced to the traditions of modern irrationalism, and the meaningful (sociological) analysis of knowledge within the framework of the sociology of knowledge. It considers the dynamics of scientific as closely related to social practice. The area of the "pure intelligence," which had long been considered the prime source of the laws governing all types of spiritual mastery of reality, is taken outside the overall aspect of culture by sociology, which considers it one of the realms of culture. By considering scientific knowledge from the genetic viewpoint, the sociologist not only increases his understanding of scientific knowledge as a type of spiritual activity but also faces a number of topical problems of the methodology of social knowledge.

This applies in particular to the correlation between scientific-theoretical and ordinary-practical awareness and knowledge. We share Kukushkina's point

of view that a suitable solution to the problem is possible only through the approach of the study of culture. "It is only by turning to this broad context within which a permanent interaction takes place between ordinary experience and all other means of attitude toward reality that we can understand the true nature of the ordinary consciousness as a product of a complex interweaving of all familiar forms of spiritual activities" (p 71). The practice of sociological research proves that the attempt to define the specific qualities of ordinary knowledge with a simple comparison with scientific knowledge lead to erroneous demands concerning the forms of ordinary knowledge in which we seek (and, naturally, cannot find) the specific features of scientific knowledge. In such cases, the sociologist uncritically projects the systematized enduring concepts which have developed within the area of intrascientific reflection on ordinary consciousness, thus replacing the real object of his study with an artificial structure. In arguing this approach, Kukushkina justifiably points out that "the absence characteristics of a scientific way of thinking in ordinary knowledge cannot be a convincing argument either in favor of the fact that the ordinary form of spiritual perception is not a method for gaining knowledge or in favor of the lack within it of a system or a structure specific to its kind" (p 70).

Let us note, in conclusion, that in our view the author has paid little attention to the interconnection between forms of knowledge and forms of social practice and the dominant methods of social organization, equipment and technology of material production. Yet the specific historical approach to the determination of this interconnection is one of the most important principles in the Marxist sociology of knowledge and theory of culture.

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NEED AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL ACTIVENESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

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[Review by Ye. I. Golovakha and N. V. Panina of the book "Potrebnosti i Psikhologiya Sotsial'noy Deyatel'nosti Lichnosti" [Needs and the Psychology of the Social Activeness of The Individual] by V. S. Magun. Nauka, Leningrad, 1983, 176 pages.]

[Text] The problem of needs is one of the key problems in social science. Discussions on its subject continue unabated to this day. This was realized yet once again by the participants in a discussion recently held in Kiev on questions of shaping sensible personal needs (the materials of the discussion were published in issues Nos. 3-5 of the journal FILOSOF'SKA DUMKA for 1984). Substantial differences came to light in the course of the discussion in terms of the interpretation of the problem and in defining the concept of "need."

The monograph under review is a noteworthy step ahead in the scientific interpretation of the nature of needs and their role in determining social behavior and the development of the economy and the system of human relations.

V. S. Magun introduces the "other needs" component in the "needs-activities" system. This has enabled him to introduce a number of essential sociological refinements in the traditional formula according to which the activities of the subject are a means for the satisfaction of his needs. The author pays prime attention to the fact that the activities of the subject are aimed not only at meeting his own requirements but also those of other social systems as well, which assume to the subject an importance equal to that of his own. This seemingly obvious fact is usually neglected by sociologists and psychologists and left without any detailed theoretical study and empirical testing.

The author, who does not limit himself to a consideration of the way the needs of others determine the activities of the individual, promotes an idea which is interesting and useful in the practice of social management, according to which personal activities are not the only means of satisfaction of the needs of the individual. A considerable portion of such needs could be satisfied at the expense of other people and under different social systems. The individual's expectation that his surrounding will contribute to the satisfaction of his needs leads, in the final account, to shaping a passive life stance. Theoretical concepts of the role of others in controlling the level of social

activeness of the individual should be taken into consideration and developed through empirical studies of the social activeness and productivity in labor.

The question of the correlation between needs and resources for their satisfaction is important. Since so far this problem has been considered essentially by economists and sociologists, it has been a question of the limited nature of objective sources for the satisfactions of requirements (i. e., material resources). The author approaches the problem from the positions of a psychologist. He introduces the concept of the individual resources, by which he means a set of psycho-physiological potentials and the material and social possibilities of the individual determined by his status in society. The limited nature of individual energy resources, as the author proves, imposes certain limitations also on the process of the satisfaction of needs the amount of which, as a rule, exceeds the amount of resources at the individual's disposal.

The study of motivating, energy and functional components of activities has enabled the author to detect new aspects in the problem of self-regulation and to find original solutions in the study of target-setting mechanisms and behavioral programming. Although the author himself, who considers willful efforts as an increased outlay of human energy in controlling activities, explains this with a lack of a drive toward the fulfillment of individual and socially significant objectives, the logic of the study leads to the question of controlling one's own needs. Therefore, sociologists who deal with conceptual problems should take into consideration not only the external factors which limit the growth of material needs but also the fact that individual human resources erect specific barriers on the path to the satisfaction and growth of human needs.

The work under review reflects one of the most interesting problems of social psychology: the nature and place of social attitudes in the structure of activities. Magun analyzes in very great detail the numerous studies made both at home and abroad. This will enable specialists in related disciplines, who are insufficiently familiar with sociopsychological studies, to increase their knowledge in this field. Magun formulates the hypothesis of attitudes as emotional-direct evaluations of targets and actions from the viewpoint of the individual needs of the subject, unlike the quite popular view on social attitudes as internalized social values. This hypothesis, like most other theoretical concepts formulated in the monograph, is proved through empirical research, in the course of which more than 4,000 workers in Leningrad industrial enterprises were surveyed.

The resulting data enabled the author to take a new approach to the solution of a difficult sociological problem: the disparity between social attitudes and the real behavior of the individual. Thus, he found out that as social values become more important to the individual and as the significance of egotistical values declines, the disparity between attitudes and real behavior increase. Furthermore, the author draws a very important conclusion, somewhat unexpected from the viewpoint of familiar concepts: "The attitudinal-behavioral difference, which is traditionally considered morally undesirable, turns out, in this case, to be, precisely, a more valuable feature whereas, conversely, attitudinal-behavioral harmony turns out to be a feature of socially undesirable motivation" (p 133).

In substantiating the essential significance of the emotional component in behavioral control, in our view the author interprets somewhat simplistically the link between individual emotions and needs. In considering the reflection of needs only as a status of dissatisfaction, he ignores the contradictions and heterogeneous types of emotional human conditions in the process of meeting his needs. For example, the stress of intellectual and creative needs is accompanied, as a rule, by an emotional uplift, whereas meeting said needs may also trigger negative emotions--a feeling of devastation and regret for the end of a period in one's life.

Data on the interconnection between the productivity of labor activities and the satisfaction of the individual are of great interest to sociologists dealing with the various aspects of labor activities. The types of correlations between productive labor efforts and the satisfaction of the worker, determined and thoroughly studied by Magun, are quite important both theoretically and practically. The established patterns enable us to interpret more profoundly the numerous and quite contradictory sociological data on problems of labor motivation and productivity. They are of essential importance in optimizing the material and moral incentives for labor.

In assessing the methodical level of the work and, in particular, the mathematical-statistical analysis, we must point out that the author has not only made extensive use of factorial analysis but also applied new methodical means he developed, which substantially broaden the possibility of an active investigation of developing hypotheses. The familiarity of sociologists with such methods would make it possible, among others, to avoid the use of cumbersome tables.

The concept developed by Magun has led to the introduction of a number of new ones. This is entirely correct. However, the author failed to display proper concern for the clarity of the text and the quality of the style. In our view, the thorough description of basic concepts and theoretical views should have been accompanied by concise conclusions and illustrations. This would have significantly facilitated understanding the author's concept and the basic results of the study.

Overall, let us point out that this work is a substantial contribution to the study of requirements and social activities and opens new directions for the sociological study of the problem.

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LOVE AND SEXUALITY UNDER THIRTY

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[Review by I. S. Kon of the book "Liebe und Sexualität bis 30" [Love and Sexuality Under Thirty] by K. Starke and W. Friedrich, with the participation of L. Aresin, K. R. Back, G.-W. Bathke, B. Bertram, H. Grassel, M. Reissig, S. Schnabl, U. Starke, P. Voss and K. Weller. V. E. B. Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1984, 355 pages (in German)]

[Text] What will replace the system of relations between sexes in bourgeois society? In answering this question, F. Engels wrote: "...This will become clear when a new generation grows up: a generation of men who will never have to pay cash for women or for other social means of power, and a generation of women, who will never have to give themselves to men for motivations other than true love, or reject closeness with a loved man out of fear of economic consequences. The moment such people appear, they will totally reject that which according to present concepts they are supposed to do: they will know themselves how to act and will develop accordingly their own public opinion on the actions of every individual, and that is all" (1, p 85).

Unlike ethics, sociology deals less with what should be than with what is: its assessments, including moral ones, always remain on the ground of real social facts and development trends. However, since such facts are scarce, the empirical picture of sexual behavior of the population in the socialist countries shows up as fragmented and heterogenous.

The book "Love and Sexuality under Thirty," written by a large group of GDR scientists, most of them associates of the Central Institute for the Study of Youth, headed by K. Starke and W. Friedrich, largely fills this gap. Although written in a popular style, it is based on the most extensive sexual survey after Kinsey's classical works, which included 5,469 men and women aged 16 to 30, including 2,163 working people, 1,751 students in production training and 1,555 university students. The average age of the respondents was 20.7, but varied greatly between subgroups. One quarter of the respondents were married (45 percent of the working people); 20 percent (41 percent among working people) had children. Three-quarters, including bachelors, had stable heterogenous relationships as couples.

The main questionnaire which was used in the study included 333 questions broken down as follows: general; vital values and social orientations;

activeness in various areas of life; job, profession, training and grades; personal well-being and attitude toward oneself; love, sexuality, partnership relations; previous love experience; sexual maturity, beginning of sexual activities; first sexual act; contraception; present sexual partnership; early sexual experience; habitual forms of sex activities; sexual deviations; change of partners; homosexuality; social origin and conditions for the development of the individual; features of the parental family; career education; marriage and family life; method questions. As the list shows, specifically sex-oriented questions were organically related to social and psychological ones. This advantageously singles out the book under review from the overwhelming majority of Western studies, the authors of which, as a result of a shortage of funds and methodological limitations, frequently consider sexuality as something self-satisfying, separate from the overall lifestyle and social behavior of individuals and groups under study. In addition to the questionnaire, the authors made use of numerous published and other data.

From the sociological viewpoint, what are the most important results of the studies conducted by the German scientists? The leitmotif in the book is the thesis that human sexuality is not in itself a satisfying force; its content, forms of manifestation and social results are inseparably related to the overall world of the individual and, through it, to the way of life and value-orientations of the society. Naturally, in terms of Marxist thinking, this is not a new conclusion. Marxist philosophy has always opposed the absolutizing of sexuality, regardless of whether it was treated as a dangerous and destructive antisocial instinct, conflicting with culture, or as the only source of creative energy, the emancipation of which would mark the beginning of the social liberation of mankind. However, recurrences of this viewpoint, the former in particular, are still frequently encountered in our popular medical education publications.

Convincingly, with the help of figures, the German researchers prove the many faceted interconnection among sexual behavior, individual features and the social conditions of personality development. The GDR youth consider sexual life one of the most important conditions for personal happiness; that answer was given by 90 percent of the men and 87 percent of the women surveyed. However, they consider sexuality not on an isolated and separate basis but within the context of highly individual love relations, which presume a profound personal, human contact and mutual understanding. Confidence in the existence of a "great love" was expressed by 86 percent of the men and 91 percent of the women. In women this conviction is statistically correlated to the success of their own marriage.

As in other countries (2, 3) GDR youth consider love and sexuality relatively separate from the institution of marriage and from marital relations. This is particularly strongly manifested in adolescence. The awakening of erotic interests and the start of a sexual life, related to a faster sexual maturing, take place today significantly earlier than in the past. The average age at which sex life begins has decreased in recent years and is 16.9, the same for boys and girls. Today 50 percent of 16-year-olds, two-thirds of the 17-year-olds and nine-tenths of the 19-20-year-olds have sexual experience. In the overwhelming majority of cases, such initial ties are premarital and tolerated by the senior generation, who accept them as inevitable and merely try to prevent their negative social consequences, such as undesirable pregnancy.

This is achieved through sex education in school, including information on contraceptives, etc.

Until recently, sex literature claimed that an earlier start (what precisely was meant by "earlier" usually remained undefined) in sexual life and its high intensity adversely affected the subsequent sexual possibilities of the individual ("exhaustion of sexual energy," etc.). This opinion is confirmed neither by the book under review nor by contemporary sex studies as a whole (4); the relatively earlier (within the limits of a statistical norm) awakening of erotic interests and the beginning of a sexual life are related to the characteristics of the sexual constitution of the individual and correlated with the higher sexual activeness in subsequent adult periods of life. In this respect, individual differences should be considered normal and natural.

A more complex situation exists in terms of psychological and social factors. Deviations from average statistical norms in any direction are frequently accompanied by some difficulties. The boys and girls, who begin their sex life significantly earlier than their coevals, are usually distinguished by worse grades at school (which is also characteristic of young university students, who frequently change sexual partners); as a rule, they find themselves isolated from their collectives. Their sexual relations are superficial, immature and lack deep emotional involvement. The start of a sex life much later than average presents psychological problems as well, particularly in the case of boys. They feel alienated within their age group. They are less self-confident and less happy than their coevals. They experience difficulties in communicating with members of the opposite sex, etc. In other words, everything is good at the proper time. The "optimum" is determined, on the one hand, by the features of individual development and, on the other, the standards of the socioage subculture.

What about the adults? Psychoanalytical theories of sublimation and stereotypes on the existence of an antagonism between "sex" and "culture," notwithstanding, and fully consistent with contemporary scientific concepts of the unity within the world of the individual, empirical data convincingly proved that in the majority of cases a positive connection exists between the level of sexual activity and satisfaction of the subject with his social activeness. This link can be statistically traced in the area of contacts with coevals, in social activities, at work, in sports, at school, and in cultural consumption. The main conclusion of the studies, the authors emphasize, "is that sexual-erotic behavior and accomplishments in other realms of life are positively interrelated, so that the highest results in training, work and social activeness, and, in general, high industriousness are inseparable from a rich sexual life and profound emotional experiences" (p 284).

This conclusion may seem paradoxical from the viewpoint of hypocritical morality. However, if we recall that the sexuality discussed by the German scientists and their respondents is not reduced to mere physical possession but implies a wide gamut of love-emotions, no other way is possible. The richness of life in all manifestations of human existence does not impoverish the person but enhances his creative energy and self-dedication.

The study shows the existence of a particularly close tie between erotic experiences and personality and social factors in female respondents. The

sexual reaction of young women is statistically correlated with their professional satisfaction, involvement in work or studies (among women students), sports, sociopolitical activeness and an optimistic world outlook.

The sexual aspects of marriage are widely discussed in the work. Although sexual satisfaction, love, and marital well-being are not synonymous, the phenomena are closely interrelated. According to S. I. Golod (2) and many other researchers, sexuality invariably holds third place in the adaptation scale, after spiritual and psychological compatibility in a ten-year-old marriage, and after spiritual and living compatibility among the spouses who have been married between 10 and 15 years. The German researchers convincingly proved that a close interdependence exists between sexual satisfaction, on the one hand, and a successful and stable marriage, on the other. Among married couples who considered their union happy, 95 percent are sexually satisfied, compared to only 22 percent of those unhappy with their marriage. Let us recall that, according to S. I. Golod, among couples quite satisfied with their marriage, virtually all turned out to be sexually compatible, compared with only 63 percent among the dissatisfied.

The German researchers analyze in detail factors of marital life such as the frequency of intimate relations, criteria of sexual satisfaction and attitude toward the partner's sexual needs. To people raised in a spirit of puritan hypocrisy, such topics may be considered vile. However, the ability to consider and anticipate the specific wishes of one's partner is nothing other than a display of love and attention toward him, and emotional riskiness is one of the conditions for preserving the novelty and freshness of relations which, if turned into routine, undermine the stability of the marriage and encourage the spouses to "look for something on the side." As convincingly confirmed by K. Starke and W. Friedrich, sexual-erotic views shown by most young people are closely related to sociomoral values, such as love, equality and a just allocation of family obligations on the basis of which a socialist marriage rests. Alienated "loveless" sex is mostly the result of some pathological features in the individual and difficulties to communicate, rooted in the characteristics of individual development in childhood.

The individualizing of love relations and the destruction of many old taboos do not make human life any simpler. Furthermore, they create a number of new problems. As F. Engels wrote, "The length of feelings of individual sexual love greatly varies among individuals, men in particular" (1, p 85). In a calculated marriage or a marriage based on material coercion, such differences were suppressed. Today they have become more noticeable and significant. The bulk of GDR young people are clearly oriented toward marriage, a strong family and children, the existence of which is considered a mandatory prerequisite for family happiness by three-quarters of the respondents (60 percent of them would like to have two, 25 to 30 percent one and 5 percent three children). However, in the last decade the percentage of unmarried and divorced young people between 18 and 30 has increased greatly: There were 18.8 divorces per 1000 people under the age of 25 in 1970 and 31.3 in 1979. A marriage for love does not in itself guarantee family happiness. According to the German researchers, 37 percent of the married couples they surveyed had a harmonious marriage; a relatively harmonious marriage was found in 35 percent and a non-harmonious marriage in 18 percent of the investigated couples. This

problem has its sexual aspects related, among others, to the specific features of male and female sexuality. Whereas during the first year of marriage, in the majority of cases, the spouses were entirely satisfied with its sexual aspect, during the second year of life together the number of not entirely satisfied men increased by 14 percent and in some of the women interest in sexual life declined. According to L. Aresin, who studied 300 married couples aged between 30 and 50 (Chapter 26), such differences increased with age: more than two-thirds of the surveyed men between the ages of 30 and 40 would have liked more frequent intimate relations, compared with less than one-third of the women; substantial differences were found between men and women in terms of the number of extramarital relations, etc.

The solution of such problems is not simple. It has long been understood in the GDR that healthy human sexuality requires comprehensive medical-psychological assistance. In addition to mandatory sex education at school, the republic maintains some 200 marriage and sex consultation centers staffed by gynecologists, psychiatrists, medical psychologists, pediatricians, andrologists, hygienists, lawyers and educators. This service is yielding positive results by helping to eliminate and prevent on time a variety of psychosexual difficulties and to promote marital harmony. However, the authors of the book justifiably emphasize that sex education and marriage consultations merely explain to the people their problems which they should resolve themselves, according to their individuality and sense of social responsibility.

Could the lifestyle and type of sexual morality described in the book be considered an "answer" to the question which Engels raised in his time? To a certain extent, it can. The value-orientations it includes are, unquestionably, an alternative to religious hypocrisy and the intolerance of the Victorian Age as well as the morality of permissiveness and irresponsibility in the contemporary "consumer society," in which the slogan of "free love" is a screen concealing commercial eroticism, loss of intimacy and dehumanization of human relations and, in the final account, a new sexual alienation. However, in considering the matter in a broader philosophical-sociological framework, we cannot fail to consider that the socialist way and style of life, including sexual morality, cannot be identical always and in everything; its variations depend on the historical features of each nation and its traditional culture.

I shall cite one example only. The German researchers proved that the attitude toward sexuality, like the overall emotional liberation of the young people, is closely related to their attitude toward the degree of nakedness accepted in the parental home. The higher the educational and cultural standards of the parents, the younger they are, the stronger their professional and social involvement is and the more "urban" their lifestyle, the lesser taboos on nakedness in the family become. This considerably correlates with the verbal "openness," which, in helping the children to develop a calm and worldly attitude toward all sexual problems and the necessary habits to communicate. Unquestionably, this law is quite important. However, other than some material prerequisites (availability of a private apartment and the habit regularly to shower or bathe), nakedness presumes certain national cultural traditions and a specific "body canon," the study of which began with the classical work of M. M. Bakhtin (6), and the connection between which and sexual morality is of great interest in theoretical sex studies.

In German folk culture a more or less significant degree of undressing was characteristic in the past (wearing certain types of clothes, the movement of the so-called "free body culture" (Freikörperkultur), etc.). Orthodoxy imposed a much stricter taboo on nakedness. In Muslim nations, with their custom of concealing the body almost totally, parental nakedness would be considered by the children as totally shameless. These and many other cultural features have left their marks to this day on the way of life and sexual morality of nations, which educators and psychologists cannot ignore.

The book under review is an initial and very preliminary summation of research data. Obviously, such data will be subsequently submitted to more detailed qualitative and quantitative analysis, which will reveal behind average indicators the various differences and types of individual psychosexual development and behavior. Some of the questions discussed in the book cannot be adequately studied through sociological methods to begin with, for the information they provide is basic, whereas what is required is extensive clinical studies. Nor will it be possible to bypass special psychological studies of concepts, functions and variations of sexual love. However, even in its present state, the book under review is an outstanding sociosexual study. It not only brings to light one of the most important areas of the socialist way of life of GDR youth but also sheds new light on the overall laws of sexual life and marital-family relations of modern man.

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TRUSTWORTHINESS OF SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION

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[Review by B. Z. Doktorov of the book "Dostovernost na Sotsiologicheskata Informatsiya" [Trustworthiness of Sociological Information] by D. Dimitrov. Nauka i Izkustvo, Sofia, 1983, 148 pages (in Bulgarian)].

[Text] The author of this monograph needs no introduction to the Soviet sociological public. His article, the title of which is almost textually reproduced in the title of his book, was published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (2) 6 years ago. References to this article can be found in virtually any Soviet book on the trustworthiness of sociological data. The monograph under review essentially develops and concretizes the methodical ideas which were initially formulated in said article.

The author's main objective is the detailed study of the factors which lower the quality of sociological data and to find ways to upgrade its reliability. The importance of the concept of "trustworthiness," as applicable to sociology, is described in the first theoretical-methodological chapter; the three subsequent chapters deal with the specific stages in preparing a sociological study, the gathering of primary data and their processing and analysis.

To the Soviet reader, the book is of interest also because acquaints him with the major accomplishments of Bulgarian sociology in the organization of large-scale sociological studies and brings to light some mechanisms for the use of results by party and state organs. Also noteworthy is the author's aspiration to perfect the categorial apparatus oriented toward the development of problems of trustworthiness of sociological information.

The deep logic of the presentation and the convincing arguments quickly earn the trust of the readers. The impression created by the monograph is unquestionably positive. However, somehow this does not account for all thoughts about the book; in thinking about what we have read, we do not limit ourselves to the content of the work but begin to consider general problems related to upgrading the trustworthiness of sociological information and taking a new look on the achievements of Soviet specialists in this area.

First of all, Dimitrov acquaints us not only with the manner in which today Bulgarian scientists are solving methodological problems but looks at them in

the context of the development of the traditions of Bulgarian sociology. That is why we unwittingly begin to recreate, mentally to "structure" the history of the study of methodology and method in our country. We wish to understand both similarities and dissimilarities. Secondly, the author proves his good knowledge of Soviet theoretical and empirical experience, and, in this sense, his book indicates the way our accomplishments in the theory, method and organization of sociological studies are assessed by specialists in other countries. In a word, the Soviet reader acquires the possibility of seeing the way Soviet works are perceived "from the outside" and develops the aspiration to understand the mechanisms of such perceptions.

After a while, an inner need develops to determine the reason for the easy reception given to this book: what was the matter, why were there no reasons for engaging in a principled discussion with the author? Could it be that everything he presents is so convincing that no argument is possible? Could it also be that the problem of upgrading the trustworthiness of sociological information has been developed to such an extent that no sharp professional debates are possible? Could it be that it is easy to follow the author along his way in a well-developed area where good roads have been laid?

It is thus that the attitude toward the monograph becomes gradually more complex and the overall assessment is spoiled: although the positive impression is retained (and even somewhat intensified), one becomes increasingly aware of the limited nature (we emphasize, not the sterility) of the conceptual approach which runs through the book. D. Dimitrov's merit is that having canonized in terms of the form of his presentation a number of topical methodological and methodical problems, without setting himself that specific objective, he has brought to light the essential, the meaningful limits of the logic he used in his study of the subject.

Let us note another circumstance which contributed to the fact that the publication of a foreign rather than Soviet study led to a closer analysis of the experience of domestic works. We are referring to a sociopsychological or human factor: in reading and interpreting the content, there is total lack of a personal attitude toward the author, whereas in analyzing the results of studies made by Soviet colleagues, we are not always able to eliminate "shop" relations. The monograph by the Bulgarian sociologist provided an impetus for a synthesis, for determining what is common in the works of Soviet scientists on methodological and methodical problems of sociology. It seems expedient to concentrate not on achievements but, conversely, on aspects of the problem which, in our view, have been insufficiently clarified and require more energetic studies. The nature of these remarks and their volume do not allow us to substantiate in detail the results of the study, for such theses require further development and intensification. We base our views on some general methodological concepts related to the interpretation of scientific knowledge as an activity (3).

Let us note, above all, that monographs on problems of upgrading the reliability of results of sociological studies (4-10) are essentially descriptive. This characterizes the methodology and methodical studies as extensive-assimilation works. The number of interpretations of many categorical concepts increases (trustworthiness, reliability, accuracy, precision, etc. There is

little orientation toward integrating methodological experience acquired in the various sociological areas. We do not notice a qualitative change in making methodical studies and interpreting results. Limited use is made of mathematical processing and mathematical modelling in the summation of method data; insufficient attention is being paid to the study of the origin and development of empirical methods in sociology.

The main reason for this situation, in our view, is that existing theoretical concepts and corresponding methodological recommendations and organizational methods already now yield valuable and socially necessary information on the phenomena and processes under study and allow the sociologists to participate more actively in the formulation of social problems and the substantiation of the strategy and tactics of social action. Consequently, the requirements of society concerning the accuracy and precision of sociological information are still not an effective incentive for the appearance of new paradigms of methodological and method research and do not formulate a sufficiently pressing social demand for the development of "intensive-productive" trends in the study of the features of empirical methods in sociology.

The elimination of descriptiveness and the intensification of methodology and method studies are impossible without developing the various trends of intellectual activities oriented toward the theorizing of knowledge of the means and methods used in collecting and processing sociological data. At this point, it is too early to provide details of the trends, means and methods of theoretical expression of the laws which characterize the practical features of empirical methods used in sociology. However, both general methodological concepts and the history of the development of many contemporary branches of the natural sciences, as well as a number of very interesting, meaningful and promising achievements in sociology enable us to make quite optimistic forecasts. The new theoretical selection methods used in mass population studies, the multidimensional qualitative and quantitative descriptions of interviewer activities and the mathematical presentation of values and of the process of returning questionnaires by mail and the determination of the functional correlation between the structure and the measuring properties of sociological scales confirmed the appearance of new research approaches to the methodological and methodical problems in sociology. It is noteworthy that said contemporary empirical methods hold leading positions in the arsenal of applied sociology.

The extensive-assimilation nature of studies in the area of upgrading the trustworthiness of sociological information is clearly manifested in the development of an initial conceptual apparatus. Soviet sociologists have adopted as their standard the detailed study of terms encountered in literature and their semantic comparisons. In particular, the authors study the practice of using a number of terms employed in ordinary speech and introduce new shades in the interpretation of individual concepts. Unquestionably, this type of scientific approach reveals and clarifies a great deal in the history of the development of sociological language. However, this does not help us to attain the objective for the sake of which the structure of said concepts is mostly studied. This method does not lead the researchers to the elaboration of systems of categories which could become the base of axiomatized knowledge of the characteristics of empirical methods in sociology. The number of

suggested terms is steadily increasing and so is the range of their interpretation. However, the structural nature of the introduced systems of definitions remains low; trends toward the study and concretizing of conceptual elements are not balanced by an equally active research orientation toward synthesizing existing approaches and developing productive abstractions.

In our view, one of the trends of intensification of methodological and methodical research in sociology is the study of a possible fuller utilization of the achievements of metrology: the science which develops the principles, methods and means of upgrading the quality of measurements in various areas of human activities. The very idea of formulating and resolving individual methodical problems in sociology (selective analysis, grading, study of the influence of the interviewer on respondent answers), relying on the language and concepts of metrology, is not new (in terms of Soviet sociology in particular) and its utilization is already yielding noticeable positive results. Why is it, therefore, that the number of supporters of such a scientific approach to upgrading the reliability of sociological information is growing very slowly? (This question was frequently asked in the past as well, but the desire to answer it arose after reading Dimitrov's monograph).

We believe that the major obstruction to the active application of the principles and recommendations of metrology in the system of developing knowledge of empirical methods in sociology is the lack of adequately formulated methodical problems and a certain tendency among sociologists to remain inside the circle of traditional problems. Like any sufficiently specialized language, the category of the study and the principles of metrology are not universal and their potential opportunities can be determined and studied in the course of respective types of problem situations. Ignoring many essential aspects in this topic, let us formulate the following: the category language in metrology will be given a "legitimate entrance" in a certain area of methodological and methodical studies in sociology after problems of upgrading the quality of sociological research which today appear "unusual" (one would like to use Niels Bohr's term "crazy"), have been resolved. Contemporary sociology has come quite close to the formulation of some such methodical problems.

The development of intensive-productive trends in methodical studies is closely related to the development of ideal structures for empirical methods in sociology. Without realizing this or undertaking their development, we cannot ensure a major increase in our knowledge of the "structure" of the methods used in the gathering and study of data or means for controlling the quality of sociological information. Descriptiveness in presenting the structures of empirical methods in sociology and the practice of their utilization and the empirical nature of many methodical developments, as well as occasional subjectivism in the interpretation of results and their conclusions may be eliminated only by supplementing the existing scientific methods for conducting methodical and methodological studies with the means used in the elaboration of symbolic descriptions and mathematical modelling. The large number of methodical facts accumulated by many generations of sociologists could be systematized, streamlined and reorganized into a systems of standardized requirements concerning sociological activities and aimed at upgrading the trustworthiness of sociological information only through theory, which

necessarily requires the existence of ideal structures of means for data gathering and processing (11).

The most common objection to the use of mathematical modelling in any given area of knowledge is the emphasis of its uniqueness, complexity, and qualitative exclusivity of phenomena and processes under study. V. I. Lenin gave a general answer to this criticism: "All scientific...abstractions reflect nature more profoundly or, rather, more fully" (1, p 152). "The significance of the general is contradictory: it is dead, impure, incomplete, etc., etc.; however, it alone is a step toward knowledge of the specific..." (1, p 252).

These views explain why Dimitrov's monograph has given us an impetus to study a number of general aspects in the development of methodological and methodical research. It is absolutely consistent with the extensive-assimilationist view of the problems of upgrading sociological research and, in this respect, it is "natural" and triggers no essential objections. On the other hand, the work under consideration is virtually bereft of the attributes of intensive interpretation and development of methodical problems and, consequently, does not provide immediate grounds for arguing with the author but an awareness of the need to add to his arguments.

In conclusion, let us specify two things: first, in no case do we pit the extensive against the intensive trend in the development of methodological-methodical knowledge and do not consider one of them positive and the other negative. They exist in a close state of unity, supplementing each other. Secondly, it is erroneous to assume that studies of the extensive type should be "dampened" and that all research should be subordinated to the development of the intensive trend. Such extremism would merely hinder the progress of research and the subordination of the solution of problems to upgrading the trustworthiness of sociological information.

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SOCIAL MECHANISM OF CRIMINAL LAW INFLUENCE

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[Review by V. S. Ovchinskiy of the book "Sotsial'nyy Mekhanizm Ugolovno-Pravovogo Vozdeystviya" [Social Mechanism of Criminal Law Influence] by V. M. Kogan. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 184 pages].

[Text] Today problems of the sociology of deviant behavior are the focal point of attention of social scientists. The conceptual approach adopted in the work under review is shaped essentially through a description of the phenomenon of the subculture, conceived as a stable system of value orientations generated by the standards of deviant behavior. A subculture appears in informal antisocial criminogenic groups. Since it does not coincide with the standard social system, this subculture develops its own system of social priorities, concepts and penalties. Deviant behavior, as the author convincingly proves, is a complex world of social symbols and realities. It includes a specific conversational language, forms of concealment and a variety of means of group pressure. Unfortunately, the author singles out only two subcultures: the subcultures of misappropriation and prison. In our view, criminogenic phenomena should include the behavioral standards of vagrants, parasites, black marketeers, criminals possessing the rudiments of professionalism (swindlers, pickpockets, cardsharps and con men). It is precisely these subcultural groups which largely shape the process of the self-reproduction of crime.

The least successful in the book is the final section entitled "Social Conditions and the Observance of Laws." Although the heading leads the reader toward a broad range of objective conditions for crime, for some reason the author had limited himself merely to labor. No one lowers the role of the latter in shaping the socialist way of life. However, ignoring the other factors--cultural and living conditions, recreation, the role of the family, etc.--inevitably leads to erroneous theoretical interpretations. Thus, on the basis of the coinciding answers on the quality of a job situation and value-orientations of two different categories--law-observing citizens and people who have committed a crime--the author draws the unexpected conclusion that "the commission of a crime is merely an isolated event in the life of most people with a criminal record" (p 172). The author has failed to notice that his position conflicts with the results of criminological studies made by other researchers (such as Yu. M. Antonyan, G. A. Avanesov, V. N. Kudryavtsev,

I. I. Karpets, G. M. Min'kovskiy and A. B. Sakharov). They have proved the opposite, i. e., that crime is most frequently the legitimate result of the individual's social degradation, the radical restructuring of his labor and moral values and his regressive behavior from less to more dangerous forms.

Other conclusions drawn by the author as well hardly apply to anyone who has been sentenced by the courts: "The higher the meaning of the job the lower the crime" (p 166) or else "The higher the skill of the person the lower the police record coefficient" (p 169). Such statements are accurate only to the extent to which they characterize felons who were workers prior to the commission of a crime. We know, however, that criminals as a group are qualitatively heterogenous in terms of professional structure and it would be hardly accurate to apply to them the trends inherent in a social group. Let us add that the text does not show the main thing: the type of crimes for which the criminals were sentenced. If it is a question of a criminal indictment for leading a parasitical way of life, the characteristics of the nature of the job become totally inapplicable. Let us say in this connection that the author has been unable, as it were, to determine the social grounds for respect for the law, on the one hand, having considered merely a single factor--the meaning of the job--and, on the other, his excessively broad approach (nondifferentiated study of those sentenced).

Other concepts included in the monograph are equally controversial. Thus, in considering the effect of the moral content of criminal law, the author introduces the concept of "criminal character." Essentially, this is a stereotype of social consciousness--over-simplified, one-sided and emotionally colored concept of individuals who violate criminal law. The character of the criminal, according to Kogan, is the sociopsychological barrier between those who respect the law and those who violate it. The author believes that a contradiction arises here: "The higher the sociopsychological barrier created by the character of the criminal is, the easier it is to restrain citizens from the commission of a crime and also the harder it becomes to rehabilitate the criminal after he has served his penalty" (p 130). We believe that this conclusion is farfetched. As to the rehabilitation of criminals who have served their penalty, it depends, as criminological studies have indicated (A. M. Yakovlev, M. P. Zhuravlev, Yu. V. Solopanov, N. A. Struchkov, I. V. Shmarov and others) less on sociopsychological stereotypes than on objective social factors related to the working and living readjustment of those with a criminal record and the resumption of their family ties. Naturally, the subjective perception of the felon of his own guilt plays a certain role in this respect.

We find unconvincing the suggestion of setting up a special agency aimed exclusively at the maximally full detection of crime but not taking preventive action (p 158). We know that all information on antisocial actions goes to the internal affairs authorities, the prosecutor's office and the courts. It is they who take immediate measures to prevent and expose crimes. Therefore, the new organization would simply have no place in the existing system of law enforcement bodies. It is rather a question of the need to change the criteria governing the efficiency of their activities and to upgrade departmental control over the strict observance of legality in accepting statements or reports on violations of the law.

We are puzzled by the author's conclusion that the insufficient harshness of penalties is compensated by the high level of activeness of judiciary bodies and that excessive harshness, conversely, lowers it (p 162). Essentially, this is a paradoxical conclusion. No one can deny that a premeditated murder or particularly large thefts are harshly punished in accordance with criminal laws. However, it is precisely against such crimes that the law enforcement agencies wage an active struggle. Where is the pattern mentioned by the author to be found in this case?

The views expressed here are by no means final. They are merely the opinion of one reader. Unquestionably, V. M. Kogan's book is debatable and the problems it raises are exceptionally topical. Proper knowledge of philosophical-sociological, psychological and specifically legal works, the summation of results of empirical studies and nonstandardized thinking have enabled the author to resolve, in the final account, the problems he sets to himself. The book is of unquestionable interest to the general readership.

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PARASOCIOLOGICAL SURVEYS

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[Article by Porfiriy Kuz'mich Paramonov, doctor of parasociological sciences (uncertified). Specializing in the study of surveys. Author of the brilliant article "All Roles Have a Role" published in our journal (No 3, 1984, pp 235-237). For more details on the author see data published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (No 4, 1984)]

[Text] Story of the Zealous Sociologist, His Favorite Respondent and the Duffer From Marina Roshcha

Once upon a time there were two respondents. One lived in the mind of the sociologist and the other in Marina Roshcha. The first was as intelligent as the sociologist himself. The second, however, was ignorant of even basic rules: anything he said or did was irrelevant.

And so, here was the sociologist, planning a survey. The moment he would invent a question he would address it to his favorite respondent to determine whether or not some methodical hitches existed. He would ask him, for example, whether he had liked thus and such a movie. ("If 'yes', why? If 'no', why not? Please explain your viewpoint"). Responding to such a polite and delicate approach, the clever respondent would present all of his views and motivations and break them down according to criteria. He would analyze the plot, compare the director with the world classics and personally with Rainer Fassbinder, not forgetting the skill of the cameraman and the psychological motivations of the actors. He would review the film as a whole and individually by actor. The sociologist would be bubbling with happiness, for this would mean that the question was proper and could be immediately used. The duffer from Marina Roshcha, however, would behave differently. He would read the open question and try either not to answer at all or to write something like a church ritual. What kind of an answer is that?: "I liked the movie. It was good. I am grateful to the author. Generally speaking, I have great respect for Papanov. In all of his roles." This rascal doesn't understand the basics: a sociologist must interpret answers, write reports and give something to the client.

Relations with the favorite respondent are entirely different. Here everything is based on complete trust. "How much do you earn? What unearned

income do you have? Where would you rather be: in a bar or a concert hall? What are the shortcomings of your superior and what would you do to him if you were in his place and he in yours?" The clever respondent answers everything and does his best for science.

Here as well the duffer from Marina Roshcha makes things difficult. He either remains silent or gives confusing information without being bothered by his conscience. The moment his answers are fed to a computer the computer breaks down: it begins to cry and then to laugh hysterically in its printout.

Once the sociologist drew up a questionnaire in the form of a table: there were questions about 15 services and answers classified in 20 criteria. The task was most simple: evaluate each service on the basis of each criterion. That was all.

The sociologist decided to check with his favorite first: "Tell me, please, respected respondent, does this question exceed your analytical capacity?" The respondent reported: "Everything is absolutely clear, my dear man. I go through the first two criteria twice. I first answer whether or not such a service may be found where I live. If not, I go on to the next service and if such a service is available, I proceed: I answer the question of whether or not I make use of this service. If not, I go on to the next and once again I go through it twice and if the answer is yes, I evaluate it from all sides; accessible-inaccessible, convenient-inconvenient, useful-useless, and pleasant-unpleasant. And so on, until the table is covered... Have I properly understood everything, sir?"

Naturally, the sociologist is pleased. "This is good," he says. "One could even publish it. But what to do with the duffer? He could spoil everything."

The duffer understood nothing. He became totally confused with the questionnaire. Not even did he fail to complete half the table, but also messed up everything. He checked off the first answer (no such service was available to him), but discussed it in detail, so that the sociologist had to discard his answer, thus wasting time, for he had a short deadline and had to submit a report. And although he behaved as befits a scientist, he did resent the duffer from Marina Roshcha.

However, both the sociologist and his favorite respondent were, as a whole, good people. They legitimately considered themselves part of the intellectual elite and loved to lift those around them to their own level. They started to think about how to make the duffer think impeccably, in a delicate manner, inobtrusively. They formulated a long-term educational strategy and began.

In order to teach Marina Roshcha some sense, they converted all open questions to closed ones. Let us say that the duffer wanted to describe the way he loved Papanov, but there was no space where to write about it, for even without his help everything on the subject had already been written, about directing, camera skills, and Rayner Fassbinder. Next to the written choices was the polite reminder: "It is quite easy to fill this questionnaire."

All possible answers are given. All you have to do is mark your choice. We thank you in advance for your participation in this scientific study!"

The duffer reads those warm words and tries to select the best answer. If he is asked to check one he does; if no choices are given, he tries to write as much as he can. "I will make them understand," he thinks, "and have an intimate talk with someone who understands. I will tell them everything about the movie, about Papanov, and about life..." By the time he has finished answering the questions, two hours have passed. The sociologist is already on his way, for he must see other respondents as well. Therefore, the views expressed in Marina Roshcha remain untabulated.

It is true that on one occasion the duffer used some cunning and wrote his thoughts on the margins of the form; on another occasion he did not let the sociologist go until he had heard him out. The sociologist, however, was not born yesterday. In the face of such intrigues, he perfected the procedure: he would run to the respondent at work or at home, foist the survey on him and take off. He would then return merely to pick it up. He would read the notes on the margin, choose the most suitable answer and check it off. It is thus that Marina Roshcha became a proper respondent.

But there is more. The sociologist decided to save paper. As always, he consulted with his favorite. The latter asked: "Why did you ask them to check off blank forms?" and immediately answered himself: "The moment they mark them off, take them to the computer. The procedure is quite simple and, before you know it, you have a scientific and technical revolution. And think of how much pulp wood could be saved." The sociologist was quite pleased. He gathered together a group of respondents at their place of work, and gave each one a paper with code figures. He read to them the questions and asked the respondents to put down the proper code number. Most of the respondents wrote the figures quickly, but the duffer again held out: "I," he says, "don't like to answer this way. I would like to see the questions personally, so as not to make a mistake. As it is, you may as well use the Morse code."

All the poor sociologist could do was wave his arms. However, he patiently went on educating the duffer. He decided to teach him how to make his choices. At first, everything went smoothly. The duffer was given four choices to a question. Despite occasional failures, the sociologist remained hopeful. At one point, he invented the following question: "Assuming that you have children of nursery or kindergarten age, and assuming that they attend a given children's institution or expect to be enrolled in one, how would you rate the work of said institution?" Naturally, a proper explanation was given in parentheses: "If your children have attended (are attending) several institutions, rate the work of the latest." This was followed by a simple table: rate the various aspects of the work of said nursery or kindergarten according to a five-point scale (care, food, upbringing, etc.). All in all, there were eight possible choices. Squares to be checked off were drawn where lines and columns intersected. The question was asked and the answer was awaited with trepidation.

Eventually, Marina Roshcha returned the survey. The sociologist saw the check marks but also comments written on the margins. Here is what they said:

"Although I have no children as yet, I do have an opinion on the work of kindergartens and nurseries, for which reason I have checked off answers. But let us now assume that I am the father of two children, one of whom attends a nursery and the other a kindergarten, having attended a nursery in the past. Whose work should I rate? I don't know in what kind of gardens the authors of such questions are raised, but, please, do not include me anymore in your surveys. Good-bye..."

This marked the disappearance of the duffer. According to some, he took himself for a sociologist, walking the streets with a portable tape recorder and asking passers-by a single question: "Do you have any respect for the respondent?" To which the passers-by laugh nastily.

Meanwhile, the sociologist lives in a state of total harmony with his favorite respondent, raising to their own standard a new duffer, this time from, apparently, Bibirevo. Tirelessly advancing in their beloved science, they have decided lately to train the type of respondent who could not only answer multiple questions and encode the information, but also formulate a question and a hypothesis, pick up answers, and write the first rough draft of the report. The finished draft, the drafting of thick monographs, and the fees, bonuses, and laureate diplomas go to the sociologist.

'Keep aloof smartly ...'

Every sociologist knows that the formulation of practical recommendations is a simple matter. However, as I recently wrote in my outstanding article (SOSIOL. ISSLED., No 3, 1984), "While science and the administrative services are getting ready to make a decisive leap, common sense is not slouching either." I found original practical recommendations on how to stabilize the young family in the book by V. N. Kupriyenko "Schast'ya Vam, Lyudi! (Metodicheskiye Rekomendatsii po Provedeniyu Semeyno-Bytovykh Obryadov)" [Good Luck, People! (Methodical Recommendations on Family Ceremonies)]. The book was published by the Znaniye Society and the Central House for Scientific Atheism. Although the author of the recommendation is unknown, it is pointed that the "Code for the Newly Wed" is being used in marriage ceremonies in Kustanay Oblast, Kazakh SSR. The "Code" is written in beautiful verse. Following are some memorable excerpts (pp 22-25).

You must remember, husband,
That your wife is your life's companion.
She is no work machine
But a person like you.
The weaknesses of women
You must tolerate for years on end,
And if you want to be beloved
Just follow this advice:
No petty arguments with the wife,
Do not object unnecessarily,
As a man, resolve yourself
Anything that really matters!
When you get paid

Bring your entire wage home.
Embellish your life and home
Together with your wife.
Do not skimp on stockings, perfume or dresses
Or any other such.
Your wife's embrace will reward your generosity.
You, wife, must also be aware
That your husband, too, is a person.
In order to make this marriage last
You must be true to him forever.
Should you happen to disagree
Occasionally with your husband's views,
Bend like a twig,
Say neither "Yes" nor "No".
Smile pleasantly at him
And smartly keep your distance,
With caution and delicacy
Change the course of events.....

It becomes immediately clear that the author of such recommendations is not only a talented parasociologist but an experienced family relations expert, a deep and original philosopher and a fighter for everything that is new and progressive in relations between husband and wife.

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